

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

**Social Exclusion and the life of *Manas*- potters in Dawuro
South-west Ethiopia**



By: Dubale Gebeyehu



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POTTERS IN DAWURO, SOUTHWEST ETHIOPIA**

**A Thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies,
Addis Ababa University**

**In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the
Masters Degree of Arts in Social Anthropology**

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Acknowledgment

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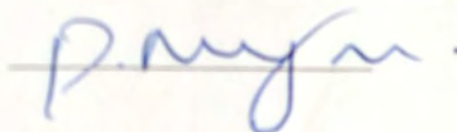
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Glossary of local terms

<i>Adiliya-</i>	spring season
<i>asana</i>	son of the nobility (the upper class)
<i>asayifiya-</i>	Evil Eye
<i>Assura-</i>	autumn season
<i>ayilliya</i>	slaves
<i>Balgguuwa-</i>	rainy season
<i>biitta-</i>	earth
<i>bikkiya-</i>	club
<i>bollota-</i>	relationship by marriage
<i>Boniyaa-</i>	dry season
<i>Booddosontta-</i>	one of the local deities worshipped by both the <i>Manas</i> and <i>Maallas</i>
<i>borddiyaa-</i>	local beer made from <i>teff</i> and malt
<i>boyina-</i>	taro
<i>dabbota-</i>	relationship by blood
<i>Dada-</i>	spirit of thunder
<i>daguwaa-</i>	communal work group of considerable size.
<i>dashuwa-</i>	mid altitude
<i>Derg</i>	Military government that ruled Ethiopia before the current regime
<i>Diitiya-</i>	one of the clans of Dawuro
<i>dinkka-</i>	'traditional' wind instrument made from bamboo tree and horn of kudu at the one end usually played by four men.
<i>diyyyaa-</i>	granary made from bamboo used to store cereals.
<i>dooriya-</i>	pile of crops like maize and haricot.
<i>eeqa-</i>	ritual ceremony in which sacrifices are offered to spirits
<i>Gaammontta-</i>	Deity of the <i>Kalisiya</i> clan

<i>gaashiya-</i>	<i>teff</i>
<i>gaayyiya-</i>	water pipe
<i>gadha-</i>	low land
<i>geyyuwa</i>	spiritual meeting place of women usually under the shade of big trees
<i>Geziya-</i>	high land
<i>Ginjaaborddiya-</i>	slaves of the slaves
<i>Godebushuwa-</i>	slaves of the royal class
<i>Goqa-</i>	the people
<i>Halalalntta-</i>	deity of the <i>Manas</i>
<i>hariya-</i>	donkey
<i>hixixiya-</i>	bamboo made wind instrument of about 1.5-2ms length and usually played by a group of three individuals.
<i>huluqquwa-</i>	ritual process used to purify polluted individuals.
<i>iraasha-</i>	local political title in the 'traditional' political organization of Dawuro
<i>kaltta-</i>	an axe used to dig out clay soil and to cut some materials.
<i>Kawona-</i>	son of the ruled class
<i>kon" a-</i>	potsherd
<i>kotha-</i>	share
<i>Maaridontta-</i>	one of common deities in Dawuro
<i>maashadhdhiya-</i>	one of the clans of potter groups
<i>madda-</i>	labor service
<i>manddida-</i>	the commoner
<i>Mayiramintta-</i>	goddess often worshipped by adult women
<i>Qirqqossa-</i>	a deity often worshipped by potter groups
<i>qoora-</i>	evil spirit assumed to be possessed by the potters
<i>seera-</i>	village level burial association

<i>sharechchuwa</i>	shaman (spiritual leader who is believed to have special powers and the ability to heal).
<i>shufiwaa-</i>	local money saving and lending association
<i>udulaa-</i>	mortar
<i>ulaa-</i>	grey
<i>uliya-</i>	heap of some crops like <i>teff</i>
<i>uniya-</i>	agricultural labor working on someone's farm
<i>uutha-</i>	<i>enset</i> plant (<i>enste ventricosum</i>)
<i>womannuwa-</i>	son of the upper class
<i>Woraaba-</i>	local political title second to king in 'traditional' political organization of Dawuro.
<i>worada</i>	an administrative unit above peasant association
<i>woxaa-</i>	grinding stone
<i>wudiyaa-</i>	Village level work team used to keep cattle
<i>xooma-</i>	son of the lower class
<i>Xoossa</i>	1. God 2. Deity
<i>yeesiya-</i>	a granary often situated in front yards and used to store different crops
<i>zambba-</i>	palm tree or its leaves
<i>zawiyaa-</i>	communal work group of some individuals
<i>zayyiyaa-</i>	local wind instrument made from bamboo usually blown to announce some social occasions
<i>zaziiriya-</i>	locally made sieve
<i>zirggomaalla -</i>	one of the clans of Dawuro
<i>zo`uwa-</i>	red
<i>zun`iyaa-</i>	double prong agricultural implement with iron points used to dig the land

Abstract

The main concern of this thesis is exploring the extent of social exclusion and the resultant life conditions of the Manas- marginalized potters in the socio cultural context of the Dawuro. The study focuses on the basic features of social life such as family, marriage, clan origin, beliefs and rituals. In addition to this, the study analyzes land and livestock possession, production practices, and exchange patterns of the artisanal products of this group of people. The thesis also discusses the general life conditions of the Manas in terms of the economic, cultural, social, and political statuses in the broader social stratum of Dawuro based on the data qualitatively gathered from the research sites.

In Dawuro, this group of people is accused of eating 'impure' foods such as carrion and carcass locally called bakuta- for the animals are not slaughtered in the dominant peasants' style. Moreover, the Mana social groups are suspected and commonly feared by the other social groups of people for practicing cannibalism. Furthermore, they are often suspected for possessing some mystic powers projected through their eyes which can cause sickness and death among other social groups.

The Mana social groups are generally not only considered as inferior but they are also often associated with notions of purity and pollution. They are demeaned for their occupational specialization on producing earthenware and spiritual 'impurity' resulting from their dietary predilection on culturally tabooed foods. As the result they are distanced from marriage alliances, closeness in settlements, and other social involvements with the dominant social groups.

On the other hand, the Mana social groups play some important roles in their host society. For instance, they perform circumcision, produce important domestic utensils from clay, and play different musical instruments on different social occasions, warding off evil spirits, and providing labor services.

Despite the odds and evils affiliated to the Mana social groups, certain changes are happening to their lives and some Manas managed to secure social recognition. The recent spread of Protestant and Catholic Churches in the area, changes in their dietary preferences, and some economic progresses in their lives are some of the causes for the recognition they are gaining. As the result their participation in some social activities together with the other groups in the upper strata has been increasing from time to time.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Back ground

Dawuro¹ is located in the south western part of Ethiopia bordering Kontta special *Worada* in the west, Oromiya Regional state (Jimma zone) in the northwest, Hadiya zone in the north, Kambata Tembaro zone in the north and northeast, Wolayita zone in the east, Gamo Gofa zone in the south and southeast. It is one of the thirteen zones of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. It took the current administrative status right after the disintegration of *Semien Omo Zone* in the year 2000. The area is divided into five *woradas* and one town administration. These are *Genna, Isera, Looma, Maaraqaa*, and *Tocha* and *Tarcca* town administration. According to Dawuro zone Finance and Economic Development Department's report, the zone has a total area of 4430km² and a total population of 500,000².

Previously Dawuro was under *Kaffa* administrative province and well known by the name *Kullo-Konta Awraja*. The term *Kullo* was later rejected by the natives for its derogatory connotation imposed by the Amhara rulers (Data, 1997; Seid, 2007).

*Dawuroothuwa/Dawuro doonaa*³/literary meaning Dawuro tongue is the language of Dawuro classified under Omotic language family (Fleming, 1973; Balisky, 1977; Zaborski, 1982; Behailu and Data in Freeman and

¹ Some people spell as *Dauuro* and others spell as *Dawuro* however I preferred to use the latter one throughout this thesis. In some quoted texts and other cases it is spelled as *Dawro*.

² Source: from Dawuro zone Finance and Economic Development Department.

³ *Doona* and *qaala* are local terms equivalent to the English word 'language' however *doona* is frequently used one in Dawuro.

Pankhurst, 2001; Data, 1997). Now, this language is predominantly spoken in Dawuro land serving as medium of instruction in primary schools with promising attempts to make it the working language of the zone. Out of Dawuro zone, it is spoken in Kontta Special *Worada*, Hanchano and Hanccabia areas in the western side of *Gojeb* River and some neighbouring areas of the zone. Many Dawuro language speakers are also found in Jimma and Agaro⁴ towns and the surrounding areas.



Figure one: Map of Dawuro in regional setting. Source: Household survey (2003)

Previously Dawuro language was known by the name 'Oommateethuwa /Oommatiya doona/', meaning *Omate* tongue or language which is claimed to be derived from the river Omo (Cerulli, 1956:97; Elias Aweto & et.al, 1991EC).

⁴ Are towns found in Oromiya regional state Jimma zone, north western part of Dawuro zone

The term *Omati* as Cerulli, (1956) and neighbouring people called it, is referred to as *Oomatiya* by the natives and was a generic name widely used to refer the land, language and the people as *Oommatiya biitta*, *Oommatiya doona*, and *Oommatiya asa* respectively.

The Dawuro is patrilineal society structured into three major clans named *Maallaa*, *Dogallaa*, and *Amaaraa*, each of which are further classified into number of 'qommuwa' (sub-clans) exceeding one hundred. In the long socio cultural history of Dawuro each of these three major clans has their mythical specialties. Thus, the *Maalla* major clan is supposed to have intuitive insights in administration, the *Dogala* has specialty in running spiritual dimensions of life in the locality and the *Amaara* has intrinsic qualities in running economic aspects of life.

The term *Maallaa* refers to the majority (peasant group) other than its additional connotations to refer to one of the major clans of Dawuro. The term '*Amaaraa*' on the other hand has no association with the Semitic *Amharas* of the north but designates one of the other major clans of Dawuro.

The Dawuro society also comprises considerable number of artisans (potters, smiths and tanners) and *Manjjas*- hunters groups.

According to oral tradition and some written accounts, almost all of the Dawuro were followers of 'traditional' religious practices before the forceful incorporation of the area into Ethiopian empire in 1889 EC by Menilik's war general named *Dajjazemach* later *Ras Wolda Giorgis Aboye*⁵ (Elias Aweto, 1991 EC; Seid, 2007).

It is believed that almost all of the Dawuro had one God locally called *itti Xoossa*- one God, *medhdha Xoossa*- creator God or sometimes called *Sahuwa Xoossa*- heavenly God under which there are multiple number of

⁵ *Dajjazemach* and *Ras* are political titles used in the Imperial periods of Ethiopia.

deities to each of which the respective clans used to subscribe. After the incorporation, the Dawuros were forcefully converted into Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity. However, according to a report from Dawuro zone Finance and Economic Development Department, great majority of the Dawuros are subscribing to Protestantism followed by Orthodox and Catholic Christianity. Considerable numbers of people in Dawuro also follow 'traditional' religion practices.

The landscape of Dawuro is characterized by rugged topography, dissected plateaus, mountains, and deep gorges. It is reported that three-fourths of Dawuro land is mountainous and steeply sloped (Seid 2007:1) and is endowed with many perennial rivers and dense natural forests. *Gojeb* and *Omo* (locally called *Umaa*) are major rivers that flow from the Northwest to the Southeast.

Dawuro incorporates three major agro-ecological zones: highland (*gezziya*), middle altitude (*dashuwa*), and hot lowland (*gadhaa*) each of which is suitable for different economic activities. The Dawuros have four seasons named '*Addilliyyaa*'-spring from September to November, '*Boniyaa*'- winter from December to February, '*Assuuraa*'- autumn from March to May, and '*Balgguuwaa*'-summer from June to August.

Uutha (ensete ventricosum) is the dominant food crop that supports the majority of the population in highland and mid altitude areas along with other cereals and root crops.

Most Dawuro clans claim different parts of Dawuro land as their original home place where they originated from 'earth' except few clans that trace their origin to different neighbouring *Omoti*c states such as Kaffa, Yem, Gamo Gofa, Wolayita, etc. Scholars like Balisky (1977:244), further identified the Dawuro people to be the base for *Omoti*c speaking people.

1.1.1. An overview of social stratification of the Dawuro

Dawuro society comprises complex social stratification and hierarchy that exhibits tough exclusion and social inequality. The stratification is identified as *womannuuwaa* versus *ayilliyaa* meaning the commoners versus formerly enslaved social groups; *asana* versus *xooma* meaning sons of the dominant peasants versus the rest which includes formerly enslaved ones, artisans, and *Manjjas*; *kawonaa-Manddidaa* or *Goqaa* meaning sons of the ruled class versus the commoners or the majority.

Accordingly, the *Maallas*, the dominant social groups that comprise the majority of the population, enjoyed an upper social status in the long history of Dawuro. The 'slaves', artisans, and *Manjjas* on the other hand, are hierarchically subordinated in the social stratum and have been compelled to experience social inequality as compared with the *Maallas*. The intensity of differences and inequalities increases in the descending order in the hierarchy. Thus, the social strata of Dawuro comprise groups that are less excluded to groups that experience severe marginalization at the bottom.

Accordingly, the social hierarchy of the Dawuro comprises the *Maallas* at the top followed by 'slaves', artisanal groups, and the *Manjja* at the bottom. 'Slaves' in the Dawuro social strata are further classified into three as *Godebushuwa*- slaves of the royal family, *ayilliya* (*luggamiya* or '*qooma*')- slaves of the commoners and *Ginjaborddiya*- slaves of the slaves. Similarly, the artisans are further subordinated as *Wogaaciya*

* Groups of individuals whose forefathers were enslaved during slave trade period between late 19th and early 20th centuries are commonly called slaves even though slave trade is abolished before many decades.

(Hinnadiniya)-smiths, *Degela (Denchcha)*⁷- tanners and the *Mana*-potters (Elias & et.al, 1991EC; Data, 1997; Seid 2007).

As I tried to mention earlier the upper status in Dawuro's social hierarchy belongs to the *Maalla*- (majority peasants) social group. Data (1997) and Seid (2007) argued access to agricultural land as the major reason for the long existed status supremacy of the *Maallas* in the complex social hierarchy of Dawuro.

The persistent social hierarchy of Dawuro is diagrammatically represented in a descending order as:

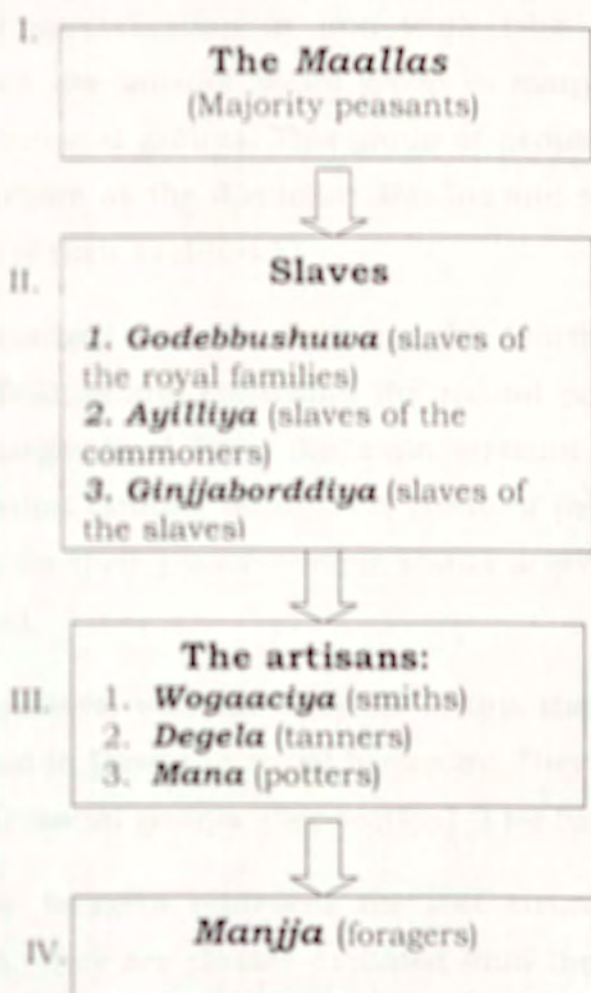


Figure two: Social hierarchy of Dawuro (my own illustration)

⁷ *Hinnadiniya* and *Denchcha* are less used local alternatives for *Wogaaciya*-smiths and *Degela*-tanners respectively.

The second social stratum stands for 'slaves' who are further stratified and hierarchically subordinated among themselves. The life of 'slaves' in Dawuro is included with the majority *Maallas* in most instances as opposed to other social groups in the hierarchy. However, marriage between the slaves and the *Maallas* is generally forbidden and considered as negative marriage.

The third social stratum stands for artisanal group that further comprises *Wogaciyaa*-blacksmiths who represent the upper stratum among the artisans followed by the *Degela*-tanners and the *Manas*-potters. The smiths are excluded from the main stratum for their occupational specialization in iron work even though they are less excluded from the broader social group in many aspects as compared with other artisanal groups. This group of people sustain their lives by mixed agriculture as the dominant *Maallas* and selling iron products as main source of their livelihood.

