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**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**

**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

**DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY**

**OVERCOMING MARGINALIZATION: THE CASE OF THE *FUGA* IN  
KEMBATA, SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA**

**BY**

**BIALFEW BAYOU**

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa  
University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree of Masters  
of Arts in Sociology**

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**ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

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**Advisor: Ezana Amdework (PhD)**

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| ACORD | Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development |
| CSA   | Central Statistics Agency                          |
| DGCS  | Directorate General for Development Cooperation    |
| EPRDF | Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front    |
| FDRE  | Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia            |
| GOE   | Government of Ethiopia                             |
| GOI   | Government of the Italian                          |
| KMG   | Kambata Menti Gezzima                              |
| KTZ   | Kembata Tembaro Zone                               |
| NGO   | Non-Governmental Organization                      |
| SNNP  | Southern Nation Nationalities and People           |
| UN    | United Nation                                      |
| UNDP  | United Nation Development Program                  |
| USAID | United States Agency for International Development |

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS IN LOCAL LANGUAGES

*Aboda*, was the way of greeting *Fugas* to *Wumanos*.

*Ayle*, a term used in Ganta for slave descendants

*Balabat* (or *balabbat*), regional governors, as well as nobles in Ethiopia, were once part of the semi-feudal system.

*Barya*, in the Ethiopia highland area and neighboring locations, the word for slaves and slave descendants

*Dagna*, law lords/ judiciary

*Enset/ ensete ventricosum*, Known as the 'fake' banana. Stem and root extracts are commonly used as a staple food.

*Fuga*, a term used by Gurage, Kambatta, and other cultures to describe craftworkers/former hunters.

*Fuld'o*, konso's traders (and craftworkers) association

*Giffata*, an annual game played during the Cross celebration.

Eje-work, means Golden Hands: it is another name of the *Fuga* given by KMG, it was decided in consultation with their leaders that the *Fugga* community should be called, while "*Fuga*" was being used to defame and degrade the identity of these communities.

*Gomaro*, kaffa's dominating farming majority

*Hadicho*, a term used by Sidama to describe artisans

*Idir/Edir*, burial association

*Iqub/Equb*, conventional savings association

Kebele: the lowest administrative structure

Kotsa, share-cropping relationship (Dawro)

*K'rich'a siga*, the sharing of an Ox meet slaughter during holiday celebration

*Mala*, (or *malla*), Ganta free-born, dominant farming community, also in Dawro

*Mana*, craftworkers in the Ganta/Gamo highlands; furthermore, a name for potters in Ganta and Dawro.

*Manno*, Tanners in Kaffa Manja, a marginalized group of former hunters living in Dawro

*Mehaber*, a religious association related to saints of the Orthodox Church

*Meskel* , in Amharic feast of the finding of the True Cross celebrated in September

*Mesale*, the celebration of True cross in Kembategna

*Wumano*, a term refers the non-*Fuga* Kembata people

*Tummano*, blacksmith workers in Kembata

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## ABSTRACT

*The "Fuga" is one of the most marginalized communities in Ethiopia, with deep experiences of multidimensional deprivation and social exclusion. In spite of this painful reality of the community's past, certain remedial and developmental initiatives and interventions have been under way since recently. Recognizing the importance of producing research-based knowledge about efforts, this study was conducted with the primary goal of exploring community efforts to overcome marginalization. The study followed ethnographic methods, techniques, and procedures. Particularly, the purposive sampling technique was helpful to select participants among the "Fuga" and "Wumano" communities based on the resources, knowledge, and first hand experiences they have on the subject. And the study used observation, in-depth interviews, and informal conversations as data gathering techniques. The findings indicate that, despite the fact that marginalization is still persisting, there have been plenty of positive changes in the "Fuga's" interrelationships with the "Wumano" community and in the political, social, and economic lives of the "Fuga" community, changes brought about by interventions and efforts implemented by the community itself and other external actors. Such changes are connected to increased access to education, the growth of material culture, and the expansion of local construction. The ways the "Fugas" interact with dominant communities currently reflect the level of the community's empowerment. "Fuga's" practice of good hygiene, eating clean food, and engagement in friendly social interactions with their neighbors are new ways adapted by the "Fugas." Unlike in the past, a "Fuga" is an active participant in education, community health, economy, politics/elections, employment, and land use currently. Nonetheless, the "Fuga's" longing for social development has limitations, challenges, and problems: Inter alia, the community's integration with the general society is still shallow; and in addition to the sociocultural, political, and economic concerns still apparent, the "Fuga" individual is still resistant to change. Consequently, overcoming marginalization with the existing structures is hard, and new and innovative approaches have to be designed by government and non-government actors to ensure lasting social integration and community development for the Fuga.*

**Keywords: Marginalization, overcoming, interventions, efforts, social integration, community development.**

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Background of the Study

Ethiopia is one of many African countries with well-known ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic diversity. According to Rossini (1937), cited in Nigusu 2020, Ethiopia is described as "a museum of people" due to its "complex pattern of linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups. "Ethiopia had been and continues to be, a museum of many people, customs, ethnicities, religions, cultures, and other idiosyncrasies (Habisso 1964). "Kembata" is one of these ethnic groups in the country, located in the Southern Region. People in Kembata now have a shared language, ethnic heritage, religious beliefs, and political culture, as well as common livelihoods depending on hoe agriculture and the production of enset, root crops, and cereals (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003).

However, despite this ethnolinguistic oneness, social exclusion is a common phenomenon in Kembata. Historically, there have been seven predominant clans that originated from Mount Hambercho, of which the *Fuga*<sup>1</sup> is one (Yacob 2002; Belachew 2001; Thomas 2013). Concomitantly, according to Belachew (2001), the Kambata community has been organized into the kingly clan, nobility clans, commoners, and outcasts. Thus, discrimination and marginalization based on social classes as such have always been visible both at micro and macro levels in Kembata.

Belachew (2001) states that the *Fugas* were a group of carpenters and black smiths who were socially excluded. Wolde-Selassie (2001), also noted that there are two different groups of disadvantaged artisans in Kambata: the Tumaano (smiths) and the *Fuga* (tanner-potters). In addition, the *Fugas* themselves as well as others in Kembata believe that the *Fuga* has a distinct identity and that they look and smell differently. This marked the *Fugas* as having a far lower social position in Kembata than the Smithers.

Cultural considerations and traditional beliefs could serve as a barrier to people's social, religious, and economic relationships (Nigusu, 2020). As Kembata myths express, *Fugas* had been the region's rulers before God cursed them for their unfriendly behavior and condemned

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<sup>1</sup> The term '*Fuga*' was being used to defame and degrade the identity of the community. However, in this study, I used the term "*Fuga*" to refer to the community, not be offensive.

them to labor as potters with no jurisdiction over the land (Wolde-Selassie, 2003). Because the religious practices of *Fuga* vary significantly from others, farmers from various communities have stereotyped them for cannibalism, commensalism, and de jure political roles (Freeman and Pankhurst, 2003). Today, intermarriage between the *Fuga* and farmers or others is now to be impossible (Nigusu 2020 in Yem; Wolde-Selassie 2003 in Kembata).

According to Freeman and Pankhurst (2003), throughout the twentieth century, there have been significant changes in the lives of minorities, worldwide. Evidence (Amborn 2018; Epple 2018b; Freeman and Pankhurst 2003; Nigusu 2020; Yoshida 2018), suggests that the expansion of religious teachings, the 1974 Ethiopian revolution, the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936-1941), and contemporary ethnic federalism's conceptualization of equality have all contributed to the development of ever-changing positive attitudes toward ethnic minorities in Ethiopia. Interventions by local and international NGOs and civil society organizations have also influenced general attitudes against the hitherto marginal status of minorities.

This study aimed at assessing external and internal efforts to overcome marginalization, with a focus on the *Fuga* community, which is still marginalized in Kembata's political, economic, and social lives.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The matters of social exclusion and marginalized minorities/groups in Ethiopia have been researched by several authors (Epple 2018b; Freeman and Pankhurst 2003; Freeman 2003; Yoshida 2013). Hailu (2016), studied the Manja Minority Groups in Ethiopia's Southern Nations Nationalities and People Region on issues of social stratification and marginalization. Nigusu (2020) investigated the social challenges that potters and tanners experience among the Yem people in southwest Ethiopia.

There are studies on the marginalization of artisan communities in Kembata. A few researchers have investigated the *Fuga* (potters/tanners) and Tumaano (smiths) in Kembata. For instance, Wolde-Selassie (2001), studied the socioeconomic relevance and status of marginalized handicraft minorities in Kambaata and concluded that far more than the Tumaano, the *Fuga* are despised and marginalized. Furthermore, Belachew (2001), studied the impact of the Kambata's socio-cultural patterns on economic development and found that the Kambata's social

stratification is defined by membership in different social orders and that the Kambata's social structure gives different groups of the community different opportunities and constraints.

Besides, there are trends of change in social relationships between the minority (artisans) and the dominant society. The triggering factors of these changes are addressed by various researchers such as (Bosha 20018; Epple 2018b; Freeman and Pankhurst 2003). While such studies focused on external factors, other studies (Bosha 20018, Braukmann, and Epple 2018) focused on the internal efforts made by the Ayle (slave descendants) in the Ganta Gamo Highlands and the Haro (hippo-hunters) in Lake Abbaya Minorities to bridge the gap between their marginal position and the dominant majority.

However, the researcher found no research efforts made to explore or evaluate the initiatives and interventions implemented targeting overcoming marginalization and the sociocultural disadvantages facing the "*Fuga*" community. As a result of this lack of research attention, there is a knowledge gap regarding the contribution of these efforts in addressing marginalization and positively impacting the overall social development of the *Fuga* community. This study represents an attempt to contribute towards filling this knowledge gap.

## **1.2 Objectives of the Research**

### **1.2.1 General Objective**

The general objective of the study is to describe the efforts of overcoming the marginalization of the *Fuga* community in Kembata, Ethiopia.

### **1.2.2 Specific Objectives**

This study specifically attempts:

- To describe the contemporary situations of the marginalized "*Fuga*" community in Kembata,
- To state the efforts being made to overcome the marginalization of the "*Fuga*" community in Kembata.
- To identify changes in inter-communal social integration of *Fuga* with other communities in Kembata

### **1.3 Research Methods**

This study tended to explore the efforts being made to overcome marginalized artisan communities and integrate with the dominant society. To achieve this, it made use of a qualitatively exploratory research design. This research design was extremely useful in this study to comprehend and describe the efforts being made in Kembata to address the problems and challenges associated with the marginalization and social exclusion of the *Fuga* community, as well as to promote inclusive social development. The significance of using a qualitatively exploratory research design to study a phenomenon for the first time is discussed elsewhere (Michael, 2007). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) also state that qualitative research is multi-method in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. A qualitative design was used in this study in a way that helped the researcher take a look at the subject of the study in its natural setting, understand or interpret relevant events, and capture their meanings as assigned by participants and community members themselves.

Particularly, this study used an ethnographic research approach. Ethnography is a comprehensive method of learning about the social and cultural life of communities, institutions, and other places (Compte, 2010; Michael, 2007). Thus, this study chose an ethnographic approach to provide a descriptive account of the external and community-based efforts being undertaken in the study site to overcome the marginalization of the *Fuga* community, as well as the changes and continuity of relational, cultural, and economic patterns of social life related to the community.

The ethnographic approach was critical to making sense of various forms of data to cultivate knowledge through the emic description of programs, processes, events, patterns of social reality, and the depiction of collective social behaviors learned and shared habits, conventions, and beliefs of the *Fuga* community (Michael 2007). In this research, the ethnographic method illustrated what efforts were made and how integration is materialized in the process of overcoming marginalized artisan communities in the case of *Fuga* in Kembata.

#### **1.3.1 Sampling Techniques**

This study made use of the non-probability sampling technique, for it does not afford any basis for estimating the probability that each item in the population has of being included in the sample

(Kothari 2006). Thus, purposive sampling is employed for its prospect of generating rich information for the study. Participants were selected based on the criteria that they had to have first-hand experience of marginalization and integration. Such experienced individuals were critical in that they generously shared the experiences, strengths, and efforts they went through that led them to integration.

More participants would be interviewed until the point of saturation. That is, categories were developed in terms of their features and dimensions displaying variation, the linkages across categories were well-defined and validated, and no new or relevant facts appeared to be emerging regarding them (Alan Bryman, 2004). As such, prior interviews and observations serve as the foundation for the formation of a category, and they verify its significance to the point where there is no longer any need to gather data for that category.

### **1.3.2 Data Type and Collection Techniques**

#### **1.3.2.1. Data Type**

The research used both primary and secondary forms of data. Primary data was collected from research participants using participant observation, in-depth interviews, and informal conversation techniques. While secondary data was gathered from reviewing official documents, mints, and other relevant records about the socioeconomic and cultural life of the *Fuga*.

#### **1.3.2.2 Data Collection Techniques**

##### **A. Participant Observation**

Observation is a data-gathering technique used in ethnographic research that involves recording events as they occur and the interpretations of those events by study group participants at the time. The researcher observed the market, physical settings such as the villages (settlements), objects, workshops, public discussions, street sites, interactions, and day-to-day activities of artisans. In this method, the researcher tried to understand the actual relationship between *Fugas* and *Wumanos* in contemporary situations.

Obtaining access to the social context to be researched is one of the most crucial yet challenging tasks in ethnography. The method of gaining access is determined by various factors, one of which is whether the environment is generally open (public) or closed (private or limited) (Alan

Bryman 2004). For this reason, the researcher resided in the community from February 2021 to April 2022 for contract work, and access to the community was not a difficult issue under this investigation. The researcher's role was that of a participant-observer, in that he was fully involved and interacted with the participants while recognizing his role as a researcher. This technique is frequently employed while researching indigenous people's cultures, such as the "*Fuga*" community in Kembata.

