

**LIVELIHOODS AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP OF POTTERY
PRODUCING COMMUNITY OF KOFFELE DISTRICT, WEST ARSI
ZONE**

BY: LENCHO SAMUEL

**THESIS SUBMITTED TO ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY, SCHOOL OF
SOCIAL WORK IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF MASTERS OF
SOCIAL WORK (MSW) DEGREE**

JUNE 2012

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ADVISOR: MAMO HEBO (PhD.)

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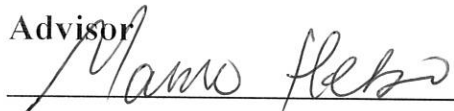
**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK**

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BY: LENCHO SAMUEL

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2. Examiner

3. Examiner


Signature


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Abstract

Throughout Ethiopia there are craft workers who are marginalized by the dominant society yet playing significant role in the lives of non craft workers. This study has attempted to look at the livelihoods and social relationship of pottery producing community of Koffele district. It is qualitative research with the aim of fresh, complex, rich descriptions of a phenomenon. The data was collected from twelve pottery producers selected using snowball sampling and five non potters selected purposive sampling by using semi structured interviews and observation. All the interviews were tape recorded, transcribed manually, translated to English, analyzed thematically and presented in descriptive manner. Results indicate that pottery producers use agriculture, livestock and daily labor as supplementary and alternative means of livelihoods to pottery for which they are known most. They use the knowledge they own to make pottery passing through processes required and sell their products using two different marketing channels and make lives from it. The potters and non potters attend the marriage and burial ceremonies of each other although non potters believe there should not be intermarriage between them. The potters play an important role of removing *kudha* (evils) and role of *fala* (blessing cattle). Pottery producers are marginalized socially, politically and economically and they mentioned several challenges encountered in the course of making lives from pottery. The government and nongovernmental organizations needs to give attention to pottery as one sector capable of reducing joblessness.

Chapter One

Introduction

Throughout Ethiopia there are minority groups of craft workers that are excluded from mainstream society and marginalization of these groups is not a new or localized phenomenon for it occurs in the north and the south, in towns and in the countryside, in the past and in the present (Pankhurst, 2001, p.1). Pankhurst added that marginalization of craft workers is so widespread that it has been described as a 'pan-Ethiopian cultural trait' (p.1). The term 'pan-Ethiopian cultural trait' is used to indicate that marginalization of craft workers is common throughout the country.

Handicrafts, which are also named as crafts or craft products are synonyms for artisanal products, which is a component of creative industries and these industries derive their origins from individual creativity, skill and talent that have a potential for job and wealth creation through the generation and exploitation of the individual's intellectual property (SCT, 2005, p.6). According to Bula (2008) handicraft works, which are owned and run by artisans, involves pottery making, iron smiths, jewelry, weaving, woodcarving, tannery and basketry (p.3).

In Ethiopia, crafts are a mirror of the cultural diversity since they result from a combination of the creativity, culture and the heritage and the environment of the craftspeople and the knowledge of craft production are passed down from generation to generation involving everybody from children to adults of both genders (Dubois, 2008, p.5). Handicrafts which are local specific are not only mirror of the cultural diversity, but also create great job opportunities and play an important role in income generation in the rural areas where there is no significant industry, and the fact that the handicraft business can be started with a small investment is quite

important for most of the population who do not have capital (Embassy of Japan in Ethiopia, 2008, p.1).

Craft workers play important roles in the society among whom they live, and yet they have such a low status that many of them are considered to be 'not real people' by the majority around them (Pankhurst, 2001, p.1). Pankhurst added that three paradoxes lie at the heart of this incongruity between the roles and statuses of these minorities. Firstly, whereas their products are vital for rural livelihood, the producers tend to be looked down upon by the rest of society. Secondly, there is a disparity between ideological marginalization and distancing of these groups on the one hand, and the practical reality of personalized dyadic relations between individual farmers and artisans on the other. And thirdly, although they are ostracized and excluded from many areas of social life, some of the minority groups also play significant social and cultural roles, notably at life cycle events (pp.1-2).

Pottery producing community of Koffele district makes livelihoods from pottery and as a result of this livelihood strategy they face marginalization and impacting their social relationship. This study, then, have attempted to look at the dynamics that lie behind livelihoods, and the associated social relationship and marginalization of pottery producing community of Koffele district, west Arsi zone.

Statement of the Problem

Pankhurst and Freeman (2001) argue that the disappearance of local crafts can be considered detrimental to the country's future for several reasons; one among the many is that as population increases, agricultural resources decline and options for urban migration become restricted, the importance of non agricultural sources of rural income will become even more salient; hence, craftwork can absorb some of the rural population and provide complimentary or alternative sources of income (p.353). According to Akhal, Shabaneh & Tyroler (2008) previous experience proves that handicrafts can play a major role in lessening poverty in developing countries as most handicraft production use local, simple technology, as well as locally found raw materials (p. 5).

In an attempt to study pottery production as asset for women livelihood on Kechene women potters in Addis Ababa. Mulu (2007), conducted case study on two women cooperatives organized to produce pottery as means of their livelihood. The study reveals that potters organized in association have a better working environment and marketing opportunity than those producing in their homes (p.iii). Mulu added that the stigma and discrimination against traditional handicrafts producers is decreasing, and the prevailing production barriers to the pottery production activities includes the lack of appropriate production tools and facilities such as pottery firing places (p.iii).

However, this study was conducted in the context of urban setting, Addis Ababa, which might not reflect the situation of rural life. Again, the focus of the study was on women potters organized in associations or cooperatives. Contrary to this, the current study has attempted to focus on potters who live in rural part of the country, who are not organized in any known cooperatives. Apart from this, the previous study failed to consider cultural identity and

traditions. However, according to Kassaw , Sead and Zahra (2007), handicraft is part of cultural identity and traditions and each society has its own handicrafts depicting social, economical and environmental circumstances (p.51).

In a studies conducted in south and south western Ethiopia in Pankhurst and Freeman ed. (2001) one notable research among the many is the one conducted at Shashemene town (about 25 kilometers away from the current research sites) by Mesfin (2001) targeting craft producers in the town including the smith, weavers and potters. The findings indicate that pottery producers, who are known as “Fuga” by towns’ people, are the least numerous compared with the smith and weavers, and they come migrating mostly from Wolaita, Kambata and Hadiya due to land scarcity in the countryside (p.277). Mesfin added that potters do not have any land and must therefore buy all their food and since most of them are poor they cannot afford the better food; again, since the wives produce useful goods, the men consider polygamy to be a good opportunity to increase their household income (p.277). Further, regarding the nature of marginalization Mesfin indicated that in Shashemene, potters do not have any role in life cycle social events. At funerals and marriages they do not mix with the other people and most potters rely on one another for events such as births, marriages or funerals, and only a few potters belong to larger multi ethnic association (pp.277-285).

However, this study is not detail enough in terms of emphasizing pottery producers, the nature of marginalization against them and how they make livelihoods from pottery production, for the focus of the study is not only pottery producers but also smith and weavers. Again, the likely applicability of the findings to the context of rural communities known for pottery production, who owe different name from the local community and who have different socio cultural and economic background is still questionable. Again, the study failed to consider

variations in the way the potters are marginalized since the nature of marginalization practiced against potters by the surrounding people of Shashemenne is not similar to the current community of concern. This is because for example, according to Freeman (2001) throughout south west Ethiopia there are a number of marginalized minority groups and they are all marginalized and stigmatized in different ways (p.302). Pankhurst (2001) also indicated that not all the minority craft workers are marginalized in the same way or across all the dimensions (p.2).

According to Bula (2008), among the Macca Oromo of West Wollegga, agriculture is supplemented by trade and craft technology and the *ogeyyii* (craft workers) are involved both in agricultural and craft sectors though their focus is getting concentrated on agriculture since recent times (p.3). Bula added that craft workers involve in handicraft works mainly as par time workers especially in sowing and harvesting seasons of the year (p.3). In Ethiopia, many craftspeople are also farmers engaged in repetitive craft making routines to gain a supplementary income for feeding themselves and their families (Dubois, 2008, p.17). However, certain studies like the one conducted on Kechene women potters, by Mulu (2007), says nothing whether pottery is the sole means of livelihood for the potters or whether they have another means of livelihood. Nevertheless, the issue of whether pottery is the sole means of livelihood or whether it supplemented by other means of livelihood like agriculture and livestock rearing needs to be investigated in this study too.

In light of this, the present study has attempted to look at livelihoods and social relationship of marginalized pottery producing community of Koffele district, west Arsi zone. Specifically, this study has attempted to address the following research questions.

- How do pottery producers make livelihoods from pottery?

- Do the potters have supplementary or alternative means of livelihood other than pottery?
- What is the nature of social relationship that exists between potters and non potters?
- What is the nature of marginalization against pottery producers?
- What are the main challenges and problems pottery producers faces in the course of their work?

Objective of the Study

General Objective

The general objective of the study is to describe livelihoods and social relationship of pottery producing community of Koffele district, west Arsi zone.

Specific Objectives

- To describe the way pottery producers make livelihoods from pottery
- To learn whether potters have means of livelihoods other than pottery
- To indicate the nature of social relationship that exists between potters and non potters
- To learn the nature of marginalization against pottery producers
- To find out the main challenges and problems pottery producers faces in the course of pottery production

Significance of the Study

This study has significances in terms of several issues. For one thing it has described marginalized pottery producing community of Koffele district, where, to the knowledge of the researcher, no other research was conducted. This study can be springboard on which other

future studies might base to look at the issues and the community with great detail. This research can also be a good input for any attempt, both by government and nongovernmental actors, to intervene in the community to understand the underlying problems in their lives and act accordingly to improve their livelihoods. Apart from these, this study has provided certain recommendation based on the result of data collected and the implications of the findings for social work education in terms of research, practice and policy are raised.

Delimitation of the Study

The scope of this study is limited in terms of study population and the issues it addresses. It is limited to addressing social relationship of the potters with non potters, livelihoods of potters, the nature of marginalization against them and the problems they encounter. The study has not addressed issues other than these due to the available time and finance. In terms of the coverage, this study is limited to *Koma* pottery producing community of Koffele. The finding of the study is not generalized to other population of the district, even not to other pottery producing community; rather it is reflection of livelihoods and social relationship of marginalized potters in the community under investigation.

Operational Definition of Important Terms

Pottery producers/potters- Individuals who are members of *Koma* pottery producing community, named as *Wottile*, by non potters

Social relationship- the relationship of pottery producers with the non pottery producers

Community- pottery producers living in specific geographical location who interact with each other and with others

Marginalization- the ways in which pottery producing community are excluded from mainstream social life, the life non potters engage in.

Chapter Two

Review of Literatures

Approaches in Studying Handicraft and Pottery

Existing literature on craft workers of Ethiopia are neither detailed nor comprehensive. According to Takele (2007), particularly in the past there has been very little interest in studying the potters as a result of which one can hardly find detail account on them and it was only recently that few scholars started to investigate the socio-cultural and economic status of artisan groups (woodworkers, smiths, potters and others) (p.4). Two approaches are used when studying handicraft in general and pottery in particular. The first approach which focus more on the craft itself that craft workers, use largely archeological approaches. The other group or researchers focus not on craft work by itself but on producers of craftworks, including the nature of the social relationship and their socio economic status. The research by Bula (2008) is exemplary of the statement affirmed by Takele that these days researchers are also focusing not only on the pottery but also the potters. The volume edited by Pankhurst and Freeman (2000) based on studies conducted in south western Ethiopia also gives emphasis more to the craft workers in general than the craft itself. However, even existing few studies are generally comparative studies which compare the different craft societies that are concerned with their “low status” to address mainly their interactions with the non artisan communities (Takele, 2007, p.5).

Other studies focus on production techniques, emphasizing the variations in techniques of pottery making among the pottery producers. One notable study is the one conducted by Kaneko which emphasizes how the Ari potters change and create their techniques (Kaneko, 2009, pp.383-384). Moreover, some of the available literatures on pottery are from archeological point of views and scholars mainly concentrate on the technical and the material aspects rather than on

the pottery makers themselves and fail to provide much information about the situation of potters and their contribution to the socio cultural and economic development (Takele, 2007, p.7). For example, Cassiers (1971) indicated an evidence from archeological excavations of different sites in Ethiopia (like Yeha, Matahara and Axum) to dictate the distinctive character of the pots found at these sites. Cassiers furthers indicated that a number and variety of items, some of them finely decorated were discovered from excavation of these sites (p.45). This leads to the conclusion which is also indicated by Takele (2007) that archeological perspectives were dominantly employed when dealing with pottery.

However, all the aforementioned studies were not in a position to give an account both to the potters and the producers. They give emphasis either to the potters themselves or the types of products they produce and the allied technical issues disjointedly. Understanding the types of products they produce and looking at the existing relationship of the potters with the rest of the society, non potters, is an issue that worth consideration, not separately but looking at them in tandem. The present study has attempted to look at the issue of pottery production and the social relationship of potters concurrently, leaving aside the approaches used by previous studies which attempted to look at the issues separately.

Gender and Handicraft

Making handicrafts reflects gender differences between women and men as well as their different roles and responsibilities within the household and community (Kassaw et al., p.51). According to Flintan (2007), both men and women make handicrafts in pastoral community (Flintan, 2007, p.11). However, for example in Wallaga besides their direct or indirect involvement in all other craft works, women totally dominate pottery making (from identification of clay mining sites, mining, transporting clay to manufacturing sites, preparing

clay mineral, shaping vessels, drying, firing, post firing treatments and marketing); hence, women are cornerstones in both farm and non-farm sectors in rural areas (Bula Sirika, 2008, p.4). In Shashemene too, according to Mesfin Getahun (2001) women work most of the work in pottery production (p.277). Other writers such as Dubois (2008) indicate that routines prevail in the operation of craft production in Ethiopia and the activities of women are normally restricted to pottery and men to weaving (p17).