Degela-specialized tanners represent the fourth stratum of Dawuro's social stratification and constitute the second position among artisans. They are marginalized from the main stratum for their occupational specialization on tanning hides. This group of people are more despised than smiths for their poor economic status accentuated by their limited access to land.

The *Manas*-potters, who are subjects of this thesis, constitute the fifth social stratum in Dawuro's social hierarchy. They also constitute the last stratum of artisanal groups. (See section 1.2 for further discussion).

The *Manjjas*-foragers represent the last stratum of Dawuro's social stratification. They are classes excluded from the wider social strata for their economically worsened life conditions and food restrictions on items tabooed by the upper *Maallas*. In other words the *Manjjas* are excluded

for feeding on flesh of dead animals as *Maallas* call it '*bakutaa*⁸', for the animal is not slaughtered in the dominant *Maallas*' style and their preferences to eat wild animals like porcupine and swine which are animals not eaten by the rest of the groups. Accordingly, the *Manjjas* are considered as 'tuna'- 'polluted' or 'impure' social groups and any contact with them is believed to cause '*gomiyyaa*' bad lucks unless cleaned by certain ritual purifications.

The *Manjjas* support their lives by hunting and occasional farming accompanied with food begging from the rest social groups notably from the dominant *Maallas*. This group of people also sell charcoal, fire wood and some processed wood products like stool, mortar, and table as additional sources of income. Moreover, they provide labour service and sometimes play instruments like *hixixiya* and *zayyiya*⁹ on different social occasions for food and petty payments.

1.2. Research Problem

Social exclusion in this thesis refers to groups of people who are distanced from social relations, activities, institutions, and common values applicable to the broader social stratum in their 'host' society.

The *Manas* as one of socially excluded groups in Dawuro share such characteristics in general and subjected to lead their lives under hostile socio cultural environment.

Their social relations with the broader society are often unfriendly and in most instances characterized by extreme enmity and antagonism. They are restricted from ownership rights of basic resources like land and

⁸ Is local term for the body of an animal not slaughtered in accordance with the *Maallas*' style

⁹ *Hixixiya* is a local musical instrument made from bamboo tree played by a group of three people in occasions like wedding or mourning. *Zayyiya* on the other hand is an instrument made from bamboo or any reed fixed with curved horn blown to announce events like meeting or death.

constrained from dominant economic activities like crop production, animal husbandry, and trade due to various political, social and cultural reasons and hence subjected to lead their lives under abject poverty. As a result, they are compelled to practice activities that are generally categorized as minimal and ignoble among the majorities. Some of such activities include pottery production, petty trade, hunting wild animals for food, and providing labour service for groups in the upper classes.

Moreover, they are distanced from social, economic, and political institutions and thus forced to live under conditions that witness social inequality and violations of basic human rights. Specifically speaking they are not allowed to marry from groups in the upper classes nor their children are allowed to attend schools together with the *Maallas*'. Similarly, they are prohibited from membership of village level associations such as *shufuwa*- money saving association, *seera*- burial association, *daguwa* or *zawiya*- communal work groups. Politically viewing, they are not entitled to hold official powers and leadership posts in both government institutions and different administrative levels in their locality.

Moreover, in most instances the *Mana* social groups are distanced from the broader upper stratum by ascribed social stereotypes usually defined in terms of 'purity' and 'pollution'. The notions of 'purity' and 'pollution' in Dawuro are widely used as warranting concepts to define the 'pure' upper stratum and the 'impure' lower classes including the *Manas*. As a result, the *Mana* social groups in Dawuro are generally considered as 'polluting' and any contact made with them is assumed to result in spiritual 'impurity' and resultant misfortunes among the upper social groups otherwise purified by certain ritual processes.

Apart from this, the *Manas* in Dawuro are considered as cannibals or groups of people who eat other social groups. Moreover, they are

generally considered as Evil Eyed social groups that have some covert powers to endanger others. Due to these supposedly anthropophagus practices and possession of mystic power assumed to be projected through their eyes, people in Dawuro society sometimes beat and kill the *Manas* and burn their houses. This is a trend that no other socially excluded group in the social hierarchy of Dawuro is experiencing.

On the contrary, as many other despised social groups in Ethiopia at large and in Dawuro in particular do, the *Manas* play important roles in the socio-cultural realm of Dawuro. For instance; they produce clay products importantly needed for the benefit of the majority, carry out circumcision, play musical instruments during some social occasions, experts in killing crop damaging pests etc.

Generally speaking, these people possess dual qualities. On the one hand, they are groups of people who are excluded, despised, and distanced from their host society due to various socially constructed stereotypes. On the other hand, they are people of pivotal role for the general continuity of life at the upper social stratum of their 'host' society.

However, such puzzling issues are not yet researched and supported by proven evidences on the one hand and no one in the social hierarchy Dawuro confidently witnesses that the *Manas* are Evil Eyed social groups and people who practice cannibalism on the other. So, this dual existence of *Manas* i.e.; as socially distanced members of the society on the one hand and groups of people who have significant role for the broader society on the other, needed scientific focus and investigation.

Accordingly, this thesis incorporated the above life situations of the *Manas*' as one of its central themes along with some other themes. The paper examined the extent, causes, and consequences of their exclusion, production and exchange systems, and their social interaction across the

broader social stratum, resource possession, means of livelihoods and recent changes and developments.

1.3. Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to explore the general life conditions of the *Mana* social groups in the broader social hierarchy of Dawuro society. In connection with this, the study will analyze the extent of social exclusion and its manifestations on the lives of the *Mana* social groups. Specifically, the study will:

- Describe the *Mana* rural livelihoods, production processes and exchange systems.
- Discuss and analyze *Mana* socio-cultural life aspects such as marriage, kinship, beliefs and rituals, social and labour organizations.
- Discuss social boundaries of *Manas* and their interaction with other social groups across the broader social hierarchy of Dawuro.

1.4. Significance of the study

This study will be an additional contribution on the ethnography of marginalized craft workers in Ethiopia at large and on less researched socio-cultural records of Dawuro in particular. More specifically:

- As it focuses on treating isolated cases of particular excluded group, it could be considered as a unique contribution since most of the studies conducted so far in Ethiopia were focused on geographic region and addressing marginal groups collectively.
- The study will have importance to researchers who will conduct inquiry on relevant topics or some other fields of study in the area.

- It could also be an important document on giving basic ethnographic information about Dawuro and its multifaceted social stratifications.

1.5. Methodology

1.5.1. Site selection

In order to make my study representative I decided to focus on three peasant associations from three *Woradas* namely *Genna*, *Looma*, and *Tocca* out of five *Woradas* in the zone. These *Woradas* and the sites within each *Worada* are selected due to the following reasons.

The *Dibbo* site in *Genna Worada* is located 30kms away from the centre and selected for the highest number of *Manas* population and for the area where Action Aid Ethiopia's¹⁰ intervention programme is taking place. This is done to understand whether large number of *Manas* has some contributions in resisting social exclusions and to examine whether an NGO'S intervention has roles in reversing the existing social exclusions.

The *Shoota* site in *Looma worada* is the furthest of my sites exceeding 60kms from the zone's centre. It is selected for its remoteness and due to popular view that claims *Manas* to have originated there. Thus, it is selected to analyze the extent of exclusion in peripheral location as opposed to the centre and to examine whether the area is an original home land of the *Manas*.

The *Wara* site in *Tocca worada* is located 17kms away from the centre and is identified because of its proximity and recurrence of cases which I was informed during my discussion with some *Mana* elders before the actual research time. This is partly to see whether proximity to

¹⁰ Is an international non governmental organization working on poverty reduction and rural livelihoods (E-mail: comm.aae@telecom.net.et).

administrative centres has some thing to do in mitigating social exclusion and partly to investigate the pertinent causes for the recurrence of the problem.

Hence; *Dibbo* from *Genna*, *Shoota PA* from *Loma*, and *Waara* from *Tocca Woradas* are areas where this research was focused to obtain the data. Moreover, relevant data are also included in the research from areas out of these sites.

1.5.2. Data collection

To come out with relevant and necessary data from the field, combination of the following research methods were used.

A/ Observation: greatest proportion of the data was obtained from taking part in the day to day life of both the *Manas* and the non *Manas*. Besides this, careful observation and recording of their interaction among themselves and with others is assessed through this method.

B/ Interviewing: substantial amount of the data was collected by employing semi-structured interviews with both the *Manas* and non *Manas*. Raising open ended questions in thought provoking way and exhaustive discussion among different groups to have wide coverage of issues is covered by interviewing process. Accordingly, different interviewees and key informants were selected in terms of their knowledge, social group and status, recommendation by research assistants, and demographic factors.

Accordingly, out of 26 informants interviewed 15 were *Manas* and the remaining 8 were *Maallas*. From 15 *Manas* involved in the interview 10 were female *Manas* who were involved in pottery production. Out of 26 individuals who were involved in the interview 12 were from *Dibbo*, 8 were from *Shoota*, and 3 from *Waara* sites and 3 from *Tarcca Prison*

Office which is located in out of my sites and included for the presence of relevant cases among the Mana prisoners.

C/ Case studies: significant information is obtained from number of individual case studies by paying due attention to narrations from different informants, field observations, and cases brought to courts and local authorities.

D/ Secondary data sources: data from different literatures and reports made by governmental and non governmental organizations were incorporated.

E/ Focus group discussion: series of group discussions with selected persons to explore collective views and to grasp missing points not covered by other methods. As the result, 10 individuals; four from Dibbo, three from each of Shoota and Waara sites were included in group discussion.

1.6. Limitations of the study

This study is limited in its scope and coverage due to the following factors.

First, it is not the complete study of *Manas* from all over the Dawuro due to time and budget limitations.

Secondly, it is limited in including seasonal changes and variations on production and exchange systems since the data is collected in a very limited period of time not exceeding three months.

Thirdly, the study is mainly focused on *Maalla-Mana* relationships rather than analyzing *Mana* relationships with all social groups across the hierarchy since the subject is too broad and time consuming to deal with.

Fourth, due to lack of previous works relevant to this topic, the study is predominantly based on contemporary inputs and perspectives.

Theoretical framework and review of related literature

2.1. Theoretical framework

Concepts, theories and contemporary intellectual work of sociologists, like a central role in providing research theories by providing conceptual frameworks. Accordingly, various of theories and models are used to explain the process of marginalized social groups around the world. However, the following are some of the theories that are widely studied and discussed in human capital and social capital literature for the social capital and human capital groups.

2.1.1. The "marginalized" model

The "marginalized" model proposes that marginal social groups are being marginalized due to their being excluded or subordinated when a more powerful dominant population occupies the area together occupied by them (Bourdieu, 1986). Another popular view is that the "marginalized" model is a "marginalized" group of people are excluded or subordinated due to a change in the dominant population composition (Bourdieu, 1986).

2.1.2. The "social specialization" model

The "social specialization" model is an evolutionary model which suggests various biological species are exposed to pressure to produce different adaptations and different combinations of adaptations in response to various pressures by making them to live in particular environments (Bourdieu, 1986). In this model, however, the focus is on "marginalized" groups that are being excluded or subordinated due to a change in the dominant population composition (Bourdieu, 1986).

Chapter Two

Theoretical framework and review of related literatures

2.1. Theoretical framework

Theories, reasoned and systematically patterned sets of statements, have a pivotal role in explaining research themes by providing hypothetical frameworks. Accordingly, number of theories and models are held in proposing the genesis of marginalized social groups around the world. However, the following are some of the theories that are widely stated in anthropological literature; propose explanations for the social evolution of excluded groups.

A/ The 'remnants' model

The 'remnants' model proposes that marginalized groups are indigenous people who later become 'subjugated' or 'submerged' when a more powerful immigrant population occupies the area originally occupied by them (Pankhurst,1999). Another popular view in connection with this model is, marginalized groups of people are 'mixture' of 'pariahs' who where thought to be brought with immigrant conquerors plus originally 'dominated' people in a certain area (Pankhurst, 1996:18).

B/ The 'holistic specialization' model

The 'holistic specialization' model is an evolutionary scheme which postulates various 'ecological niches' as sources in providing multiple opportunities and different mechanisms of adaptation to originally excluded minorities by enabling them 'to live in protective isolation'. Levine (2000:167), refers this model 'holistic' for the reason that "patterns evolved are shared more or less equally by all members of each

differentiated society; and 'specialization' because the patterns involve a certain amount of skill and training, are appropriate to a particular habitat or ecological niche, and provide the basis for exchanges with other groups".

C/ The 'internal specialization' model

The 'internal specialization' model proposes excluded social groups result from internal occupational differentiations and specializations within certain population. Accordingly, such a differentiations and specialization on specific crafts resulted in the emergence of 'ruling elites' and hierarchical division of classes which in turn resulted in formation of occupational castes (Levine, 2000:171).

D/Mixed genesis and migration model

Mixed genesis model puts its base on number of alternative conceptual frameworks regarding the origin of marginalized craft workers. Accordingly, it rejects taking single models into account to analyze the origin of each marginal group in different areas. Secondly, it also states the mutual inclusiveness of the models on the one hand and the entire differences in the origin of different craftworks demand different models of analysis within a given area on the other (Pankhurst, 1999:492).

2.1.1. Evolutionary models and the excluded *Manas* in Dawuro

In the following section I would like discuss the relevance of each of the proposed models to the cases of the *Manas* in the Dawuro context.

The 'remnants' model:- according to this model, excluded social groups are 'subjugated' or 'submerged' groups by powerful immigrant population who occupied their original area or they are mixtures of indigenous and immigrant despised people. Accordingly, if we examine the genesis of the

Mana social groups as excluded minorities in light of this model, three basic facts are evidently missing. As indigenous people 'submerged' by immigrant population or group mixed with other marginal groups, the *Manas* of Dawuro, first should have spoken other language different to the host society and secondly, should have possessed perceivable physical difference as compared with the dominant *Maallas*. However, it is difficult to speak of identifiable physical and linguistic differences of the *Manas* in Dawuro. Their skin colour and height does not witness any differences that can be used as group identification. It is therefore impossible to distinguish members of *Mana* social groups by physical criteria. Nor do members of the *Manas* claim ever to have spoken different language despite their very recently developed argot to run secret communications among themselves. Thirdly, the creation mythology of Dawuro suggests the Dawuro people are the aboriginal people of the Dawuro land who were neither 'submerged' nor 'subjugated' by any other immigrant population. We therefore, can conclude that this model makes no sense of the *Mana* situation in Dawuro.

The 'holistic specialization' model:- this model suggests 'ecological niches' as the cause for the genesis of different marginal groups and specialized modes of subsistence in various parts of the Dawuro land. According to Levine (2000:169) this "a new modality of adaptation is achieved when a small (farming) society no longer relies solely on intermittent contact with outside groups to obtain goods and services which it cannot provide for itself, but moves to secure them on a regular basis by finding a place for the suppliers within its own home territory. This is the condition represented by tribes which have incorporated caste groups".

However, in the case of the *Manas* in the Dawuro context, this model runs into the following challenges. First, according to the oral traditions of Dawuro, the *Manas* were dispersed all over Dawuro by the chieftain's

order to serve their respective patrons rather not by the will of the farming population. Secondly, the mythology of pottery production is assumed to be divine's assignment rather than ecologically appropriated activity. And thirdly, had pottery production been a specialization dependent on ecology, the *Manas* in different ecological niches of Dawuro would have specialized in different activities other than pottery.

The 'internal specialization' model: - according to this model, internal specialization and differentiations within a given society results in occupational difference and specialization in certain activities among the members and results in the formation of dominant majority and dominated occupational minorities. However, regarding the cases of the *Manas* in Dawuro this model runs into the following problems. First, had it been the internal specialization and differentiations in the host society, the *Manas* in different parts of Dawuro could have engaged in different activities other than pottery production and should have showed perceivable specialization differences among themselves. Secondly, the *Kalise* clan of the majority group should have involved in the same activity and possessed similar status with the *Manas* due to the mythological assumption that claims the *Manas* and the *Kalise* descended from one origin. Thus, this model does not seem relevant to the *Mana* cases in Dawuro.

Mixed genesis and migration model: - this model proposes multiple models of genesis to analyze the origin of different marginalized occupational minorities and rejects depending on single model of ethno genesis for collective analysis of such groups of people. Consequently, this model does not account for the analysis of the genesis of *Mana* social groups at least for the following reasons. First, it is proposed to analyze different marginal groups in a given society in a general way. Thus, it is inappropriate to address isolated cases of particular marginal group like the case of *Manas* in Dawuro by combining the first three models

discussed above. Secondly, the models are not mutually exclusive or lack clear dividing line. For instance, the first two models that is 'remnants' and 'holistic specialization' models put their bases on migration as their common denominator. Thirdly, according to oral traditions, the mythology of Dawuro commonly suggests that the *Manas* are original group of people created from 'earth' with their occupation despite some remarks that claim few *Manas* immigrated to Dawuro from the neighbouring Omotic states.

2.2. Review of Related literatures

Literature available on socially excluded groups in Ethiopia is very limited. Most of the existing literature addresses minority issues at a broad level rather than discussing particular minority groups.

However, prior to see specific comments and discussions presented by some writers, it seems fair to state some general views stated by different writers about socially excluded groups.