## **B. In-depth Interview**

Interviews are useful for gathering in-depth information on specific issues, personal histories, cultural knowledge, beliefs, and practices. In-depth interviews are an extremely important tool used in this ethnographic research. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews with community representatives, key informants, or topic experts who are working on the empowerment of marginalized artisans in the study area. During the selection of informants, the following specific criteria were considered:

- Individuals/models identified by civil organizations in the process of overcoming marginalization among members of the *Fuga* community
- *Fuga* community coordinators and youth
- Both *Fuga* and Wumano community and religious leaders
- NGO representatives, managers, and experts
- Government officials: such as Kembata-Tembaro Zone and Durame town Administration, labor and social affairs experts, took part in the interview.

The researcher conducted fourteen in-depth interviews. There were eleven males and three women among them. I prepared interview questions in English and translated them into Amharic. Even though the interviewees were bilingual in Amharic and Kembategna, the interviews were done entirely in Amharic. Individual interviews were tape-recorded with their permission during interview sessions, and field notes were gathered. After all of the interviews were conducted, they were transcribed and dated immediately.

Main topics covered during the interviews were informants' historical backgrounds, social interactions, political participation, the economic condition of artisans in particular, and the dominant society in general, and contributions of interventions and efforts toward community

development. Personal in-depth interviews were done for this study to have a comprehensive knowledge of how marginalized *Fugas* integrate into the dominant society. Furthermore, information was obtained regarding the internal and external efforts undertaken to overcome their marginal status.

### **C. Informal Conversation**

In this research, I used the relevant data I obtained through informal conversations with elders, young people, and pastors from both *Fugas* and Wumanos, in the study communities. This technique was utilized by the researcher to verify the information obtained from the interview. This was done to crosscheck the validity of the information acquired using other techniques, and it involved diverse age groups and educational levels. These conversations had the goal of eliciting insights into societal attitudes and behavior about the integration of artisans with the dominant society. Informants freely expressed their life experiences and views in conversation because there was neither recorded research equipment nor a formal interview session. In this regard, I lived in Durame town for more than a year due to contract work, and I had a good relationship with my neighbors. For this study, I had informal chats with neighbors and attended various events such as grocery, shopping, coffee times, lunch and dinner parties, and market days to collect data.

#### **1.3.3 Fieldwork**

The *Fugas* inhabited scattered all weredas found in Kembata. Preliminary fieldwork was carried out in Durame Town in December 2021. So, based on the data obtained from KMG, which worked on the process of harmonization between the *Fuga* and Wumano communities, research sites were chosen.

After the researcher received the support letter from Addis Ababa University, the Durame Town administration authorities gave immediate permission to undertake the field research. The researcher lived in Durame due to contract works, the capital of the Kembata-Tembaro Zone, from February 2021 to April 2022. The ethnographic observation and interview took place side by side in three kebeles (*Zeraro*, *Kasha*, and *Lalo kebele*) of Durame town between January and March 2022, for more than two months.

Before the beginning of actual data collection, the researcher made observations of the artisans' villages. While traveling through the village, the researcher could observe the geographical setting, working units of some artisans, and settlement patterns. This assisted in identifying where potters lived in groups, which later helped to choose the informants. The next task in the fieldwork was to identify key informants among different social groups. The researcher was assisted by local community coordinators, KMG staff members, and government representatives at the town level. I started the interview sessions with some selected key informants with appointments.

Throughout my fieldwork, I had a range of encounters. The following are some examples of fieldwork experiences: During a community meeting, some adults raised concerns that I may disclose their secrets on social media because they perceived me as a political activist. Some key informants did not show up for the interview on time, while others rescheduled it for another day. Some people assumed I was a government official and questioned the government's policies and plans, questioning why this was done and why that wasn't done.

However, as time passed they recognized I was a student, and they began to provide me with reliable information. Some government officials assisted me in the process of selecting key informants for in-depth interviews and in arranging proper fieldwork settings by calling residents and orienting them to support me. The KMG Durame office staff helped me identify community coordinators, elders, and other key participants in the process of enabling the *Fuga* community to overcome its marginalization and enhance its relationship with Wumano.

#### **1.3.4 Data Analysis**

The study made use of the thematic analysis procedures indicated in Creswell (2009), which is useful to provide a rich description of the collective behavioral patterns, processes, events, and trends related to the topic of the study. Based on the sequence of fieldwork, I transcribed the audiotaped recordings, field notes, and interviews verbatim in parallel and translated them into English. The transcription was arranged according to the research questions, and I carefully tried to understand what the transcription was trying to explain. Then, I pointed out ideas related to each research objective based on the revised transcription. Following this, I kept all those ideas separate with the purpose of not mixing them and easily drawing patterns based on the meaning they constitute.

Then, the data analysis used thematic categories to arrange notes, read over the notes and edited categories, sorted data into new categories, and searched for patterns in textual materials using a variety of presentation forms as aids. It is generally analyzed in the form of thematic analysis, which is a concise way of identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns and themes within data. I analyzed and interpreted the data after organizing it into precise themes and concentrating my attention on the nonverbal expressions and intonations of the informants' voices. The research focused its attention on the local or "emic" viewpoint. Finally, the data collected using diverse approaches were triangulated to strengthen the reliability and validity of the research findings. Secondary data sources were also used in the study's analytical phase to support the main data sources.

### **1.3.5 Ethical Considerations**

Ethnography requires strong collaboration between researchers and the people being studied. For all participant-observers/fieldworkers, ethical norms regulating interpersonal interactions must be an intrinsic element of the study process (Michael 2007). Therefore, the researcher acquired an official letter from Addis Ababa University's Department of Sociology and informed all interested bodies to assist the researcher in providing all essential data. The researcher gained consent after explaining the processes to the informants and gaining their agreement by explaining the research's goals and purpose.

## **1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

### **1.4.1 Scope of the Study**

To investigate the many-faceted dimensions of artisans' marginalization, extensive and extended research is needed. Thematically, the scope of this research is limited to the *Fuga* community in Kembata Durame town to investigate marginalization efforts. The issue will be addressed in light of contemporary situations and the social integration of marginalized artisan communities. Geographically, although there are artisans in Kembata who live scattered across the dominant society in several Weredas, the study's focus was limited to an area that may be managed in the given period. As a result, the thesis solely concentrates on the three kebel (Zeraro, Lalo, and Kasha) in Durame town. The size and location of artisans were used as a criterion for choosing which kebele or hamlet to focus on.

## **1.5 Significance of the Study**

The significance of this study lies in its ability to vividly unfold the multiplicities of the efforts to overcome the marginalization of artisan communities of the *Fuga* in Kembata and the resultant social changes brought about by these efforts. The findings are thus relevant at least at three points: First, the empirical data generated by this study will undoubtedly contribute to the knowledge base of marginalization and the minorities' issue. Second, the findings are meant as critical inputs for policy making at different levels. Third, the study provides empirical knowledge that could best be used as input to design projects and inform intervention plans.

## **1.6 Organization of the Paper**

This study has been organized into seven chapters. The first chapter deals with an introduction that explains the problem of the study, the objective of the study, the research questions, and the research methods, which discuss data presentation, analysis, and interpretation. The second chapter deals with a review of the literature. The third chapter presented a description of the research setting. The fourth chapter discussed marginalization in the contemporary context, and the fifth chapter presented the efforts and interventions that were the enabling factors to overcome the marginal status of the *Fuga* community. Chapter six demonstrated the changes and continuity in the marginalization of the *Fuga* community. The last chapter showed a summary, conclusions, and recommendations, followed by references and appendices.

## **CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

### **2.1 The Concept of Marginalization**

The concept of marginalization is a slippery and multi-layered notion (Kagan, and Carolyn 2005). While marginalization is rarely defined in the contemporary literature, it is frequently associated with the concepts of inclusion and (social) exclusion; therefore, social exclusion and marginalization seem to be interchangeable (Mowat 2015). The term "marginalization" has taken on a variety of definitions. It has three essentially diverse meanings as a result: a) underdevelopment, a resource depletion, and a long-distance, b) relation, oppression, closure, and c) a lack of cultural integration and adaptation to norms e.g. impoverished culture, urban underclass (Bernt and Colini 2013).

Oxford dictionary (2022) defined Social exclusion as a process whereby individuals or households are deprived of resources (such as income) or social connections to the larger community or society. During the 1980s, the language of social exclusion began to coexist (and occasionally replace) that of poverty, particularly in European discussions of social policy. It's not instantly obvious what this language change accomplishes, given that the former idea is equally as problematic as the latter, and is frequently used to refer to the same set of socioeconomic difficulties, such as unemployment, low income, poor housing, poor health, or social isolation.

Broadly Kagan and Carolyn (2005) defined marginalization as at the heart of exclusion from fulfilling and full social lives. People on the margins have little control over their lives and the resources accessible to them. They may be stigmatized and are recurrently the target of negative public opinions. A vicious circle is shaped, in which their lack of positive and supportive interactions averts them from partaking in local life. People who are marginalized socially and economically may have limited access to valuable social resources such as education and health services, housing, income, leisure activities, and job. Whatever the causes and mechanisms of marginalization, the repercussions of social exclusion are comparable (such as the closure of workplaces or lack of affordable housing).

## **2.2 Contemporary Manifestations of Marginalized Groups**

In all parts of the world, in developed and developing countries, in stratified and more egalitarian societies, and in rural and urban settings, social differentiation and the exclusion of certain groups of people from mainstream society exist. The causes, dimensions, and faces of this differentiation, on the other hand, vary from place to place (Epple 2018b). Occupational minorities have long been excluded from state building and, even more so, from social and cultural interaction within mainstream society in Africa. In Ethiopia, many marginalized minority groups work as specialized traditional handicraftsmen in southwest Ethiopia, such as potters, tanners, smiths, weavers, woodworkers, hunters, and others (Epple 2018b; Triulzi 2006; Wolde-Selassie 2001). Endogamy is the greatest component in the south-western Ethiopian milieu among the six characteristics typically associated with 'caste,' whereas limits on commensality, hierarchical ranking, and ascription of social status by birth are weakening, and purity and pollution are defined in local ways. All of these characteristics have been and continue to be essential in understanding the marginalization of occupational minorities, although to varying degrees and in non-uniform ways throughout time and space (Pankhurst 2012). In Ethiopia, for instance, weaving is regarded as an acceptable occupation in some communities, but in others, the community marginalizes weavers. Other occupations, such as potter, tanner, and blacksmith, are similarly affected. As a result, the marginalization of people in Ethiopia due to their work differs from place to place and time to time. For example, during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936-41) marginalized occupational groups in different parts of the nation benefited from political and social governance that they had previously been denied (Nigusu 2020). According to Sisto and College (2014), in southern Ethiopia, destructive stories are the main source of prejudice against occupational minorities in the context of historical, social, economic, and political injustices. The meanings of past generations are maintained in contemporary groups' perceptions by the recounting of old stories; past concepts become the present culture, the only culture known for many generations. In all communities, principles stemming from kinship, age, and sex are used to categorize people into different groups.

Craft workers were previously excluded from the dominating traditional political structures of the communities in which they lived. Minorities have recently been excluded from village-level political institutions such as Peasant Associations and Service Cooperatives, and even when they

were allowed to join, they never got the chance of leadership positions (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003). According to the authors, instantly the revolutionary rhetoric calmed down, however, craft workers have been left out of the current political organizations established along ethnic lines. In some situations, they have suffered from discrimination, for example by being targeted for enrollment, and denied food aid. Today farmers are unwilling to entertain the idea of craft workers representing them.

The economic aspect of marginalization is most visible in production and exchange constraints. Minorities used to have very inadequate access to land and livestock. They tended to reside on patrons' or lords' land, which they may be expelled from at any time, requiring them to seek new patrons (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003). They are economically limited to the manufacture of certain products and are forbidden access to certain activities and resources, such as land and animals. They usually have to sell their items for a low price, and many of them are poor (Epple 2017).

According to Epple (2017), in most Ethiopian societies craft workers are considered unclean and polluting. Potters and blacksmiths are among the most commonly despised along with, in many places, tanners, and weavers. In some places, craft workers engage in several crafts and trading. As Freeman and Pankhurst (2003), have shown discrimination and non-reciprocal linkages define the social marginalization of minorities. This manifests itself in constraints on social contacts, such as commensality, cooperative labor, association membership, burial customs, and, most importantly, intermarriage. Handicraft workers face social discrimination in various ways by society.

Sergework Sisay (2009) reported that the surrounding community determines the level to deter the craft-workers interacting with them. Handicraft workers are discouraged from attending non-craft community social events such as weddings and local groups such as "Mahiber," "Edir," and "Ekub," among others. Non-craft groups, on the other hand, are not allowed to attend freely craft-group parties and events. Furthermore, mixed marriage in groups is restricted to a significant degree. Additionally, the non-craft community calls to handicraft groups by pejorative names and phrases, furthering the marginalization of the groups. However, several characteristics, such as access to schools, church attendance, and the utilization of handicraft items, have been reported to have a lower level of prejudice. As Nigusu (2020), described there

is no formal marginalization of the *Fuga* community in Yem today. However, the non-*Fuga* groups in the region are generally disinterested in marrying *Fuga* or engaging in other social relationships with them. For example, at social events organized by local social groups like idir and iqub, the other Yem do not prefer to see the *Fuga* equally involved with them. Keeping all of this in mind, the political, social, and economic interaction between the *Fuga* and non-*Fuga* communities in Yem has progressed significantly.

### **2.3 Trends of Overcoming Marginalization**

The findings of previous works of literature' discussion were on the organization of status groups, their history, their occupations, their purported traits, understanding of their relationship, and the situation of their marginalization by the dominant society. It addressed more the embodiment of marginalization with the existence of minority groups. However, limited in terms of the efforts made to overcome the marginalization of excluded groups.

In recent decades, researchers have discussed the issues that enable excluded groups and communities to overcome their challenges. According to Ranjan Padhi (2016), academic debates and discourses have prioritized themes of social discrimination, exclusion, illiteracy, human rights, and poverty alleviation. Understanding these concerns, as well as their connections to the social, human, institutional, and economic elements of the social development process, is critical for effective policy perspectives. The World Bank (2006), Annual World Development Report, suggested that marginalized minorities frequently represent the deepest pockets of inequity and hence have a considerable impact on growth prospects. As a result, the World Bank concentrated on eliminating discrimination, enabling the marginalized, and ensuring more equal power distribution. According to the UNDP (2010), overcoming the marginalization of minorities (individuals/groups) frequently entails resolving existing power imbalances and discriminatory structures. It promotes equitable and anti-discriminatory policy trends and establishes policy standards for reducing horizontal (i.e. between-group) inequalities.