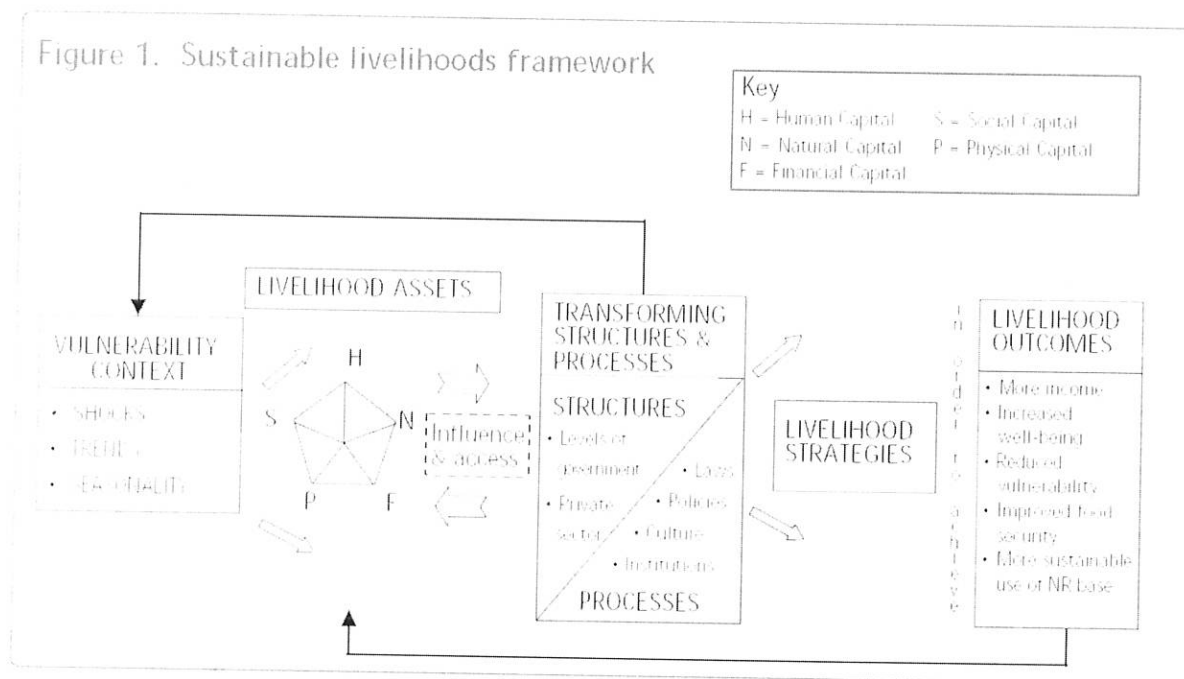
Some literatures describe handicrafts including pottery making as informal sector in the economy. This informal sector is characterized by high concentration of the poor especially women (HLCLEP, 2006, p. 4). Clay pots are easily manufactured from local materials by local women artisans and this will revitalize pottery production (Tsegay, n.d., p.2).

As indicated above there is no consensus regarding who, in terms of gender, dominate pottery production. There are variations from place to place and among different communities. In current pottery producing community women dominate the production of pottery. This is not only in the production of pottery but also in the marketing. From preliminary observation of the area I learned that although there are men who are engaged in pottery still the women dominate.

Livelihood Analysis

Livelihood is the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) for a means of living and livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (DFID, 1999). It is a set of economic activities, involving self-employment and/or wage-employment by using one's endowed skills (human and material) to generate adequate resources (cash and non-cash), for meeting the requirements of self and the household, usually carried out as a means of life (Mulu, 2007, p.11).

The livelihoods framework is a tool to improve understanding of livelihoods, particularly the livelihoods of the poor and was developed in England (DFID, 1999).



Source: DFID (1999)

The sustainable livelihoods framework presents the main factors that affect people's livelihoods, and typical relationships between these, and can be used in both planning new development activities and assessing the contribution to livelihood sustainability made by existing activities (DFID, 1999). DFID added that, in particular, the framework provides a checklist of important issues and sketches out the way these link to each other; draws attention to core influences and processes; and emphasizes the multiple interactions between the various factors which affect livelihoods. DFID further asserted that the framework is centered on people and does not work in a linear manner and does not try to present a model of reality.

Mulu (2007) attempted to use this framework in analysis of livelihood of women potters in Kechene, Addis Ababa. Mulu indicated that the sustainable livelihoods perspective fits with an understanding of the women potters' efforts with their daily entrepreneurship of managing the

opportunities and risks of diverse and complex tasks to the promotion of traditional handicrafts as a sustainable livelihood asset (p.12). Mulu further stressed that, for women potters, if their traditional skill (human capital) is facilitated with the provision of suitable production equipments such as wheels, soil grinders, mixers and kilns (physical capital) closely linked to the capability to enter markets (social capital); it will make their production process easier and the time spent on producing with obsolete tools, if assisted with these facilities would improve their products and the women could have more time with their family and contribute to their community development (pp. 12-14). Mulu indicated the type of capital and/or asset used by traditional pottery in the following tabular form.

Table 1: type of capital (asset) for traditional pottery production

Type of Capital	To access
Natural	Clay soil, tiny sand stones, water, sunshine
Human	Traditional knowledge, skills, good health, strength to work, market
Physical	Production tools, transport and communication, production place, firing materials (energy)
Social	Business environment, friends, networks, membership groups, market information
Financial	Initial capital, savings, access to credit or grants

Source: Mulu (2007)

The present study has also attempted to make use of this framework to analyze the livelihood of potters in the study area. It has considered the material and non material resources required for the production of pots and the underlying challenges that are hindering the smooth running of pottery production will be analyzed using this framework.

Social Relationship of Craft Workers with the Rest of the Society

There exists social relationship between craft workers and non craft workers. Therefore, it is essential to look at the nature of social relationship that exists between craft workers and non crafters for they have interaction in one way or another. Literatures have attempted to look at the nature of the relationship that exists between craft workers and the rest of the society by considering certain important issues like intermarriage, attendance of marriage ceremonies, attendance of burial ceremonies and the roles played by craft workers in the lives of non crafters.

For example, referring to Yem (Getachew, 2001) analyzed the social relationship of *Yifro* (smiths) with non craft workers of the area by considering their relationship in terms of marriage and other ritual practices. The author indicated that while some informants claim that there are no restrictions on the *Yifro* marrying other *Yem*, while others claim that some clans from *Yifro* are prohibited from marrying *Yem* farmers (p.49). Getachew further indicated that the *Fuga* (tanner-potters) perform a ritual prayer to ensure successful production (p.51).

Among the Kambata (Wolde-Sellasie, 2001) indicated that the smiths are members of village *seera* without discrimination and perform all tasks like any other farmer. The writer added that although intermarriage between smiths and farmers is prevalent, smiths wish to marry farmers' daughters, whereas farmers have a disguised reservation about marrying smiths' daughters (p.63). Referring to the *Fuga* (tanner-potters) Wolde-Sellasie added that farmers do

not participate in *Fuga* wedding festivals and do not eat any food prepared for the occasion (p.67).

The aforesaid literatures are not the lone materials that indicate the relationship that exist between craft workers and the 'farmers'. However, the above mentioned literature reinforce the idea that there are variations regarding the way craft workers interact with non craft workers and agree with the conception stated by Pankhurst (2001) which stated not all minorities are marginalized in the same way. The above literatures show the variations that exist regarding the way craft workers and the rest of the 'farmers' interact. Here, I put the term farmers in quotation marks for the following reason. It is likely that craft workers are also farmers, who practice farming more or less. The fact that craft workers produce crafts does not mean that the producers solely rely on craftwork for their lives and this should not prevent craft workers from holding the status of farmer.

Dimensions of Marginalization

By tradition, craftspeople in Ethiopia belong to a low-caste and are looked down upon and this artisanal group has suffered from prejudice and relative isolation in society (Dubois, 2008, p.17). According to Pankhurst (2001) marginalization can be analyzed in terms of five interrelated dimensions: spatial, economic, political, social and cultural (p.2). This section attempted to describe the different natures of marginalization indicated in literatures.

According to Dubois (2008), in Ethiopia, craftspeople often live in very poor conditions (typically with no latrines and suffering from water shortages, congested conditions, no waste collection systems, insufficient social service facilities and organizations, with mud houses used for both dwelling and working) and their settlements tend to be separated from the rest of the community. Dubois added that craft workers have no right of land ownership and illiteracy is

particularly high amongst them and generally are subjected to low self-esteem and apathy for a better future due to the hardship of their living conditions (p. 17).

Indicating to the potters among the Kambata who are known as 'Fuga', Woldesellacie (2001) stated that Fuga are excluded from membership of farmers' associations. When death occurs in farmers' households, Fuga contribute only money, grain and labour, but are not allowed to serve cooked food because non Fuga would not eat it (pp.68-69). Among the Kafa too, the potters are marginalized by the other Kafa, and live separately on the edge of settlements. Farmers will not intermarry with them, or eat with them. The potters, even though nominally considered members of burial associations, they no longer contribute coffee and food, and do not take a turn spending nights with the family of the deceased as they used to (Gezahegn, 2001, p.91).

Marginalization of craft workers is also felt not only among the rural population but also in urban context. For example, Mesfin (2001) indicated that in Shashemene all artisanal groups are marginalized by townspeople, though not equally where the degree of marginalization is more intense towards the potters. Mesfin also added that marginalization exist socially, politically and economically (p282).

The above mentioned studies all clarify that marginalization of craft producers in general and the potters in particular occur in different parts of the country and the marginalization of these people takes many appearances. Although these marginalization can be categorized either as political, economic or social marginalization, there are variations regarding the way marginalization takes place. The present study has also attempted to look at the nature of marginalization pottery producers encounter and attempts were made to look at the nature of

marginalization against them from different direction grouping them as political, economic and social marginalization.

Significances of Handicraft

The significances of handicraft were indicated by different literatures in terms of tourism, poverty reduction, gender and its significance for low income and people of rural area, and the women.

For example, report by Akhal (2008), indicates that handicrafts are not only an integral part of the tourism experience, but money spent on handicrafts can play a major role in lessening poverty in handicraft producing countries (p.1). Handicrafts which find their roots in local culture and tradition are culturally important, and will continue to be made for functional use in the homes of rural people and sold to urban dwellers who want to maintain links to their rural customs (Pereira et al 2006; cited in Flintan, 2007, p.12).

Ethiopia possesses various kinds of unique handicrafts because of its unique history, tradition and culture evolved by the various people of the country and these handicrafts are important not only to obtain foreign currency as both export items and souvenirs but also to conserve the unique culture and maintain cultural identity (Embassy of Japan in Ethiopia, 2008, p.1). Trade in traditional handicrafts can generate income for highly vulnerable rural women providing a safety net and helping reduce poverty (Pereira et al 2006; cited in Flintan, 2007, p.11). Since handicrafts are local-specific, they create great job opportunities in the rural areas, where there is no significant industry and create job opportunities for women in particular (Embassy of Japan in Ethiopia, 2008, p.1). According to Flintan (2007), this is because the prices of handicrafts are relatively stable, unlike those of livestock and farm produce (p11). The fact

that the handicraft business can be started with a small investment is quite important for most of the population who do not have capital (Embassy of Japan in Ethiopia, 2008, p.1).

In Ethiopia, handicraft industry is basically a cottage industry, the scale of which is much smaller than that of the other sectors like the floriculture, hotel and leather. Despite its scale, however, it plays an important role in income generation in the rural areas (Embassy of Japan in Ethiopia, 2008, p.1). Further it may not be just the cash earnings that matters to the crafter, but what those earnings mean – such as the potential for craft income to improve access to resources such as food, credit, healthcare, education and investments; the risks and time involved in the enterprise; the nature of the work and the degree of dependence or empowerment (Suich & Murphy 2002; cited in Flintan, 2007, p.11).

Referring specifically for pottery, Cassiers (1971) indicated that pottery has long been one of the most important crafts in Ethiopia and it is used for utilitarian purpose. Bula (2008) also indicated that the Oromo who involved in livestock breeding and crop cultivation before their expansion have unavoidably been using pottery objects for utilitarian purposes (like for transportation, storage etc). Bula further asserted that these days, potters make pots not only for storage, transportation, toasting, baking and steaming but also for symbolic representations (p.5).

Tourism and Handicraft

Over the past decade, tourism has become one of the world's largest and fastest growing industries (Akhal, et al., p.4). In Ethiopia too, according to (Kassaw et al) though by no means fully developed, one increasing market is the one brought by tourism and this sector is an ever-growing industry (p.55). For this reason, it is important to give emphasis for handicraft and the related issues of tourism and this section gives coverage to the importance of tourism for craft development.

Handicrafts are an integral part of the tourism experience and whatever the type of tourism (local or international), the tourist rarely fails to take home a souvenir (Akhal et al., p.5). Akhal et al further stressed that across the globe, cultural destinations and associated purchases are winning more and more of tourists' hard-earned cash (p.5). However, according to Pankhurst and Freeman (2001), there has been much debate about the impact of tourism on local handicrafts. Those who emphasize the negative effects suggest that tourism may lead to “the ‘trinketization’ of aesthetics created by the curio shop marketing of cheap goods of non-native manufacture (Smith 1989, cited in Pankhurst & Freeman, 2001, p.357). They added that those who emphasize the negative effect of tourist suggest that craft workers often benefit far less than foreign manufacturers or local entrepreneurs who have the capital to buy, inventory and sell such ‘airport art’ (p.357-358).