Accordingly, in different parts of Ethiopia particularly among different ethnic groups of south-western parts of the country, socially excluded groups of people are generally referred to by different pejorative terms. For instance, they are referred to as '*Fuga*' in Gurage (Shack, 1964); '*hauda*' in Konso (Hallpike, 1968); '*gonde asi yero*' in Kaffa (Haberland, 1978); '*hawado or xawda*' in Burji- Konso areas (Ambron, 1986); *Mana* in Oyda, Gofa, Malo and Masketo (Dereje, 2000; Fujimoto in Freeman and Pankhurst, 2001); Hadicho in Sidama (Kemal, 2007).

Socially excluded groups of people are also viewed by the dominant group as persons of low status who practice minimal occupations and possess some mystic powers that can endanger others (Shack, 1964; Hallpike, 1968; Lange, 1982; Pankhurst, 1996; Ambaye, 1997; Levine, 2000; Freeman and Pankhurst, 2001).

In most cases these groups of people are occupationally specialized on different craftworks and as a result commonly referred to as 'occupational castes', 'artisans' or 'craftsmen' comprising of weavers, smiths, potters, tanners, woodworkers, grinding stone producers, and hunters (Hallpike, 1968:258; Arthur, 2002:333). Consequently, they constitute subordinate social, economic, and cultural statuses in their respective societies and the occupations they practice are often despised and considered as disgraceful (Burley, 1978; Haberland, 1978; Ambron, 1986; Arthur, 2002).

Apart from the lower social statuses they are relegated to, excluded social groups are characterized by poor life conditions emanating from their restricted access to resources like land and livestock (Hallpike, 1968:259; Todd, 1977:406-407; Ambron, 1986:27, Pankhurst in Freeman and Pankhurst, 2001:3).

Coming to the specific assessment of available literature on excluded social groups:

Shack (1964) conducted an inquiry on the 'Fuga' of the Gurage. In this, the writer presented the social, political, economic and cultural life dimensions of 'Fuga' in the Gurage land. Shack presented the general features of Fugas in Gurage area as:

"The essential characteristics of the Gurage-Fuga caste are embodied in the following criteria:...notions of pollution concerning food, sex and ritual; association with traditional occupations; ascribed caste status...Marriage between Gurage and Fuga is forbidden;...Because Gurage fear contamination from direct contact with Fuga, they are forbidden to enter Gurage homesteads without permission, which in fact means until the occupants are at a safe distance, after which the homestead must be ritually cleansed".

Todd (1977) discussed the origins of caste in Ethiopia and reflected on an evolutionary theory of caste system developed by Donald N. Levine. Todd in his paper discussed about despised groups in Dime land of south-west Ethiopia. He explained the origin, history, occupational status, spiritual restrictions, and ritual manifestations of purity and pollution among the Dime people. Todd (1977:407) further stated his observation in Dime land of south-west Ethiopia as:

"A traditionally minded Dime will neither touch a smith's personal property, nor allow a smith to touch his, lest some Gome (spiritually-caused misfortune) should result".

Haberland (1978) studied the social position, occupational involvement, ritual manifestations and functional roles of special castes in Ethiopia and other East African countries. In his paper, he portrayed the dual status of caste groups as despised groups on the one hand and socially important groups on the other hand.

Ambrom (1986) focused on social division of work among the marginalized groups in the Burgi-Konso cluster of southwest Ethiopia. He explained the socio economic status of excluded groups, characteristic features distinguishing artisans and the rest social groups, property ownerships and ritual manifestations in Burji-Konso areas. Ambrom (1986:27) discusses the spiritual manifestations of 'purity' and 'pollution' from his *Burji's* experience as:

"Drinking together from one jug during certain festivities or ceremonies would mean for farmers and potters alike that they would come to harm: the former would get skin disease, the later would have to reckon with broken pots".

Hallpike (1968) discussed issues like production, land ownership, exchange, origin, spiritual prohibitions, job divisions and religious prejudices linked to marginalized groups of people in the *Konso* of south-

west Ethiopia. In his discussion he delineated symbolic manifestations of different artisanal works among the *Konso*.

Pankhurst (1996) and Freeman and Pankhurst (2001) explored the general life patterns of marginalized groups in south-western Ethiopia in terms of cultural, social, political, economic and spatial dimensions at geographical region level. Pankhurst in Freeman and Pankhurst (2001) explain the general characteristics of the excluded minorities as:

"The marginalized are often portrayed as being anti-social, untrustworthy, unreliable, lazy, liars, cowards, quick to anger, and lacking in morality, respect and shame. They are considered to be wasteful, and extravagant consumers, who do not know how to handle money, are unable to save and thoughtless about their future...Many of the minorities have a reputation of getting drunk, singing and dancing at markets and social events..."

Apart from this, the 'polluting' role of marginalized groups is often associated with their food preferences particularly with their choices to transgress the food norms of the upper class. Pankhurst in Freeman and Pankhurst (2001:6) describe this:

"The 'polluting' nature of the minorities is often explained as being a result of the 'impure' meat that they are said to eat. This 'impure' meat can be either hunted wild animals or farm animals that have died without being slaughtered"

Dereje (2000), in his study on Oyda of Southern Ethiopia gave an elaborate discussion on occupational minorities. In this study he discussed aspects of marginalization in terms of culturally, economically, socially and politically. Moreover, he described cultural and ritual roles of these groups of people in the Oyda society of Southern Ethiopia. He further stated that occupational minorities in Oyda are collectively known as *Manas* and which in turn sub divided into two as *Otto Mana-*

potters and *Kotsi Mana* –smiths. Dereje in his study also told us that the *Mana* is a generic term that works for occupational groups in neighbouring Gofa, Malo, and Mesketo.

Nonetheless, socially excluded groups of people are also said to have indispensable role in different socio-cultural life aspects of the dominant upper class in their respective societies. Some of their roles as indicated in some anthropological literatures are: carrying out circumcisions, having roles in childbirth, fertility cults and girls' initiation rituals (Pankhurst in Freeman and Pankhurst, 2001:7); felling trees, cutting wood, constructing houses, assisting burials, concoct and dispense ritually prepared pharmacopoeia, distribute paraphernalia for warding off curses and evil spirits, and collect fees for services rendered by the religious dignitaries for whom they are agents etc (Shack,1964:51); maintaining and renewing social peace, securing social prosperity by offering agricultural materials, (Ambron,1986:29); respected accoucheurs and accoucheuses, go-between for marriages, undertakers, coroners, embalmers, and grave-diggers, helpers against black magic, and malediction, bringers of fertility for men and animals (Haberland, 1978:131).

However, none of the works reviewed above are focused on a particular caste group with its underlying problems, prospects and challenges rather focused on discussing different socially excluded groups together.

Considering works done on social stratification of Dawuro at large and on the *Mana* social groups in particular, the following are some of the available literatures assessed.

Behailu and Data in Freeman and Pankhurst (2001) overviewed the social stratification of Dawuro and stated very brief accounts of marginalized groups and their interactions.

Similarly, Data (1997) discussed Dawuro's social stratification and their rural livelihoods in a very limited way. Nonetheless, neither of the works had amply explained the detailed accounts of *Mana* lives in general and the unique and extreme life experiences of *Manas* in Dawuro in particular.

Family

Chapter Three

Basic characteristics of social organizations

Exploring social organizations and structures enables us to trace basic differences and similarities among *Mana* social groups as compared with other social groups in Dawuro. Accordingly, the thesis explores such basic features in terms of familial structure, origin, marriage and kinship, and belief systems and rituals.

3.1. Family

As it is the case in the dominant peasant group, *Mana* social organization has a smallest production unit called *wodalla soya*- nuclear family and the largest production unit called *wogga soya*- an extended family.

Nuclear family as an elementary form of the family usually comprises *machchiya*-wife and *asina*-husband. In some instances, nuclear family might also include *naana*-unmarried children and other relatives like unmarried sibling or siblings of one or both of the spouses and some other relatives. Whereas an extended family is extensive form of family that often comprises both vertically and horizontally extended kin groups other than wife, husband and children.

In both units of the family, the father is the head of the household and decision maker of the family in both household affairs and production processes. In other words, the father is culturally and socially legitimate person to be involved in affairs that demand the participation and voices of the entire family. Moreover, both in the broader Dawuro's social context and in the case of *Manas*, wives usually consider their husband as their 'father' and as a result replace their natal father's name by their respective husband's name after their marriage. Generally, the

importance of husband is very crucial without whom familial life is considered as a menace. The following Dawuro proverb tells us this:

Asinay banttan aqu ho'enna maxini banttan qumay mal'enna.

Without husband life is boring, without salt food is unappealing.

The role of the *Mana* women is indispensable though it is not recognized like the role of women in the upper classes. Apart from their clay works, they have significant roles in domestic chores like cooking, bearing children, milking cows, nourishing the entire family, etc

As compared with women in the other social groups, *Mana* women are more occupied and burdened. This is because they have cultural responsibility to run routine chores of the family and to produce wares.

The *Mana* family is characterized by highest fertility rates producing more than 10 children on the average. Their fertility rate is by far exceeding the rates in the neighboring *Maalla* households. The *Mana* families are cognizant and aware of their number inferiority and hence produce more children to increase their population thereby to defend assaults from the upper classes. And most *Manas* widely believe that the *Maallas* often attack them because they are numerically inferior. The *Manas* argue that solving numerical inferiority might mitigate the frequented attacks and deep-rooted marginalization instigated by the *Maallas*. The following case illustrates this:

Case one

Hangamo Manu, a Mana man aged 62 living in Shoota Cawula PA in Konga village has married four wives and produced 17 children 9 from his first, 4 from his second, 3 from his third and one from his fourth. His second, third, and fourth wives are still living with him and his first wife died a couple of years ago. Two of his wives, the third and fourth are young, one is with newborn child about 2-3 months and the other is 7 months pregnant. Out of 17 children, 6 are females, two married and 4 living with him. The remaining

11 are males out of which 4 married living in their own houses and 7 are living with him.

I observed similar cases in the rest of my sites and other areas where *Mana* villages are found. In connection with this most *Manas* prefer to have male children than females as the upper social classes do. The *Manas* believe that having male children grants lineage continuity and secures inheritance and possession rights favoring males rather than females. Females on the other hand are usually considered as members of other lineage after their age to marry and culturally deprived from the right to inherit the resources of their natal family.

3.2. Marriage and kinship

Marriage is the major determinant factor to form family and to establish ties between two clans. It is also an important life event that usually signifies some one's rite of passage from early life stage to adulthood.

However, unlike the dominant *Maallas* in Dawuro, *Mana* boys usually marry after 16 years of age and girls do after 14 years of age. The conventional age for the *Maalla* males is 18-22 and for females is 17-20. As compared with the *Maalla* social groups, the *Manas* practice early marriage. This is because the *Mana* males give much consideration for virginity of girls. Nonetheless, not to marry on ages assumed to be proper or late marriages in general in Dawuro at large and among the *Manas* in particular are often attached with negative stereotypes. He or she who does not marry on time is usually considered as thoughtless, vulgar, ugly and detestable if woman, irresponsible, and vagabond. Marriage in the *Mana* social group is also considered as vital life event and hence given considerable attention.

The *Manas* are prohibited to marry non *Manas* and are characterized by pronounced endogamy albeit they are clan exogamous. If any *Mana* man

marries *Maalla* woman, the *Maallas* usually force the *Mana* to terminate the marriage. If a woman resists committing divorce, in such instances the parents and lineage groups of the *Maalla* woman who married to the *mana* usually curse and ban her from any kind of further contact and membership with her natal family. Such exclusion is locally called *xiiniya*. The following case explains this:

Case two

Daachche Coraamo Maalla woman aged 36 lives in Shoota Cawula PA is a second wife of *Cofore Coote* a *Mana* man aged 58. Right after her marriage her parents strongly urged her to cancel the marriage and depart her husband. *Daache* refused to implement her parents order and decided to live with her husband. As a result her parents cursed and excluded her completely from any membership and contact and told her she is no more part of their lineage. Now, *Daachche* is restricted to live with her *Mana* husband and has no contact with members of her natal family including her mother and father. *Daachche* produced two children from her controversial marriage and unfortunately both of the children have died. Her husband *Cofore Coote* was a soldier in former regime and now he is a head of two potter households. *Cofore* has 12 children from his first wife.

Marriage alliance like this is very unusual and subjected to serious condemnation and *Daachche* is perhaps the only *Maalla* woman married to *Mana* social group.

Conversely, no *Maalla* is allowed to have sexual intercourse or marriage with *Mana* and any other subordinated social groups. If any *Maalla* marries or commits any sexual relations with any lower classes, such a practice is highly condemned and considered as a breach of social norm which deserves certain kind of ritual purification. If not, such a person is assumed to encounter *gomiya*- an affliction or misfortune caused by such a transgression.

The *Mana* men predominantly practice polygyny, three wives on average which is partly intended to bear many children thereby to avoid number inferiority and partly to generate income from clay production which is mainly practiced by women. As the result, among polygamous families of the *Mana*, the husbands' responsibility is more social than economic. The husband in this regard is simply a head of households and seldom worries to address daily basic needs of the entire family. It is usually the wives who worry a lot in fulfilling the economic demands of their respective families.

Marriage arrangements in *Mana* society are similar with the majority *Maallas* in Dawuro. The following are the common types of marriage practiced in Dawuro at large and among the *Manas* in particular.

According to the information obtained from the field, 'traditional' marriage is common type of marriage practiced in earlier years when customary marriage rules were practical. It is mode of marriage in which the choice of whom to marry was decided by the prospective bride's and groom's parents. In such marriage arrangements the role of spiritual leaders was also indispensable. Both the parents of the groom and the bride consult *Sharechchuwa*- spiritual leader in their respective clan on whether the proposed marriage is propitious or not. In customary marriage arrangements the whole bride prices are covered by the groom and groom's parents albeit such types of marriage arrangements are declining currently.

Marriage by agreement (*maqquwaa*) is common and often used type of marriage in which the prospective bride and groom usually come into agreement and decide to live together.

Abduction (*horuuwaa*) is another mode of marriage in which a 'groom' forcefully kidnaps the girl and makes her his wife. In other words this is a kind of marriage done without full or partial consent of the abductee

and often accompanied with serious disputes between the contesting parties.

Leviration (*laata*) is rarely practiced type of marriage usually takes place when a younger brother marries his brother's widow after his death. This type of marriage usually happens to care for children and to protect the property of the deceased person.

Sororation (*mishechchuwaa*) is also another kind of marriage in which a widower marries a younger sister of his deceased wife so as to continue the affinal relationship with his wife's family.

The *Manas* men usually marry from distant areas rather than from their neighboring areas. For instance, the *Manas* of *Shoota* PA, my research site in *Loma Worada*, usually marry from *Wolaiyta* and some other distant areas. Similarly, *Manas* in *Waara* in *Tocca* and *Dibbo* in *Genna Woradas* marry from *Jimma* zone of *Oromiya* regional state. The following case is a reflection of this:

Case three

Tesfaye Coote age 52 lives in *Shoota Cawula* PA; *Konga* village married *Amarech Borssamo* from *Wolaita*. *Regassa Batala* aged 38 lives in *Dibbo Shamenna* PA; in *Dibbo* village married *Dejjitu Abbadigga* from *Omonadda worada* of *Jimma* zone- *Oromiya* regional state.

However, the *Manas* have their own reasons to marry from distant areas rather than the neighboring villages and areas. As stated by one of my key informants the first reason is, the *Manas* of the nearest areas are kin groups and as the result marriage with kin groups is forbidden and considered as negative marriage. Secondly, having marriage arrangements from remote areas enables them to have alternative living areas when the *Maallas* open an attack against them.

The kin structure of *Manas* is patterned like the rest social groups in Dawuro. *Manas*' social organization is patrilineally structured one on which male line of descent is prominent. Moreover, the consanguinal-*dabbota* and affinal-*bolgota* relationships usually characterize the social, economic, political and cultural aspects of the *Mana* lives. Relationship by consanguinity is further divided into two as *asho- dabbuwa*-relationship based on blood tie or descent from one ancestor and *yara- dabbuwa*- relationship based on descent from one clan.

3.3. Origin and clan structure

Almost all *Manas* agree that they are the original people to Dawuro land specifically the locality called *Umbuti* and its surrounding areas in *Looma Worada*. They believe that they were created from gourd with the *Kalise*¹¹ clan at the top of *Umbuti* Mountain.



Figure three: Partial view of Mount Umbuti- Shoota peasant association, Looma Worada

¹¹ One of the dominant clans of Dawuro classified under the Maalla major clan

Others who conducted researches in the locality like Seid (2007:16) explain the creation myth of the *Manas* in a much related way as;

"The only marginalized group who traced their origin in Dawuro was the Mannas, potters. They asserted that the Manna had a common origin with the Kalisé clan. According to oral tradition, both Manna and Kalisé emerged from 'earth' near a mountain at umbuti in Loma Wārāda."