In the Ethiopian context according to Freeman and Pankhurst (2003), has been discussed the issue in the setting of historical change and the factors that describe modifications in marginalization. Studies by (Bosha 20018; Epple 2018b; Freeman and Pankhurst 2003), have shown that external factors have influenced the status transformation of excluded groups. The

authors indicated that international organizations' and NGOs' activities, as well as government efforts, were factors that influenced group status changes. In addition to external factors Epple (2018), identified internal enablers of overcoming marginalization that result in a change, reinterpretation, or blurring of social borders among excluded minority groups.

Despite the interventions and efforts of consecutive governments, NGOs, and churches, studies on marginalized minorities in Ethiopia (Braukmann, and Epple 2018b; Freeman and Pankhurst 2003), have revealed that integration with mainstream societies has only been superficially achieved. As Epple (2017) has shown numerous awareness-raising programs, as well as the efforts of churches, and national and international NGOs, have failed to achieve equality and integration.

## **2.4 The Efforts of Overcoming Marginalization**

According to (Epple 2018b; Freeman and Alula 2003; Yoshida 2018), there are a variety of factors that can lead to the modification, and reinterpretation of social margins between the dominant majority and the lower layers or groups in a society. As Epple (2018b), reported these triggers/efforts are explicitly labeled as 'external' or 'internal,'. Changes in the political, religious, economic, and social environment have altered the local social order and the eminence of status groups as external factors. Internal triggers are associated with local communities' efforts to overcome, redefine, or reject social barriers.

According to Yoshida (2018), changes in the relationship between the Kafa and the Manjo have mostly been prompted by political, economic, religious, and ecological developments, which have eventually resulted in prejudice and marginalization of the Manjo in the larger Ethiopian setting. Nigusu (2020) has indicated that the marginalization of the *Fuga* community is decreasing in Yem and that they are partaking in political, social, economic, and religious activities to some level.

### **2.4.1 External Efforts to Overcome Marginalization**

Changes in the political, religious, economic, and social environments have influenced local social order and the prominence of status groups as external factors. As I explain earlier, many studies describe major factors are the annexation of southern Ethiopia to the Ethiopian Empire, growing religious conversions, the 1974 Ethiopian revolution, the Italian occupation of Ethiopia

(1936-1941), and the present ethnic federalism premise of equality intensified the changes of social relations between despised minorities and the dominant society.

#### **2.4.1.1 Political Efforts**

The relationship between farmers, craft workers, hunters, and slave descendants has been altered by different political regimes. Changing laws and policies associated with land ownership, individual citizen and ethnic group rights, and more recently, international human rights, all had an impact on the position of minorities and hereditary status groups under each government (Epple 2018b). According to Yoshida (2018), the Italian authority, the Derg, and the EPRDF attempted to equalize the Kafa and the Manjo. These encounters made the Manjo aware of the inequity in their relationship with the Kafa, enabling and encouraging them to fight for their rights through legal methods.

Emperor Menelik's annexation at the end of the nineteenth century resulted in the political and ideological domination of indigenous southern societies (Amborn 2018). As Epple (2018b), notes because of their incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire at the end of the nineteenth century, the lives of many southern Ethiopian communities have changed significantly since Emperor Menelik II's expansion. However, the policies of the central government did not immediately address the social inequalities between status groups and dominating groups of society, nor the exclusion of artisans and hunters from land ownership or access.

Epple (2018a), has reported Emperor Haile Selassie's efforts to modernize Ethiopia, especially through investments in modern education and the abolishment of slavery in 1942, opened new chances for many marginalized people. Bosha (20018) explained that the Emperor's attempt to abolish slavery began in 1923 when he requested that slavery be abolished as a condition of entry into the League of Nations, and after the Italian occupation in 1942, the Emperor issued a new proclamation abolishing all forms of the slave trade as well as the legal institution of slavery itself. Nonetheless, under the discourses of social stratification, hereditary inequality, and racial prejudices, the unequal relationship between dominant and oppressed groups continued.

According to Epple (2018b), the Derg regime attempted to eradicate traditional belief systems and discriminatory social structures, with some positive results for the lower social backgrounds. Those in the lower strata of society were provided agricultural land during the 1975 land reform

when all farmland became the common property of the people and privately owned vast plantations were nationalized. This not only allowed people to become more self-sufficient and cultivate the land but also enhanced their social standing in some areas. As Wolde-Selassie (2001), revealed the *Fuga* in Kembata were landless before the 1974 revolution and used to dwell on the lands of the dominating clans. They were given rights to their backyard plots as well as a share of the field plots because of the land reform. However, their field plots are either sharecropped or rented out to other farmers by themselves.

Amborn (2018), demonstrated that after 1975, attempts were made by the Derg regime to encourage handicrafts, but they were largely unsuccessful. The Derg even took attempts to end discrimination against handicrafts in Ethiopia by referring to them as "workers". Epple (2018b), discussed that Derg's villagization policy re-located craft workers and farmers to cooperative villages where they had to live side by side. Slaves' descendants and hunters were granted political posts in local administrative offices and farmer's cooperative organizations. Discriminatory behaviors were tightly prohibited, including isolation and subservient greetings, and exclusions on eating together, among others, and the people were ordered to avoid any social background, ethnic, or religious differences.

Nigusu (2020), has reported that by the time the Derge administration implemented its villagization program, the *Fuga* and non-*Fuga* people had resided in the same areas. However, the *Fuga* Community was unable to continue to dwell with the other Yem in the future.

Article 25 of the 1995 constitution explicitly banned discrimination based on a person's physical or mental development, including whether they are of a particular race, ethnicity, nationality, or other classification, i.e. race, gender, language, religion, political or other beliefs, property, birth, or social background. According to Kiya (2018), a study of slave descendants in the Rayya Qobbo highlands in the current north Wollo district of the Amhara region revealed that since the present-day state legislation prohibits the promotion of differences, they are rarely made important or expressed discrimination in public for fear of legal repercussions. As a result, many government officials argue that their community has changed and that all citizens, regardless of origin, now have freedom and equality.

However, under the EPRDF as a result of ethnic federalism, which supports the revival of cultural values and customs, there is an entitlement on the position of status groups (Epple 2018b; Yoshida 2018). For more than the past two decades, the local authorities have been empowered and local hierarchies have been revived, but artisans and descendants of slaves continue to be isolated from the primary areas of social and political life (Tronvoll and Hagmann 2012 in Epple 2018a). Thus according to Epple (2018b), institutional issues and a lack of understanding of legal procedures have still prevented marginalized groups from claiming more rights in comparison to dominating majorities.

#### **2.4.1.2 Socio-cultural Efforts**

The existing literatures have shown changes in social relationships between the marginal and dominant majority. According to Epple (2018a), contact with other viewpoints is also vital in bringing about changes. The incorporation of southern Ethiopia into the Ethiopian empire caused a great shift in social relations. For example, in Amborn 1990 cited in Epple (2018b), after the annexation, the standing of craft workers in Konso and Burji altered dramatically. Before the incorporation, it was founded on a rigorous division of labor between farmers and artisans, with farmers producing enough food to feed the entire society and more, and artisans producing enough things to meet everyone's requirements. There was a clear division between the two groups of people; however, it was not hierarchical. Another example from Braukmann, and Epple (2018), in the instance of the Bayso (the farmers) and Haro (hippo-hunters) people, a broad sense of "association with modernity" has helped to overcome the gap between these two isolated communities. Both groups have converted to Orthodox or Protestant Christianity and are attempting to conform to the 'town's culture,' as seen by changes in their material culture (clothing, architecture, and household tools) and eating habits.

As Kiya (2018), found out the relationship between Balabat (nobles) and Barya (slave descendants) in Rayya Qobbo, North Wollo has shown positive developments. Slave descendants are no longer segregated from the rest of the community and there are no longer excluded from social interaction. They have become farmers and adapted to the area's traditions and customs, including how people dress and eat, and they are no longer prohibited from attending church or school.

### **2.4.1.3 Economic Efforts**

Different literatures presented that economic development efforts have shown changes in status groups in Ethiopia. Epple (2018b), reported Ethiopia's changing economic outlook has contributed to blurring the lines between occupational minorities and the farming majority. Similarly, the economic empowerment of artisans and descendants of slaves has resulted in a shift in their relationship with society's main groups in some settings. According to Amborn (2018), current economic growth in Ethiopia has reinforced artisans. They have adapted to these changes inventively and adaptable, to their financial advantage. This is especially true for the fuld'o association in Konso. Bosha (20018) discovered slave descendants are now active in banana production in Ganta, Gamo highlands, and some of them have become richer than many mala people (freeborn). The ayle (slave descents) have been successful in overcoming the effects of past legacies to an extent due to their economic progress.

Yoshida (2018), after the Derg land reform, Manjos' possession of land is inextricably linked to economic power. Manjo lacked their land, relied on forest resources, and struggled to achieve economic stability. Deforestation and the decline of wild animals had become major by the 1980s, and the Manjo had begun to shift away from hunting and gathering and toward farming.

Tecelehaimanot (2009) has reported it was only after the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974 that all *Fuga* households were permitted to acquire their land, with the proclamation of "land to the tiller." Following this, some *Fuga* were able to build their distinct settlements, thanks to the efforts of farmers' associations. This provided them with tenure security and a working environment. Many *Fuga* families have achieved wealth and defined themselves as rich, liberated peasants. They are now able to raise cattle of their own.

### **2.4.1.4 Religious Efforts**

In Ethiopia, many researchers (Bosha 20018; Epple 2017, 2018b; Tibebe 2018; Freeman and Pankhurst 2003), find out that religious conversion is a significant trigger for overcoming marginalization. Epple (2018b), argued that the expansion of new religions has had a variety of implications on the status relationships, resulting in both more integration and more marginalization. In Ethiopia, the approaches and implications of Orthodox and Protestant Christianity must be understood. As Freeman and Pankhurst (2003), have demonstrated

Orthodox Christianity tended to foster negative perceptions about minorities, especially those related to eating habits, (Epple 2018b) which render consumers of food considered impure as polluted. On the other hand, the Protestant Church is actively promoting the integration of minorities and pressing its members to abandon traditional beliefs and practices. Around protestant churches, sharecropping arrangements between farmers and hunters/craft-workers can be found and social interaction has increased.

In many areas of the country research indicated that the conversion to Christianity initiate changes in status groups. According to Yoshida (2018), in the realm of Christianity, the Catholic, Protestant, and Ethiopian Orthodox churches have grown their numbers of believers by recognizing the Kafa and the Manjo as equals. As a result, both the Kafa and the Manjo have become Christians. As Freeman (2004), marked that Orthodox Christianity was an initiative of changes in Gamo highlands since it becomes a body of the Ethiopian empire. Bosha (20018), reported that apart from Orthodox priests, Protestant missionaries were change-oriented in their strategy, and their teachings included both theological and social contexts. They evangelized that everyone is a sinner who needs to repent and believe in Jesus Christ. As a result, many Mala (freeborn) and Ayle (slave descendant) converted to Protestantism. Slave descendants hoped that the ideology of equality for all humans would overcome Ganta's deep-seated inequality in Gamo Highlands. Another study by Samuel (2018) has discovered that the Dawro society's rigid social segregation has been strongly affected by their conversion to Evangelical Christianity. The new religion changes the relationship between the *malla*, an agricultural community, and the Manja, a previously despised community of hunters. Conversion established new relationships between the *malla* and the *Manja*, people can share space, eat together, enter sharecropping and share-rearing relationships, and participate in cooperative work parties which were previously prohibited.

#### **2.4.2 Internal Efforts to Overcome Marginalization**

Previous literature emphasized more external triggers have been initiated overwhelming marginalized status of groups. However, existing research (Bosha 20018; Braukmann and Epple 2018; Epple 2018a) reported that the internal efforts undertaken by relegated groups to overcome their marginal position. As Epple (2018b), these attempts are done by the minority group, which may try to bridge the gap between themselves and the dominant majority by cultural or linguistic

adaptation, or by developing a different identity or physically separating themselves from it. According to Giddens (2009), different cultural values and customs are not just 'brought in' to society from the outside, but variety is also formed as minority groups adapt to the larger social environments in which they find themselves.

#### **2.4.2.1 Adaptation**

Cultural and linguistic adaptation appears to be a powerful method for groups to change their status (Epple, 2018b). In certain cases, this has resulted in a true blurring of lines, while in others; it has only resulted in a superficially closer relationship between the dominant majority and marginalized groups. The modifications have seen varied from adopting jewelry, clothes, and hairstyles to social practice imitation and adaptation of the dominating language (Epple 2018a).

For example, as reported in Rayya Qobbo by Kiya (2018), since they gained access to land during the Derg, outwardly slave descendants are no longer isolated from social interaction with others because they have become farmers and adapted to the area's tradition and customs, including people's dressing and eating habits. Also on Gidiccho Island, Southern Ethiopia, the Haro (hippo-hunters) and Bayso (farmers) have redefined their relationship. The Haro considerably reduced their eating of hippo meat, implemented circumcision for men and women, played a vital ritual role, had extensive daily interaction, and adopted Bayso as a second language. The Bayso recognized Haro's efforts, and after certain requirements were satisfied, free marriages became more widely accepted (Braukmann, and Epple 2018). Code-switching to Amharic is the outcome of exposure to this language for both *Bayso* and *Haro* speakers. The Haro have changed some of their habits, such as using their understanding of the *Bayso* language to achieve more awareness and increase collaboration with the *Bayso*. However, code-switching to Amharic is the actual emblem of progress and modernity for both (Savà 2018).

In Ganta, the *ayles'* efforts to change their identity and advance acceptability in broader society include religious conversion, ritual purification, economic self-sufficiency, and physical and social seclusion (Bosha 20018).