The proponents of tourist art, on the other hand, suggest that it can have a beneficial effect in regenerating traditional handicrafts by providing new and enlarged markets for local products (Pankhurst & Freeman, 2001, p.357-358). For example, Akhal et al. pointed out that handicrafts represent local traditions and indigenous populations, and for tourists they symbolize the places they visited, the experiences they had, a core memory they shared, a souvenir to take to their friends and loved ones (Akhal, et al., p.5). Referring to pastoralists in Ethiopia (Kassaw et al.) indicated that developing incomes from culture and heritage including handicraft production therefore offers one of the few ways that pastoralists can profit from tourism in the present circumstances (p.55). The richness of handicrafts not only creates great potential for tourism development in general, but also provides significant financial opportunities for local artisans, cultural renewal and sustainability (Akhal, et al., p.5). In Ethiopia, it is estimated that 54% of tourist spending on craft flows directly to poor retailers and producers and therefore,

craft expenditure is an important component of the tourism value chain, both in terms of the quantity of funds involved and, particularly, the pro poor impact (Coles & Mitchell, 2009, p.54).

According to Pankhurst and Freeman (2001), although the tourist market has been restricted to mainly urban areas and the north tourist route, pottery has for a long time attracted tourist consumers (p.358). A pot shaped by a potter is not only for functional/utilitarian purposes (e.g. for steaming, boiling, storage etc.) but also for social and no-utilitarian or symbolic values (e.g. self-expression and identity marks) which can be sources of tourism industry (Bula, 2008, p.9). So far Ethiopian crafts seem to have neither benefited much from tourism nor suffered overly from its negative consequences (Pankhurst & Freeman, 2001, p.358).

Although there has been very little other interest in this potential growth area, some craft workers in urban areas have adapted to tourist interests, particularly the Falasha potters around Gondar before they left for Israel and potters in Addis Ababa, who have begun to make figurines and have formed associations with the assistance of some NGOs such as Hope Enterprises (Hakmulder 1980; cited in Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001, p.358).

Although the above literatures are emphasizing the potential for development of potters in urban areas-Addis Ababa and Gondar, it is likely that the potters in the present study area of Koffele district can develop. If assistances from government and NGOs are provided, given the presence of the district on the way to Bale zone that have several tourist sites and given the districts location near Shashemene, the route to south Ethiopia; the potential for attracting tourist and development is there. Apart from strategic location of the district the local culture and tradition and the products of the potters which are produced by traditional means have the potential to attract tourist by its own.

Institutional and policy issues

Policies frameworks specifically pertinent to handicraft are almost nonexistent. What one can see is how handicraft is incorporated alongside other sectors in their institutional arrangements. However, craft workers and their lives have been affected either directly or indirectly by the coming and passages of different governments throughout different time.

Prior to the 1974 Revolution very little was done to promote the development of craftwork in Ethiopia. According to (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001, p.353) the first initiative was a short lived handicraft school set up in 1941 in the name of the Emperor Haile Sellassie I in Addis Ababa. They added that much better known was the Empress Menen Handicraft School, established in 1949, which continued to function until 1977, and was thereafter re named as the Ethiopian Handicraft center. However, government policy and development planning focused predominantly on industrialization and agriculture and gave little consideration to the expansion of crafts.

Successive governments have been concerned primarily with the agricultural and industrial sectors and have placed little emphasis on handicrafts. This is in part due to the prevalent image of the country as composed of farmers, although unacknowledged or even unconscious prejudices against craft activities may also have played a part.

After the 1974 Revolution the major focus of government was on developing cooperatives. In 1975 a workshop was held by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry on small scale cottage industries and handicrafts and in 1977 a new institution named the Handicrafts and Small Scale Development Agency (HASIDA) was set up by proclamation 124/1969 (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001, p.353).

After EPRDF took power, in December 1995 a new institution name Development Agency for Handicrafts and Small Scale Industries (DAHSI) was set up to replace HASIDA under Ministry of Trade and Industry (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001, p.353). Although DAHSI, like its predecessor, has been primarily concerned with small scale industries, the previous bias towards cooperatives was abandoned.

The most recent developments suggest that the current policy emphasis is on considering craftwork as part of the informal, distributive and service sectors to be stimulated by the newly established Micro and Small Scale Enterprises Development Agency, which gained legal approval in 1998. Specific initiatives directed at craftwork do not therefore seem to be currently considered a priority.

Chapter Three

Method

Study Design

This study is qualitative type of research with the purpose of describing craft workers in rural area particularly giving emphasis for livelihoods and social relationship of pottery producing community of Koffele district known by pottery production.

Qualitative research aims to address questions concerned with developing an understanding of the meaning and experience dimensions of humans' lives and social worlds (Davidson, Fossey, Harvey and McDermott, 2002; p.717) which is also an issue raised in the research question, hence indicating the rationale behind the choice for qualitative research. Hancock (2002) indicated that the benefits of using qualitative approach include richness of data and deeper insight into the phenomena under study (p.9). The current study has also attempted to obtain deeper understanding of marginalized craft workers with an emphasis on social relationship and livelihoods of marginalized pottery producing community, which can best be accomplished through qualitative research, given the above rationales.

Particularly, this study is descriptive research with the aim of describing the livelihoods and social relationship experiences of marginalized pottery producing community. This entails the need to use phenomenological research approach from among existing types of qualitative research. This is because the focus of phenomenological research is reflected in the questions this study attempted to address. According to Finlay (2009), the aim of phenomenological research is for fresh, complex and rich descriptions of a phenomenon as it is concretely lived, (p.6) and phenomena refer to things or experiences as human beings experience them and any object, event, situation or experience that a person can see, hear, touch, smell, taste, feel, intuit,

know, understand, or live through is a legitimate topic for phenomenological investigation (Seamon, 2000, para.8). Accordingly, the phenomenons of investigation in this study are social relationship as experienced by potters and non potters, and livelihoods as experienced by potters, which are an issue for study in phenomenological research.

Study Participants

Participants for this study are pottery producers and non potter individuals from the surrounding community like elders. The potters' community lives in a rural area known as *Koma*, however, *Koma* is also the name of *gosa* in Koffele area- *gosa* in which the potters live. In order to distinguish pottery producers which are the focus of this study from other pottery producing community in the district and the name *Koma* is used in the subsequent sections of the report.

Unlike other craft work women dominate pottery production in Ethiopia from identification of clay mining sites, mining, transporting clay to manufacturing sites, preparing clay mineral, shaping vessels, drying, firing, post firing treatments and marketing (Bula, 2008, pp.3-4 and Dubois, 2008, p.17). For this reason emphasis was given for women member of *Koma* potters community in participant selection.

Individuals who are not member of pottery producing community were selected based on the rational that it is important to look at their viewpoints regarding social relationship, to come across at the social position of the potters, to look at the nature of marginalization against pottery producers and other related important issues, and describe the point of difference in outlooks with the community of concern, i.e. craft workers. However, in order to avoid potential biases the researcher was cautious of presenting the nature of marginalization only from the point of view of the "dominant" society. This is because according to Pankhurst (2001) presenting the

subject of marginalization from the point of view of dominant society alone leads to biases (p.19).

Participant Selection and Selection Process

Participants for this research were selected using purposive and snowball sampling. Snowball sampling strategy was used to select potters. According to Davidson et al. in snowball sampling participants identify others with direct knowledge relevant to the investigation being conducted and this strategy may be used when the people being studied are difficult to access or approach. From preliminary observation of the research site I understood that there are no ways to identify and distinguish who are the potters and who are not unless I rely on the knowledge and information of participants themselves, a process of snowball sampling.

Purposive sampling is selected because according to Devers and Frankel (2000), given the goals and logic of qualitative research this strategy is often employed. The writers added that this strategy is designed to enhance understandings of selected individuals or groups' experience(s) which can be accomplished by selecting "information rich" participants that provide the greatest insight into the research question (p.265). This sampling strategy was employed to select research participants who are not pottery producers and to select local elders who have better knowledge of the area.

The selection of participants was accomplished with the help of local administrative officials like people in the kebele, who know the surrounding area and the potential participants better than the researcher. People from the surrounding community of Koffele district like elders were also selected with the help of local officials of woreda and from the researchers own personal knowledge.

Initially, 15 individuals for interview (10 potters and 5 non potters) were proposed as research participants. However, since the study is qualitative, flexibility is the feature and the size of the participants was determined by the time the researcher was not in a position to come across new information. Accordingly, in this study, data was collected from 17 research participants. From these figure, 12 were from *Koma* pottery producing community while the remaining 5 individuals are non potters. This is because Marshall (1996) indicates that in qualitative research, practically, the number of required participants usually becomes obvious as the study progresses, as new categories, themes or explanations stop emerging from the data (data saturation) (p.524). Davidson, et al. (2002) also indicated that sampling in qualitative research continues until themes emerging from the research are fully developed, in the sense that diverse instances have been explored, and further sampling is redundant (p.726). Therefore, the decision that data saturation or data redundancy had been reached was accomplished through constant comparison of data; hence, the researcher moved back and forth between the data and emerging tentative thematic identification and interpretation (Tuckett, 2004, p.7).

Sources of Data

This study has employed both primary and secondary source of data. Primary data collected from respondents through interview and observation and was the main and firsthand source of information for this study. Moreover, this collected primary data was supplemented by information gathered from secondary sources of data. Review of relevant documents and literatures, both published and unpublished that have direct and indirect relation with the research question, mainly books, journals and research reports by different individuals, organizations and institutions was undertaken to gather secondary data.

Instruments for Data Gathering

Interview and observation were the major instruments used to gather primary data in this study.

According to Davidson et al. interviews are used in most types of qualitative research and they are typically the technique of choice in phenomenological research (p.726). An interview guide was prepared and then translated to Afan Oromo before data collection (see Appendices A, B, C and D for complete proofs). Semi structured interviews having both close and open ended interview guide questions was conducted with potters and the elders of the surrounding community in order to grasp answer for most of the research questions. Semi structured interview was selected based on the rationale that according to Hancock (2002) the open ended nature of the questions in semi structured interview defines the topic under investigation but provides opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail (p.9). Semi structured interviews are also used to facilitate more focused exploration of a specific topic, using an interview guide (Davidson et al., 2002, p.727). The interviews conducted took between 35 up to 45 minutes.

In addition to interview, observation was conducted to see the types of pottery produced by the potters, the process of production and implements employed in pottery production process, and to see non verbal communication while responding to questions raised by the researcher.

Data Collection, Analysis and Presentation

Interview with respondents was recorded with the help of tape recorder. The researcher did also take notes regarding the timing, interview settings, and the reaction of participants in the data collection process. Marshall (1996) confirms that researcher has to take account not only of the individual's characteristics but also temporal, spatial and situational influences, that is, the

context of the study (p.524). Note-taking and tape recording is a useful combination that enables analysis of the material as a whole, while more specific components of interviews can be transcribed in full for detailed analysis (Davidson, et al., 2002, p.728).

The data collected through interview, by recording with the help of tape recorder was transcribed manually. All the interviews were conducted by Afan Oromo and was transcribed word by word manually and then translated to English. When transcribing tape recorded data, the researcher has considered tone and inflection as good indicators of feelings and meanings. Consideration was given to how these feelings and meanings can be communicated on paper by using punctuation marks, and techniques such as upper case lettering, underlining and emboldening. This was supported by note that was taken by researcher during an interview and observation.

After transcribing the interview data manually, it was organized and analyzed thematically and presented in descriptive manner. Hancock (2002) stated that when planning the presentation of findings a good starting point is to look at the themes and categories which have emerged and to use these to structure the results section of the research report (p.22).

In the presentation of result, participants' account will be given priority. The presentation of collected data goes from description through quotations and examples to discussions of their meanings. According to Davidson, et al. the use of quotations (i.e. participants' own words) juxtaposed with the writer's description and interpretation helps the reader to evaluate the authenticity of the researcher's claim about the data (p.730).

Ethical Considerations

Given the sensitivity of the issue and the discrimination of pottery producers following ethical procedures is necessary in this study. Davidson et al. (2002) indicated that ethical considerations are paramount in all research from design to conclusion (p.723).

Respondents were informed about potential benefit and harm of participating in the research, if there is any. The researcher has ensured the absence of any physical and psychological harm posed by the research on the respondents. The researcher informed participants that, in case, if research participants reported any physical and psychological harm, the researcher will immediately quit gathering data. In the presentation of result the researcher has used pseudo (false) name in order to ensure confidentiality. Five birr in the form of compensation was paid for pottery producers who are selected as research participants for the valuable time they spend for the purpose of this research. It is also acceptable in terms of ethics to compensate participants for the time they spend just for the purpose of the study. For example Cunningham (2003), noting about ethical practice, indicated that participants deserve to be compensated for their time (p.4). The respondents were requested to participate only on voluntary basis and oral consent was obtained from research participants after explaining all the necessary information for them.

Chapter Four

Result and Discussion

General Description of Study Participants

Participants in this study can be classified in to two general categories. These are pottery producers on one hand, and the non potters who live in their surroundings who have some knowledge about the potters and have relationship with them in one way or another, on the other.

From among the potters, ten of them are females while the remaining two are male members of the community who themselves do not make pottery but their wives do. All of the interviewed pottery producers could not accurately mention or estimate their age. 'I do not know my age' was a common response. When I probed further they gave some amazing responses. For example, a woman who has 5 children told me that her age is 9. Another woman who has 6 children told me that her age is 20. All of pottery producers interviewed are non literate, married and have children.