Both the *Kalise* clan farmers, whom the *Manas* claim as their ancestral relatives and the *Manas* subscribe to their common Deity called *Gamontto*. The *Gamontto* shrine, located in the village called *Gaato* in *Looma Worada* is said to be shifted from top of the *Umbuti* Mountain in earlier years. However, though it is declining due to the recent spread of Protestantism, it is the place where both the *Kalise* clan and the *Manas* provide their sacrifices once in a year in previous years. Such a ceremony is locally called *gathuuwaa*-scarification. In this ritual the *Kalises* provide different sacrifices ranging from bullock to money and other elements. *Manas*, on other hand, provide their earthenware sacrifices and other services like blowing local instruments notably *hixixiya* and *zayyiya* in the ritual process to appease the spirit. Based on these mythological affiliation and spiritual unity between the two social groups i.e., the *Kalise* and the *Mana*, most people in Dawuro argue that the two have common myth of origin and some mystic ties.

Another version of the story suggests that the *Manas* and some *Maalla* clans like *Kalisiya*, *Ditiya* and *Zirgomaalla*¹², were created from the gourd at top of *Umbuti* Mountain and builds another mythological and spiritual link between these three *Maalla* clans and *Mana* social groups.

The following oral tradition from *Mana* elder in *Genna Worada* explains this:

¹² *Ditiya* and *Zirgomaalla* are clans of former group of which *Ditiya* constitute the *Dogala* major clan and *Zirgomaalla* constitute *Maalla* major clan.

Beni gosatta dumma dumma asanne gosiya cuttiya wode asay laa'u bagga cuttedda. Ittu pudebagga wodhdhode ittu dugebagga wodhdhedda. Hewappe denddowani Kalisi, Diitine Zirggimaallay qommona wodhdhide maalla gidina, ha xadenna wodhedda nuuni asappe laafeti Mana gideedo.

Translated:

By the time when the gourd was producing different human beings and calabash, the birth was in two branched directions, namely, at the upper and lower sides. Accordingly, clans like Kalisiya diitiya and zirggomaalla born at the upper side and become superior to us. People like us on the contrary born in the lower side and that was the reason why we become inferior to the Maalas.

This piece of story elucidates the original place of Manas and the mythological reason that made them inferior to others.

Another popular myth on the ethno-genesis of Mana social groups along with some other social and occupational groups is versed as follows.

Medheta goda Xoossi asa ubba biittappe medhdhiya wode ittu musuliyaa oyiqqi yelettedda, ittu katha oyiqqi yelettedda, ittu worqqa oyiqqi yelittedda, ittu urqqa oyiqqi yelettedda, ittu galbba oyiqqi yelettedda, ittu qassi ayinne oyiqqenani yelettedda. Ha musuliyaa oyiqqi yelettawa wogace gida, urqawa mana gida, kathawa goshanchcha gida, galbawa, degela gida, worqqawa asawu ubawu goda gida, ayinne oyiqqenani yellettawa asa woosama giide medhowappe denddowani asay ubbay dummatedda.

Translated as:

when creator God was creating man from earth, one born with piece of metal on his hand and God said let you be a smith; another one born with crops on his hand and God said let you be a farmer, and another one was born with gold on his hands, let you be a king, rule and govern all the rest, another one was born with hide on his hand, God said let you be a tanner, and yet another one was born with nothing on his hand, God said let you be a Manjja

and lead your life from nothing. This become the very point how God created different people with different occupation.

This story explains how God created different groups of people with their respective occupations and craftworks in Dawuro. It does not correspond to any of the models postulated on the genesis of marginalized social groups by different scholars (see section 2.1). Rather it can be considered as another indigenous model of genesis that suggests occupational minorities including the *Manas* and their respective occupations are created by God.

Even though the *Manas* assume that they are indigenous social groups or the original people to the locality, they do not have group similarity and common descent of origin. For instance, *Manas* living in *Curccura* of *Isera Worada* and some other areas of Dawuro bordering Kontta Special *Worada* are said to have come from Gofa, Masketo, and Malo areas. Such groups of *Mana* are classified into two as *Gita Mana* which comprises smiths and *Otto Mana* which comprises potters, as it is the case in Oyda, Gofa, Maseketo and Malo areas of south western Ethiopia (Dereje, 2000).

According to the *Maallas*, the *Manas* of the entire Dawuro are grouped as *Waata Mana* and *bitta Mana*¹². The former one comprises groups of potters that are considered as harmless and not accused of possessing evil eyes that have mystic power to endanger the rest of the social groups. Whereas, the latter stands for groups of potters that practice clay work and often accused of possessing evil eyes. In fact, the *Manas* do not accept such a division at all and believe that all *Manas* are one and the same. They usually defend such a category and arguing to the contrary by holding the unanimous notion known as '*Manay Manakka*' to mean 'a potter is a potter'.

¹² I could not find the local synonym and meaning for the term *Waata* however *bitta* means earth and *Bitta Mana* means earth potters or potters of the earth albeit its connotations still remain vague.

Nevertheless, I tried to investigate whether the term *Waata* has some connections with early hunter groups whom (Cerulli, 1922) collectively called *Wattá*. Accordingly, no historical and ethnographic data is available in connecting the underlying implications and origin of Cerulli's *Wattá* with *Waata* of Dawuro. However, other groups of potters in Dawuro are said to have migrated from *Kambata* and *Tembaro* areas to low land *Genna* specifically to *Dasha Aajja* and *Zaabba Dilbba* peasant associations of *Genna Worada*. This group of *Manas* practices both clay work and tanning which is an exclusive task of tanners.

The *Mana* clans usually consist of three major clans *Maalla*, *Amaara*, and *Dogala* and each of the three major clans is further sub-divided into multiple numbers of *qomos*-sub-clans like the host Dawuro society. However, according to the information obtained from my respondents, the *Masiriya* sub clan of *Amaara* major clan is dominant clan among the *Manas*.

The following table is a representation of *Mana* major clans and sub-clans.

Major clans		
<i>Maalla</i>	<i>Dogala</i>	<i>Amaara</i>
Boroshsha	Agarshshuwaa	Anggotiya
/Boroddamaalla/*	Bubbula	Bidinawuwa
Gollomaalla	Maashadhdiya	Gaallattiya
Maakka	Oshakashiya	Gajja /tigiriya/*
Nooba	Sandda	Gawaatiya
Tankkal'uwa	Worzziya	Gesha
/Kawuka/*	Wosheshsha	Godinttiya
	.	Maassiriya
	.	Mugara
	.	Mutuwa
		Qesgga
		Xaasurgga
		Yanxxaniya
		.
		.
		.

Table one: major and sub-clans of the Mana

*Alternative names for Maalla clan names used by the Manas to escape the accusations from the farmers' for being called by identical names with them.

3.4. Belief systems and rituals

As the dominant *Maalla* group in the Dawuro locality does, the *Manas* recently subscribe to different religious practices though the majority of the *Manas* are followers of protestant churches. Considerable number of *Manas* is also followers of the newly arrived Catholic Church followed by 'traditional' religious adherents. I could not find and nor heard any *Mana* subscribing to Orthodox churches. Those *Manas* who follow 'traditional' religious beliefs subscribe to Deities commonly practiced by the

dominant peasant groups. Each Deity is represented by its respective spiritual leader called *sharechhuwaa*. I heard that there was a powerful *Mana sharechhuwa*- shaman named Kure, representing a Deity called *Mandonntta*¹⁶. Such a Deity was said to be feared and worshipped by both the *Manas* and the *Maallas* and it was popularly known as *Kure Mandonntta*. Similarly, the *Manas* all over Dawuro and some *Maallas* recently fear and worship *Ukuro Booddosontta*- a powerful *Mana* Deity named by a *Mana* man called *Ukuro* and found in *Erppi* area of *Isara Worada*.

Dada- god of thunder is another Deity commonly believed and worshiped by both *Mana* and other social groups for its assumed 'immediate' and *Tair* responses in instances when some one is in need of its intervention. *Dada* is powerful spirit than all the rest spirits (Elias, 1991) is mostly worshipped by males and widely believed as spirit that works against dishonesty and mischievous deeds. Sometimes spirit of thunder- *Dada* is called *Oroba Xoossa*- 'God' of Wednesday.

Even though it needs further investigation to find the underlying myths and the very reason why the Dawuro society linked this spirit with Wednesday than other days, it is the day in which rituals and sacrifices usually called *eeqa* are offered for this spirit. The *eeqa* ritual usually takes place in the place called *eeqa aquwa*- ritual place in the backyard of the main residence. In the *eeqa* ceremony females are not allowed to attend but it is male members from the neighbours and lineage groups invited to attend. And sacrifices from members of the entire family and from the neighbours are usually delivered to the spirit in the *eeqa* ceremony.

Booruuwa- bread made from oat or wheat and local drinks brewed from *teff* and malt like *borddiyaa* or *sidhidhuwa* or *bushibushuwa*- are served

¹⁶ It is one of the common deities worshipped in Dawuro in pervious years

to the attendants. According to the wealth and status of the person who is in charge of arranging such a ritual, sometimes a bullock is sacrificed to honour and appease the spirit.

In connection with this, a man from *Agarshuwaa*- name of the clan considered as a clan who has covert ties and mythological predisposal with this spirit is usually invited to attend the ceremony. His presence is often assumed to facilitate quick acceptance of the ritual and sacrifices by the spirit. Moreover, a man from *Agarshuwa* clan is believed to be the only legitimate one usually consulted to show where to bury the person(s) killed by thunder, for such a case is not considered as usual type of death entombed in common graveyards.

Maqumintto- goddess is Dawuro's famous Deity usually worshipped by women to secure fertility of women, good harvest, health, and peace all over the locality that is also feared and worshipped by the female *Mana* social groups. As the dominant *Maalla* women, the *Mana* women usually gather under a shade of big tree in a certain meeting point called *Geyyuuwa* in one of the weekdays locally called *Maaqidaa*- Tuesday and perform different rituals like preparing coffee with butter accompanied by singing and chanting. However, they need to do this in exclusively separate and distant place from *Maalla* women.

Gamontto is also another Deity to which *Manas* together with the *Kalise* clan of farmers group often subscribe. This Deity is commonly known as *Leefu Gaamontto* found in *Gufo Gaato* area of *Looma worada* near the mythological place called *Mount Umbuti*. The *Gamontto sharechchuwa* - spiritual leader named *Arimo Alanchche* is said to be a patron of *Gufo Madhdho*¹² *Manas*.

¹²According to *Goda Abayye Alanchche*, *Maalla* man aged 92; *Gufo Madhdho* is a place in *Looma Worada* where the *Madhdho Manas* (potters of *Madhdho*) are found.

Apart from these common Deities practiced by almost all social groups, the *Manas* have their respective group Deities named *Qirqosa*- the most popular one feared by all *Manas* and *Halalntto*, each of which are not practiced by the rest of the social groups. *Qirqossa* is the common Deity supposed to be known by all the *Manas* in Dawuro whereas *Halalntto*¹⁶ is a Deity common to *Manas* in *Genna Woreda* notably linked with the *Masiriya* sub-clan of the *Mana* social group.

Furthermore; very small numbers of *Manas* also consult possession cults, intestine oracle and witchery even though such practices are declining now days and lacking their vitality due to the recent spread of Christian Churches in the area.

The *Manas* who are not adherents of both Protestant and Catholic Christianity practice fertility rituals during harvest times in the same manner as the majority farmers do. This is done to secure good harvest and continuity of food supply, fertility of soil, good health and prosperity in the locality since these things are believed to be controlled by supernatural forces. Moreover, they also hang thorn and soot-covered grass on bamboo tree in the middle of their farm so as to protect the potential dangers and damages resulting from 'Evil Eyed' people. Apart from this, the *Manas* as the majority social groups do sometimes wear and fix some apotropaic amulets around the necks of their children so as to protect and ward of evil or bad lucks.

¹⁶ According to *Irascha* (local title) *Batala Bajjura*, the two deities namely *Qirqosa* and *Halalntto* are exclusively for potters.

Chapter Four

Economic Activities, Production and Exchange

4.1. Land ownership and Agricultural production

Excluded social groups, including the *Manas* in Dawuro had land before the 1974 socialist reformation unlike the remarks made by Shack, 1964; Todd, 1977a; Pankhurst, 1996&1999; Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001.

However, according to oral tradition of the Dawuro society, the *Manas* owned land in the following three ways. First, *kaati*¹⁷ *Mana*- potters of the king were directly given the land from the king as it was the case to majority of the farmers. Secondly, some other *Manas* were given land in the form of fief for their considerable services and loyalty to the kingship. And thirdly, the other groups of *Manas* were entitled to own land from their respective patrons in a form of patron-client relationship as they moved with their patrons from the legendary place called *Koyisha* in *Laxana Woruda*. It was widely believed that *Koyisha* and the surrounding areas including the mythological place called *Umbuti* were originally believed to be the area where different excluded groups were found. It was from this area that different occupational groups were assigned to move with their patrons to the proposed area to be governed.

Accordingly, the *Manas* dispersed and settled under the patronship of their lords in different parts of Dawuro. They had been serving their masters as bondservants and in reverse had been securing protection and safety from their masters on conditions when other *Maalla* groups open attacks against them. Since then the *Manas* under the patronship of their respective dignitaries had been considered as personal properties of the masters and hence often referred by their patrons name as *uraa*

¹⁷ *Kaati* means king in Dawuro language and it is *Kawo* in the neighbouring *Wolayita*.

Mana- Mr. X's potter. As a matter of fact the patrons were one of the most influential figures who enjoyed both political and social status of good reputation in the then socio-political milieu of Dawuro. Accordingly, the following illustration gives some of the areas where the *Manas* have been living under the patronship, their respective patrons for which they are referred to and the patron's respective clan.

Area where the <i>Manas</i> Have been living	patron's name	patron's clan
Aashsho	Irasha * Canaqa Duguno	Tigiriya
Abba	Irasha Bakkalo Gaagga	Inunkka
Anggalla	Woraba * Aggo Uggumo	Kawuka
Bodolla	Irasha Akkirso Ketero	Tigiriya
Boobbi	Irasha Amachche Aaga	Xaata
Dibbo	Irasha Falaha Balddaada	Arachchiya
Gaani Denaba	Irasha Abbate Cimbo	Sayireruwa
Goriqa	Irasha Botore Gota	Xaata
Guufo (Madhdho)	Goda ** Alancheche Ariimo	Kalisiya
Kuyilli	Irasha Amale Hellisso	Kawuka
Shoota	Kegnazimach*** Ayele Tayibala	Amhara
Tarcca	Irasha Haddaro Doodichcho	Yooyuwa
Waara	Grazimach*** Connu Laakko	Kalisiyaa
.	.	.
.	.	.
.	.	.

Table two: representation of *Manas* patrons' name their clan and areas where they have been living.

* Local titles in traditional political organization of Dawuro before the incorporation.

**Cultural title given to elderly people, spiritual leaders, and some reverend social members.

*** are Amhara's traditional political titles imposed to the area.

However, all *Manas* in Dawuro were allowed to settle in the outlying areas of *Maalla* villages often closer to forests, steeply sloped areas, and ravine lands that further manifest spatial exclusion. Accordingly, such kinds of settlement patterns are also perceivable even today and most *Manas* in Dawuro live on marginal lands culturally symbolizing physical isolation.

As a matter of fact, all *Manas* were originally believed to live on *Koyisha* and its surrounding areas and later on scattered to different parts of Dawuro. According to oral tradition, *Koyisha* is believed to be the palace of the traditional political leaders of Dawuro and the people in the surrounding areas of the palace were comprised of different social groups which gradually moved to different parts of Dawuro.

The royal delegates were one of moving groups assigned to administer different Dawuro areas. Their movement was escorted with different craftsmen and service providers. So, it was in this way that most *Mana* groups scattered in the whole of Dawuro to serve their respective patrons. Thereafter, they were entitled to possess marginal plots of land from their respective patrons and had been obliged to provide different services reciprocally.

*Insha*¹² Batala Bajjura an elder from potter groups explains one of such cases in his own words as:

¹² Is the third influential political title next to *Woraba* in the traditional political organization of Dawuro

Case four

In the very moment when my great grandfathers came here (the Dibbo locality of Manas), ten households of Mana, ten households of tanners, and ten households of smiths were sent to Genna with our patron named Onne Aaga who belonged to the Arachchiya clan. Kanito Wolaamo my great grandfather was one among the ten Mana households sent to the area by the then Dawuro king named Dagooye Halaala. That was the way we came to this locality.

Regarding the size of agricultural land they possessed, it was not as wide and favorable for agricultural activities as their patrons. This is partly because the Manas were not originally assigned to move with their patrons to possess good agricultural lands rather as service providers to their masters. Apart from this, no Mana had the right to buy or sell or take an agricultural land rather such rights are fully retained by farmers in the upper strata. Selling or hiring land to Manas and other groups of lower status on the other hand is highly condemned among the farmers and usually considered as a denigrating matter.

Consequently, the quality of agricultural land they possess is rocky, non fertile and in most cases degraded and depleted in contrast to the neighboring Maallas.

Land owned by Manas in Shoota is poor in quality, small in size and located in outskirts as compared with the neighboring Maallas who owned fertile and favorable farm lands. On the contrary, lands occupied by Manas in Waura peasant association of Tocco Worada is relatively better than land owned by the Shoota's in terms of both size and quality but still small in size and located in ravine areas as compared with neighboring Maallas. On the other hand, land owned by the potters of Dibbo is best in quality and favorable to cultivate but smallest in terms of size as compared with the rest two sites.