One of the greatest and most continuous cut-off occupational groups, slave descendants, and farmers is the prohibition on marriages (Epple 2018a). According to Meckelburg (2018), Mao

and Komo matrimony relationships in western Ethiopia (Benishangul-Gumuz, Oromia, and Gambella regional states) follow an extremely complicated pattern and are strongly linked to the local majority-minority relations. While intermarriage between the various Mao tribes, particularly the *Gwama* and *Koma*, occurs regularly, marriages with the Oromo occur but are frequently rejected by the latter. Haregewoin (2019), a study on craftworks' marginal status in Dembecha Woreda, Amhara region revealed that some types of marginalization are reducing presently, and as a result, there is spatial integration of craft workers as well as marriages, particularly among potters. Changes may also be seen in the increased engagement of craft workers, mostly potters, in diverse social connections with non-craft persons.

#### **2.4.2.2 Distancing**

In various circumstances, minority groups or segments of distinct communities have attempted to separate themselves from the mainstream larger society with different levels of success. These marginalized groups have purposefully promoted their differences to seek independence (Epple 2018a). Even though, the Manjo completely adapted to a different language and enhanced their capability in the Gomaro manner of speaking to be regular participants of Kafa society. They opt to embrace legal and political registers to achieve rights as a different entity, and they choose their language that stresses a unique Manjo identity (2018, Leikola).

According to Amborn (2018), when the Burji-Konso craftspeople realized they could not satisfy demand with their efforts, some farmers privately learned how to weave. Due to that, there was a conflict between the farmers and the artisans. The crafters devised an innovation that permitted only belong to the group of hereditary artisans to join the fuld'o association. (Watson 2006), the fuld'o network has become stronger since 1991, forming partnerships with other wealthy northern traders who dwell in Konso or adjacent towns. Teclehaimanot (2009) has shown During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, Italian administrators encouraged the creation of the office of the *Fuga Dagna*, which in turn led to the development of a common *Fuga* political identity. As a result, a decisive common political identity was created after the Gädecho Rebellion, which mobilized the people of Hadya and Kambata to revolt against the Shāwan soldiers. Aalen (2011), reported that notable marginalization of craftspeople and clan divisions root the most dispute in Sidama. The *hadicho*, who had previously been excluded, were eager to openly promote their identity and strive for recognition. The hadicho had a significant influence over other artisan

groups in southern Ethiopia because they had their clan land and structure. They have not continued disorganized but have tried to fight the higher clans' efforts to control the 'ethnic revival' by establishing their political party. In 1992-93, the potter group's overt political activism began with the formation of Dara as a distinct woreda government.

#### **2.4.2.3 Migration and Urban Context**

Migration is speeding up the movement and mixing of human populations and the integration of the global economy (Giddes 2009). Artisans' marginalization has been influenced by migration to urban centers (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003). Individuals can distance themselves from the local context in urban contexts and places with ethnic mixing, which appear to offer better chances for marginalized people to integrate. Personal identity and descent are much easier to cover there, and such places allow individuals to distance themselves from the local context (Epple 2018a). As illustrated by Piekut and Valentine (2016), attitudes towards outgroups can be improved through individual experiences, such as regular, equal-status contacts but are also affected by contextual factors, like the ethnic composition of an area. The urban environment is used to conceal one's identity. In the city, perceived ethnic variety is a significant predictor of minority group social acceptability.

### **2.5 The Social Integration of Marginalized Groups**

Literature is scarce on how marginalized groups integrate with mainstream society in Ethiopia. Social integration is a broad concept. In this research, the concept implies the integration of excluded artisan communities with mainstream society. According to (Jeannotte 2008), Social integration is the process of establishing stable, safe, and just societies that are founded on non-discrimination, tolerance, respect for diversity, equality of opportunity, solidarity, security, and partake of all people, especially disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and individuals. UN (2008), Social integration is defined as a dynamic and systematic process of developing values, relationships, and institutions that enable every individual/group to participate in social, economic, cultural, and political life on equal footing, with dignity and equity.

Sergework Sisay (2009), demonstrated that the majority-minority relationship is not only explained by segregation, insulation, withdrawal, social distance, etc. but also interaction & interdependence are other typical features of it. Epple (2018a), in general, the prevailing majority

rejects the supposed impure's integration. There are, however, certain instances when minorities refuse integration and others where the minority actively contributes to the continuation of social isolation. Huda (2018), both majorities and minorities should take the effort to achieve group equality seriously. To achieve an egalitarian community, two parts must come together: the majority group's desire to end dominating and benefiting from the inferiority of the minorities, and the minority group's effort to stop majority dominance.

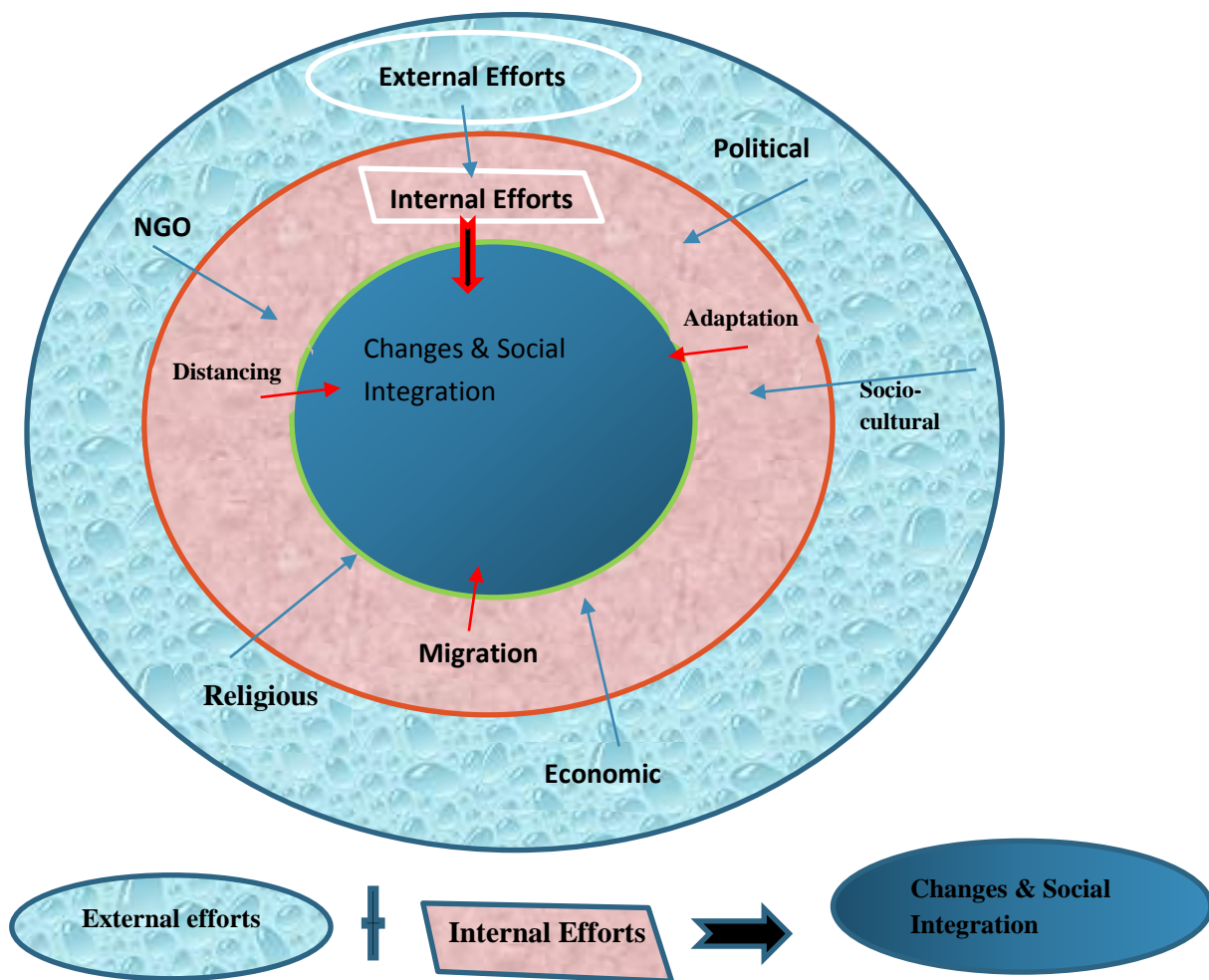
According to Giddens (2009), meanwhile, ethnic tensions and conflicts continue to erupt in communities across the world, threatening to destabilize some multiethnic nations and hinting at protracted bloodshed in others. There are three models of integration to avert this conflict. The first model is assimilation; in which the minority renounces their traditional rituals and practices in favor of conforming to the majority's beliefs and norms. As part of integrating into a new social order, an assimilationist method requires minorities to adapt their language, dress, habits, and cultural outlooks. The melting pot is a second model. Rather than being dissolved in favor of those prevalent among the pre-existing community, minorities' traditions are blended to generate new, emerging cultural patterns. The third model is cultural pluralism, in which ethnic cultures are granted full legitimacy to live separately while yet participating in the economic and political life of the broader society. Multiculturalism is a recent and significant extension of pluralism, and it refers to policies that promote cultural or ethnic groups to live in harmony with one another.

It is thought that mutual interdependence between disadvantaged and dominant groups is a prerequisite of their social interaction. As a result, economic and theological complementarities define interactions between despised groups and dominant communities. Interdependence of statuses in terms of occupation and ritual (Sergework 2009). Raising citizens' knowledge and abilities in the fields of human rights and intercultural communication; increasing citizens' sensitivity to respect for the diverse cultural, social, and ethnic identities of national minorities; support for actions aiming at eradicating societal prejudices and stereotypes (Kondrla, Tvrdoň, and Tkáčová 2020).

## 2.6 Analytical Framework

This study adapted and modified the conceptual framework model developed by Franz W. Gatzweiler and Heike Baumüller (2014) to better understand marginality as a method for studying the causal complexity of poverty. This model is being used because of its applicability to analyze the process of overcoming marginalization in the context of a person or group by a specific position within many dimensions with Ethiopian modifications. In contrast, the literature about Ethiopian craftworkers and hunters is generally focused on dominant viewpoints. This study focuses on the perspectives of the marginalized themselves, rather than depending solely on the views of dominating society, as has been the case in past literature.

**Figure 1. A Framework for Analyzing overcoming Marginalization**

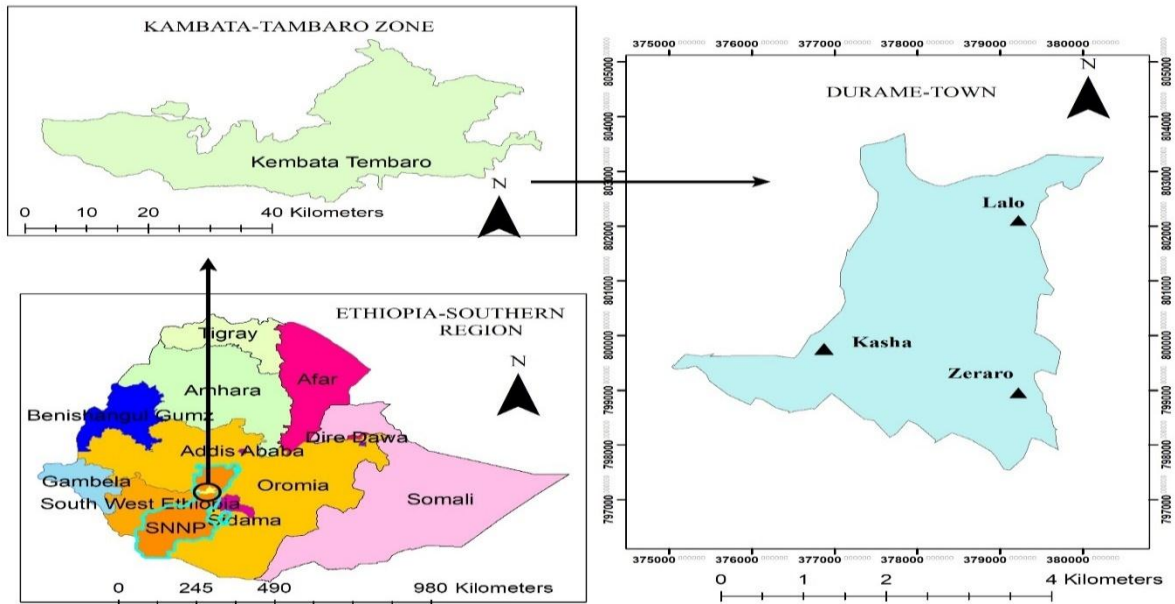


**Figure 1.** Changing position and conditions within a multidimensional trigger to reduce marginalization (Modified from Franz W. Gatzweiler and Heike Baumüller's, 2014). The concept of dimensions is adopted from Freeman and Pankhurst's book of the peripheral people: the excluded minorities of Ethiopia (2003), and different triggers of overcoming marginalization are adopted from Epple Susanne's transformation and manipulation of social difference (2018b). This framework modified by merging these adopted concepts. The model discussed external efforts such as political, sociocultural, religious, economic, and non-governmental organization (NGO) triggers. It also demonstrated the marginalized community's own efforts (such as adaptation, migration to the urban milieu, and distancing) to overcome their marginal position. Both external and internal engagements are essential to modify and maintain the situation of excluded minorities. The wider the circle represents external efforts, while the smaller indicates internal efforts, together which lead dominant societies and marginalized minorities to the center, which represents societal integration.

## CHAPTER 3: DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH SETTING

### 3.1 Geographical Location and the Population

The administrative zone of Kambata-Tembaro is located in the northeastern corner of Ethiopia's Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region. With a total size of 1,356 square kilometers, administratively it is divided into seven woredas: Kadida-Gamela, Damboya, Angecha, Doyo-Gena, Kacha-Bira, Hadero-Tunto, and Tembaro (Habisso 1964). Durame is the capital of the Kembeta-Tembaro Zone and the Kedida Gamela woreda (coordinates: N 08°08'50, 3"; E 039°21'05, 3"). It is connected to Addis Abeba by two roads: the Alemgena-Butajjira-Hossaina-Durame (320 km) and the Mojo-Shashamene-Durame (350 km). Durame is placed on the NW side of Mount Hambaricho (3000 m above sea level), at an elevation of 2,050 m above sea level.