The other group of participants comprises of those who do not make pots. They are people from the surrounding community who live near potters' village, know the potters and have relationship with them in one way or another. Five individuals were interviewed, three men and two women. One male local elderly interviewed is TTI (Teacher Training Institute) graduate and is government employee in Koffele district while two men and one woman are 'literate' that they can read and write their name. The remaining one woman cannot read and write. All the interviewed non potters are also married and have children.

Livelihoods of *Koma* Pottery Producing Community

DFID (1999) has developed a model that helps to analyze the livelihoods of poor people known as the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework and I have considered this model to analyze the livelihoods of *Koma* pottery producing community. DFID further indicated livelihood strategies as one component of the framework and defined it as the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals (including productive activities, investment strategies, reproductive choices, etc.). According to this, *Koma* potters' livelihood is not solely based on pottery making. Three other livelihood strategies are mentioned both by the potters and non potters. Farming, cattle breeding and daily labor is mentioned as livelihood strategies by the potters. Pottery, farming and cattle breeding take place in the rural area, or around their home while daily labor which is solely the work of men takes place in the nearby town of Koffele and in the surrounding rural community where they engage in different kinds of work to earn wage.

According to Ambaye Degefa (2001) potters of Woliso area rely mostly on income from agricultural produce and what they obtain from handicraft is additional, and provides a supplementary weekly income (p.296). However, this is not reflected in the case of *Koma* pottery producers where they rely largely on pottery production and consider other livelihood strategies as alternative or supplementary to pottery. For example, during rainy seasons, when it takes long time to dry pots and make ready for firing and marketing, women potters use alternative means to feed their children by engaging in activities like *worqii duuguu* (the processing of *enset* for food).

Pottery.

Pottery producers make lives from pottery by engaging in different processes required for making pottery, marketing and using the income for different purposes in their lives. People require a range of assets to achieve positive livelihood outcomes and no single category of assets on its own is sufficient to yield all the many and varied livelihood outcomes that people seek (DFID, 2009). *Koma* potters also make use of different assets to have required outputs from pottery making. They use different asset endowments like natural resources, human resources, physical resources and finance to make lives. Natural resources like clays and water, human skill and production knowledge, different implements and finance are all required to make livelihoods. *Koma* pottery producers do not make use of single asset to make pottery and have livelihood from it and it is impossible for them to use single asset to make pottery. The potters employ their knowledge and skill and combine different asset endowments to make pottery and draw their livelihood from.

Gender and pottery in Koma pottery producing community.

Pottery making is largely females' job in *Koma* potters community. The interviewed *Koma* potters revealed that pottery is solely the job of females. The interviewed women potters indicated that males do not make pots in their community. They claim that while pottery is the job of females, agriculture is the work of males. The potters claim that pottery is solely the job of females is not reflected in an interview with some non potters who stated that males also make pottery. The actual observations confirm the claims of the potters until the last day of my visit to the research site where I saw a man making pottery. The question comes here; why do the potters indicate pottery as females' job only while there is a man who makes it in their neighbor?

According to Takele (2007) this is because the production is associated with home as household utensil, and done in home or very near to home, a place where women are usually available (p.3).

The potters' claim that pottery is females' job, however, does not mean that males have zero contribution in making pottery. Takele (2007) indicated that although not in actual process, there are some ways in which men participate in making pottery and these include looking for pits or searching for clays, digging the clay and carrying wood or grass home for firing the pottery (p.4). This is also the case in *Koma* pottery producing community where males contribute their part in pottery making by engaging in activities like searching and bringing home of fuel woods which is important for firing pots. Similarly, women also engage in the various stages of agricultural production. Thus, their claim is related more to traditional division of labor and associated social norms and the degree to which each category involve in the respective activity.

Pottery production knowledge.

The interviewed pottery making women indicated that the knowledge of pottery making is transmitted across generations. Girls acquire the knowledge of making pottery from their mothers. Acquiring the knowledge does not take place through the 'formal' teaching, nor did it require the rigorous follow up of steps at a given time interval based on instruction. Rather, children who spend most of their time with their mothers have chances to observe their mothers making pottery. One woman indicated the scenario stating by Afan Oromo "*daa'imman harma hootu qabannee fa'a ka dalagnu...isaan dudatti baadhanneeti ottee ka dhoofnu.*" meaning "we make pottery carrying breast feed baby... sometimes carrying them on our back, we make pottery". As this statement indicates, children have the chance to observe their mothers making pottery early in their life and this situation facilitates the process of transmitting the skill of

making pottery. This observation is accompanied by simple trial and error, assisted by the guidance of the mothers which finally ends up with the skill of making pottery successfully. Observations also show that children spend more time around home watching their mothers and it is common to see children playing with the clays and manipulating it. They also make different small products used for playing like *burrisa*.

There are potters who believe that the skill of making pottery is in born, given from *Rabbi* (God). When asked about who thought her the skill of making pottery one woman stated that “*akkuma ganama Rabbi uume. Ganamuma nuu katabeef baranne malee maaltu nu barsiisa.*” The meaning is “it is created by God. God predestined us to become potters, no one taught us.” This statement affirms that there are pottery producers who believe that being and becoming a potter and the skill of making pottery is something written and given by God as their destiny.

The knowledge and skill of making pottery is reflected in their understanding about the nature and type of clays necessary for making pottery. The potters indicated that they make pottery from three different kinds of clays which they bring from different sites. Different kinds of clays cannot be found at the same place or site. One interviewed (a potter and woman) indicated the three types of clay necessary for pottery making by referring to their colors “*biyyee laga gara garaatii finna. Biyyeen gosa sadi...takka gurraati'i, takka diimtu'u, sadaffaan booranjee (akka magaalaa jirti). Biyyee kana wolitti eda'an... yoo san tola.*” Meaning “there are three types of clays. One is black/dark, one is red and the third is grey. We mix these clays. Mixing them is better.” This indicates that the clays brought from different sites are not used separately to make different kinds of pottery. Rather the potters mix these three clays before they make pots.

Production knowledge of the potters is also reflected on issues related with firing of pottery, which includes knowledge of resources necessary for firing, where to get these resources and when to fire. Fire woods and *huura* are the resources necessary for firing pottery. The potters indicate that they purchase fire woods from the nearby market at Koffele town and from the local community, while the source of *huura* is the *enset* owned by the potters themselves and from the surrounding community gained by purchasing. They purchase *citaa manaa* from individuals who want to demolish old homes which were previously covered by *citaa* (dried grass used to cover upper part of homes). Firing pottery takes place after making sure that the potteries are dry enough and ready for firing. Firing is performed a day earlier (before) market day (Tuesday night) or early in the morning on the market day of Koffele (Wednesday morning). Also, Wednesday is the day on which traders from the town of *Kore* arrive at the potters' home and purchase the products. It is also a day where selling of pots takes place at the nearby market.

The interviewed potters indicate that their children are not making pots and the reason they give vary. Some say their children are attending schools at Koffele town while other potters claim that since their children are young and it is not time for them to make pottery; however, indicating that when they get older it is likely that they will learn to make pots. Here, by children the potters are referring to their female children who are expected to learn the skill of making pottery since it is not the job of males. According to Takele (2007) despite the fact that most of the non potters have no jobs, they mostly do not want to engage in the occupation due to the negative attitude attached to the potters in particular and other craft makers in general (p.6). This matter is not reflected in *Koma* pottery producers although they indicate that their children are not making pots. The reason they gave for this is not related with marginalization rather issues related with age, gender and attendance of academic school were raised.

Referring to specialization of potters in *Kechene* (Mulu, 2007) indicated that the potters in the cooperative are specialized with different types of pottery items, and each potter has different specialization and only she produces her products. Mulu further stressed that potters have a rule that the other members should not replicate other members' pottery samples in order to avoid competition among them. This issue is not reflected in *Koma* pottery producing community for there are no differences in terms of skills in making pottery since all potters in the community are specialized in making pottery of the same kind. Except one interviewed women who showed me that she barely makes other product different from pottery, all the interviewed potters and observation results reveal that there is no such differences of skill and there is no specialization among them.

Location and ownership of clay sites.

Pottery making takes place at the home of the potters. This requires carrying clays from different sites to home. Clay is one of the major resources necessary for making pottery. The clay site is located along riversides at about 500 meters distance from potters' village and bringing home of clays requires them to cross the sloppy or plateau land carrying the clays on their back.

The women potters carry the clays from different sources to their home. They do not use other means of transportation to bring the clays to the home where they make pottery. The land from which the potters bring the clays does not belong to them. It is "*qabiyyee*" (the term used to indicate the ownership of land) of another people, who do not make pottery. These owners of land do not want the potters to dig out and take the clays. Therefore, the potters take the clays without having the consent of the owners of the plot of land from which they bring the clays. One interviewed women potter stated the scenario "*lafitti teennaamiti...hin hatanna. Abbootiin lafaa xixxiixxee nu dhooggaa jirtti. Abbootiin lafaa uduu asii asiin nu ari'an hatanna.*" The

meaning is “the clay plot is not our property...we steal. The owners of the clay site are averting us...we steal while the owners of the plot follow us.” This statement clarify that the owners of the plot do not allow the potters to take the clays from their land. The reason behind why the owners of the clay sites prevent the potters from taking the clay is the fact that digging out clay is not good for the land which is used either for agriculture or for grazing used for cattle. Both the potters and the non potters agree that digging out of land to take the clays has negative impact on the land which is used otherwise for farming or grazing. One woman indicated that “earlier we used to dig out the clays for free but these days clay site owners do not want that for they want to use the land for grazing. They prefer to sell the grass. They track us along riverside and insult us when we dig out the clays” This statement reflects that prevention of potters from digging the clay by plot owners is a recent phenomenon and this does not implies that the potters and clay site owners were in conflict throughout their life time. According to one local elderly explained the reason for why the clay site owners prevent the potters stating “clay site owners are preventing them saying *fiula keenna* (our side/look) and by having *qabiyyee* (legal ownership of plot of land) over the plot.” People claim land as their own side/look and attempt to have legal ownership of the land which was commonly used by the surrounding community and which is still considered as communal by some. The recent changes associated with land registration system also give ownership certificate of lands previously considered as communal. Accordingly, problems associated with changes in land tenure system can be attributed to the rising tension between pottery producers and clay site owners and changes in the nature of clay site related interaction between potters and site owners.

However, one needs to pose some questions. Are the potters always stealing the clays? Do the owners of the clay site not allow the potters to dig out and take the clays? Isn't it possible

for clay site owners to prevent the potters from stealing? Some of the potters want to thank the owners of the clay sites. Had it not been for the willingness of the clay site owners, it could have been impossible for the potters to bring the clays. The potters recognize the implicit willingness of the clay site owners. One woman stated “we paid nothing for the clay site owners. Thanks to him. There is nothing we can do if he strongly prevents us from taking the clay.” These statements reveal that although the owners of the clay site recognize the negative impact; that they have legal right over their plot of land to prevent others from using it; that they do not want the potters to dig the land; they still recognize that the lives of the potters is highly dependent on pottery. Furthermore since the site owners and the potters know each other personally and have relationship in one way or another, site owners face social pressure and fail to seriously prevent the potters from digging out the clay from the plot they own.

Making pottery and firing.

Pottery making is not a one night event. Making pottery ready for marketing takes at least one week during dry season, and two to three weeks during rainy seasons, according to the potters. From among all the processes of pottery making, drying pottery takes the largest share of this time. There is no other activity of pottery making which takes more than one day.

Once the clays are brought home, the potters do not immediately proceed to the next work of making pottery. Since digging clay and carrying it to home is a laborious and tiresome job, the potters take rest on that day. “When we get back from clay site we usually get tired. For this reason we begin making pots on the next day,” stated one of the women potter. On the next day, the work of making pottery begins by mixing the different clay types by adding water. Thoroughly mixing the clays with the help of water is followed by the activity of making

different parts of the pottery. After the potteries are made what follows is drying pots to some extent and making it ready for decoration. Decoration of pottery is made after the potteries get partially dry, not as dry as the one ready for firing. The decorations are 'simple' marks made on the pots.

Firing is the activity where the contributions of males are reflected most, from among the processes of making pottery. It is in the process of firing that males contribute their part by searching for resources necessary for firing, like fire woods and putting the woods in to pieces so that it is suitable for firing pots. In addition to fire wood, other things called *huura* which includes dried leaves of *enset* and dried grasses are used for firing pots.

Implements used to make pottery.

There are several implements used to make pottery. Observations of the implements indicate that there are similarities in the sense that the potters use these same implements in the same way. Each implement have specific functions. The implement named as *erbee loonii* (cattle leather) is of two types and have two different functions. Bigger *erbee*, which is also known as *itiillee* is used as a container on which the clays are mixed with water. The smaller one is piece of cattle leather used while making pots, particularly for expanding the initial smaller pottery from inside outwards so that it will get bigger, in terms of size. Smaller *erbee* also plays the function of smoothing the internal part of pottery. Table 2 shows the names of the implements and their functions

Table 2: Implements used to make pottery and their functions

Running head: LIVELIHOODS AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP OF POTTERS

S.No.	Implements by local names	Description of the implement	Functions
1	<i>Qottoo</i>	A wood carrying strong metal inserted at its edge	Used for digging out the clay from the clay site
2	<i>Sukkaya</i>	Wood known for its strength	After the clays are brought home, <i>sukkaya</i> is used for pounding the clays with water
3	<i>Erbee loonii</i>	Flat piece of cattle leather	Used as container when mixing, grinding and pounding of the clays and for cleaning and expanding small pottery from inside outwards.
4	<i>Jaarikaani</i>	Plastic product sold with oil as container, is cut at its base	Used for holding water and other small implements like smaller <i>erbee</i> and <i>fe'umaa</i> when making pots.
5	<i>Fe'umaa</i>	Piece of plastic product which have rectangular shape	Used for cleaning the external body of the pots
6	<i>Filaa</i>	A piece of plastic broken comb	Used for decorating the products by putting different marks on external parts of the pots.
7	<i>Rigaa</i>	Circular metal, part of cart tire wheel	Used for decorating the external part of the pots
8	<i>Gongaa</i>	Flat wood	Flat wood up on which the clays are

			mixed by
9	<i>Gambisaa</i>	Stone which have circular shape	Used to hold pots when making/shaping them
10	<i>Quncuree</i>	Piece of knife like metal	Used to make the dried body of the pots smooth

Types of pottery and their functions.