In spite of all these constraints, the *Manas* usually produce different crops and food items in the same manner as the fellow *Maallas*. They produce root crops like *boyina*-taro, *shooma*-sugar beat, *mitha boyiya*-casaba, and others along with cultivation of cereals like maize, *teff*, and haricot are common in mid altitude areas whereas cultivation of *uutha* (*enset ventricosum*) is common among *Manas* of highland areas.

However, the *Manas* are often considered as people who produce small quantity and consume crops before their maturity period. Moreover, their farm is usually stereotyped as fragmented, cluttered, and poorly cultivated one that yields insufficient production.

It is unusual to find excess crops stored in most *Mana* homesteads. However, *dooriya*- pile of crops like maize or haricot on the foreyard or backyard tree, *uliyā*- a heap of crops preserved for future use in *Mana* homesteads, *diyiyā*- bamboo made granary placed in home to store cereals, and *yeesiyā*- small hut like granary to store crops like maize or sorghum and usually built in front yards are some of the traditional crop storage mechanisms used by few *Manas*.

Mana crop fields are often considered as ill managed, awkward, and cultivated in careless way. Ox drawn agriculture is commonly practiced among the *Manas* even though most of the *Manas* do not have plow oxen and cultivate their fields in *kotha*- share cropping arrangements with some *Maallas* who are not strict followers of 'traditional' beliefs. In other instances most *Manas* also use simple agricultural implements like *zun'iyā*- double prong¹⁹ and hoe to cultivate their fields. In share cropping arrangements with *Maalla* farmers, the *Manas* carry out greatest share of production labor in which overt status inequality is pronounced.

¹⁹ It is wooden handle and iron tipped double prong different to common type of hoe used to plow agricultural field.

Landless *Manas* often undertake agricultural activity in the bases of *Uniya*- a kind of work arrangement in which they spend their agricultural labor in *Maallas'* farm field and obtain some amount of the production usually one fourth of the yield *madda*- farm arrangement in which the *Manas* work in *Maallas'* field and obtain some amount of food only enough to their daily consumption.

4.1.1. Livestock ownership

The *Manas* are often characterized by owning few cattle though the broader Dawuro society is well known by cattle production. In Dawuro, owning many heads of cattle is a privilege not possible for everyone and considered as a major defining element of wealth status and popularity.

A dream to own heads of cattle exceeding one hundred is any peasant's life long plan as far as cattle possession is concerned. However, *Manas* as excluded social groups were not allowed to own livestock of considerable size. This was partly regulated by the cultural influence from the upper classes and partly because of limited grazing land. As a result, the Dawuro society often demeans the poor economic status of the *Manas* in regard to cattle possession by its popular proverb:

Manatta itinashin duuth duutha laagga ge Manay.

What the cow is one, drive separately says the Mana.

However, the *Manas* commonly raise animals like cow, ox, goat, or hens. They raise these animals either individually or in share-raising arrangements with the *Maalla* farmers. The share raising arrangements also vary significantly ranging from fifty- fifty- *qara* to one third- *hewzefuuz*, one fourth- *missa* or one eighth- *sikkiya* arrangements.

Moreover, the *Manas* cope with livestock scarcity by some other mechanisms and production arrangements that range from equal shares to arrangements in which both ownership and status inequalities were

manifested. The following are some of the coping mechanisms and ownership practices among the *Mana* social groups and some poor *Maalla* peasants.

Arbichcha- is a kind of rising arrangement in which poor *Mana* keeps someone's cattle to obtain a day's product or service.

Dhukuta- is a kind of arrangement when a rich person hands over emaciated or physically weak animals to economically poor *Manas* to take care of and finally to fatten. In return the *Mana* will be given some small amount of money after selling the fattened animal.

Datta- is a kind of livestock raising arrangement in which the poor *Mana* is keeping someone's cow or ox to use byproducts like dung without expecting any share from the animal.

Masigya- is a term applicable to chicken breeding in which the poor *Mana* keeps someone's chicken in his home to have one or half of the chicken after being hatched and reproduced.

Wolapya katha- is a kind of arrangement in which a wealthy farmer who owns many oxen hands over one or more oxen to *Mana* man to use the draught power of oxen on his farm land and finally to share the agricultural product. In such arrangement the owner of the ox or oxen can take back at any time if he or she wishes to do so.

Yehua katha- a form of practice when usually a richer *Maalla* farmer transmits an animal to potters promising to grant the agreed portion of the progeny often one third or one fourth to the *Manas* after the reproduction of the animal.

On contrary, in situations when plow-oxen are scarce, the *Manas* usually pair their ox with the other *Mana*'s ox. In few instances they pair with Protestant *Maallas*' oxen. In some other conditions¹ when *Mana* farmer

has no ox he gives labor service to *Maalla* man in farm activities and the *Maalla* farmer gives him his plow of oxen for one day in one of the weekdays when the *Maalla* is off from his farm activities.

In instances when *Maalla* family is involved with *Mana* family in arrangements like share-raising of milk cows, the *Maallas* usually do not consume animal products like milk and butter rather they leave the milk to the *Mana* and sell butter on markets and use the money. This is because the *Maallas* believe that feeding any product from *Mana* households has the power to pollute and endanger them.

Furthermore, the *Manas* are also not allowed to own pack animals like horses, mules, and donkeys. If they own one or more of such animals they are subjected to serious allegations from the *Maalla* groups. The *Maalla* groups usually believe that owning such animals notably horses and mules is a kind of privilege reserved to them and has special role to maintain their status symbol.

4.2. Artisanal production and objects produced

As occupationally specialized members of the society, the *Manas* notably their women produce different kinds of earthenware products. As it is the case in some neighboring Omotic states, (Tschai, 1994; Dereje, 2000) clay production is predominantly exercised by *Mana* women. The task of *Mana* men in pottery production is providing hay and wood to fire the wares. Some women from tanner group in Dawuro also exercise pottery albeit their product is considered as poorly designed and of low quality as compared with clay products made by the *Manas*.

The occupational specialization of potters on clay products is one of the defining characteristics that level them as people who are engaged in menial activities. Apart from this, pottery as an activity is in most cases, attributed to both negative and positive stereotypes. It is an occupation

considered as ignoble and polluting on the one hand and an activity significantly fulfilling domestic utensils to the society on the other.

4.2.1. Raw materials and tools used in the production process

Even though occupational specialization on clay products often considered as ignoble activity and partly resulted in social inequality, it has its own problems ranging from finding raw materials like clay soil to selling the products on markets.

Clay as the most essential input on earthenware production is not available anywhere and as a result the *Mana* women usually pay in cash or in kind for *Maalla* farmers to obtain it. In some instances clay is located in very distant areas and takes much time and energy to transport it to the production site.

Unlike some other occupational groups in Dawuro like weavers and smiths the *Manas* have no *baachcha*- established work place rather they usually produce their wares in front yards open to sunlight.

In spite of these persistent problems linked with the pottery production process, transporting the products to the market on the one hand and the fear to be attacked and abused by *Maalas* on the other are some of the regular problems linked with pottery production. Apart from this, each potter woman pays 50 or more Ethiopian birr per year other than occasionally given clay products to *Maalla* farmers who own clay soil. On the contrary, some other groups of potters in Dawuro obtain the clay from no-man's land and usually pay tax to the representatives of the peasant associations.

For instance, potters in *Shoofa* area obtain clay from an area left for community use and pay in kind to the peasant association

administrators by providing their wares once every other month of the year. Potters of the locality collect their products in a certain meeting point closer to the market area. After collection the wares are fired in a common fire place and sold in the market. Then the money obtained is given as a tax to the peasant association administrators. Potters in *Dibbo* and *Wara* areas pay annual tax and exchange wares with farmers who own clay soil in their areas.

Potters categorize clay soil used to produce earthenware into two. The first one is grey in color and locally called *ulaa biita*. The second one is identified as red and called *zo'uwa* or *zo'o biitta*.



Figure four: two types of clay soil used in pottery production

In the production process of clay products the first step is digging out the clay where it is available and bringing it to the production area followed by crushing it by a club locally called *bikkiya* or pounding it by mortar until it turns into tiny particles. Then the crushed clay is sieved by a meshed utensil (*zaziriya*) used to separate small particles from larger

ones. The separated particle is grinded by local grinding stone called *wara* until it turns into tiny particles. After that the grinded tiny particles are mixed with water and chaff from *teff* plant and kneaded thoroughly until converted into smooth uniform mass. Following this, shaping the clay from the kneaded mass of soil is the next step followed by smoothing the interior parts of a produce by a piece of metal usually called *musuliya*. Then, the shaped clay is exposed to sun light until it dries well. Afterwards, rubbing both the interior and exterior parts by knife to make it smoother and Varnishing the exterior and neck parts by an oval stone called *il'iya*. Then, burning the earthenware with straw or hay and wood in a place called *guduwa*- firing place followed by Polishing by *edhuwa*- dough from *enset* plant or scribbling marks on products like plates becomes the final step in production process as narrated by my informant Ayinate Ayissa, a potter woman in *Waara*.

Thus, the following are list of raw materials and tools used in the production process.

Butta - clay from which wares are produced

Bakkisiya- club used to crush the clay so as to turn it into fine particles.

Iharuniyaa- finest chaff of *teff* plant used to bind the kneaded clay together.

Duppa/ utualla/ woshuwa- Straw or hay used to fire the clay at the firing place called *guduwa*.

Edhuwaa- liquid or dough from *enset* plant used to coat clay products after firing.

Golochuwa- knife used to scrub the clay to make it smooth.

Haatha- water used to knead the clay

It'iyaa- oval shiny stone used to varnish wares

Kaltta- a kind of axe used to dig out the clay

Kasahiya - used to scribble marks on clay products like plates

Uduala- mortar used to pound the clay

Wara- grinding stone used to turn the clay into tiny particles.

Zariyaa- used to separate small particles of clay from the larger ones.

4.2.2. Objects produced

Earthenware products were of varied in their types and functions in Dawuro society before the introduction of 'modern' iron and plastic made utensils in the area. In early years of the society, clay products had paramount contribution in the day to day life and people used to be fully dependent on earthenware products, according to oral traditions. Many clay made wares are being replaced by different factory-made iron and plastic products. For instance, using clay products to filter butter, to drink liquids, to serve food items, to store crops, and to use as containers of different ritual items is almost obsolete and forgotten culture.

However, the rural community in Dawuro is still dependent on clay products and uses them due to cultural and economic factors. It is widely believed in Dawuro that factory made utensils reduce both the taste and flavor of foods and liquids as compared with locally made wares. Economically speaking, clay-made utensils are by far cheaper than factory-made utensils and conform to the economic status of the majority of the population.

In spite of all these rationales and benefits, the production process itself and items produced are continued as they were in many years back. In

other words the way how these things are produced and the pertinent quality needed to be achieved through time had remained as it was. Apparently, I could not observe nor heard any one who is attempting to sustain the vitality of clay products and working to enhance both the production process and quality of items produced.

However, the following is list of clay made utensils and their respective functions.

Baareta- an average sized pot used to fetch water and some times to serve local beer.

Baatha- big sized pot used to brew local drinks, to store butter and grains and to boil root crops.

*Butta siviya**- small cup used to drink coffee and alcoholic drinks.

Ibana bashiya- small sized plate used to roast coffee beans and some spices.

*Ibana otuwa/jabina**/- coffeepot used to prepare coffee.

Ibitya- small sized pot used to feed children.

*Coccoliya/mijija**/- clay made appliance used for heating or cooking.

Gayta- flat bottomed pan of middle size used to serve meal.

Kenya- an average sized pail used to prepare *utta*- traditional food or to boil cabbage or root crops.

Konchchiya- an open receptacle with a raised edge fixed to the top of water pipe (*gaayya*) to put tobacco and fire.

Koorunutea- a small jar used to refine and contain butter

Luguma- a small bowl used to filter and boil churned milk to produce cheese.

Otuwa- average sized pot to fetch water, to boil root crops and to serve local drinks

Al'luwa- small sized flat bowl often with stand, used to serve roasted beans and other food items.

Shaata- small sized bowl with stand used to prepare *siilisuwa*- traditional food prepared from cheese, butter and different spices.

Sindirutiya siidhiya/bilibichchuwa- a whorl fixed to axis of spindle, now adays replaced by whorl made from calabash.

Soolo bashiya- an average sized plate used to bake *injera*.

Ukaha bashiya- a heavy flat sized plate used to bake unleavened bread made from *uncca*- dough from *enset* plant or flour of grains

*Wancca/kubbayiya**- small cup used to measure grains and to drink different liquids

Xaaruuwa- a pitcher used to milk and to boil cabbage

Xugga- average sized pot used to boil root crops and to serve local drinks in social occasions.

**Borrowed from Amharic*

4.2.3. Socio-cultural functions of clay products

Apart from their common functions, clay products are also important in the ritual practices and ceremonies. Some of these are *eeqa otuwa*- medium sized pitcher used to fill in different drinks and food types prepared to appease spirits like *moyitilliya*- ghost, *Dada*- spirit of thunder, *Mayiraminffa* -spirit of goddess. Pots and vessels used in such

rituals are of special types often with breasts and special handles and usually kept separately from other clay-made domestic utensils. Moreover *xinga*- small sized pot usually filled with honey is a clay product specially designed to offer honey sacrifices to spirit of thunder in *eeqa* ritual.

These products are often untouchable and protected from any easy contact. It is also widely believed that unauthorized use or touch of these items is forbidden and believed to bring spiritual misfortunes upon the transgressor.

Apart from this, clay products are used as boxes to keep clothes, woven cotton, butter, and some other easily damageable things protected from rodents like rats or domestic animals such as dogs and cats.

In previous years when modern money management was rare, clay made pots were also used to bury coins and valuable things in the ground. Furthermore, worn out big pots are also used to keep honey bees along with locally made wooden hives. Furthermore, the potshards of clay products are still used to feed chicken and pets, like cat and dogs in most rural parts of Dawuro.

The type, size and quality of clay products used in a given household clearly define the economic status of that particular household. For instance a household relatively in better economic conditions usually has different types and relatively good quality of clay than economically poor household. This is partly because wealthy households usually feed on high status foods²⁰ which demand different types of clay products to store, serve, and transport. Economically low status households on the

²⁰ In the broader Dawuro society, food items like animal products, grains, local beer etc usually correspond to wealthy households and often considered as high status foods. Tubers, root crops like *boyina-taro*, *enset corm*, *donuwa*- local potato species and cabbage, etc on the other hand are regarded as foods of low income or status.

other hand depend on low status foods and demand relatively lesser pottery types for its limited choices of food items accentuated by poorer economy. Even though this is true to both the *Maalla* and *Mana* households in Dawuro, the *Maallas* often stereotype the pottery use status of the *Manas* through their proverb as;

Manatta medhdha medhdha barewu kon'an kathaw.

Whilst the Mana woman produces many good wares to others yet dines on potsherd.

4.3. Exchange Process of Artisanal Products

The exchange system of clay products is conducted through different modes ranging from bartering to purchase by cash. Sometimes potters barter for cereals, roots, or *uncca*-dough from *enst* plant or other artisanal products like farm implements and articles from smiths. In such instances the exchange takes place in smiths home. However, the bartering process predominantly takes place in their home whereas exchange for cash takes place in big markets nearby. The *Mana* women also sell and barter their products in markets at village markets (*qoca*) to cover their daily expenses. Along with the formal exchange processes either in the form of selling for cash or bartering, the *Manas*, in some instances, provide their products as a gift to the *Maalla* groups in nonreciprocal arrangements to establish protective covering against future animosities.

However, in most markets in Dawuro the potters sell their products in a very isolated manner perhaps 50-100ms from the main market places in which apparent spatial exclusion. This is due to the belief that closer contact with these groups in market places may expose the *Maallas* to their evil eyes. Consequently, it is widely heard that the *Manas* were frequently beaten and their wares were often confiscated and broken by *Maalla* farmers in different market places in Dawuro. Accordingly, *Manas* in some areas were stopped selling their products in markets and

preferred to sell them in their foreyards. The following case from Waara is supportive.

Case five

Two years ago in Waara full primary school near my research site, a school boy got sick and collapsed. Following this the farmers suspected the Manas endangered their boy and decided to avenge the Manas. Accordingly, in one of the market days the Maallas opened an attack against the Manas, wrecked their earthen ware products and beat them severely. Following this the Manas prosecuted the individuals involved in the attack. Due to the court's discouraging decision i.e., 6 months imprisonment in each of the defendants as one of my informant told me, the Manas decided to not sell their products to the market places. Now the consumers of their products come to their residence and purchase or barter the products.

On the contrary, potters in Genna and Maareqa worada sell their products in markets whereas potters of Shoota sell their products both in the market places and their residences. However, both group of potters are experiencing pronounced spatial exclusion from the main market area and subjected to intensive violations and personal abuses from the upper classes.

Considering the prices of earthenware products is very cheap and minute even though there are certain improvements as compared with their prices before few decades. The income generated from clay production seems less than the actual expenses invested on the production process. As I attempted to discuss earlier clay production process is a laborious task with discouraging return from obtaining clay to final stage and needs much time and energy.

The average prices for different clay products is listed below regardless to variations and price differences linked with some other factors, like

proximity to urban centers, income variations with consumers side, and quality differences in the products.