**Figure 2: Location of Durame Town Research Site**

The Kambata are demarcated on the north by the Hadiya and Alaba zones, on the south by the Tembaro and Wolayta, on the west by the Wolayta and Hadiya zones, and on the east by the Billate River, which separates them from the Arsi Oromo (Habisso 1964). Rivers and valleys demarcate the Kembatas' territory, with the Omo/Gibe River in the southwest and the

Blatte/Warra River and its basins in the east (Belachew 2001).

According to the CSA's 2007 Census, Durame Town has a total population of 24,472, with 12,173 males and 12,299 women. The majority of the population was Protestant, with 86.51 percent claiming that belief, 7.39 percent practicing Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, and 4.93 percent Catholic. Based on the CSA 2022 projection, Population Size of Towns by Sex, Region, Zone, and Weredas as of July 2022, Durame Town the total population is 65,852 of whom 31,367 and 34,485 women.

### **3.2 Historical Background and the Structure**

The Kembata have a long-standing legacy of state organization and had a local structure led by Dilbato Dagoye (Dilbato) in the pre-Menelik period. The throne used to be passed down via the family, but this system was disrupted following Menilik II's conquest (Data Dea 1996). Before Menilik II's conquests, the Kembata, like other southern Ethiopian peoples, were independent of the centralized structure, from 1889-1905 (Habisso 1964). Kembata was part of Shewa, one of Ethiopia's 14 provinces in the south, during Emperor Haile Sillase's reign. After the collapse of the Solomonic Dynasty, the Derg regime divided the province of Shewa into four parts, with Kembata belonging to the southern Shewa. Ethiopia's current government has created other political-administrative techniques, and Kembata is part of the southern nations, nationalities, and people's administrative region, whose capital city is Hawasa, about 275 kilometers south of Addis Abeba. However, the region is now restructuring and Kembata Tembaro Zone will be part of the newly emerging regions. It shares striking linguistic and ethnological connections with the Tembaro (Belachew 2001).

According to Belachew (2001), historians and oral tradition claim that the seven of Kembata's Hambarricho were among the first inhabitants of Kembata (the Proto-Kembata). As Yacob (2002) argued based on Kembata oral history, the earliest inhabitants consisted of seven clans that grew into the first seven Kembata tribes that arrived on Mount Hambaricho: Ebejena, Efeghena, *Fuga*, Goroma, Hiniera, Saga, and Tazo. The *Fuga*, who are excluded from inter-clan cannibalism and commensalism (Braukämper 1983, cited in Belachew 2001), were the first clan to reside in Kembata. Arsano (2002) indicated that the *Fuga* community might be considered one of the indigenous peoples. The *Fuga* is listed as one of Kembata's seven founding tribes.

Thomas (2013), Kembata society was traditionally quite hierarchical, with upper-class nobleman clans (known as Oyyata and Gulbas), commoners (usually labeled Kontoma), and craftspeople (tanners, potters known as *Fuga*, and blacksmiths known as Tumaano) at the bottom. Since several clans cohabit in Kembata, they have formed clan iddirs or family iddirs. However, marginalized groups (such as *Fuga*) face prejudice and are excluded from social life participation, preventing them from joining certain organizations. Wolde-Selassie (2001), notes that *Fuga* is at the lowest of the socioeconomic hierarchy. They are excluded from the rest of society and have no rights or protection. Farmers despise and exclude them, and they are deemed unclean because of their eating habits, which include consuming meat from animals that have not been ritually slain. There is very little interaction between *Fuga* and farmers, and none at all when it comes to marriage. Their communities are apart from the villages of farmers.

### **3.3 Socio-economic Features in Durame**

Durame is divided into three administrative Kebeles: Kasha, Zeraro, and Lalo. Kasha denotes the plant, Zeraro the flower, and Lalo the fruit in Kambaata respectively. The town has a temperate (wainadega) climate, with the Kambata ethnic group making up the majority of the population. There are other ethnic groups in the town including the Hadiya, wolaita, Oromo, Amhara, Gurage, and Donga communities. The most significant organizations are Protestant churches, iddirs, and elders, while equub and Mehaber are additional types of organizations. Despite the fact that the *Fuga* inhabit all three kebeles, the majority of them reside in the outlying Zeraro Kebele. On March 19, 2022, I noted that the *Fugas* are residing in KMG-built homes in Lalo Kebele in groups. The number of artisans living in-group in this Kebele is relatively large. These households are displaced due to the construction of Wachamo University Durame campus on their previous residency. The former "Aroge," is today Kasha kebele which is located outskirts of Durame town at the exit way to Shinshincho town.



Figure 3: Field Observation at a Community Discussion Session Zeraro Kebele, March 13, 2022

In the heart of Durame Town, the KMT zone administrative buildings are mostly found on the side of the major road. The town is the location of each zone's administrative offices, including those for education, health, police, finance, etc., as well as a workshop for women's handicrafts. The Wachamo University Durame campus is found on the outskirts of the city through the Durame-Demboya route, and the Durame Industrial Vocational College is located in Durame town. Concerning educational facilities, there are government and private schools in the town.

The town has access to social services such as markets, health care, education, electricity, roads and transportation, mobile network coverage, and services for creating jobs. The municipal authority of the town serves housing, land distribution, road infrastructure, dry waste service, and slaughtering as amenities to the people. However, the town has been strained with its water supply system and lack of electricity generation facilities up until now. Before the project was implemented in 2016 by the Ethiopian Government (GoE) and the Italian Government (GoI), via DGCS, the public sanitation services in Durame were extremely deficient. Water shortages and power outages are causing people to suffer. Even hotels and pensions do not have access to water.

For the Kambata people, Hambaricho Mountain has great historical, cultural, and spiritual importance. From Durame and other locations in the Zone, one can see the mountain in its

entirety. As part of an extensive initiative to turn Hambaricho Mountain into a popular tourist attraction for both domestic and foreign tourists, the zone government has constructed 777 stairs that wind their way up from the base to the peak. However, Durame doesn't have any standard hotels that attract tourists. Few hotels, pensions, and restaurants are accessible but provide limited services. There is no access to water in even hotels and pensions. One bus station, public and private banks (such as Abisiniya, Commercial Bank, Wegagen, Dehub Global, Berhan, Dashen, etc.), and Omo Microfinance are all present. Additionally, there are public and private clinics. There is a weekly market center and one public library in the community. Dr. Bogalech Memorial General Hospital is the only government hospital now offering services, while Durame and the nearby communities are served by two health facilities.

A host thriving agriculture is supported by the lush land and cattle-breeding economy. Mixed farming is the main source of income for the Kembata people, with off-farm jobs, trade, and handicrafts contributing as other sources of income. An increasing proportion of the younger generation has entered the workforce as schoolteachers, health care professionals, and other occupations. The major crop is enset, which is complemented by a range of cereal and root crops. Cattle, small ruminants, and equines are among the livestock produced on a modest scale (Yacob 2002). Farming is the primary source of income for most families. With commerce and outmigration, livelihoods were mostly focused on enset-based mixed farming and small-scale animal raising. Animal and livestock products have emerged as potentially more significant than crops in this area (Berihun and Alemu 1996). In Durame, demand for dairy products has been growing concurrently, raising costs, and motivating farmers to purchase livestock. Selling milk, milk products, and fattened bulls or oxen may bring in a significant amount of money, raising the quality of life for many families.

The majority of the town's commercial operations are in the non-farm sector, which includes the agricultural trade and a variety of services (coffee shops, fast-food restaurants, shops, grocery items, beauty salons, small businesses, transport services, etc.). An essential part of the urban economy is migration. Remittances are sent to those with successful migrants in their families, allowing them to buy new houses, invest in bajaj's and other enterprises for their children, and pay for their children's education. Most shops, restaurants, and coffee bars remain closed every day after two o'clock at the night and before two o'clock in the morning in local time. During

this time, it's difficult for someone to have dinner later or to have breakfast earlier. He/she might search everywhere to get the service. Every Sunday, the town goes silent and the people go to church.

The houses in Durame are generally made of the same material as most Ethiopians' houses. Houses are modest structures made of rock or a combination of materials, with adjacent tiny plots serving as the typical location for a wet toilet.



**Figure 4: Field observation in Durame Saturday Market, March 12, 2022**

Every Saturday, a large market is held in Durame. Traders having a permanent space at the open market have to pay weekly tax for that. The Market is complex and unplanned, so it is not easy to go shopping. The market is in the center of the city and is surrounded by residential villages, restaurants, and warehouses. Wheels and Bajaj vehicles are common near the entrances and exits of the market. The market is dominated by a wide range of commodities, especially those with merchandise and agricultural products. Vegetables, spices, clothing, butter, clay, cereals, chicken, and cheese are just a few of the many products sold by merchants. As I have seen in social interactions, sellers compete with each other to find the right product for their buyers.

Internal roadways inside the town have been extended from a footpath to a level where ambulances, bajaj, and donkey carts may pass to reach all places. Commodities and items from

residences to the roadside or even up to the market are transported by donkey carts. When required, motorcycles are available to deliver to doorsteps. From Durame, transportation is provided by Isuzu buses and minibusses to Shinshicho, Alaba, Shahemene, Demboya, and other locations. Bajajs are used by smaller traders to convey their goods to the Durame market. From the nearby Weredas, Isuzu and minibusses are also used to convey passengers and goods to Durame town. Due to the construction of asphalt roads and the increase of contemporary minibusses, transportation has improved. Due to transportation that is more convenient, a lack of employment opportunities for young people, and the prevalence of landlessness, more individuals are involved in the trading of various goods.

## CHAPTER 4: MARGINALIZATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT

In this chapter, I demonstrate the contemporary context of marginalization against the *Fuga* community. It presented findings about the current manifestations of marginalization in the lives of the *Fuga* community. That is, marginalization is discussed as it is manifested in the sociocultural, economic, and political dimensions/manifestations.

### 4.1 Sociocultural Manifestations

*"Their daughters do not marry our sons; our daughters do not marry their sons!" A Fuga Man*

The statement quoted above is a remark made by a *Fuga* informant, heart-brokenly, expressing his feelings of resentment and distaste towards his community's inferior social position in relation to the general society and his lost hope for an equal social system where everybody lives in tranquility. Sociocultural edifices as such are areas wherein deep marginalization and relational deprivations could manifest. Sociocultural marginalization against the *Fuga* community, as anywhere else, is manifested in the form of restrictions on social interaction through commensalism, association membership, and intermarriage. During holidays, for example, social exclusion against the *Fuga* community is visible. *Mesela* is a holiday, hence the *Fugas* celebrate in honor of the day when the "true cross" was founded. The *Fuga* celebrate it by preparing coffee, lunch, and dinner together with their families, neighbors, and close relatives, except with the *Wumano* community, for the latter despises celebrating it with the former. The *Wumanos* despise attending *Fuga* wedding ceremonies. While *Fugas* do attend events with their *Wumano* neighbors, their neighboring *Wumanos* are not willing to reciprocate. As such, commensalism still poses a relational challenge for the *Fuga* and *Wumano*. A *Fuga* informant (P2) remembered:-

The holiday that our family most often celebrates is "*Mesela*." The Feast of the cross is a holiday that we all take for a colorful celebration. We had a cup of coffee and food with our neighbor, who had a drink and ate. Even though we invite the *Wumanos*, they do not come into our house. Once, my daughter got married in my home. Before that, they invited us to their wedding and we ate at their house. At

that wedding, I gave one house a hundred birr, the second house fifty birr, and the third house sixty birr. I invited them via invitation paper, but only two men came and gave us 50 birrs each while they did not enter the house. This is discrimination, so I decided not to go any further. Our communities were learning from my experience of attending events with our Wumano neighbors. Now our relatives are asking why we are going to their wedding. Even if they invite us, we will not attend; we will not invite them again.

Accordingly, members of the two communities would not refuse to show up, for instance, at each other's wedding festivities for they are required to payback payment they received at wedding they hosted, by tradition. They would rather pay without entering the house.

Moreover, the problem of commensalism is also reinforced by use of cultural instruments/object to feasting festivities and occasions by one of the two communities while unaccepted by the other. For example, while the Womanos insist to bring their equipment to *Fuga* ceremonies, showing their contempt to use *Fuga* equipment. P3 depicts this point as:

We share the churches for worship, and we pray together. At the societal level, in Idir we mourn the loss of a loved one, and sadly, we build a tomb. However, there is a problem. At Idir, Wumano brings coffee to the mourning ritual while they charge us money instead of coffee. That is, they do not consume the coffee we prepared for them. They create this exclusion. It still exists. When someone dies in our family, they do not eat in our house. They do not eat homemade food. They take enough money and go looking for a house with a member of their group to prepare food and drinks. Then they return to their home; they do not join us. There is an internal rule in the Idir. When a person dies, the family mourns for fifteen days. Service items used during the mourning period can be bought and put in one storehouse, such as mattresses, blankets, and rugs. These items are not permitted for us when there is sorrow in our family. They are not permitted to use these materials, participate in the purchase, or make financial contributions.

As clearly stated by informant (P3), the marginalization of the *Fuga* community is manifested in the contemporary sociocultural context. In Idir, Wumano brings coffee to the grieving while

*Fugas* pay money instead of bringing coffee. In addition, in Idirs, provide service items to use during the mourning period. However, these items are not permitted for *Fugas* when there is sorrow in their families.

Restriction in intermarriage between Wumano and *Fuga* is another manifestation. The daughters of Wumano do not marry *Fuga* sons; the *Fuga* daughters do not marry Wumano sons. If a *Fuga* married a Wumano, everywhere in Kembata, there would be great social and economic pressure on the community. He/she will live in conflict. This is a form of isolation and oppression in itself. Social attitudes toward marriage are weak, and the concept of integration is not accepted. Now the *Fuga* community is seen as inferior to any other part of society. They are excluded and despised; they have experienced being insulted. In their day-to-day lives, Wumano would not come to *Fuga's* house. The *Fugas* feel powerless to stop exclusion. One of the *Fuga* adult women (P6) explained:

I will not accept any marriage proposal from a Wumano! Because my heart is not willing to marry a Wumano, if I marry, he will insult and despise me. Even though God gave me wealth, I did not marry Wumano. I will not do this unless it is something else to solve problems. I believe he is a human being. If I got married every time, he would insult me. If he called me *Fuga*, I would hate him. I would never live with him. Therefore, I have no plans to marry Wumano today or tomorrow.