The interviews with the potters revealed that *Koma* pottery producers specialize in making pottery known as *ottee* of differing size and function. This is evident in that they name profession as *ottee dhayuu* (making *ottee*). According to one interviewee (woman) “All we make is *ottee*. We do not make other items like *jabanaa* and *eelee*. *Jabanaa* and *eelee* are brought to Koffele town market from Shashemenne. Our grandmothers too made only *ottee*.” This statement reveals that *Koma* potters make products of the same kind. The reason the potters provided for lack of diversity in their products is related to lack of opportunity to learn other types of pottery other than *ottee*. The only skill they inherited from their pioneer potters is the skill of making *ottee*. However, the *ottee* the potters make have certain variation, mainly in terms of size which also indicates the accompanying difference in functions.

Although the name *ottee* is given as general category the difference in size and the functions they play give the products another distinguishing name. For example, the potters indicated that they make only *ottee* and if one goes beyond by probing, they inform that they make *ottee* of different size and function like smaller *xuwwee* and *jaayi*. The easily detectable difference between *xuwwee* and *ottee* is manifestations in size. The following table indicates the

different types of *ottee* the potters make, the physical features of the products and their respective functions they are used for.

Table 3: types of pottery and its functions

S.No	Types of <i>ottee</i>	Physical characteristics of product	Functions
1	<i>Ottee raasoo</i>	Rounded bottom, have <i>morma</i> (human neck like narrower upper part) and have <i>gurraa</i> for handling. Have small hole around <i>morma</i> and the internal body which is not very smooth	Used for <i>raasoo</i> , the process of separating butter from milk by shaking
2	<i>Ottee marqaa</i>	Have the same feature with <i>ottee raasoo</i> except the absence of small hole and have more smooth internal body	Used for preparing traditional food named <i>marqa</i> (porridge).
3	<i>Xuwwee</i> also named as <i>jaayii</i>	Have the same feature with <i>ottee marqaa</i> . But is smaller in size and sometimes might not have <i>gurraa</i> depending on their intended functions.	Used for drinking coffee, for holding butter and for preparing cabbage.
4	<i>Gullichaa</i>	Triple product having circular bottom, broader at the bottom, narrow neck and flat top	Used for holding cooking and other materials on fire

Although the potters insist that they all make only *ottee*, I once came across a woman who showed me that she sometimes make different products, like *gullichaa*, which have completely different shape and function from that of *ottee*. However, she stresses that it is unusual to see potters who make other types of products, and she admits that she does not make other products like *gullicha* on regular basis. *Gullicha* cannot be categorized in the group of *ottee* since it varies from *ottee* both in its shape and function. Again, while *ottee* is a single product which is sold as single product, *gullichaa* is a set of triple products which cannot be sold separately and a single *gullicha* is almost useless unless they all appear together to carry any utensil used for different purpose on fire. For these reasons the potters refrain from categorizing *gullicha* as *ottee* and simple observation of the products and the knowledge of their functions can also confirm that *gullicha* should not fall in the general category of *ottee*.

Marketing.

The last stage in the process of making pottery is marketing the product. There are two settings where the potters sell their products. One is their home where they live and make pottery, and the other setting is Koffele town Wednesday Market.

The interviewed potters reveal that they use two channels of marketing to reach their products to the direct consumers. Usually the potters use the first channel of marketing which involves selling the product to the merchants who come from *Kore*, the name for one of the district and town in west Arsi zone, and *Kore* town is about 25 kilometer from Koffele town and the potters' village. The potters indicate that those merchants who come from *Kore* do not make pottery (have no skill) and they are engaged only on marketing of the product. They indicate that those merchants are Arsi, in a sense that they are not pottery producers who are labeled as

Wottile by the Arsi people of the surrounding. Those merchants are those who are in the middle of the potters and the consumers of the products. They came to the potters' village on Wednesday to purchase the products so that they can make the products available on the next day for *Kore* town market, that is, for weekly Thursday market. The interviewed potters indicate that those traders use donkeys to transport the product to *Kore* market.

The other channel of marketing is the one which brings the producers and the consumers face to face. This takes place at the nearby market of Koffele town, on Wednesday market. There are two weekly markets in Koffele town; however, all the interviewed potters indicate that they do not sell their products on Saturday market, which is smaller than Wednesday market. Rather they sell their products only on Wednesday market which is the biggest market of Koffele. The potters stated that unlike merchants who come from *Kore*, they use their back to carry and transport the product to the nearby market of Koffele. The potters indicate that they barely sell their product at Koffele town market. This is because they have customers who come to their home and purchase the products without necessarily visiting market which by turn enable them to save their time and energy. The potters indicated two situations which makes them to sell their produce directly to the customers at Wednesday market of Koffele town. One is when they make extra pottery so that the merchants from *Kore* cannot purchase all. The other opportunity by which the potters sell their products directly to the customers is when they want to visit Koffele town market for other different purposes, which allow them to sell their products on the way to accomplishing the other purpose for which they visited the market.

The price of products varies depending on their size. The interviewed potters indicated that the price of pottery ranges from one and half birr to five birr. According to one interviewed woman while the smaller *xuwwee* cost about one and half birr the bigger *ottee* cost about five

birr. However, there were discrepancies in what the potters mentioned and what the surrounding local community indicated regarding the price of pottery. For example, while the potters gave the maximum price of *ottee* as five birr, the non potters indicated the maximum price of *ottee* ranges from eight to ten birr. One interviewed woman stated the following when asked about the price of pottery they produce “we sell a single *ottee* sometimes for three *shilingii* (*shilingii* meaning fifty cents) and sometimes for one birr.” Another woman stated the following: “For the merchants who come from *Kore* we sell about 25 *ottee* for 35 birr. They do not purchase only big or only small *ottee*... rather they mix... because people need both bigger *ottee* and smaller ones.”

It is difficult to calculate the amount of money the potters earn per day, per week or per month. It is also difficult to calculate how many pots they make per day or per week. This is because there are several factors that affect the production and marketing of their products. For example, selling of pottery is determined largely by weather condition. The potters sell their products based on the readiness of the product for marketing and this is dependent on weather conditions. During dry seasons the potters can sell their products on weekly or every two week, depending up on the readiness of the material for marketing. However, during rainy seasons, this might not be the case for it takes longer for the pots to dry. The potters have also difficulties calculating the amount of pottery they make per day for different factors affect the process. Mulu (2007) also indicated the difficulties potters face when attempting to calculate the amount of pottery they produce with in specified time. Mulu added that the reasons are that the pottery with designs determines the speed since it takes time and demands patience, and season (p.30).

According to Mulu (2007) in *Kechene*, in the dry and sunny seasons, the price of the pottery are cheaper since the pots demand lesser time to dry, but in the rainy seasons, they take more time and energy, and more firing materials (p.44). Mulu added that the cost of the firing

materials is more expensive in the rainy seasons (p.44). Contrary to this both *Koma* potters and the surrounding non potters indicate that during rainy seasons the prices of pottery get low due to low demand for the product. Although production and supply of pottery gets lower during this season the price do not increase due to factors associated with demand for products. Potters indicate that people do not buy pottery during rainy seasons and for this reason the cost for the product gets low although the work of making pottery is more difficult during these seasons. This is related, in other term, with the purchasing power of farmers which increase by the time where cereals are harvest and sold by them, which occurs during dry season.

Livelihood outcomes.

Livelihood outcomes are what people are seeking to achieve through their livelihood strategies and are the achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies and the outcomes can be more income, increased well being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and others (DFID, 2009). For *Koma* pottery producers, food and well being related issues can be considered as the outcome of pottery as one livelihood strategy. They use the income generated from pottery to achieve outcomes which includes feeding their children, covering school expenses for their children, maintaining their profession by using the money to purchase resources necessary for pottery making. Almost all the interviewed potters indicated that they use the money they earn from pottery for making living by purchasing products they use for home consumption, like food. One interviewed women stated the following about the money they earn “we use money to purchase food. We eat with the money we earn by selling pottery. We purchase coffee and salt with the money.” Another woman stated that “since we do not have farm, we buy wheat, we buy corn, we buy food for our children.” These statements reveal that the money the potters earn is used mainly for fulfillment of basic needs especially foods. The above statement affirms that due

to lack of adequate plot of land to be used either for farming or cattle rearing they rely largely on pottery to feed their children and other means of livelihoods are indicated as optional to pottery making. There are days where the potteries could not be sold and when this situation happens, potters sometimes rely on the money they borrow from their customers, particularly on merchants who come from Kore to purchase food.

Although the potters indicated that they use the money for the consumption of foods, it should be noted that they use the money for other purposes too. For example, pottery making by itself costs them certain amount of money. They should purchase the fire wood and *huura* for firing the pottery by the money generated by selling pottery. They also use the money for clothing and to cover some expenses associated with schooling of children, like to buy stationeries for the children. Potters use income generated from pottery also for paying contributions for their *iddir* which is indicated as strong by local non potters.

Other means of livelihoods.

The *Koma* pottery producers' life is not solely dependent on pottery; rather, they have other means of livelihoods too. The commonly mentioned means of livelihoods by the potters includes agriculture and cattle breeding while daily labor is also mentioned by some pottery producers. These livelihood strategies are used both as supplementary and alternative to pottery making which is most important for the potters. For example, when we take agriculture, it is used as supplementary to pottery when members of pottery producing community engage in farming without stopping pottery production. This happens in such a way that since agriculture is the job of males and pottery is considered as the job of females, male members of the community engage in agriculture and the yield is used to supplement income generated from pottery.

However, there are conditions where agriculture turns in to alternative to pottery making.

Especially during rainy seasons, when it takes long to make pottery, women potters engage in the processing of *enset* for food, leaving aside the work of pottery making, and this condition makes agriculture alternative to pottery. I have attempted to briefly look at these means of livelihoods which are presented below by their order of importance, next to pottery production, which is indicated as more important than agriculture.

Agriculture.

Farming, which is mainly males' job, is one means of livelihoods for pottery producers. Although the amount of land the potters own is very small relative with the amount of land non potters own in the surrounding community, the potters use the available small plot of land for farming purpose. They produce *enset*, potato and some vegetables which are mainly used for home consumption. Farming is mainly the role of males in the *Koma* potters' community since females spend most of their time making pottery.

Farming the land of non potters is a common practice of pottery producers. Two strategies are employed by the potters to farm the land of non potters. By one strategy they use their labor to farm the land of non potters and obtain small plot of land to farm for themselves. The potters farm the *maasaa* (farm land) of non potters and yield from small section of the farm land is given for them.

There is other form of farming known as *qixxee* which is undertaken on the land of the local non potters by the pottery producers. In this kind of farm, potters contribute largely their labor and the seed, while non potters contribute land. The interviews with the potters show that since the potters do not have adequate plot of land, they farm the land of the non potters and

share the yield, a process known as *qixxee* farming by the local community. The interviewed women potters indicate that their husbands engage in farming the land of the non potters, in addition to the farming of their own small plot of land. One women stated the following to the interview question “my husband do not make pottery... his work is agriculture. Since we do not have land to farm he farms the land of others for *qixxee* (equal share of yield with non potters who own the land).” This statement clearly indicates that potters’ husbands farm the land of the non potters in addition to farming their own small plot of land.

Cattle breeding.

Cattle breeding is mentioned as means of livelihoods by the *Koma* potters. However, still associated with lack of adequate plot of land as indicated by potters, the potters community do not rear several cattle since it require grazing land which is almost unavailable in the potters community. Even the cattle they own graze the lands which exist along riverside, which is either owned by non potters or the one which is considered as public land where individual ownership is nonexistent.

Daily labor.

From among mentioned means of livelihoods other than pottery, daily labor is raised by *Koma* potters as one means of livelihood. This means of livelihoods is also mentioned by the potters as the work of male members of the potters’ community. Male members of *Koma* potters community are engaged in daily labor both in Koffele town and the surrounding rural community and earn wage. One interviewed women stated the following concerning daily labor “when males are not in a position to find farm land for *qixxee* farming, they work different job as daily labor including farming, cutting trees and cutting fuel woods in to pieces.”

Social Relationship of Potters with Non Potters

Koma potters have relationship with non potters who are their neighbors and those who do not live in the nearby village of the potters through the market interaction and other means. I have attempted to see the social relationship of the potters with non potters by emphasizing the social position of the potters, their relationship in terms intermarriage, attendance of marriage ceremonies, attendance of burial ceremonies and the roles played by the potters in the lives of non potters.

Who are the potters?