List of some clay produces and their respective average price

Name of the produce	price
<i>Baareta</i> - average sized pitcher	4.00 birr
<i>Baatha</i> -big pot	12.00
<i>Bashya</i> - baking plate	3.00
<i>Dano otuwa/Jabina</i> - coffeepot	3.00
<i>Batiya</i> -small jar	1.00
<i>Cocalliya/ Mijja</i> - Furnace	2.00
<i>Kertiya</i> - vessel	2.50
<i>Koonuwa</i> - jar	3.00
<i>Shanta</i> - small bowl	1.50
<i>Xigga</i> - big pitcher	5.00

According to my observation and information obtained from *Mana* women, the income generated from this activity is not exceeding 30 Ethiopian birr per week. However, the income may vary based on the quantity and type of wares produced. The following case from *Dibbo* is suggestive in this regard.

Ayinate Ayissa is a potter woman aged 36, living in Dibbo area of Genna Worada. She often produces 7- 10 baking plates locally called bashiya per week and obtains 25- 30 birr each week. She sells her products either at her homestead or in markets. She exchanges the products either in kind or in cash. For instance when the exchange is in kind, she reported that one baking plate is equivalent to a small bundle of uncca- unleavened dough from wutha- enset plant or small bag of taro root.

Moreover, clay production and the income generated from it show some seasonal variations. For instance, the average income obtained from such activity increases in dry season and sharply declines in rainy seasons. This is partly because of less sunlight to dry up the wares before firing as clay products need much sunlight to be dried thoroughly before firing and partly due to the problems linked with obtaining firing wood and clay soils from distant areas.

Chapter Five

Status of the *Manas* and their relationships

The social exclusion and inequality of potters can be viewed in terms of different statuses they possess. These are the economic, social, political and cultural statuses through which the social life and status inequalities of the *Manas* are manifested. Thus, this chapter of the thesis explores the entire life situation and general existence of potters using such elements as entry points.

5.1. Economic status

The *Manas* are excluded from the broader economic systems in many ways and as a result exhibit poorest economic conditions. In years before 1975 land reform, the *Manas* were under terrible economic conditions that resulted from their limited access to resources like land ownership and livestock production. The 1975 land reform however gave them a light of hope and brought relative betterment in their lives at least by securing land possession rights and altering long lasted patron-client ownership in which patrons exercised absolute power. Accordingly, most *Manas* at least had a chance to own land in a way different to the ownership system before the revolution and started to exercise and enjoy ownership rights.

The *Manas* houses in most instances are dilapidated, ill constructed, and shabby as compared with *Maalla* houses. The walls of their houses are made from stalk of crops like sorghum and other reed types that have no strength and sustain for shorter periods. Their coarsely produced houses openly witness low economic status and resultant abject poverty even though some *Manas* are managing to construct corrugated iron roofed houses and changing history in this regard.

Case seven

Regasa Bataala, a Mana man aged 42 is living in Dibbo village of Genna Worada. Regassa has 235 bee hives made from bamboo tree. He gained the knowledge of beekeeping from peasants in Aggaaro area of Oromiya regional state in Jimma zone where he spends couples of months every year in picking coffee seeds. Regasa told me that he earned 2000 birr last year and 2600 birr this year from honey production. He has six children three of them are attending school, two milk cows and one pair of oxen. During my field stay in his village I observed that he is changing his grass roofed house into corrugated iron roofed house by the income he obtained from honey production.

Regassa's ability to generate good income from apiculture made him one of the outstanding farmers in the locality.

Moreover, the Mana children are often considered as malnourished and physically weak and some times stereotyped as withered and droopy. It is common to hear expressions like *Mana naana gide*- looks like potter's children from the upper classes in conditions when they meet pale children

The income of potter households is generated from selling clay products along with farming. Clay work is predominantly done by Mana women even though some Mana males occasionally produce simple clay objects like *konchichin*²¹, an open receptacle with a raised edge and *bilbicharisa*²², a whorl fixed to the axis of the spindle. However, clay production is generally considered as specialization of women Manas whereas farming and providing firing wood and hay to their wives are

²¹ Is clay made receptacle used to fix at the top of water pipe to put tobacco and fire while smoking.

²² Is a whorl fixed to axis of spindle to spine cotton and now a days replaced by a whorl made from calabash.

duties left to males. Apart from these tasks, *Mana* males hunt and eat swine and hippopotamus.

Some *Manas* produce honey along with their aforementioned activities and bringing some perceivable progress.

Some *Manas* also practice trade as their part-time work. They usually trade *tambbawaa*²³-baked tobacco and some other items. Apart from this, they also practice plaiting *Saleena*-mat and *zambbūliya* (Seems borrowed from Amharic term *zembū*) -basket from leaves of palm tree and sell the products in the market as another means of income. Moreover, some *Mana* men play some wind instruments like *Dinkka* -approximately three meter and half bamboo made pipe with horn of kudu in the one end combined with a big drum called *darbiya*, *Hixixiya*-about two meter long pipe made from bamboo, and *Zayyiya*- about one meter pipe made from bamboo tree and horn of a cow at the one end and played in occasions like wedding and mourning.

Generally speaking, the economic status of the *Manas* in each of my research sites is similar and I could not see any perceivable status differences even in *Dibbo* area -one of my sites where Action Aid's intervention in alleviating rural poverty is taking place. Moreover, I could not also see any particular attempts taking place by the local government to enhance the economic status of the *Manas* in each of my sites.

²³ *Tambbawaa* is a slab of baked and crudely made tobacco used by water pipe smokers.

²⁴ *Hubaywan* or *geeshabawaa* means to purify or exorcize evil things and *halayyaawantta* or *geeshahiyawantta* mean persons who are specialized in purifying or exorcizing.

5.2. Cultural status

The cultural status of *Manas* in Dawuro is often expressed in terms of their cultural and ritual roles they perform, ascribed ranks they possess, and socio-economic activities they practice. Accordingly, people usually consider them as 'qoora' or 'mana' for their possession of supposedly mystic power referred to as Evil Eye; 'tuna' for their food preferences and custom to feed on socially tabooed foods; and 'huluqqiyawantta' or 'geeshshiyawantta'²⁴ for their ritual role to exorcize evil spirits and to purify polluted things.

The notions of Evil Eye in Dawuro have intricate implications linked with a system of beliefs and perceptions of the entire society. In specific terms it is said to be a system of belief in a malicious power that is hurled through the direct stare of the person. Such a projection is believed to be willful on the one hand and involuntary on the other. However, it is believed to cause dangers that range from simple inflictions on some one's family or property to misfortunes of serious types that can endanger lives of individuals.

Apparently, the notions of evil eyes in Dawuro can be divided into two in terms of its supposed power and resultant causes. The first one is that of a serious type believed to cause serious misfortunes like death upon some one and exclusively linked with the *Mana* social group. The second one is a type of power that causes inflictions of a lesser degree and found among all social groups of Dawuro including the dominant *Maallas*.

In Dawuro, Evil Eye of the first type is locally called *qoora/mana*,²⁵ and has a lot strong implications than the common understandings linked

²⁴ *Qoora* or *mana* in this context is used to refer the supposedly evil spirit often associated with the *Mana* social groups and written in small form whereas the '*Mana*' in capital form is used to designate the *Mana* social group in this thesis.

with the term 'Evil Eye' in other parts of the country. People who are referred to as *qoora* or *mana* are believed to possess some mystic powers projected through their eyes. They are also supposed as grave raiders and people who consume the bodies of dead persons they find in the graves. Moreover, people in Dawuro believe that these people ride on or change themselves into hyenas at nights especially when they exhume graves.

In regard to this mysterious cultural status of the *Manas* different social groups in Dawuro hold differing views and beliefs. For instance, people in the locality including artisans and the *Manjjas* commonly believe that the *Manas* practice cannibalism. According to my information, this stand is not only shared by the commoners in the locality but also most of the educated groups and government officials at different levels also believe that the *Manas* eat their fellow human beings. Few individuals on the contrary, argue that the *Manas* never practice cannibalism rather some among them might have some evil powers as it is the case in other social groups.

*Gusfo Goda*²⁸ *Abayye Alanchche*, a *Maalla* elder aged 98 years is one among the individuals who believe that the *Manas* are non cannibals, explains his view as:

I have never seen that the Manas eating other human beings. How dare human beings eat human beings? I know the Manas very well. I have long established attachments with the Manas and the Manas of Madhdho too owing to my forefathers. The only thing what I know is hearing our Maallas regarding this group of people as man-eaters.

Some other elders in the locality also share the above explanation and believe that the *Manas* never practice cannibalism. *Goda Sore Qajjela*,

²⁸ *Gusfo Goda*- master of *Gusfo*, a locality in *Looma worada* of *Dawuro zone*

aged 89 and resident of *Shoota Cauula* peasant association in *Looma Worada* has the following remark.

"The Manas lived with us since the time of our great grandfathers. In this their long stay with us I could not find any one who is telling me that he saw or red handed the Manas when eating human beings. But it is common to hear rumors and hearsays that the Manas eat others. In fact it is true that some of them are Evil Eyed as it is the case in our Maalla groups."

Another group of individuals on the other hand view the matter differently and argue that the *Manas* generally possess some malevolent power that can truly endanger other social groups and they hardly believe that the *Manas* eat other people. Individuals in this category also believe that the malicious power projected through the eyes of this group of people has some strange source activated involuntarily. One of the evangelists working in one of the protestant churches explains this as; the *Manas* truly possess evil spirits that have a power to endanger others. Such spirits are not similar with the spirits that are conceived by the *magicians* in *Dawuro* and has nothing to do with cannibalistic features attributed to the *Manas*. Rather as any evil spirit does, these spirits have the power to tempt the lives of individuals as they are forces working against the divine power. Accordingly, in Christian churches they are exorcized and repelled off by rebuking and praying in the name of Jesus Christ.

However, the *Manas* on the other hand generally argue that none of them is possessing evil power endangering the other social groups and strongly protest against the general accusation claiming they are man-eaters. Among the many responses from the *Mana* social groups during my data collection, the following explanation by *Cambbala Care*, one of the *Mana* riders, is descriptive.

"For God's sake! We never eat human beings. The Maallas simply vilify our reputation slandering our social base for we are numerically inferior to them. Had we possessed such a power surely I tell you we would have eaten the whole Maallas who often torment our lives and lived freely here in Dawuro."

Similarly, the following quotation Berhe Seyoum and Woletekidan Berhane (2003:5) contains the voices of Mana elder confessing the Manas are not anthropophagous.

"From the very beginning, people considered us strange wild creatures. They believe that we ate human beings. No body would listen to or accept our arguments that we never ate fellow humans."

Due to these and other cultural attributes affiliated to the Manas, people in Dawuro fear and distance them from different social involvements and participations. The following text tells us the resultant exclusions and hostilities faced by the Manas.

"Due to the Maallas' accusation) made us feel inferior. We were not allowed to go to the schools they attend and we were excluded from social gatherings including funerals. We used to have different grave yards and we never went to places frequented by members of the majority groups. We had all this sufferings ..."

As a matter of fact, the exclusion and fear never ends by distancing them from participations and involvements in social systems rather most Manas are subjected to various persecution and murders due to their possession of supposedly malevolent power. In Dawuro, the Manas are often suspected and accused of for endangering others and usually attacked when someone got sick whether the cause of sickness is medically traceable or not.

Case eight

A person named Haile Basha from Maalla group died December 2009 in area near to my Waara site. Following the death of this person, his relatives suspected the Mana pupils who are living in neighboring rooms rented from the other Maalla. Accordingly, they took an attack against the three Mana students on 18th December 2009 night and severely beaten and injured. The students wailed out amidst the attack and consequently some neighbors appeared and enabled them to flee and hide themselves in the nearby protestant church. Finally, the student could manage to report to the police officers and brought the case to court though the court decided one year imprisonment on the defendants.

Moreover, people also consider them as anti-social beings having some covert ties with some supernatural forces. For instance, it is common to hear curses like *neena manay mool!*- let the spirit of the *mana* touch you or *neena Manay xeello!*- let a *mana* gaze at you or *manan gaketta!*-let the *mana* spirit find you etc in instances when some one gets disappointed and wishes for harm to come to somebody. So, each of the curses pointed above are often uttered to wish misfortunes upon someone boldly suggests the staunch belief of the *Manas'* possession of strange and malevolent power.

Culturally, the Dawuro society uses indigenous mechanisms of protection and cure in connection with inflictions resulting from *mana* or *qoora* spirits. People in the locality often use different aromatic herbs like *tur* (*Putugraseolena*) to test whether a sick person is endangered by *qoora* spirit or not. After identification, individuals who have special knowledge in healing such cases are consulted. They usually prepare such medicines from different herbs in a very secretive way so as to not be noticed by others. It is widely believed that after smelling the medicine, the victim is supposed to declare when, where, and how the *Mana* spirit found her or him. Finally, a medicine prepared from different herbs is

sewed together with a piece of fabric and worn around the neck of the victim as a precautionary measure or protection against any further evil or negative forces emanating from such spirits.

The second type of Evil Eye in Dawuro, on the other hand, is often referred to as *äta ayifiya* or *asayifiya*-to mean bad or strange eye and better refer to unfriendly or envious look in general and replacing the English version termed 'Evil Eye'. Evil Eye infliction of this type is usually expressed in different ways and believed to cause different misfortunes. Some of the resultant implications are scabies or itches on the bodies of good looking children, causing food to stick in the throat, changing the color of milk in the udder of the cow into blood, dries up crops in the field, bring disagreements between intimate friends, etc. In Dawuro's cultural setting ill fates resulted from Evil Eyed people are exorcized and reversed by some cultural mechanisms like wearing or fixing some apotropaic amulets made from different seeds, stones, or plants around the neck of a victim or on objects suspected. Moreover, the amulets or talisman in this regard is also supposed to provide protection and against evil, injury, disease, or any bad luck.

Another cultural dimension through which the life of potters in Dawuro is represented is, the notion of 'tuna'- pollution or spiritual impurity and its resultant 'pala'-excluding from the social system. As I attempted to describe earlier and as it is the case in other neighboring Omotic states Tsehai (1994), Pankhurst and Freeman (2001) such a status is predominantly based on their food preferences. As a result, the *Manas* in Dawuro are usually accused of feeding culturally tabooed foods like *bakato*- an animal not slaughtered in the dominant *Maalls'* style, carrion or carcasses and flesh of some wild beasts like swine and hippopotamus. Each of these things is considered as 'impure' among the commoners albeit few farmers from the *Maalla* group secretly consume hippopotamus for its supposed healing power from certain diseases.

Accordingly, the *Manas* are culturally viewed as 'tuna' and hence physically distanced from any possible contacts with the upper classes. Such an action is locally called '*pila*'-distancing or exclusion and any contact made with them is believed to cause spiritual impurity and misfortune called '*gomiya*' unless cleaned by some ritual purifications.

On the contrary, *Manas* in Dawuro are considered as specialized individuals possessing mystic power in warding off evil spirits and purifying impurities. Such an instance is usually called *mecussa* or *hulluqusa* - purifying cultural pollution and averting the resultant misfortunes. It is the *Waata* groups of the *Mana* group who are assumed to have special knowledge and covert powers in purifying spiritual misfortunes and impurities.

Ritual purifications in Dawuro in general are considered as a magic bullet for a difficult problems resulting from cultural impurities and can be performed in different ways. One of the cultural purification methods is using land as a means of purification. In regard to this, a tunnel with entry and exit is usually dug underground and a sacrificial animal's blood usually a heifer is prepared and placed at the exit. Thus, a person need to be purified has to enter at the one end to pass through the tunnel and need to be bathed in sacrificial blood placed on the other end. Hence, such a process is widely recognized as cultural remedy that purifies a person from his transgression and averts the resultant misfortunes.

The Dawuros have also cultural mechanisms to purify material impurities like polluted houses. Having sex in someone's residence notably in grass roofed houses is often considered as a polluting deed and needs to be purified. For instance, residence of this type is purified through stabbing a sacrificial animal and throwing it out of the polluted house through newly opened outlet in the wall.

Another type of purification method is done by the *Manas* themselves notably the *Waata* group of the *Manas*. The *waatas* as I tried to mention earlier are *Mana* groups who have at least relatively good interaction among the *Maallaz* and some times considered as less harmful than other *Manas*. Regardless of their polluting power, this group of *Mana* usually purifies polluted land, instrument, or domestic article by blowing *zayyiya* accompanied by fumigating and cleaning by leaves of certain plants.

Apart from this, the *Manas* notably the *Waatas* are considered as experts and naturally endowed groups of people in circumcision, uvelectomy-cutting *uvula*, and for their knowledge of some 'traditional' medicines for which they are paid in money and food staffs. In this regard they possess a cultural status of relative vitality and importance in which at least they have space and opportunity to have some cultural contact with the *Maallaz*.

The cultural dichotomy linked with the lives of the *Manas* i.e., exorcisers of evil spirits and providers of different services to the society on the one hand and 'polluted' and 'impure' members of the society on the other makes them people of controversial cultural statuses and identities.