P6 is concerned about the apparent poverty among the *Fuga*. Even if they overcome poverty and have a good income, it does not guarantee that they will marry Wumano, and at the same time, they think that it cannot save them from insult and contempt. This shows that the social pressure of being married to a *Fuga* is inevitable. Since marginalization has many features, being rich alone does not eliminate it.

However, some informants claim that there have been some changes in Wumano and *Fuga's* socio-cultural interactions. In a few cases, according to an informant (P5) in Kasha Kebele, *Fugas* get married and live together with Wumano. Those who married Wumano spouses, on the other hand, live under stress and conflict. For instance, as he explained, when a *Fuga* man returned home from visiting his Wumano girlfriend, people followed him and beat him at night.

This demonstrates that even though there are a few married people in the area, it is uncertain whether they can live in peace. They may leave the area in fear of insults and beatings. This strains their day-to-day interactions, and these threats still exist. According to a labor and social affairs expert (P8) in Durame Town:

Intermarriage is uncommon between Wumano and *Fuga*. The reason is that *Fugas*' cleanliness was unpleasant. They were despised for their drunkenness and uncleanness in the marketplace. Now they are in good condition just like everyone else. They ask for marriage each other and they get married only on some occasions. However, there are still problems with getting married. Things are being done to eliminate these attitudes.

According to Freeman and Pankhurst (2003), marginalization is manifested most starkly in restrictions on exchanges, social interaction, and consumption of food and drink; submissive greetings; and beliefs about craftworkers' supernatural powers. While members of minority groups may be expected to attend the social events of farmers, the latter will generally not reciprocate. The findings of this study are compatible with Freeman and Pankhurst's findings. According to *Fuga* informants, marginalization displays itself socio-culturally through constraints on social contact such as commensalism, association participation, and intermarriage.

The denial of commensalism is one form of marginalization that still exists. When the Wumanos invited the *Fugas* to a wedding ceremony, they agreed. However, even when the *Fugas* invite them, the Wumanos do not attend any celebrations in the *Fugas*' house. The Wumano and *Fuga* communities interact regularly, but with significant limitations. It is good that both communities use the same church to worship and pray together. At Idir, Wumano, on the other hand, provides coffee to the mourners, whereas *Fugas* gives money instead of bringing coffee.

Furthermore, in Idirs, funeral materials like mattresses, blankets, and rugs could be purchased and stored in one storehouse. These objects, however, are not permissible for *Fugas* when there is mourning in their household. In terms of participation, *Fugas* are today's members of Idir, but they do not have the right to be elected or to speak. The preconception is that these people are inferior, and no one accepts them as representatives.

Intermarriage is still prohibited among the *Fuga* and the Wumano. As Freeman and Pankhurst

(2003), noted, such weddings are still highly taboo, and we have only been able to locate a very small number of instances. Even so, the couple frequently had to relocate to a location where no one knew who they were. This study also found out that Wumano daughters do not marry *Fuga* sons, and *Fuga* daughters do not marry Wumano sons. Key informants demonstrate the restriction on intermarriage. One case of marriage happened between a *Fuga* man and a Wumano woman while they were migrating to another place. However, some informants claim that there have been some modifications in the societal contact between Wumano and *Fuga*.

Generally, the sociocultural practices of the *Fuga* community are seen by others with disdain and contempt. For instance, Wolde-Selassie (2003) describes the *Fuga* cultural practice of blowing trumpets at the time of grieving, their dancing culture during the Mesale-feast, and their traditional game known as "Gifata" are seen by outsiders as scorn, not as tradition.

## **4.2 Economic Manifestations**

*"We are worried very much about the loss of soil!"* A *Fuga* woman.

Diversified economic activities are limited while pottery has been specialized by the *Fugas* over the years. *Fuga's* economic marginalization is manifested through denial of access to land and to raising animals. Pottery is still a major source of income for *Fugas*. As a result, they demand suitable clay soil to produce it. However, the informants disclosed that their current problem is land inadequacy. One of the informants (P3) describes the shortage of clay:

Our current problem is land insufficiency. The livelihood of our whole family is pottery. What we have educated is not effective; we have no merchants, no investors. As a result, we demand suitable soil to make pottery. We have nowhere to find this soil. This is one of our problems. We send our children to school with pottery income. We have no other income, no salary, no wealth. We do not have cattle. Mothers are buying food and raising children using pottery as a source of income. When the toilets were excavated, the mothers bought soil or begged the landowners to give them what they needed in the form of pottery products. Some may give the soil and others may not be volunteers to give it. We want to educate children. We want to be in business. We can do everything. However, no one can improve our abilities.

According to the informant, pottery is their main source of income. They earn their livelihood by selling pots and educating their children. Their children, who are educated in this manner, also face difficulty in finding employment opportunities. *Fugas* do not engage in other activities such as trading, investment, or other income-generating activities. This made them live a life of poverty. Nowadays, they are facing challenges themselves through the pots they made due to the loss of clay soil. They attempted to find and buy soil when a toilet was dug or they made a deal to make a pot in kind and deliver it. They bring pots to the market through this process. Because they are residing in Durame town, which is growing and developing in both population and infrastructure, they do not have open space for clay production. Therefore, the town administration is expected to do a lot of work to deploy these people in various income-generating options and work fields in the town or to provide clay soil.

The *Fuga* raised and educated their children from the income from the sales of pottery. According to the informants, the scarcity of clay soil is a very critical problem for them. The informant (P1) said that:

I raised my children while I generated income from pottery. So far, I have been working on pottery. We are currently suffering from a lack of clay pots. No matter where we live, to teach our children, we do pottery. We are very worried about the loss of clay soil. Now I use a small piece of bought land. We cannot find soil after the house has been built over it. The man who sold the land to me is also accused by his relatives of not signing it. It is a place where I will build a house. I now bring soil from the place where the toilet was excavated. There is no soil to be done. God knows how to raise our children. It is a big problem.

The informant expressed their viewpoint in a way that supports the preceding argument. Children from *Fugas* are raised and taught in the pottery trade. They are, however, quite concerned about the loss of potting soil. They are now hunting for soil to dig for the toilet, and while digging out the soil from they bought land for the house. Even if they desire to buy land, sellers may be unwilling to sell to *Fugas*. Hence, lack of soil is a major issue, and they are concerned about how they will raise their children in the future. An informant from the government side admitted that like any other resident or ethnic group, they do not have enough land. Since they have no land,

those whose livelihood is pottery will not get soil. They are buying the soil by birr and working pottery when a toilet is excavated.

In the past, minorities used to have very little access to land and livestock. They frequently resided on the territory of patrons or lords and were subject to eviction at any time, forcing them to look for new landowners. People from underrepresented groups could be permitted to settle on the land owned by their patrons or rulers. Instead of between two social groupings, this patron-client relationship type between people seems to have been the most prevalent (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003). It is not different from the situations in Kembata, the *Fuga* and Wumano have experienced the patron-client relationship. Land scarcity is one of the major problems facing *Fuga*. In some cases even if they wanted to buy, the landowners might not sell it to them. Although the government owns the land, they do not have permanent ownership. Another informant (P5) disclosed that:

The municipality gives temporary permission only to us. The city now has a plan. Our house is considered temporary. They do this because they want to claim a non-compensation withdrawal for various reasons. Even in these two years, members of our community who have bought land and built houses have had their homes demolished by Wumano individuals who say we cannot be neighbors.

According to the informant, the result of the historical relationship between patron and client is that which is reflected today by the fact that the land is still granted to *Fugas* as a temporary possession. *Fugas* used to live as squatters on their patrons' lands, so even if they could afford it, they couldn't build a permanent house. Unlike the Derg regime, some people were given equal land; both the EPRDF and the existing government considered them to have temporary ownership of the land. This happens intentionally when the land needs development or investment to relocate them without compensation payment. The House of People Representatives adopted Proclamation No. 1161/2019, which states that any Ethiopian has the right to seek compensation when his/her land is needed for development and that he/she would not be forced to quit the land without compensation.

But in practice, the *Fugas* demonstrate that when their land is required for development, they are not the permanent owners of the land and are removed without restitution. Even worse, they

claim that even if they wish to buy land, Wumano will not sell it to them. Some *Fuga* community members bought land and built houses previously, while some members of the Wumano demolished their houses because *Fuga* could not be their neighbors. This dangerous act not only manifests *Fuga's* marginalization but also demonstrates that the patron-client relationship has once again been revived.

On the other hand, with the Land Reform of 1975, they were granted rights to their backyard plots. Instead of paying yearly fees as they had in the past, they are now entitled to free clay from government-owned land (Wolde-Selassie 2003). This study revealed that this small plot of land is used to build houses. Since they lived in large households, those who were entitled to land during the Derg regime shared their lands to build houses for their children and relatives. But, a *Fuga* does not engage in farming due to the inaccessibility of land, even if the municipality gives them temporary ownership of land. Informants indicated that even if they wanted to buy land, the landowners might not sell it to them. *Fugas*, who make their living from pottery, would not have free access to soil; instead, they would purchase it for birr and use it to make pottery when a toilet was excavated. Durame Town Administration Women, Children, and Social Affairs office says land scarcity is one of the critical problems facing *Fuga*. Government support for diversified economic activities is limited. Informants say there are enterprises for just reporting purposes on the government side. The two enterprises organized by KMG in Durame town are denied cooperative credit. As a result, according to participants today, the *Fuga* community is not living equally with Wamano. In a nutshell, today, the *Fugas* do not have a place to live, food to eat, or the means to educate their children.

### **4.3 Political Manifestations**

*"No one has political participation and decision-making power," a Fuga informant said.*

The *Fugas* are excluded from political structures and participation. The informants disclosed that the political marginalization of the *Fuga* is manifested in the absence of any representative in Kebele, Woreda, and the Zone Council of Representatives. The *Fugas* have recently been excluded from kebele-level political participation in Kembata. Even in Idirs, they are present to vote, while they are forbidden to speak and to be elected. One, the informant (P4) describes:

Political support for our community as a city and zone is weak. Both the current government and the EPRDF claim equality, but they do not invite us to participate in politics at any meeting. In this zone, we do not have the opportunity to express our concerns. There is a great deal of political exclusion. There is no meeting presence from our community; unexpectedly, even if we present and raise our hands, they will not accept us. There is hearsay as to what they will say and who will support them. So we cannot vote for the leaders either. Our representative is not allowed to participate. We are isolated people. The same is true for the Idir. Even if we are in idir, we can only vote for numbers, we cannot speak and be elected.

According to the informant, even though the country's constitution guarantees equal rights to all citizens, *Fugas* have no political engagement. There were no community representatives on the zonal or district councils. The *Fuga* do not get positions at Woreda and Kebele to make their voices heard, because the preconceived notion of the twenty-first century is still in its infancy. They are less likely to be accepted as leaders. Even if they are a member of the Idir, they cannot be elected to positions of leadership. This is an example of isolation, indicating that the community's demands are not being addressed.

The *Fugas* are not elected in other constituencies such as kebele or woreda. Even if they are not members of political parties, however, on some occasions, they might serve as militia or soldiers. Another informant (P3) revealed that he served as a militiaman during the Ethio-Eritrea war. He believes that he was privileged because it was wartime. He explained the situation as follows:

In our society as a whole, there is no such thing as personal political participation and decision-making responsibility. However, I served in Durame as a militiaman. I was fortunate enough to have a new militia set up to cover their positions as the first militia moved forward towards the war front. I was elected by the people and served for one year after training for a week. The main reason I was chosen by the people for this service was that the militia was going to the war front. It was a time of war, not to give me the chance. I was replaced here because of the war if the government needed us to go.

The above informant explained that there are individuals who have had the opportunity to serve as militia in some cases, despite they are not politically active. However, it was not intended to increase the participation of these individuals, but during the war, the militia had the opportunity to deploy to the battlefield. Whether during the Derg or EPRDF regimes, *Fuga* was forced to join the military and serve on the front lines. As a *Fuga* member, he does not participate in political parties. However, when he was in the militia, government officials sometimes invited him to meetings. While he left the militia, he has not been invited to any political conferences.

An informant from the government side admitted that one of the main problems is that *Fuga* has no voice in kebele, woreda, and zonal structures as a matter of government. Lack of a voice, and still seeing them as inferior exists, does not mean everything is changed. Another informant from KMG said that they are made to understand the constitution and their rights. However, the organization is politically neutral. NGOs do not push them to be involved in politics, other than to empower them with economic and social empowerment.

According to informants, when a few people are fighting and the fighting may come from *Fuga* sitting place. Let the police come or not. They say it is the *Fuga*, leave them. 'If there is a clash going on, if somebody dies there, they go back if the fighters are *Fuga*. One of the informants (P5) said that now if someone despises him, he frustrated to prosecute the person who insulted him because the law enforcement is weak. When the police interprets the law in the Kembata, like it is an ordinary thing here. He demonstrated that:

There are several reasons why I think the law is weak. Where I live here, my neighbor has a wheat farm. I had sheep. I still breed sheep; it is a source of income for me. I sell the sheep to educate my children and take care of them when they are sick. These sheep, which I have been feeding for a year, entered the wheat farm, and one day he came and told me I have to keep them. The next day, while I was not present there, he killed one of the three sheep. I asked him, "Why did you kill my sheep?" I said you must pay me, but he said I would kill you. The man was standing at my door with a machete. I reported to the police that he was trying to kill me with a machete. The police said to me that I had charged him. I cached red-handed him, with a machete at my door, what I am showing you are accusing him. What are you waiting for me to do? I asked them they told me that they could not detain him

without a summons. In the meantime, I said that if I could survive, I would prosecute him. I showed the dead sheep to the police, and I took a photo. I started pursuing him with the police, but they blocked my summons and forced me to reconcile. I asked the police, why do I reconcile? They informed me that the defendant has a police brother who is beyond our capacity. Those policies are still alive and they did not go anywhere. I was reconciled that he would pay for the lamb, while I was crying out for my soul. I have left it to God, saying that money is not more than human.