The potters who are known as “*Wottile*” by the non -potter community live in Koffele district at a rural area known as “*Koma*”. For the potters, *Wottile* is a derogatory term which they do not like. None of the interviewed participants (both potters and non potters) know the meaning of the term *Wottile*. The interviewed potters indicated that the Arsi (non potters) call them by the name *Wottile* merely because they are poor and make pots, and do not know the meaning. Contrarily, there were non- potter interviewees who stated that *Wottile* is the name potters have given for themselves. For the question ‘what is the name you prefer over *Wottile*?’ some of them indicated that they prefer to be called as “Arsi” while others prefer to be named as “*Koma*”. *Koma* is one of the *gosa* (clan) in Koffele area. In this study, since the term *Wottile* has negative connotations and since Arsi is too broad to be used to refer to these potters, the term *Koma* is used to refer to the potters in the study area.

The local people state that the *Wottile* are not Arsi people or do not have Arsi blood. They are brought by a man of *Koma* clan, known as Caakkisoo Turi from Sidama, from around Wando. This man brought them as laborers to cultivate *enset*. One non potter woman stated the

following “earlier they [potters] came from Sidama. It was Caakkisoo who bought and brought them here...then, they pulled their parents and relatives”. Potters, however, reject this claim and insist that they are Arsi. One potter informant stated the following:

“We are Arsi. We were born and grown up here. Even our fathers were born here. We don’t know Sidama ... Caakkisoo brought our grandparents and that is why they (non potters) say *Wottile* are Sidama. Caakkisoo brought our grandparents, not us”

Social position of *Koma* pottery making community.

In Koffele district in general and in the community surrounding pottery producers in particular, it is common to hear social classifications, like *Cawwaa* versus *Balchaa* and *Wottile* versus *Walabaa*. The interviewed Arsi people mentioned these as classifications to indicate the social positions of different category of people. While *Cawwaa* is the name given for weavers and *Wottile* is the name given for the potters, *Balchaa* and *Walabaa* refer to Arsi Oromo. Such names are not merely names used to identify people with their skills; rather they also indicate the accompanying social position of those populations in the area and the associated privileges and marginalization.

For example, the *Wottile* and *Cawwaa* are looked down upon by the Arsi Oromo and therefore hold lower social positions. The lower social position of *Wottile* is clearly reflected in the surrounding area of Koffele district. For example, after I explained that I am doing research on the *Koma* potters, one elderly non potter research participant stated the following “*Wottileen duruu namaa gadi taanaan Wottilee taate, maaliif Wottilee iraati hojjetta? Aadaa keenna ka Arsii irratti hin hojjettu?*” which means, “*Wottile* are sub- human beings because of their being

Wottile...why do you make research on *Wottile*? You better work on our Arsi culture” These statements clearly reflect how the *Wottile* are looked down by the Arsi Oromo of the surrounding area. The expression of potters as sub human by local elderly clearly reflect what is indicated by Pankhurst (2001) that craft workers have such a low status that many of them are considered to be ‘not real people’ by the majority around them (p.1). Pankhurst further indicated the relation of craft workers and the rest of society as paradoxical stating, whereas their products are vital for rural livelihood, the producers tend to be looked down up on by the rest of society (p.1). This paradox is also reflected in the present study area. In present study, it is found that the consumers of potters’ products are Arsi people who give low social position for the potters. They give low status for the potters but cannot live almost without the products of the potters and this indicates the paradox regarding the vitality of the potters’ products in the lives of non potters and the low social position given to them.

On the other hand, relative with the *Cawwaa*, the *Wottile* have better social position. This is manifested in an interview with the local non potters who stated the following “We look/treat *Cawwaa* differently/with suspicion. There is no need of looking *wottile* with bad eye...because *Wottilee* are soft (*laaftu*, by local language), while the *Cawwaa* are strong/ resistant (*dirra jabaatti*), which also mean insensitive/do not hear.” The above quoted Afan Oromo terminologies used by the local non potters to describe the *Cawwaa* hold negative connotations although it is difficult to describe the real sense of the meanings by English.

According to the interviewed non potters, the potters’ are “*Wottile*” which implies their social position in the surrounding area. *Wottilummaa*, which means being *Wottile*, is the position one acquires by birth. This is reflected in the fact that although females make pottery, it is not only those pottery makers who are named as *Wottile* by the non potters (Arsi Oromo). Rather

their children and their husbands are also called *Wottile*. Therefore, whether they make pottery or not they are named as *Wottile*. In other term, being *Wottile* is a position that one acquire not just because he/she makes pottery, rather because that person and his/her parents belongs to pottery producing community and do not have Arsi blood. However, this does not mean that all non Arsi are named as *Wottile*, nor does it imply that all Sidama which are believed to be the pioneers of *Koma* pottery producers are *Wottile*. As indicated by one local non potter even in Sidama the *Wottile* are different, which implies the different position held by the potters in Sidama.

Marriage relationship.

There are differences on the responses provided by potters and non potters regarding the interest of non potters to marry an individual who is a member of the potters' community. The *Koma* potters believe that non potters have the willing and interest to marry the potters although this is not reflected in an interview with non potters, who believe that non potters (Arsi) do not marry potters. Referring to intermarriage of non potters with their community one potter women stated the following "Arsi marry us... they have the interest to marry our bride...they do not look us with different eye...they do not hate us the way they hate *Cawwaa*."

The non potters have two paradoxical beliefs regarding the marriage of potters and non potters. While there exists widely held belief that one who marry potters will have several children, which is valued and wanted by non potters; they still state that non potters do not marry potters because they have different blood. One local woman stated the following "*wottilee* are *hadhishaa*... those who marry them will have many children/ they reproduce. However, since they are not our *saba* (ethnic group), they are not our blood...that is why we do not marry each other." The above mentioned non potter woman of the surrounding community used the term

“*hadhishaa*” to describe the reproductive capacity of the potters by making equivalence between the reproductive nature of potters and the productive soil. *Hadhishaa* is the term for the type of soil which is highly fertile and productive, and the local community use this term to describe the belief that potters are highly reproductive, attempting to make the analogy.

The interviewed non potters indicate that the potters marry each other by classifying/grouping themselves, like the way Arsi divide their patrilineage. There are four classifications of potters, according to local non potters. They say you are *Dokkoo*, *Wanaaga*, *Sham'ure*, *Sheella*. One local non potter stated the following “although saying *wottilee*, they divide themselves to marry each other...it is like *gosaa* and *balbalaa* of Arsi. They divide themselves to marry each other... Arsi do not marry them.” The above statement affirms that the potters divide themselves to marry the members of their community. The local non potters attempted to compare the issue with the *gosa* and *balbalaa* of Arsi. In Arsi culture it is forbidden to marry member of the same *gosa* and *balbala* and this analogy indicates that, for example, members of *Dokko* family do not marry each other; rather they can marry member of other remaining division.

However, this cannot lead us to the conclusion that pottery producers practice indogamous marriage. This is because there is no belief on the part on pottery producers which prohibits them from marrying non potters, at least by principle. The belief that potters and non potters should not intermarry exist only on the part of non potters. Again, even if non potters’ belief prohibits marrying potters, the practical reality sometimes violates the existing belief since the marriage of potters and non potters exist. For example, I was informed that one non potter who lives near potters’ village has two wives and one among them is from pottery producing community.

Although the potters and non potters disagree on the issue of inter marriage relationship between potters and non potters, they agree on the attendance of marriage and burial ceremonies of each other. Both the potters and non potters agree that they attend the marriage and burial ceremonies of each other. The potters attend the marriage ceremony when requested and participate on the burial ceremony of the non potters, and the same holds true for non potters. One local non potter stated “in terms of participation in burial ceremony we are members of the same Iddir, they attend our burial ceremony. We are together both in time of death and life...they are our *nafa* (body).” This statement is indicative of intimate relationship that exists between potters and non potters by the time of occurrences of events, both on happiness and sadness. One woman potters stated the following:

“They call us to attend their marriage. We live together...they call us...there are no such suspicion. They do not hate us... we just sit down and eat together. If they call us for weeding, we bring milk by *ciicoo* (a traditional Oromo material used for holding and transporting milk). They bring too just like us. They attend our wedding ceremonies too...we live together. No suspicion, looking us with different eye is absent now. It is left over with earlier/ancient people.”

The woman added the reason behind these changes or improvements in the social interaction stating

“This change is brought by Meles. It is disclosed by government. Government said ‘I did not say one is *Balchaa*, one is *Cawwaa*.’ He said human being is one. *Wottilummaa* (being *wottilee*) has been changed in to *qixxumma* (being equal). It is what government stated”

The aforementioned two quotations from women potter clarify that the potters and non potters interact with each other. They point out that they attend the marriage ceremonies of non potters and participate in burial practices of non potters, and showed that the potters also attend social events of the potters. The potters also confirmed that earlier there were marginalization and this marginalization has changed in to a time of equality- a change which is brought by Meles, according to the potters. Religion is another factor behind these changes as almost all the interviewed potters and non potters are followers of Islam. This is reflected in an interview where some non potters indicated the equality of human being referring to religious teachings that all human came from Aadam and Hawwa.

Roles of *Waata*.

Pankhurst (2001) indicated that although craft producers are ostracized and excluded from many areas of social life, some of the minority groups also play significant social and cultural roles, which is paradoxical (p.1). The issue that craft workers play social and cultural roles is also clearly found in the current study of *Koma* pottery producing community where the potters are marginalized but still playing different social and cultural role in Arsi people's lives. I have presented different roles played by members of pottery producers in the social and cultural lives of Arsi people, which involves the interaction of potters and non potters.

From among member of the potters' community, there are people who play the roles of *waata*. Both the potters and non potters agree that potters also play the role of *waata*. Although the interviewed people (both potters and non potters) state that *waata* is from potters' community, I came across one elderly who hold different view regarding who *waata* is. He stated the following:

“*waata* have mixed blood of Arsi and *wottilee*. He is from east; from around Sirka...his *gosa* is known as Heella. *Waata* married *wottilee* up on advice from *raaga* (person who forecast). *Waata* who could not get children want to *raaga*. *Raaga* told *waata* to marry *wottilee* so that the problem of having children, from which *waata* was suffering will be resolved. Then, *waata* got children after marrying *wottilee*, as forecasted by *raaga*.”

In an interview with one member of potters' community, one respondent stated the following “*Wottileen hin falti malee hin falfalttu*” which means ‘*wottilee* perform ritual ceremony named *fala* (to bless) rather than performing *falfala* (curse).’ This statement reveals the role played by *waata* not only in the potters' community but also in non potters' community. One non potter woman stated the following which confirm the blessing role of *waata* indicated by the potter, by Afan Oromo “*waata buree burichaa, waatni loonii qoricha jedhan dur*” which means “earlier people say *waata* of *buree burichaa*, *waata* is medicine (have therapeutic value) for cattle” The woman added that *waata* bless cattle and when blessed, the cattle will get free from dangers like diseases and get more, they reproduce more. In response to this role *waata* obtain *wereega* (sacrifice/payment given for *waata*, in this context usually cattle). People promise by saying “if I get this (after blessing of *waata*) I will give you cattle in the form of *wereega*.”

The other roles of *waata* are also indicated by local people, which include their roles in removing evil (named as *kudha*, also named as *badduu* or *hamtuu*, by Afan Oromo). Their role of removing evils is applicable when people kill each other and when accidents like burning of living homes happen. It is *waata* who removes *Kudha* (evil) from killer. Unless *waata* removes the *kudha* and cleans the killer, *Araara* (forgiving the killer through traditional negotiation) is impossible in Arsi culture. One local elderly stated the following “*waata* remove the *kudha* and

cleans the killer, just like one use soap to clean the children and remove wastes. A killer person who did not remove or get free from *kudha* (evil) is enemy.” This statement reveal that *waata* plays important role in the process of bringing peace and forgiveness between two conflicting party by removing the *kudha* from killer. When accidents like burning of homes happen, again it is *waata* who took the responsibility of removing evil.

The *Wottile* and *Hadicho* of Sidama.

I have attempted to make comparison between the *Koma* potters of Koffele district and the *Hadicho* (pottery producers) of Sidama in order to grasp whether what is indicated by *Koma* potters and the surrounding community have been raised on the studies conducted on the *Hadicho* of Sidama. Important findings were indicated in previous studies conducted on the *Hadicho* that substantiate the belief regarding relation of *Koma* pottery producers with Sidama and some related issue. The study by Haileyesus (2001) on Sidama craft workers is the one with which comparisons are made.

One issue where some indicator of relationship is found is related with the belief Sidama farmers hold about the reproductive nature of *Hadicho*. According to Haileyesus (2001) the farmers believe that *Hadicho* are harmless, and even useful, since they are associated with fertility (p.240). Haileyesus added that non potters say ‘*Hadicho harishate*’, means, ‘*Hadicho* are fertilizers’ and are associated with fertile dung (p.240). This statement match with the belief non Arsi people of the surrounding area hold about *Koma* potters. As indicated above non potters indicate the fertility or reproductive capacity of the potters stating “*Wottileen hadhisha*” which means “*Wottiles* are reproductive”, attempting to make analogy between their reproductive capacity and the fertile soil.

Other similarity found is related with who is *waata* and the roles *waata* plays. Haileyesus (2001) indicated that Hadicho in the study area claim to have come from Hadicholand, however, indicating individual named Hobe who has different history (p.238). Haileyesus added this man's family came from Shala, an Arsi Oromo area and indicating his root as Arsi. According to Haileyesus Hobe indicate his root stating 'we, the watta, are Oromo. We cannot be considered as Sidama' (p.238). Haileyesus further stated that the Watta are *maganamo*, godly people and as *maganamo*, their predictions, blessings and curses are said to be effective, and they are *tagisano minete*, healing clan (p.238). These findings have similarities with findings related with who *waata* is. As indicated above all interviewed Arsi people except one believe that *waata* are *wottile*. However one local elderly who have different view indicated *waata* as having mixed blood of Sidama and Arsi, and indicated his origin as Sirka, Arsi area. Similarities are found also in terms of roles played by Watta of Sidama and *waata* of Arsi, who play blessing role and role of removing evils. Although some issues that associate *Koma* potters of Koffele and Hadicho of Sidama is found, it needs further study and investigation.