5.3. Social status

The life and social status of the *Manas* in the broader Dawuro society is at the rock bottom and often characterized by exclusions that range from banning them from social involvements and participations to complete avoidances from any social and physical contacts. In most cases, the *Manas* are considered as sub-human and people who lack social and spiritual values to conform the norms, values and codes of the host Dawuro society.

In years during the imperial period, these groups of people were not allowed to be involved in common social institutions like *shufuwa*-local money saving association and *seera*²⁷-local burial associations. Furthermore, they were also banned from village level work groups like *daguwa* and *zawiya*²⁸.

However, such discriminations have been declining to a certain extent and showing eminent changes in spite of violence and persecutions resulting from 'their possession of Evil Eyes'. My informants also reported that the situation was relatively good in *Derg* regime due to an egalitarian type of government's social and economic doctrine as compared with other regimes. Most of my respondents from potter group believe that the time was at least good for them by providing spaces to take part in involving village level associations and different activities with *Maalla* farmers. However, the involvement was not taking place by the full consent of the two parties rather it was suppressive to the *Maallas* to recognize social equality.

Evidently, most *Manas* on the other hand believe that the changes brought by Protestantism are immense and had perceivable role in mitigating the exclusion even though the situation is still tough and remaining as it was in most regards. Tesfaye Coote, a *Mana* evangelist from *Shoofta* PA of *Looma wonda* explains the point:

*"Thanks to God! Due to the spread of 'wongel'*²⁹ *some Maallas have started to freed with us, attend churches together, allow us to involve in local associations all of which were completely unthinkable in years before couples*

²⁷ *Seera* is basically local burial association but some times used as work association notably in construction of houses and maintaining village security.

²⁸ *Daguwa* and *zawiya* are communal work groups of differing members. *Daguwa* often consists of relatively larger members and *zawiya* has fewer ones usually arranged in terms of intimacy and neighbourhood.

²⁹ Among the local people the spread of Protestantism is mostly referred as 'wongel'.

of decades. Moreover, we started to borrow and lend each other money and other agricultural implements in spite of tough situations between us and non protestant Maallas."

However, it is also reported that exclusions of lesser degree are there between Christian *Maallas* and *Manas* in providing church services and interactions among the followers. I was informed that the *Maallas* often do not like to sit together with the *Manas* in churches. Moreover, the *Maallas* commonly harass and distance them by rebuking terms like 'be Jesus son' to mean In Jesus's name, even if they are followers of the same church.

Social exclusions experienced by the *Manas* are also common in schools, medical centers, markets, jails, and some other service giving centers. For instance, the *Mana* children rarely attend schools due to continuous abuses, persecutions and tortures. Sometimes, they are seriously beaten and subjected to painful physical injuries in some of the schools they attend. The *Mana* school children also rate the abuses and insults experienced at school levels as equally and some times more painful than physical injuries and tortures experienced by *Manas* in other social contexts.

Case nine

*Lensubinesh Kanito is 5th grade student at Shoota Cauwala Full Primary School. She explained to me that she is experiencing different kinds of exclusions like beating, unwillingness to sit together in class room seats, frequent affronts and slurs, and severe scolds accusing them of possessing evil eyes and practicing cannibalism. Moreover, she also explained that the *Maalla* school children often display their contempt and disapproval by staring at them.*

Apart from this, the *Manas* also experience dehumanizing exclusions in market places. As I mentioned earlier the *Manas* sell their wares in

isolated locations some 50 to 100ms away from the main market centers and exchange their products in a much frightened conditions in which mouthful of abuses and scolds are common. Accordingly I was able to observe the *Manas* who were selling their wares in a distant position from the market in *Tarcca* and *Woldahne* markets³⁰.

Social exclusions of the *Manas* are also common in prison institutions. In such instances the *Manas* are not allowed to share sleeping places with the *Maallas* and usually thrown to peeing and rubbish disposing sections with in the rooms. Moreover, persecutions and harassments are also recurrent in such areas. Though there are other recent ones, the following case happened in Dawuro zone's prison administration before two years is suggestive.

Case ten

Bekele Atero is a *Mana* prisoner in *Tarcca* prison administration of *Dawuro* zone. Two years before i.e., in the year 2000 EC one of the *Maalla* prisoner got sick and collapsed suddenly due to *Malaria*. The other *Maallas* openly suspected and agreed that the cause of the sickness is *mana* spirit projected through the eyes of *Bekele*. Accordingly, one night the *Maalla* prisoners in his room opened an attack against him and hurt him severely. According to my information from the victim himself and some statements from the first instance court in *Tarcca* town, a group of six *Maalla* individuals were involved in such incidence. They together tied his hands and legs with rope, shaved his hair, flogged him severely, tore his body by blade and generally caused tragic injury.

In most cases the *Manas* do not have common burial and residential places shared with the *Maalla* and it is another channel through which social status of the *Manas* is defined. Accordingly, the bodies of *Manas* usually never entombed in common burial places with the dominant

³⁰ *Tarcca* is the center of *Dawuro* zone and *Woldahne* is former center of *Genna* Woreda

Maallas rather they are buried in separate cemeteries. Perhaps, the only exception in this regard is the case in the *Shoota* area of *Looma Worada*. The bodies of the *Manas* in this locality are buried in one compound but still in a separate plot of land with in the compound. In other words, they have common burial compound with *Maallas* but deeply speaking they are allowed to use separate graveyard with in the same burial compound. The graveyard allocated to the *Manas* in this compound is situated lower to the *Maallas*' in the way symbolizing the lower social status of the *Manas* in their actual life.

Apart from this, in *Maalla* burial ceremony the *Manas* are not allowed to touch and carry the *Maalla*'s corpse for the supposed fear of pollution even after death. Thus their role is rather limited to digging the grave blowing some wind instruments to announce the death and transporting implements used to dig the grave.

Furthermore, according to my observation and interview with concerned individuals, no *Mana* in *Dawuro* has urban residence in both long sustained and newly established urban centers in the zone. Truthfully, no affirmative action is also taking place there to reverse the history in allowing them to settle in urban centers so as to benefit them available life options found in urban centers.

Moreover, the *Manas* are not equally entitled to attend and utilize public services like schools, clean water projects, health centers and other basic infrastructures available in their localities. For instance, it is unusual to hear and find such service centers in *Maanas* hamlets rather they are built on the proximal locations of the *Maalla* houses. Such an irregularity in the availability of basic social services conveys the subordinated social statuses possessed by the two groups.

For instance, one of the *Mana* elders had told me that the *Maalla* officials at the *Worada* and peasant association level never allow such centers to

be built on the Mana hamlets. He explained such unfair preference in his own words;

"For instance, Dibbo Shamenna primary school was initially agreed to be built on our (the Manas) village. But, a certain man from the Maalla group strongly resisted the matter and has shifted it to the Maalla's village as you see over there. Similarly, before a year a spring here on our nearby was selected to be included in the water project and developed. However the peasant association representatives rejected the idea and shifted the budget to some other spring near the Maallas' village for reasons we do not know".

In some instances the Manas are also not allowed to fetch water from the same springs with the Maallas. They are often prevented from such communal use of resources like potable water and pasture.

Case eleven

In Dibbo area of Genna there are two springs side by side. One of the springs is pure and well protected from animals and the other with water contaminating agents. The other one is a bit contaminated and less preferable by people to drink. Due to status inequality and eminent exclusions in the locality, the first one is exclusively left for Maallas. And the Manas are restricted to fetch from the second one which is equally accessible to both animals and the Manas.

The Mana family is often characterized by negative stereotypes like shameless, full of complaints, cruel, family who has no respect to others, extravagant, etc. For instance, the following Dawuro's saying is commonly uttered to designate one of this attributes as;

Mana maatanne hariya moctu duxxi erenna.

A Mana and a donkey's complaints are never ending.

In the saying the Dawuros usually stereotype the Manas as people who always express discontent, full of complaints and quick to grumble.

The *Manas* are also distanced and excluded from the broader social stratum as people who speak different language than the common Dawuro language. The *Manas* have special variant of language used to communicate secretly among them. They call this language *Dinkkiya* *qaala*- language of the *Dinkkiya*²¹ for which they acknowledge them as founders of the language. It has well developed vocabularies and meaning full system of communication even though its vitality is declining among the younger generation.

Regarding its origin and form, some scholars like Bahilu abebe and Data Dea in Freeman and Pankhurst (2001:136) argued that the argot of *Manas* is formed from Amharic and Dawuro languages. Moreover, they attempted to show word similarities and meaning attributes between the *Manas* argot and the two languages i.e., *Dawurothuwa* (Dawuro language) and Amharic by taking some few terms as;

'The argot has modified words from Amharic and Dawuro languages. For instance: injiwa 'child' from Amharic inj; kauchiya 'hand' from Dawuro kauchiya, Abuchiya 'father' from Amharic abbat; diima 'night' from Dawuro dhuuma'

However, I saw some deviations and contradictions against the remarks made by Bahilu and Data. Evidently, many of the vocabularies of the *Manas* argot do not show structural modifications and linguistic correspondences with vocabularies in the two languages. The great majority of the vocabularies in the *Manas* language rather show both morphological and semantic differences. For instance, in the following groups of words from the *Manas* language one can see both semantic and morphological variations as compared with the two languages.

²¹ Group of people who are specialists in playing *dinkkiya*- Dawuro's cultural musical instrument made from bamboo tree and horn of kudu usually played by a group of four individuals.

Table there: the Mana words and their respective meanings in Dawuro, Amharic and English languages.

Mana	Dawuro	Amharic	English
appeniya	kuttuwa	doro	hen
bulaliya	miya or miizza	ke'bt	cattle
habbiwa	kawuwa	mengist	government
kashiliya	mithaa	enchet	wood
lefequwa	oyissa	qibe	butter
pelenchibataa	deeshsha	fiyel	goat
qolxiya	boyina	godare	taro
zhafadiya	gaashiya	teff	teff

Table there: the Mana words and their corresponding meanings in Dawuro, Amharic and English languages

According to my additional word collections from Mana argot, most of the vocabularies used show significant variation from both Dawuro and Amharic languages and constitute distinct form of communication.

On the other hand, it is also undeniable that some words in the Mana argot have some morphological and semantic unity with the two languages as indicated by the previous researchers. However, it does not seem sufficient to hold strong position in either similarities or differences among the languages before conducting further scientific investigations.

In summary, the Manas possess lower social status and some times considered as sub human as well as anti-social on the one hand and they have some positive attributes and life dimensions on the other.

Some of these attributes are generally considered as trustworthy people who never lie and steal some others property. In spite of the many oral traditions that mirror exclusion in most regards, the Dawuro's also have popular saying of inclusion like the following regarding the trustfulness of the *Manas*.

Mani wordidoti, Deeshshi aafoti?

As the goat never falls at a cliff, a Mana ever lies.

The underlying meaning conveyed via the above saying witnesses to the reliability of *Mana* social groups in the world of eminent social exclusion. In summary, the extent of social exclusion and segregation varies from place to place and highly dependent on the size of the *Mana* population living in the area. In other words, the extent of exclusion is lesser in places where there is relatively larger population of the *Manas*. Conversely, social exclusion is more frequent and severe in areas where the *Manas* are fewer in numbers and sparsely settled. For instance, the *Manas* in *Nhoota* and *Dibbo* villages have households exceeding 50 and 80 respectively and experiencing lesser exclusion as compared with my other site, *Waara*, which has 5 to 10 households.

Furthermore, I was also realized that social exclusion is harsher in areas closer to political centers than remotest locations. For instance, very awful and serious cases are recurrently occurred in *Waara*- my nearest site to the Dawuro zone's political center and hence I could not find out any improvements related with proximity to political centers as compared with my other sites located farther.

5.4. Political status

According to oral traditions of Dawuro, the *Manas* had influential posts in the 'traditional' political office of Dawuro. For instance, as stated by one of the *Mana* elders, the *Manas* had the office of *Woraba* and *Irasha*, the second and third most influential political offices next to the king in

the then political organization of the Dawuro. The two brothers named *Woraba Daachchu Ashare* and *Dagaga Ashare, Irasha Batala Bajjura*, and *Ganda Dayyasa Masaru* were prominent *Manas* who had good political reputation in years before the imperial ages.

As the *Maalla* officials of identical titles, the potter *Worabas* and *Irashas* were responsible officers for the regular collection of royal taxes and earthenware goods demanded by the aristocracy. They were given a fief for their quick collection of taxes. Accordingly those officials who were good in mobilizing and coordinating the public under their authority were promoted to more influential posts and prized resources like fief.

On the contrary, currently, the *Manas* are deprived from any political involvements and usually not treated equally with *Maalla* farmers before the law. They are not assigned to political posts and responsibilities at any administrative levels. For instance, according to my information obtained from the field, no *Mana* is holding government authority either as a chair man at peasant association level or as one of cabinet member in zonal and *worada* political offices. However, few *Manas* are serving as militias at village levels in certain areas. Perhaps this is the only political status enjoyed by the young *Manas* in Dawuro.

Concerning the number of *Mana* civil servants employed in government departments, they are very few in number and some times considered as odd to raise such a question. However, I heard from my informants that only eight *Manas* are recruited as civil servants in the government departments of Dawuro. Among these six are police members of whom three are working in *Maraqqa*, two in *Looma*, and one in *Tocca Woradas* police offices. The remaining two persons are store keepers in *Aashsho Dallachchu Full Primary school of Genna Worada* and *Genddo Secondary School of Maaraqqa Worada*.

Regarding the legal protection and their human and legal rights, the *Manas* are at the edge and subjected to different abuses and tortures. The *Manas* community often faces serious kinds of physical and mental harassments that range from severe inflictions and injury upon their body to actions that end in murders.

5.5. Status hierarchy and structure

As there is perceivable hierarchical difference and structure in the broader Dawuro society there is also hierarchical differences and structures among the *Manas*. The status hierarchy among the *Manas* is based on the type of wares the women produce, the social status of their patrons, clanship, and political positions both in the past and present, religion, food preferences, and statuses ascribed by *Maalla* farmers.

Accordingly, those *Manas* women who usually produce small types of wares like clay cup, receptacle of water pipe, whorl of spindle, and others is demeaned by those *Manas* who produce big earthen wares. Likewise, some *Manas* who are under the patronship of *Maalla* man of good reputation claim better place than those ones whose patron was relatively inferior. In 'traditional' political organization of Dawuro, rulers of the society at different levels had different political ranks ranging from ranks immediate to the king to posts that operate in the lower village levels. Accordingly, those *Manas* who had politically influential ranks in years before the incorporation usually claim better statuses than those ones who had not. Moreover, kin of those *Manas* who had chance to hold political positions in the then political offices of Dawuro often claim good social statuses than those *Manas* who had not.

Case twelve

Azalech Ayissa, a great grand son of Woraba Daachchu Ashare- an influential Mana of one of the Dausuro kings lived in Waaka area, assumes herself as a Mana of superior brand due to her decent from the popular Mana Woraba¹²

Being a member and descendent of a certain clan that has relatively good recognition among the *Maallas* is another means through which status hierarchy among the *Manas* is established. Similarly, types of religion the *Manas* subscribe to and food choices among them are also other defining elements through which status hierarchy is expressed. In other words, followers of Christian Churches notably Protestantism and Catholic churches, *Manas* of relatively good wealth, and whose dietary preference is more or less similar to *Maalla* farmers often enjoy better social statuses.

Moreover, between the two main groups of the *Manas* i.e., the *Waata Mana* and *Itta Mana*, the *Waa'as* enjoy better social status than the *Itta Manas*. This is because, the *Waa'as* are generally considered as harmless and hence better affiliated with the dominant *Maallas* unlike the *Itta Manas* who are often considered as Evil Eyed social groups.

Manas are also subordinated internally in terms of assumed mystic powers possession. Some *Manas* believe that some of them possess evil eyes not only dangerous to the fellow *Maallas* but also to the *Manas* themselves. They often accuse clans like *Maashadhhiya* possessing evil eyes that have potential power to endanger others. For instance some *Manas* allege the *Mashadhhiya* clan of *manas* for possessing evil eyes that

¹² *Woraba* is a local political title and the second influential position next to king in the traditional political organization of *Dausuro* before the incorporation of the kingdom into the *Ethiopian* empire. However, *Worabas* from *Mana* group is exclusively entitled to represent the *Manas* and had not to other social groups whose rulers and representatives were organized in a parallel manner.

can turn milk into blood, cause scabies on the skin of good looking children, and some times cause crops dry if they look enviously at it.

5.6. Relationships of the *Manas*

The *Manas* exhibit different relationships with different classes across the social strata of Dawuro. Their relationships across the strata ranges from extreme avoidance at the top with the *Maalla* social group to the bottom line in which status rivalry with *Manjja* social group is frequent.

Regarding the *Manas* relations with the *Maalla*, the *Maallas* usually call the *Manas* as 'Masa' or 'Qora' and conversely the *Manas* call the *Maalla* 'Anba'. The terms attributed to the *Manas* by the *Maallas* have connotations signifying subordinate positions and alleged conceptions linked to the lives of *Manas* whereas the term attributed to the *Maallas* by the *Manas* is secret term from their secret argot.

Maallayenne harti bi bi yooysi wodhabe.

Maalla and donkey betray amidst good companion.