The informant revealed that when they are subjected to abuse, they report it to the police. However, the police did not take their case seriously; the police officers did not pay attention to bringing it to court. To add more, the police menace them harshly. As a result, the *Fuga* may not grasp justice.

This study reveals that until recently, the *Fugas* were excluded from political structures and involvement. Historically, Ethiopian craftworkers have been excluded from political groups that have been set up along ethnic lines. Pankhurst (2003) points out that craftspeople are politically excluded from local leadership, not just from conventional positions but also from new political organizations such as the Peasant Association and the Service Cooperative. According to informants, the *Fuga's* political marginalization is demonstrated by the lack of representation in Kebele, Woreda, and Zone Councils. They are not elected to other positions, such as kebele or woreda delegates.

The *Fugas* are also victims of administrative discrimination and exclusion. They have also experienced prejudice, having been singled out for conscription and even rejecting food aid, according to Freeman and Pankhurst (2003). For instance, this study found out that when aid arrives in Kembata, kebele authorities hide and seize it for themselves, their relatives, and their patrons. Even *Fuga's* elderly and homeless do not receive government assistance. Wumano tribal members, on the other hand, have offered aid. The local police institutions treat them harshly. The *Fugas* are unjustly treated in police stations, or the police deny their case when they accuse individuals of any criminal behavior.

## **CHAPTER 5: EFFORTS TO OVERCOME MARGINALIZATION**

In this chapter, I show the efforts and interventions that were the enabling factors to overcome the marginal status of the *Fuga* community. The *Fuga* community has been or is being marginalized from social, political, and economic benefits. Therefore, the external interventions and internal efforts in the process of breaking the boundaries of marginalization are demonstrated in this section. External efforts are the government's and non-governmental organizations' interventions to ensure the benefit of the *Fuga* community in the political, social, and economic dimensions. Similarly, this section also includes *Fuga*'s own efforts to overcome marginalization and to ensure their benefits in Kembata communities. In general, this portion notes the triggers that contribute to the social changes and developments of the *Fuga* community.

### **5.1 External Efforts**

External efforts include interventions by governments and non-governmental organizations. Triggers in political, economic, social, religious, and non-governmental organizations are identified as external efforts. There is no question that efforts in these sectors can make a difference to bring about changes. However, depending on the type and nature of these sectors, efforts to overcome exclusion are different and limited. The external triggers that bring positive influences are presented in detail as follows.

#### **5.1.1 Government Efforts**

The government's efforts should be a commitment from the policy formulation to implementations that ensure the participation and benefit of marginalized and excluded groups such as *Fuga*. Therefore, the informants revealed that the government, like everyone else, has created an opportunity for *Fuga* children to go to school. In the past, they were not allowed to go to school with Wumano; not so now. One of the informants (P4) told the researcher that:

Children in our community enroll and are educated when they reach school age. It creates and lays the foundation for development and opportunities from primary to university education; it hires teachers and encourages our children to learn. However, no government body monitors whether they are achieving education while the government has supported everyone to attend school.

According to the informant, the government made policy-based efforts to make education accessible to the children of the *Fuga* community. Currently, *Fuga* children have the opportunity to enroll in any school of their choice. For example, some students get scholarships to private schools and those who are studying at Compaction School. Students are now attending Adventist, Catholic, and other public schools. Therefore, the choice is up to the individual and his family. The government encourages them to learn by hiring teachers. In the past, *Fuga* children could not learn together with Womeno children in one school. This is a change today. However, there are limitations in monitoring and evaluating the implementation of issued policies by the government. The government's checks and balances on the education sector have limitations, especially on schools' performance. Health institutions are another area of service delivered by the government. Informants disclosed that when they go to the hospital, they are treated just like everyone else. There is a government-sponsored structure. The above informant (P4) demonstrated:

We use health care facilities. Like everyone else, an ambulance is serving us. The government's support for our health facilities is commendable. Women give birth in hospitals and raise their children.

Informants demonstrated that the health center is good. For example, going to the hospital for treatment; going to a health center or hospital when women are pregnant, and health extension workers who are implementing a health policy based on the prevention of illness should raise awareness in each area. Therefore, they go to health facilities and get treatment. Extension workers came from health posts to monitor the births and deliveries of women. Another informant (P1) noted a contradiction with the above argument. A *Fuga* women's interviewee disclosed the situation as follows:

As a leader of thirty mothers, I supervise the women whether they wash their bodies and clothes or not, and take them to the health center. I take them. Once, I took one of my relatives, and the nurse said to take her outside. She told us to go to the hospital while the pregnant woman gave birth at the gate. There she fell around the gate. God gave her the baby. When it happened, they came quickly and sat her down. When the chief came, I showed him that "this was the place where the baby had been born, and I am the leader of thirty mothers from Zeraro Kebele." You are repulsive;

you are discriminating against us." Everybody comes from the health center or anyone else for monitoring. "Women will not come with you anymore," I told him. I was angry. The three nurses were punished by their salary. However, still not resolved. When the women are worried, they say, "I'll take them." Sometimes they say, "Go out with us." Why do they do this to us? From now on, there will be those who give birth in their own homes. They despised us for both being at a government health center and Dr. Bogalech Memorial Hospital. Then some women give birth at home.

The informants revealed the act of segregating the *Fuga* women from the services provided by hospitals and health centers. Even women representatives who follow up with mothers to prevent them from giving birth at home and take them to health facilities say that they are being told to take them back. According to the informant, when the *Fuga* community goes to the hospital, they might be referred to another place. Due to that, mothers gave birth while working or sleeping at home. Unlike some physicians or nurses who serve everyone equally, some might hide in an office to avoid serving the *Fuga*.

The government tries to provide services to the *Fuga* community, especially in the education and health sectors, while it has its limitations. According to one of the informants (P5), the government's efforts toward the *Fuga* community demonstrated:

The government is now monitoring us to the best of its ability. When something happens, it controls it. Provides support at the kebele level. However, the people still do not believe that we are here with the support of the government. In fact, in terms of the support of the KMG organization, we can say that the government did not support us well.

According to the above informant, government efforts are limited as compared to KMG, a nongovernmental organization. The *Fuga* community still believes that the government's support is limited-access. For example, little has been done on political participation and economic empowerment efforts. The *Fuga* community does not have any representatives in all the councils and government bodies of the Kembata Tembaro Zone. The *Fuga*'s political participation is limited only to the national election that has taken place once in five years.

In the past, the *Fuga* were not allowed to go to school with Wumano. Epple (2018a) has reported it was begun during Emperor Haile Selassie's efforts to modernize Ethiopia, especially through investments in modern education and the abolishment of slavery in 1942, which opened new chances for many marginalized people. After the end of the emperor, during the Derge era, the *Fuga* children got a chance of attending school. However, students dropped out of school because of the school community's marginalization pressure. In recent years, there have been a few cases of students dropping out of school. The informants, on the other hand, indicated that the government, like everyone else, has made it possible for *Fuga* children to attend school. Furthermore, when they go to the hospital, they are treated like everyone else. A government-sponsored structure exists. The *Fugas* are going to the hospital and a health center or hospital for treatment, for example; when women are pregnant; and health extension workers who are implementing health policy based on illness prevention should raise awareness in each community. As a result, the government attempts to offer services to the *Fuga* community, particularly in the education and health sectors, despite its constraints.

The government attempted to legalize *Fuga* community associations. For example, there are two women's enterprises established by Golden Hands (*Fuga*) community members who have been trained in the KMG. KMG arranges loans for these business units. The Durame city administration has registered and licensed these enterprises.

As Wolde-Selassie (2001) notes, the *Fuga* in Kembata were landless before the 1974 revolution and used to live on the lands of the dominant clans. Because of the land reform, they were granted rights to their backyard plots as well as parts of the field plots. Their field plots, on the other hand, are either sharecropped or rented out to other farmers. This research reveals that because *Fuga* families are large, those who were entitled to land during the Derg regime shared their lands to build houses for their children and relatives. In comparison to KMG, a nongovernmental organization, government efforts are limited. The *Fuga* community tends to assume that government assistance is limited. For example, little progress has been made in terms of political engagement and economic empowerment. The *Fuga* community is not represented in any of Kembata Tembaro Zone's councils or government entities. The *Fuga*'s political engagement is confined to the national election, which occurs every five years. However, one of the informants has prior involvement experience. According to the study, the

*Fuga* are not only excluded from the political structure but are also scared to discuss community concerns. As a researcher, I attended the *Fuga* community forum on March 7, 2014, in the village of Zeraro Kebele, to gather information for my graduation thesis. The event was conducted on the street outside the hall, and many people (Wumanos) walked across the street. Following that, anyone who attended this discussion was interrupted when they spoke their views and opinions; they were muted or waited in silence until passengers were far away from us. This implies that even those who attended the conference were influenced and afraid to express their ideas freely. As a result, their voices go utterly unnoticed.

### **5.1.2 Economic Efforts**

The *Fuga* community is not landowners. They are not involved in animal husbandry. Their main source of income is pottery. However, due to a lack of clay soil, their income has been reduced. According to the informants, they have now written a letter asking the government to give them clay soil. However, the municipality responded that the land would be given to them only when it allocates the land as per the city plan. One of the informants (P1) disclosed:

Soil problems are very serious. We walked a long way with twenty-three women organized, and we did not get a response. During the formation of "Gonzye," (small and micro enterprises by pottery workers), we went through municipalities, we went to small and micro-enterprise offices, and no one answered our questions. We were disappointed and returned home. Still, we are now following up on the case in the municipality.

According to the above informant, they follow up on the question of land and hope that they will be part of the new land allocation. They believe the government will not leave anyone anywhere and must give them land. They also tried to increase their income by organizing themselves into small and micro-organizations. This pottery-based association also encountered difficulties due to a shortage of soil. They are trying to solve the problem of lack of soil through the government. On the other hand, they are trying to do different income-generating activities to fill this gap. They are especially involved in labor activities.

According to the labor and social affairs office, apart from pottery, they do various kinds of work as to human behavior and abilities. For example, some are working in mud huts as day laborers. Mud is their regular job, which is used for house construction. They are making mud in the rain while it is seasonal and stop when water is scarce. Some are employed in different places after education while at a lower percentage. However, most of them still depend on pottery. The informant (P8) from the Labor and Social Affairs Office demonstrated that:

The government delivers services to the *Fuga* community, such as organizing them and providing clothing and educational materials to help children learn. In addition to benefiting from government health insurance and free treatment, repairs will be made to those who have old houses. The government has trained above-tenth and high school children in various fields. For example, it has a contract with the Development Association to train five women in hairdressing and five men in tailoring. Now the government is working to design and complete the project through it. Not only this, with the help of the College of Vocational Training, it has been able to build a "Lystro" box by purchasing paint, polish, and other materials from banks so that they can continue to work.

The government sectors revealed that they are still working on a new form of sustainability. According to the informant, the government is working to benefit the marginalized members of the *Fuga* community in various economic sectors. Efforts are being made to make agreements with various organizations to create various job opportunities. It encourages them to work hard, change their lives, and save money. It shows that the government tries a little bit to get the *Fuga* community to participate in diverse economic activities instead of pottery. The government played its role when two small micro-enterprises were established by pottery workers. A pottery enterprise was established and organized to improve their economy. Such things are done so that they can be self-sufficient. That does not mean that everything is done. There are some improvements and changes. Economic empowerment activities are supported by KMG. Their saving habits are changed tremendously by the efforts of KMG to make them aware and the government legalizes the process. The KMG manager (P7) at the Durame branch demonstrated that:

We work economically to make a better income from the pottery they make. To grow their culture of saving, they organized and worked with savings and loan enterprises. Because their saving culture was, weak and they did not worry about tomorrow. We have taught them how to break this stereotype. Savings enterprises are effective in saving. They are given starting money, and they trade now.

According to the informant, *Fuga* society lacked any thrift-saving culture; they were not worried about tomorrow. KMG worked diligently to disprove this stereotype. It attempted to demonstrate how they get more money by working with pottery. Today, the *Fuga* is saving money and trying various business endeavors.

Even though a study by Wolde-Selassie (2003) indicated that the *Fuga* in Kembata have free access to clay from government-owned land following the 1975 land reform, the informants in this research disclosed that the loss of clay is a critical problem for the community. As the researcher explained above in this section, the informants demonstrated that land shortages are one of the most pressing issues today. Even if the *Fuga* want to buy land, Wumano will not sell it to them. The entire *Fuga* family's major livelihood is working with clay. As a result, they need proper soil to produce pottery.

It demonstrates that the government makes an effort to encourage the *Fuga* people to engage in economic pursuits other than pottering. When two small microenterprises were founded by pottery employees, the government stepped in. To enhance their economy, a pottery firm was founded and organized. These activities are done for them to be self-sufficient. That does not imply that everything has been completed. There have been various enhancements and modifications. KMG supports economic empowerment efforts. Their saving habits are considerably altered because KMG attempted to educate people and because of the government's legalization of the process.

The government provides services to the *Fuga* community, such as organizing them and giving clothing and educational resources to assist children in studying. In addition to government health insurance and free treatment, individuals who own older homes will have their homes repaired. The government has trained youths in a variety of vocations. It has a contract with development organizations, for example, to teach young people hairdressing and tailoring. The

government is now attempting to plan and carry out the project via it. Furthermore, with the assistance of the College of Vocational Training, it was able to design a "Liystro" box by obtaining paint, polish, and other supplies from banks to continue working.

### **5.1.3 Religious Efforts**

The spread of Catholic and Protestant churches in the region has also led to attitude shifts among Wumanos since followers are taught that the *Fuga* are also God's creatures. Religious institutions are better than any other institutions at participating in the *Fuga* community in worship and other social activities. According to one of the informants (P4):

When we came back to Kembata in 1989 E.C, we were living far away from humanity in the realm of patrons. While we were there, the Church of the Kalehiwot cured us of some health problems. It is still a spiritual institution that has served our families and the community, and it has made a significant difference in our lives. This is one of the missions that God has assigned to the Church on Earth. For three consecutive years, we have been able to get free medical care. In addition, the church regularly provided food assistance by facilitating flocks and teachers in times of need. The Church has put its footprint on where we are today.