Nature of Marginalization

According to Pankhurst (2001) marginalization of craft workers is manifested most starkly in restrictions on exchanges, social interaction and consumption of food and drink; segregation in burial; submissive greetings; and beliefs about craft workers' supernatural powers (p.2). Pankhurst added that marginalization can be analyzed in terms of five interrelated dimensions: spatial, economic, political, social and cultural; however, not all the minorities are marginalized in the same way, or across all of these dimensions (p.2). Interviews and observation results disclose that *Koma* potters are marginalized and their marginalization is manifested in several forms. They are marginalized not only by local non potters' community which surrounds

them, but also by government and the general Arsi Oromo population of the area. I have attempted to analyze marginalization of the potters by classifying its nature in to social, political and economic marginalization.

Social marginalization.

Social marginalization of the potters by the non potters exists and this manifests through marriage relationship that exists between potters and non potters. Pankhurst (2001) indicated the paradox that there is a disparity between ideological marginalization and distancing of these groups on the one hand, and the practical reality of personalized dyadic relations between individual farmers and artisans on the other. The present study found paradox not only between ideology and the practical dyadic relationship but also with in the ideology itself. The first paradox is the belief that Arsi should not marry *wottile*, while practically there are people who marry members of pottery producing community. The other paradox, which lies within the ideology itself, is the belief in the reproductive capacity of potters (which is valued and wanted) while also holding the belief that Arsi should not marry them.

Interviews with non potters reveal that the potters and non potters do not marry each other. “We do not marry each other... Arsi do not marry *Wottile*. The potters marry each other” said one local non potter woman who lives near the potters’ community. Another local elderly man also stated the following “We do not marry *Wottilee*... I cannot allow my daughter to marry *wottilee*. Potters and non potters might have sexual affairs and might get children... but, we do not allow marriage of potters and non potters.” The above quotations reveal that there is no way to control the sexual relationship that might exist between potters and non potters. However, the non potters do not allow the marriage of their son or daughter through traditional marriage which

passes through different ritual ceremonies according to Arsi culture, as stated by the interviewed non potters.

Political marginalization.

Pankhurst (2001) stated that, in the past craft workers were generally excluded from the dominant traditional political organization of the groups among whom they lived (p.4). According to H. Lewis (1962) craft workers could not partake in the important age grading institutions of many Cushitic speaking groups, and among the Oromo they had very limited political and judicial rights (cited in Pankhurst, 2001, p.4). The idea indicated by literatures is confirmed in present study. Political marginalization of *Koma* pottery producing community by the non potters' community is manifested through the absence of participation in gada system, which is still practical in Koffele area. Referring to Arsi Oromo of Dodola district, which shares border with Koffele district, Daniel (2002) indicated that the Arsi Oromo of Dodola are among few Oromos who are still practicing gada, next to Borena (p.31) and the situation in Koffele is not different. Interviews with the non potters reveal that the potters do not have role and position in gada system. They neither participate in gada system nor have leadership position. One local non potter stated the following regarding potters' participation in Gada system "*Wottilee* do not enter/participate in *yaa'a gadaa* (gatherings of Gada system), they do not participate in gada, they are not meant for that." Another non potter stated the following:

" I did not see *Wottile* sitting in *yaa'a*, I did not see *Wottilee* informing us gada laws...*Wottilee* and *Cawwaa*, they do not give decision referring to *seera Arsi* (Arsi customary laws), they do not seat behind *Odaa* (tree under which gada participants gather) to pass decisions."

The above statements show that the potters are not allowed by the non potters to have participation and a say in Gada system, at least by principle. However, this situation of marginalization is not reflected in *Ateetee* (the gatherings of women to defend their right, especially against the oppression of males in Arsi Oromo culture), in a sense that the potters participate in *Ateetee*. One interviewed non potter woman stated that women from potters' community participate in *Ateetee*.

The absence of privilege to attend gada system could have impacted the sociopolitical life of members of pottery producing community. The lack of participation in gada system implies lack of a say and power to decide on matters that impact their social and political life. However, females enjoy better privileges for they participate in *ateetee*. Their participation enables them to defend against male operations which come not only from members of pottery producing community but also by those who are not.

Economic marginalization.

Economic marginalization of the potters emanate from lack of ownership of adequate plot of land, which is highly impacting their capacity to produce more yield from agriculture and livestock. Pankhurst, (2001) also confirmed that the economic dimension of marginalization is most clearly manifested in restrictions on production and exchange (p3). If one visits the village of the potters he/she can easily detect the difference between potters and non potters in ownership of size of land. One local non potter stated the issue saying "when their home get old, they have no land up on which they can construct new home." This indicates the extent of land problem which is vital for rural life. Land is important resources out of which means of livelihoods is obtained. It is almost impossible to have agriculture without having adequate plot

of land and the same is true for cattle rearing. When asked about their access to credit service, one potters raised an issue related with absence of adequate plot of land stating “ We do not want credit service since we do not have adequate land...no land... we are even in trouble with the cattle we have let alone taking credit to buy cattle.” This statement clearly reflects the importance of land to have economic activities which can improve their lives.

The potters are marginalized economically largely by government, who failed to provide adequate plot of land for them and this absence of adequate plot of land is adversely affecting the economy of the *Koma* potters. They did not get another plot of land other than the one Caakkisoo provided them by the time he brought them from Sidama. The potters have got legal ownership of the land Caakkisoo provided them but did not obtain another plot of land from government. Again, this is similar with what is stated by Pankhurst (2001) that, in the past the minorities had extremely limited access to land and livestock; tended to live on the land of patrons or lords and could be evicted at any moment, forcing them to seek new patrons (p.3).

Challenges and Problems in Making Pottery

The *Koma* potters face several challenges and problems in the course of making lives from pottery. Interview results reveal that there challenges which can be grouped as those related with clay and clay site, the transportation problem, laborious nature of pottery making, problems related with the cost of making pots especially the cost of firewood and *huura* and problems related with lack of adequate plot of land. The potters do not consider the replacement of traditional pottery products by plastic jerry cans and metallic products, either imported or home made as a challenge to their production of pottery. One woman stated “jerry can resolved our problem. We ourselves use jerry cans. Jerry can is not heavy to carry...pots are heavy to carry.

Earlier we use pots to fetch water. Now jerry can has arrived, modern product.” Modern plastic product which penetrated up to the home of the potters is not raised even by one potter as challenge to their product. Rather, as indicated above, modern plastic product is considered as good opportunity by the potters for they use it for fetching water which they used to fetch by using heavy pots.

Problems of clay and clay sites.

Problems related with bringing clay and clay site is one of the commonly mentioned problems of *Koma* potters. The potters indicate that owners of the clay sites do not want them to dig out the clays since digging out of the clays have some negative impact on the land which is used for grazing. For this reason, as indicated by potters, they steal the clays. They dig the clay with fear of the arrival of the clay site owner. However, what attempt is made to solve the problems related with clay and clay site either by government or by the potters themselves is an issue that worth consideration. One potter women stated the following:

‘The owners of the clay site say ‘go and ask government.’ We asked government body... they collected two birr from each potter household but we saw nothing getting improved. *Koree ganda* (kebele committee) collected two birr from us and get silent... they did not pay the money collected for clay site owners.’”

These statements expose that the issue is recognized by the potters as one problem and as it needs to be addressed. However, no successful attempt was made either by the potters or by government body to address the problem and improve the situations related with clay site.

Transportation difficulties.

One among the challenges raised by the potters is the problem of transportation. All the potters agree that the transportation problem exist and this is largely manifested when clays are brought home and when the potters bring their product to the market of Koffele town. Transportation problem is also a case when bringing the fire woods and the *huura* from Koffele town and from the surrounding community. The potters' state that due to the fact that they get tired after bringing the clays home from clay sites, they do not continue their job of making pots immediately after they bring home the clays and one reason behind this is the fact that they bring the clays by carrying at their back. Digging clays is the job of women potters and bringing the clay home too is their job which is highly tedious job. The other challenge of pottery is bringing the pots to the nearby market of Koffele town carrying by their back. The bringing home of fire woods and *huura* either from Koffele or the surrounding rural community is also another part of the job where the challenges of transportation is manifested, although the support of males is indicated in this case.

Laborious nature of pottery making.

Potters agree that pottery making is tiresome job for them since they produce using manual labor without involving any modern machine that might support the production of the product more easily with little energy. For example one woman stated "I prefer agriculture over pottery... pottery making makes your blood to stop (*dhiiga nama dhaabdi*). The clays we bring from different sites make your blood to stop." Here, the potters attempted to indicate her preference for agriculture by mentioning the laborious nature of the job of making pots. Bringing clays from different clay sites is one job which is highly laborious. Not only bringing home of clays but also the mixing and process of making pots are also mentioned by potters as tiresome and laborious work.

Cost of firewood and *huura*.

Firewood and *huura* is indicated by the potters as costly and mentioned it as one challenge they encounter in the course of making pottery. Potters indicated that there are problems of getting *huura* from the surrounding community since they do not have adequate *enset* from which they can get *huura*. They added that firing is almost impossible without *qoraan baarzaafii* (eucalyptus tree fuel wood) and it costs about 35 birr to buy single *fe'aa* (a bundle of fuel wood) of fuel wood from the nearby market of Koffele, which is costly according to the potters. The potters raise the costs of firewood and *huura* as challenge relative with the low cost of pottery in the market.

Lack of adequate plot of land.

Lack of adequate plot of land is indicated by the potters as one problem, although its relation with pottery is questionable. Lack of adequate plot of land is indicted by the potters as relating with their lives in several other means. The problem of using agriculture and cattle breeding as one means of livelihoods is also indicated by the potters as related with absence of adequate plot of land which enable them to have such economic activity. According to the potters, lack of adequate plot of land is making them to rely largely on pottery as a means of livelihoods, making difficult the chance of relying on other means of livelihoods like agriculture and cattle breeding. The potters indicate that they prefer agriculture over pottery; but due to land related problems they could not merely rely on agriculture as one means of livelihoods.

Chapter Five

Conclusions, Recommendations and Implication for Social Work

Conclusion

The study on the livelihoods and social relationship of *Koma* pottery producing community came with four conclusions made from results of the study. First, *Koma* pottery producing community use more than single livelihood strategies. Pottery is the most important source of income and most significant means of livelihoods for the potters. Pottery making, which is largely females' job, requires using knowledge and skill of pottery making, natural and manmade resources and implements. Production is affected by factors like season, where it rises during dry seasons and drops during rainy seasons. Pottery producers use two channels of marketing to deliver their products to the final consumers. The income potters earn is used largely to feed their children by purchasing cereals and feeding their children is the livelihood goal the potters expect from pottery making.

The potters rely on agriculture, cattle breeding and daily labor as alternative and supplementary means of livelihoods to pottery for which they are most known by the surrounding area of Koffele district. Pottery is supplemented by agriculture, which is the second most important means of livelihoods and members of the pottery producing community farm the small plot of land they own and the land of non potters. Apart from this, cattle breeding and daily labor are the livelihood strategies of the pottery producing community. Daily labor as livelihood strategy is the role of males where they engage in different activity both in the nearby rural community and Koffele town to earn wage.

Second, there are both similarities and variations of views between potters and non potters regarding the social relationship that exist between them. While the potters believe that the Arsi have been marrying the potters, non potters believe that they should not marry members of pottery producing community at least by principle, although the practical reality might be different. Potters and non potters share the view that they have relationship and attend marriage and burial ceremonies of each other. Again, the potters have special role in Arsi culture; they play blessing role and role of removing evils from individuals, families and cattle. Being *wottile* is the position one holds because he born having blood of member of pottery producing community. This is related with production knowledge which passes from generation to generation involving members of *wottile* community only. However, this does not entail that all individual with Sidama blood are potters.

Third, it is paradoxical to see marginalization of pottery producers compared with important roles they play in tradition of Arsi people and product they produce, which are vital for the livelihoods of non potters, who marginalizes them. The paradox is, potters' product is vital in the livelihoods of local non potters, but they are marginalized by those who rely on their products. The nature of marginalization against pottery producers fall in the general category of political, economic and social marginalization. The male members of pottery making community do not have the right to participate in Gada system which entails their lack of right to participate on issues and decisions which could significantly affect their lives. However, female members of pottery producing community have participation in *ateetee* and this provides them with the privilege to defend their right and fight against the oppressions of males

Finally, pottery producers have mentioned several challenges they encounter in the course of making pottery and have livelihoods from it. The main problem of the potters is related

with control over means of production, mainly land ownership. Problems related with land ownership of clay sites, problems of transportation, the cost of firewood and *huura*, and absence of adequate plot of land for the potters to be used for agriculture or cattle breeding are among the challenges encountered by the potters.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are forwarded based on the findings of the study. One recommendation I want to forward is related with the livelihoods of the pottery producers. The government and nongovernmental organizations needs to look at pottery production as an important sector for making lives. Government and nongovernmental organizations need to consider issues such as improving the skill of potters, helping them with modern technologies, providing them trainings so that pottery as one means of livelihood which have the potential to employ several unemployed segment of the population will be of good quality and beauty, used not only for utilitarian purpose but also as decorating object thereby changing at least the lives of those who are already making pottery. Government needs to consider the significance of this sector which has the potential to provide job opportunities not only to the members of pottery producing community but also to unemployed youths of the surrounding kebele or district. The potters should also be provided with the opportunities to own adequate plot of land which will enable them to diversify their means of income and livelihoods.