However, the *Maalla-Mana* relationship is more of a patron-client type and usually signifies a pronounced exclusion and status difference between the two. *Manas* have a bit similar relationship with other marginalized groups like smiths and tanners though these groups of people are hierarchically subordinated from the upper *Maalla* groups. But the relationship between *Manas* and *Manjjas* is a bit different than other groups discussed above. The relationship between these two groups is a kind of dichotomous one in which the *Manjjas* suspect and exclude the *Manas* for their mystic power possession and cannibalistic practices in the one hand. And the *Manas* on the other hand demean the *Manjjas* for their socially tabooed food preferences, even though, both groups are accused of eating 'impure' foods. For instance the *Manas* groups are accused of eating porcupine, colobus monkey, and some

small birds like *susuniya*-sparrow in spite of other foods preferred by both groups in common and generally tabooed by the *Maallas*.

Considering the existing relationships among themselves, the *Manas* have relationships that mark status difference and categories that signify inequalities as discussed under the section 'political statuses' in this chapter of the thesis.

5.7. Recent Developments and Changes

According to oral traditions of Dawuro, the *Manas* had better socio-political status before the incorporation of the kingdom into the Ethiopian empire in the year 1889. During these years the *Manas* had enjoyed important political statuses that offered them an autonomous leadership in which the *Manas* would enable to represent and govern themselves.

Moreover, they were recruited policemen in the then political administration of Dawuro and had memorable deeds in accordance with their post. The *Manas* policemen were said to be very trustful and well known persecutors of individuals who revolted against the king. Seid (2007: 17) explains this point as:

'The Manas had strong intimacy with the divine kings of Dawro. They served the king as palace and prison guards as well as executors of the king's judgments.'

It is also reported that, among the multiple gates of the then royal palace of Dawuro, one gate was named *Manas miika*-gate of potters which was said to be the gate through which criminals were taken by the *Manas* soldiers and executed.

During the imperial years, that is years followed the incorporation the *Manas* and other social groups including the *Maallas* were subjected to

new form of political organization in which the immigrant *Amhara* rulers controlled the upper political and economic statuses. Accordingly, the upper most social stratum of Dawuro's social hierarchy was held by the new comers and the already existing social strata constituted the hierarchy in a descending order as *Maalla*, *Wogaciya*, *Degela*, *Mana* and the *Manjas* at the bottom. Data (1997) states such an instance as:

*'This is a stratum composed of ruling *naftenga* which was superimposed on the Dawuro local classificatory scheme after the area was placed under the political domination of the Amhara led Ethiopian 'feudal system' in the late 19th century. Because social status was highly correlated with political offices, the *naftenga* elites in Dawuro assumed the highest position in the pyramid of social stratification... Right after the incorporation the *naftenga*, as governors, had the upper hand in administration and privileged access to land.'*

Following the 1974 national revolution, certain changes occurred due to changes in government's policy. The *naftegna* based dominance was replaced by the indigenous *Maallas* and the social hierarchy of Dawuro was once again turned to its earlier form. Data (Ibid) further mentions the power shift from *naftenga* to the indigenous *Maallas*;

*'The 1974 revolution forced *naftenga*, most of whom were born in Dawuro, to become ordinary farmers. Although many had capitalized on land ownership before the Derg regime, the socialist revolution dispossessed them of their political power and much of their land.'*

Accordingly, the *Maallas*, once again, were entitled to possess the upper most strata followed by the rest of the social groups who constituted the descending orders.

The 1975 land reformation in the national politics of the country had at least benefited land ownership rights to the *Manas* and altered the long sustained patron-client based land possession system to a certain extent.

Furthermore, it is also believed by most of my informants that due to the egalitarian type of government policy during *Derg* regime the *Manas* had also the chance to participate in different village level associations. However, the master servant relationship between the *Maallas* and the *Manas* persisted secretly though they were entitled to possess the most fundamental asset i.e., land and allowed to take part in different associations.

Coming to the EPRDF's³³ period the life of *Manas* can be viewed in terms of contradictions and extremities. In other words, they are generally subjected to extreme discriminations and right violations on the one hand and characterized by increased participations and involvements in different social institutions and village level associations on the other. For the extreme right violations and severe discrimination the *Manas* mostly accuse the local administration and reluctant government policy. They further added that the government's policy of EPRDF regime is weak in maintaining social equality at local levels. They also argued the *Maalla* based political structure in the locality and lack of appropriate representation in different political structures ranging from PA level to House of Representatives as other important reasons for their worsened life conditions. The following quote from Behailu and Data in Freeman and Parkhurst (2001:125) is illustrative.

'After the coming of Ethiopian peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front ...the hostility against the Manas is increased during this period, and they were banned from attending the big weekly market in Waka town.'

As stated above it is true that the *Manas* in some areas of Dawuro are barred from selling their wares on big markets. It is also common to hear severe exclusions experienced by *Manas* in market places and in areas including government institutions.

³³ *Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front*

On the contrary, they appreciate social changes followed the recent spread of Protestantism for it enabled them to take part in different social activities and institutions. As a matter of fact, the *Manas* are right in this regard. I was able to observe considerable number of *Manas* attending both protestant and catholic churches with the dominant *Maallas* in different parts of Dawuro. Moreover, it is also a recent trend to find *Manas* who are involved in share cropping and share raising arrangements with the *Maallas* as each of which arrangements was rare before couples of decades. Furthermore, I was also able to observe some *Maallas* started to enter and eat in *Mana* houses while such practices were considered as social taboo in previous years.

Economically speaking some *Manas* are showing perceivable kind of progress. For instance, some of them own corrugated iron roofed houses and pair of plow oxen, sending their children to schools, and started to produce honey and cash crops like coffee to diversify their income sources despite the unremitting fears and suspicions with the *Maallas*.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

Attempts have been made to assess the dimensions and extents of social exclusion and the resultant life conditions of the *Manas* in the socio-cultural milieu of Dawuro. The assessment has been specifically focused on origin, kinship, family and marriage; possession of fundamental resources like agricultural land, rural livelihoods manifested through production and exchanges and different statuses possessed by the *Manas*. Moreover, the study tried to come out with analysis on their relationship among different social groups across the broader social hierarchy, visible differences that distinguish them from others and recent developments and progresses occurring on their lives.

Accordingly, the life of potters in Dawuro is characterized by two extremities. They are group of people excluded from the broader society and subjected to multifaceted social inequalities and right violations on the one hand. They are contributing indispensable socio-cultural roles essential for the general stability and continuity of the majority groups and hence whose presence in the society is very important on the other.

Regarding their adverse life conditions, the *Mana* social groups in Dawuro are considered as sub-human and constitute the lower social stratum in which social inequality and right violations are pronounced. Such an inferior status possessed by the *Manas* has both mythological and social constructions schemed to uphold master-serf bondage in the entire society. Moreover, such a puzzle is fused through their entire lives and manifested through differing life practices.

They are usually considered as inferior to others and created to serve the society through their occupation and other services they often deliver.

Marriage with other social groups is generally forbidden and they are restricted to marry only from their *Manas* groups. Submissive greetings to *Maallas* and taking lower paths while crossing the road are other channels through which social inequality of the *Manas* is expressed. Sitting together in public gatherings, shaking hands, entering the house, feeding on the same utensils, and making eye to eye contacts with the *Maallas* and other upper groups are generally forbidden to most of the *Manas* even today. Moreover, they are also distanced from equal rights to possess land and livestock, to be employed in government offices, taking leadership positions and political assignments, attending public gatherings, schools, markets, funerals, and sharing common burial places with the *Maallas*.

They are also not treated equally with *Maallas* before the law in courts and other government owned areas. They are generally accused of possessing evil powers often projected through their eyes and as a result blamed for endangering the health and lives of *Maallas*. Consequently, they are frequently abused, beaten and some times killed by violent attacks from the *Maallas*. Furthermore, their houses are sometimes set on fire and in certain instances they are forced to leave their permanent residences.

Generally, they are considered as anti social beings that exhume graves and consume the body they find therein. Apart from this, they are in most instances accused of riding and changing themselves into hyena when they exhume graves and hence feared by almost all the groups in the social hierarchy of Dawuro.

Economically speaking, these groups of people are subjected to abject poverty witnessed through their living standards. For instance, they live in dilapidated grass roofed houses constructed from reeds of certain plants that sustain no longer periods. Their children are malnourished,

pale and seen physically weak as compared with the *Maallas'*. Some *Manas* are wearing torn out clothes and leading their lives under miserable conditions. Most of them possess depleted and rugged agricultural land that yields scanty production. The great majority of them are suffering from lack of plow oxen and as result are serfs on *Maalla* farms and earning their daily subsistence from there.

Politically, they are group of people who lack government's attention and focus even as compared with the *Manjjas* who constitute the last social stratum in complicated social hierarchy of Dawuro. The *Manjjas*, unlike the *Manas*, are not experiencing physical tortures and executions even though they constitute the lowest social status and are the most despised social groups in the social hierarchy of Dawuro. It is only the *Manas* group experiencing extreme right violations that range from simple persecutions to severe torments and some times murders. Thus, in regard to the extent and frequency of inflictions experienced, I would venture to say the *Manas* are the most marginalized social groups than any other marginal groups in the social hierarchy of Dawuro.

Culturally, they are people who are supposed to cause pollution on other social groups notably on the *Maallas*. They are often feared and distanced from the main society due to the resultant misfortunes following any contacts made with them. This group of people is frequently accused of feeding on *bakuta*- a body of an animal not slaughtered in the *Maallas* style and eating wild beasts like hippopotamus and swine. These are foods generally considered as *tuna-impure* among the majority and accordingly any one who eats these items is supposed to be polluted and has a potency to pollute others.

Considering some of the important roles of the *Manas* social groups, they produce clay products that are vital in the daily life of the population in fulfilling the demand of domestic utensils, warding off evil spirits,

carrying out circumcision, killing crop damaging pests, announcers of funerals and meetings, and currying out different duties that are not easily tried by the *Maallas*.

Apart from this, the *Manas* had served as the most entrusted palace guards and executioners of royal judgments in 'traditional' political organization of Dawuro.

In spite of such dichotomies on the lives of *Manas*, certain changes and progresses have been occurring in their lives in the last couples of decades. Accordingly, some *Manas* have managed to shift from grass rooded houses to corrugated iron roofed houses. Others have also been able to possess agricultural plots of land due to the land reformation policy brought by the *Derg* regime in the third quarter of 20th century. Others also have begun to send their children to schools so as to orient them through modern education.

Moreover, due to the recent spread and subsequent influence of Christian churches, notably, Protestant and Catholic churches in the area, the life of *Manas* is promisingly advancing. For instance, due to these progresses some *Maallas* have started to eat, work, and participate together with the *Manas* in different social occasions.

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Appendices

Appendix I: List of Informants

No.	Name	Age	Sex	Social group	Worada
1	Abayye Allanchche	98	M	Maalla	Looma
2	Abbaynesh Abbadhura	38	F	Mana	Looma
3	Addayye Onkkile	100	M	Mana	Genna
4	Adino Umbullo	65	M	Mana	Tocca
5	Aliyye Ashsha	55	M	Mana	Tocca
6	Anddi Jorgga	72	F	Mana	Tocca
7	Ataro Ashsha	52	M	Mana	Tocca
8	Ayyele Areru	49	M	Mana	Genna
9	Baqala Araro	38	M	Mana	Tocca
10	Battala Bajjura	125	M	Mana	Looma
11	Battala Buukullo	39	M	Mana	Looma
12	Birhanu Dubale	32	M	Maalla	Genna
13	Uro Bongga	92	M	Maalla	Looma
14	Milkkaiyas Manu	17	M	Mana	Looma
15	Azalech Ayissa	32	F	Mana	Looma
16	Marttan Eyyasu	27	F	Mana	Looma
17	Hanqqamo Manu	65	M	Mana	Looma
18	Tesfaye Coote	54	M	Mana	Looma
19	Raggassa Batala	43	M	Mana	Genna
20	Sore Qajjela	102	M	Maalla	Looma
21	Gammu Gadayye	71	M	Maalla	Genna
22	Zannaba Olttayye	63	M	Maalla	Looma
23	Hanxxote Connu	46	F	Maalla	Tocca
24	Ugudo Marufo	34	M	Mana	_____
25	Taariku Worabo	40	M	Mana	Tocca

26	Tamenech Ashsha	38	F	Mana	Looma
27	Daachche Coramo	36	F	Mana	Looma
28	Zewudinesh Kanito	16	F	Mana	Looma
29	Hadaro Haile	56	M	Maalla	Genna
30	Mengistu Sore	34	M	Maalla	Looma
31	Batissa Batala	48	M	Maalla	Tocca
32	Azalech Ayissa Baalla	48	F	Mana	Genna
33	Haile Halabo	57	M	Maalla	Tocca
34	Asegedech Tolbba	46	F	Maalla	Genna
35	Maalime Yaaya	63	F	Maalla	Toocca
36	Uuta Ukkullo	65	M	Maalla	Tocca

Appendix II: List of photographs



A Mana woman digging out clay soil: Dibbo village, Genna Worada



A Mana woman kneading clay: Dibbo village, Genna Worada



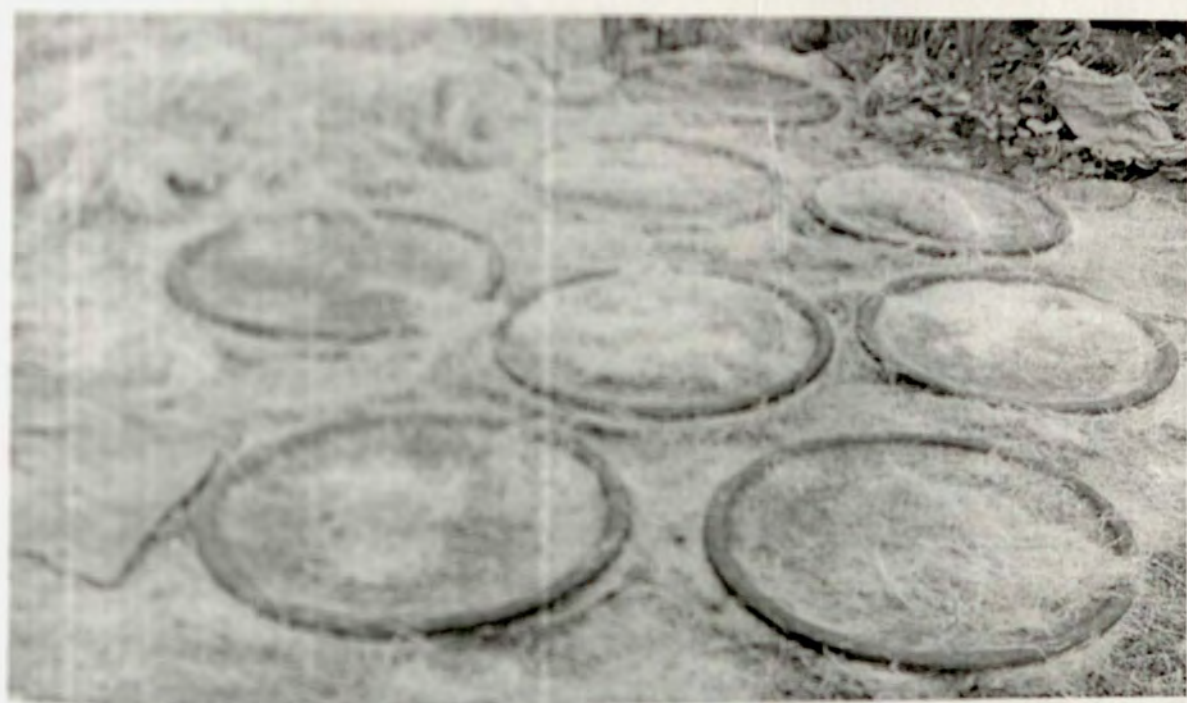
A Mana woman shaping her clay: Looma Worada, Shoota village



A Mana woman scrapping her wares



A Muna woman with her fired pots: Tocca Worada, Waara village



Clay plates ready to be fired: Waara, Tocca Worada



Some of the implements used in clay production



*Potters selling wares in isolation from the main market: Genna worada,
Widdhane market.*



A Mualia woman (right) buying clay product



During interview and discussion with Mana men: Tocca Worada, Waara village



Group discussion with Mana males: Dibbo village, Genna Worada



Group discussion with Mana students: Shoota full primary school, Loom Worada



Interview with Sore Qajjela, Maalla elder: Shoota village Looma Worada



Raggassa Butala, a Mana man and his bee hives: Dibbo village, Genna Worada



Irasha Babula Bajiura: 125 years old Mana elder; Dibbo village, Genna Worada



A Mana woman and her droopy children near her dilapidated house



A mana man: Tereca Worada, Waara peasant association



Hangyama Mana, a Mana man and some of his families: Looma Worada, Shoota peasant association.



A Mana crop field: Looma Wiruwa, Shooa area



Duortya: Mana's crop heap stacked on trunks of big tree in front yard



Uligeo - Maize 's crop pile stored for future use



Bekie Arera (left) and his prison mates: Turcca prison office



A Mana man blowing zayyiya- local wind instrument



The Mana girl boiling boyina- taro near Waara

Declaration

I the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all the sources of material used in this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Dubale Gebeyehu

Signature: 

Date: June, 2010