The other recommendation goes to the Koma pottery producing community of Koffele district. Koma pottery producers need to focus not only in diversifying their means of livelihoods by emphasizing agriculture and livelihoods; rather emphasis needs also to be given for diversifying the types of pottery they make. Diversity needs to be considered by the pottery

producers in terms of producing different pottery meant for different functions although diversity in terms of relying on means other than pottery is there. The potters also need to improve the problems related with clay sites from which they bring the clays for making pottery. Government bodies also need to interfere with the existing problem by attempting to bring the two parties reach with some form of consensus.

Implication for social work

It is important to consider the implication of the findings for social work with particular emphasis to implication for social work education, research and policy. I have attempted to see the implication of the findings for social work in the following sections.

Implication for Education.

Social work education needs to give emphasis to marginalized segments of the population in general and to craft workers and potters in particular. Curriculums of social work education also better consider issues pertinent in the lives of populations who are marginalized by dominant society. Livelihood related courses which gives emphasis for sectors other than agriculture, where segments of the population like women rely on also better gain necessary attention in social work curricula.

Implication for Research.

Researchers, when dealing with such segments of the population who face different forms of marginalization needs to be careful not to reinforce the existing marginalization. They need to give emphasis even regarding the naming these marginalized segments of the population prefer for they do not like the name the dominant population call them, as reflected in this study.

Social work research also need to give emphasis for the skills and assets the marginalized segments of the population own. Social work research particularly in Ethiopia better give emphasis for the segments of the population that were previously marginalized by providing adequate coverage in terms of research.

Policy implications.

Policies that deal with the livelihood strategies and that enable to improve the lives of the craft workers need to be formulated by concerned bodies. Social workers also need to be advocators of these segments of the population when encountering policies and decisions that might affect the lives of craft workers. Policies that affect the lives of craft workers better be in a position of affirmative by favoring these populations.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Interview guide prepared for potters

Good morning/afternoon. I am Lencho Samuel, student at Addis Ababa University School of Social Work. I am conducting research on entitled “Marginalized craft workers in rural area: livelihood and social relationship of potters in one known pottery producing community of Koffele district, West Arsi Zone. You are selected as one participant for my research and will give me information if you are voluntary. The information you give me will be kept secret and no one except me will know your identity including your name. I will use false name to disclose the findings of the research. I will be using tape recorder to record the voice. I will record your voice just because that is more convenient for me. No harm will be posed by this research and if you feel harm by the research you are free to tell me.

General information

Sex

Age

Marital status

What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

Questions related to livelihoods

Where did you learn the skill of making pots and who taught you?

Do you teach your children to learn making pots?

Do you have willingness to teach non potters to learn the skill of making pots, why/why not?

What resources are necessary to make pots?

What are the implements necessary for making pots?

What are the processes you pass through when making pots?

Where do you make pots?

Where do you get clay to produce the pots?

What is the distance of the clay site from your home?

What is the means of transportation you use to bring the clay to your home?

Are you the owner of the plot?

If no, does the owner allow you to have the clay for free?

What is the amount of money you pay for the owner of clay site?

What are the major products that you produce and what is their function?

Who are your customers?

Is there any product that you produce previously and not now?

If yes why did you stop producing those products?

How many pots do you make on average per day or week?

Where do you sell your products?

What is the means you use to transport your product to the markets?

What is the amount of money you earn by selling pots at one market?

How often do you visit markets in a week to sell pots?

What do you do by the money you earn from selling pots?

Who do you think, in terms of gender engage more in pottery making?

If male what is the role of women?

If women what is the role of men?

Do you and or your family have a land?

If yes, when and how did you get the land?

Is the amount of land you or your family own the same as the land of non potters in terms of fertility and other issues?

What do you produce in these lands?

Do you have cattle?

Which one do you think is more important for your lives from pottery production and other (agriculture and livestock)?

Questions related to marginalization, and social relationship of potters and non potters

How do you describe your relationship with the non potters?

Non potters often identify you by the name “Wottile”. Do you accept this name?

If no what is the identification you prefer over this and why?

Do you attend marriage and burial ceremonies of non potters?

Do non potters attend the burial and marriage ceremonies of your community?

Do you engage in burial ceremony in the same way as the non potters?

What kind of treatment do you see from non potters in such settings?

Do you have marriage relationship with non potters?

Can you allow non potters to marry your son/daughter, why/why not?

Do you think non potters have willingness to have marriage relationship with you potters?

If no what do you think is the reason behind lack of voluntariness on the part of non potters to have marriage relationship with you potters?

There is such a claim that the potters are not Arsi (do not have Arsi blood) and they came from other place. Do you agree with this statement? Why/why not?

Do you engage in any kind of meetings held at Kebele or woreda level?

Do you receive a call from Kebele or Woreda level officials to attend meetings when non potters are called?

Do you participate in election?

Questions related to the challenges/problems in producing pottery

What are the major problems of pottery makers in your community?

What are the sources of these problems?

Is there any problem with the identification and collection of clay?

Do you have any problem when producing pots, please mention?

Do you use any metallic or plastic products in your home?

How do you see the use of metallic and plastic products? Do you think there are challenges to your products and lives?

Do government bodies talk to you or other pottery producers about your activity?

Do you have access to credit services?

What do you think are the solutions for the problems in the production of pots?

Appendix B

Interview guide prepared for non potters

Good morning/afternoon. I am Lencho Samuel, student at Addis Ababa University School of Social Work. I am conducting research on entitled “Marginalized craft workers in rural area: livelihood and social relationship of potters in one known pottery producing community of Koffele district, West Arsi Zone. You are selected as one participant for my research and will give me information if you are voluntary. The information you give me will be kept secret and no one except me will know your identity including your name. I will use false name to disclose the findings of the research. I will be using tape recorder to record the voice. I will record your voice just because that is more convenient for me. No harm will be posed by this research and if you feel harm by the research you are free to tell me.

General information

Sex

Age

Marital status

What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

Questions related to the relationship of potters with non potters

Do you know pottery producers in your district?

What do you call them?

What is the meaning of the term “Wottile”?

Do you have marriage relationship with them?

Can you allow your family member, either your son or daughter to have marriage with pottery makers? Why/why not?

Do you attend wedding and burial ceremonies of the pottery producers?

Do the potters attend the burial and wedding ceremonies of your non potters?

Who do you think are the potters and where did they come from?

Are the potters Arsi/do they have Arsi blood?

Appendix C

Interview guide prepared for the potters, translated in to Afan Oromo

Akkam bultan/ortan? Ani Leencoo Saamue'eel jedhama. Yuuniversiitii Finfinneetti gosa barnootaa social work jedhamu baradha. Yeroo ammaa qua'annaa/ researchii hojjechutti jira. Kanaafis kan na fayyadu gaafii tokko tokko akka naaf deebifan isin gaafadha. Odeefannoon isin naaf kennitan icciitiin isaa ni eeggama. Hayyama keessaniin ala namni biro iccitii isin naaf himtan hin ilaalu. Gaafii naaf deebisuu keessaniifis miidhaan isin irra gahu tokkollee hin jiraatu. Miidhaan isin irra gahe yoo jirates hatantamaan natty himuu ni dandeessu.

General Information translated to Afan Oromo

Saala

Umrii

Fuutanii/heerumtanii jirtuu?

Ijoollee meeqa qabdu?

Questions related with livelihoods translated to Afan Oromo?

Ogummaa faara dhahuu kana eessaa barattan?

Ijoollee keessan ogummaa kana barsiiftuu?

Worra faara hin dhoofne/ Arsii gara biro barsiisuuf fedhii qabdani?

Faara dhahuudhaaf wantoonni barbaachisan maal fa'a?

Meeshaan isin faara dhahuudhaaf itti fayyadamtan maal fa'a?

Sadarkaan isin faara dhahuuf keessa darbitan maal fakkaata?

Faara kana eessatti dhooftu?

Biyyee faara ittin dhooftan kana eessaa fiddu?

Iddoon biyyee kana irraa fiddan hangam fagaata?

Biyyee maalitti feetanii fiddu?

Lafii biyyee irraa fiddan teessanii?

Abbootiin lafaa biyyee akkan fudhattan isiniif hayyamuu?

Abbootii lafaatiif qarshii hangam kafaltu?

Meeshaan isin dhooftan maal fa'a, faayidaan isaanii hoo maalii dha?

Eenyutu oomisha keessan kana isin irraa bita?

Meeshaan kanaan dura dhahaa turtan kan yeroo ammaa dhiifan jiraa?

Eeyyen yoo jettan, maaliif hojjechuu dhiifan?

Guyyatti yookaan torbaanitti meeshaa meeqa hojjettu?

Faara dhooftan eessatti gurgurttu?

Faara kana gabaa baasuuf maalitti feetu?

Faara kana yoo gurgurtan gabaa tokkotti qarshii meeqa argattu?

Dhiira moo dubartitu naannoo keessanitti faara dhaha?

Dubartii yoo jettan hojiin dhiira maalii dha?

Dhiira yoo jettan hojiin dubartii maalii dha?

Lafa qabduu?

Eeyyen yoo jettan akkamitti argatan, yoom?

Laftti isin qabdan lafa ummata biraa/Arsii wojjiin wolfakkaataa? Wolqixaa?

Lafa qabdan irratti maal fa`a oomishttu?

Horii qabduu?

Faara dhahuu moo hojii biraa kan akka qonnaa fi horii horsiisuu isiniif woyya jiruu keessaniif?

Questions related to marginalization and social relationship of potters and non potters

translated to Afan Oromo

Wolitti dhufeenya worra faara hin dhoofne wojjin qabdan maal fakkaata?

Worri faara hin dhoofne maqaa wottilee jedhuun isin waamu. Maqaa kana ni fudhattuu isin?

Hin fudhannu yoo jettan maqaan isin jaalattan maalii dha?

Cidhaa fi du`a worra faara hin dhoofnee irratti hirmaattu?

Worri faara hin dhoofnee cidhaa fi du`a keessan irratti hirmaattuu?

Fuudhaa fi du`a irratti haala wolfakkaataa ta`een hirmaattuu?

Wontti isin naanno kanatti argitan maal fakkaata?

Wolitti dhufeenya wolirraa fuudhuu yookaan wolitti gurguruu worra faara hin dhoofne wajjiin qabduu?

Worri faara hin dhoofne ilma keessan yookan intala teessaniin akka wol fuudhan heyyamtuu?

Worri faara hin dhoofne isin irraa fuudhuuf yookaan isinitti gurguruuf feedhii qabuu?

Fedhii hin qaban yoo jettan sababbiin isaa maal isinitti fakkaata?

Worri faara dhahu dhiiga Arsii hin qabdu, isaan Sidaamaa dhiftte jedhama. Akkami wonti kun dhugaa dhaa?

Wolgahii gandaa kamiyyuu irratti hirmaattuu?

Ganda yookaan aanaa irraa waaminsa wolgahii isiniif kennamaa yoo worri faara hin dhoofne waamamu?

Filannoo irratti hirmaattuu?

Questions related to the challenges/problems in producing pottery translated to Afan

Oromo

Rakkoon gurguddoon worra faara dhahuu naannoo keessanitti maalii dha?

Hundeen rakkoowwan kanneenii maalii dha?

Biyyee barbaaduu fi guuruu irratti rakkoon jiraa?

Yeroo faara dhoftan rakkoo qabduu?

Meeshaa laastikii yookaan sibiilaa mana keessan keessatti fayyadamtuu?

Meeshaa laastikii fo sibiilaa kana akkamitti ilaalttu? Meeshaan kun hojii fi oomisha keessan irratti rakkoo hin taanee?

Qaamni mootummaa waa'ee hojii keessan kana ilaalchisee si'I yookan namoota biro kan faara dhahan hasofsiisee beekaa?

Furmaatni raakkoolee isin mudataa jiruu maalii dha jettanii yaaddu?

Appendix D

Interview guide prepared for non potters, translated to Afan Oromo

Akkam bultan/ortan? Ani Leencoo Saamue'eel jedhama. Yuuniversiitii Finfinneetti gosa barnootaa social work jedhamu baradha. Yeroo ammaa qua'annaa/ researchii hojjechutti jira. Kanaafis kan na fayyadu gaafii tokko tokko akka naaf deebifan isin gaafadha. Odeefannoon isin naaf kennitan icciitiin isaa ni eeggama. Hayyama keessaniin ala namni biro iccitii isin naaf himtan hin ilaalu. Gaafii naaf deebisuu keessaniifis miidhaan isin irra gahu tokkollee hin jiraatu. Miidhaan isin irra gahe yoo jirates hatantamaan natty himuu ni dandeessu.

General information translated to Afan Oromo

Maqaa

Saala

Umrii

Sadarkaa barnootaa

Questions related with social relationship of potters and non potters translated to Afan Oromo

Namootni faara dhahan naannoo kana akka jiraatan beektuu?

Maqaan isaan ittiin waamaman maalii dha?

Wottilee jechuun hiikaan isaa maali'i?

Maatii keessan keessatti wolitti dhufeenya fuudhaa fi herumaa qabduu?

Ilma/intala teessan wolitti dhuffenya fuudhaa fi herumaa wottilee wajjin akka qabaatan
hayyantuufii? Maaliif?

Wottileen cidhaaf du'a keessan irratti hirmaatti?

Isaan hoo isin waamtii?

Enyummaa wottilee beektuu, isaan eessaa dhufan?

Wottileen Arsii dhaa? Dhiiga arsii qabuu?