According to informants, when the settlers in Metekel during the Derg regime returned to the Kembata Tembros zone, the churches were highly engaged in the restoration of them. Those churches are continuing a spiritual institution that has served them. The churches are one institution that plays a significant role in the process of integration between the *Fuga* and the Wumano community. Today, the two communities share the same church for worship and praying together. Beyond that, sometimes the members of *Fuga* communities serve as a leader, choirs, and evangelizer. One of the informants (P3) disclosed that:

I have been a leader in the church since 2003 E.C. and served for six years. As resource supervisor, I did two rounds as per the church rules. I worked in two rounds for six years and delivered my responsibilities to the newly elected. After that, no one from the *Fuga* community has ever taken responsibility. In coir, however, they are involved.

The *Fuga* communities had been given responsibilities, including leadership and other duties in religious institutions and other sectors. As the informant demonstrates, the *Fuga* has become a leader in the church in some cases. They participate as leaders, singers, and preachers in addition to praying together in church. The above informant remembered that he is a member of the choir group and serves as a lead singer in the group. This person wishes to leave his mark as a member of his church's choir. However, the sustainability of giving them a leadership position is questionable. Because it happened when KMG and government intervention worked, that used the church as an instrument to harmonize social relationships. The change was incipient and not fundamental when the intervention efforts had been weakened and marginalization and contempt appeared to have resumed.

Even though today, marriage between *Fuga* and Wumano is not permissible in the community, the church servant from Wumano is allowed to marry into the Fugu community. Permission has been granted. As Christians, they celebrate the birth of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Ethiopian New Year, and the festival of the true cross. During these holidays, the *Fugas* attend church services with their neighbors. They joined the church's invitation to parishioners; they would have a cup of tea or coffee from the church during the celebration. When holidays are celebrated, the *Fuga* now participate in meal sharing with Wumano. Another informant (P5) demonstrated that:

The church gave me responsibility. However, I did not take responsibility for the church now because I am busy. Nevertheless, I can provide other services. Isolation was practiced in the church before. I began to believe in God about 20 years ago when I was a child. Even if they prohibit me from their house, they do not stop me from going to God's house. I go into the church and pray. If I work all day long, including Sundays, I do not go to church. In the past, they would tell us not to get involved and not to participate in church. When we sat on a chair, they said that we smelt, and they got up and walked away. As we can see today, even if someone smells in the church, they are sitting together. Sick people, too, come to the church. Things like this are now creating a good relationship in the house of God. However, before that, 40 or 50 years ago, the oppression in our society was enormous.

According to Freeman and Pankhurst (2003), another major change in the twentieth century has been the introduction of new religions, particularly Protestant Christianity. The *Fuga* were able

to become more aware of their deprived status because of the spread of Catholicism and Protestantism. Wolde-Selassie (2001) identified that farmers' attitudes towards the *Fuga* have shifted because of the spread of the Catholic and Protestant religions in Kembata. Churches played an important role in the integration of the *Fuga* and the Wunamo communities.

As the informant recalled, in the past, the *Fuga* was barred from entering religious institutions to participate in worship or any activities. If a *Fuga* sits next to them, they claim that he or she smells, and they get up and leave. Today, on the other hand, the relationship between the *Fuga* and Wumano has changed. They pray, sit, and even eat together in the church during festivals. The efforts thought to have resulted in this kind of transformation are the efforts of the *Fuga* to escape the smell and, together with other interventions, maintain their integration. The informants presented that the *Fuga* now actively participate in the churches and, in rare cases, even take responsibility. They share the same space in churches for worship and prayer, which creates a good relationship between the *Fuga* and Wumano. In the past, *Fuga* avoided becoming connected and participated in church. According to the informants, the *Fuga* has become a church leader in certain circumstances and has been active in churches as a choir member and preacher. The Wumano and *Fuga* communities worship and pray together in the same church.

Although marriage between *Fuga* and Wumano is not permitted in the community today, priests from Wumano are permitted to marry into the *Fuga* group. During the holiday celebrations, the *Fugas* join their neighbors in church. They accepted the church's invitation to parishioners, and they would partake in the festivity with a cup of tea or coffee from the church. The Giffata ritual, an annual game performed solely by the *Fuga* during the cross festival, was considered a mockery rather than a tradition by Wumanos. Since *Fugas* converted to Protestantism, the number of people who play this game has decreased. Those who pursue spiritual activities are those who reject this tradition.

#### **5.1.4 Efforts of Non-Governmental Organizations**

*“Fugas are not up to the position of acquiring the citizenship they deserve and protecting their identity and dignity”* KMG unpublished document.

Even though there are many international and national NGOs in Kembata, KMG is the only NGO designed a program to overcome the marginal status of the *Fuga* community. KMG is a

non-governmental organization dedicated to promoting women's social and economic decision-making capacity in Kembata. The Fugga community is given a name "Golden Hands" by KMG in consulting with the community leaders because the name "Fugga" was used to defame and degrade the identity of these communities. KMG worked on Golden Hands with financial support from the Embassy of Finland and USAID. KMG works in partnership with the government to fill the gaps. In this regard, it works closely with the education sector, the economic sector, the organization of the cooperative, the community, and the concerned parties, especially in marginalized communities.

KMG-Ethiopia (2006) empowered the *Fugas* to engage in community dialogue and self-help. KMG has been providing entrepreneurship, financial management, and banking training; develop a culture of saving and access to credit; and donate donkeys and carts to transport their goods and property. An informant (P7) from KMG disclosed that:

When we work for these golden hands, or marginalized communities or people in the traditional *Fuga* community, we have worked hard to improve their social and economic well-being so that they can live with other communities. There we have seen positive changes, especially in the social sphere. The organization has been working since 2006 to enable them to participate in all aspects of social coexistence so that they can participate in a variety of social activities. During these years, positive changes in their work have not been completely reversed, but significant changes have been made.

In the current context of the Kembata community, KMG believes that there are visible and tangible changes. For example, some are supported by the organization and have a degree. Like everyone else, there is an awareness that *Fuga* women should give birth in health institutions. A pottery enterprise was established and organized to improve their economy. For many years, when *Fugas* came into the Womeno house, it was not well cared for. Since there was no such thing, KMG faced challenges from the community to accept it. To bring about changes, especially in social relations, KMG had a coffee ceremony program with the communities together. According to the manager of KMG:

However, there were things like that when KMG first started. To that end, KMG has been involved with the elders, religious leaders, and other influential people. Such things are common when KMG gets to work. However, when you move into a new area, we convince ourselves that such things are happening in the community. Things like this have been raised by the community. Since the government plans to do it on its own, it does not prohibit us from working on this issue. As long as the community accepted that the *Fugas* were equal people when we said that Wumano had to live with the golden hands, they did not hear us first. However, later, they are involved in everything that happens in the Idir, in the church, and all other things. I am not saying that everything is overcome, but there are changes.

Similarly, the informants said they have received better support while the founder, Dr. Bogalech, was alive. Since her death, the organization has slowed down. The start was good, but the program was over before they empowered well. According to the *Fuga* informants, even though all support for KMG ended after the death of Dr. Bogalech, KMG enabled them to be conscious of their status. They believe that if KMG had not been trained those fifteen years ago, they would have been in big trouble. They consider that God sent Dr. Bogalech to save them from the fire. One of the informants (P4) disclosed that:

In the past, KMG has been a major supporter of us. For example, it did a great job of changing people's attitudes. Therefore, KMG worked hard and the community could change themselves and build healthy relationships with others. However, it did not do much in terms of economic empowerment. Still, it did set up enterprises and provide loans. That means the one who is not financially viable will end up with the money one day. The *Fuga* community does not know about saving for tomorrow. Our society did not have a culture of saving. There is a belief that "the birds of the sky do not sow; they do not reap, while the God of heaven feeds them." They did not worry about saving for tomorrow, but today. They have recently started learning to save from other communities and have now started saving money. When they celebrate the New Year or other holidays, they use the money they saved. This process has grown by 75% since then.

As such, KMG brings productive change by teaching people about saving. As the Women, Children, and Social Affairs office admitted in the past, Dr. Bogalech KMG did a better job. However, after her death, the practice slowed down. World Vision has now begun to support them in coordination with the labor and social affairs office, the police, the mayor's office, and other stakeholders who are working on their rights.

According to Freeman and Pankhurst (2003), international organizations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been mostly ineffective. They tend to direct their initiatives at the targeted site and have failed to achieve major social or economic change because they have failed to comprehend both the artisanal way of production and the nature of minority marginalization. However, the Kembata KMG has made various improvements to overcome *Fugas'* marginal position. As Mesfin (2003) noted, an NGO named ACORD project has been working with potters in Shashemene Town, and KMG-Ethiopia (2006) empowered the *Fugas* to engage in community dialogue and self-help.

Nonetheless, the KMG manager acknowledged that due to her death and Corona's emergence in 2019, the company slowed its pace. There was a lack of cash both at home and abroad. *Fugas* are planned to be included in the future. The purpose of the organization also includes girls, women, and members of the Golden Hand community. It is still working on one project in one district. However, since it is a project, it is a leap of faith. The project's lifespan is just around 5 years. KMG is working hard to ensure its long-term success. The work has not halted, although it has slowed somewhat.

## **5.2 Internal Efforts of the *Fuga* Community**

There are internal efforts that are being used by *Fuga* society to overcome their marginal status. The internal efforts of the *Fuga* community, such as acquiring knowledge and learning/adaptation, migration and urban context, and distancing and strengthening of self-identity, are showed in this section. These efforts encompass learning and acquiring knowledge that adopts and incorporates the culture and ideas of other communities. Those individuals who have migrated to urban centers also provide a convenient option for those trying to conceal their identities. Furthermore, distancing and strengthening the *Fuga* community's distinctiveness to organize their own identity and strengthen social movements to defend their rights.

### 5.2.1 Adaptation/ Knowledge and Learning/

“The next generation is a time of knowledge and learning, not a time of turning backward” a *Fuga* informant.

The *Fuga* relinquish their traditional rituals and practices in favor of those compatible with the majority's beliefs and norms. As part of integrating into a new social order, *Fugas* had to adapt to Wumanos' dress, habits, and cultural viewpoints. Access to training and the adoption of material culture and local architecture all have an impact on the reduction of marginalization. According to my observations on February 12, 2022, *Fuga* village homes are constructed of the same material as other Ethiopian homes. The roof is made of corrugated iron. The walls are tiled with mud; the ceiling is plastic; the walls are painted white and green; the floor is not cemented; the doors and windows are made up of wood; the living room and bedroom are split; the home is constructed of affordable wooden chairs and tables, and plastic chairs.

While the dominant economic activity is still pottery, today in Kembata the *Fuga* community is adopting the Wumano way of life and has become accustomed to different occupations instead of pottery. Due to lack of soil access, *Fugas* now tries to participate in different economic activities. They become teachers, traders, vocational entrepreneurs, animal raisers, footballers, laborers, and farmers as secondary occupations to supplement their economy due to the shortage of clay. An informant (P3) returnee of Metekel settlers demonstrated that following the government rescinded in 1984 E.C., he came to Kembata with his family because there was a massacre in Metekel by the local peoples. Some years later, in 1986 E.C., he acknowledged a place to live on, a small square meter of land that was to be given to the children of tributaries who had been promoted by proclamation and engaged in different economic activities. He described as;

Then after, I started farming; I made pottery; I have nothing left to work on. I struggled a lot. If I passed through these challenges, so my children must grow up clean, free, and the right way. That is how my father raised me. Therefore, I bred cows and milked them. My children grew up in a good manner, and now they are adults. Then, in 2003 E.C, I moved out of my current home and made a corrugated house. After that, others saw my change and began to work on corrugated houses.

As the above informant recalled, he engaged in farming and animal raising instead of pottery. This demonstrated that *Fuga* triggered the adoption of new forms of occupations. Moreover, *Fuga* was able to make his children grow up freely, cleanly, and properly. In the past, uncleanness was one of the causes of *Fuga*'s marginalization, and so he/she started to keep their children's hygiene to avoid isolation. *Fuga* has been educating his/her children about the appropriate age. This informant was able to move out of the old hut and build a new corrugated and wood mixed house, which was designed as per the local culture. He built houses better than before, while most of the *Fuga* community now has no homes, and people are suffering. *Fuga* believes that they are the people who are aware that they should not be pushed back. He considers that they must not be underprivileged because they are human beings, so he is aware of the community that they can live in and work hard in. These are not the only new ideas that the *Fugas* acquired and learned. Another informant (P5) disclosed:

I am working to deliver water by donkey until winter arrives. There is construction here, and water is needed for concrete work. If not, I will not work. I also work as a laborer. I value work; I buy donkeys and I provide water to contractors on donkeys. I was offering 17 birrs while others worked for 40 birrs. One week later, I started working for forty birrs. Later, the work increased my income. I had also previously worked on firewood on a saving stove after being trained by an NGO. Since 2007 E.C., the NGO has left and the work has stopped. It was supported by a federal agency. It also gave us training. Other organizations invited and trained me when they had funds. I immediately returned to work.

According to the above informant, he has engaged in construction work, in either labor or fetching water by cart. In addition to this, he worked on a kind of stove production that saved wood after he took training. He was working in a group of five other trained people. They did not primarily work for maximum profits but served the community at this opportunity. According to the informant, the stove reduced the demand for firewood and was especially useful for moms and girls. The government supported them in their search for a market. For example, when transportation was available, they took it to the kebele and sold it to them. This was the main market opportunity for them. After the 2012 and 2013 E.C, we could not work due to a lack of funds. They believe it will be effective, especially if NGOs work on it. It can also reach large

units of society because everyone uses firewood in the home. As a result, women are first harmed by smoke, and secondly, the heat of the fire is strayed. At that time, they will cut down the forest. This is also confirmed by research. The federal government spends a lot of money every year focusing on reforestation. This is another opportunity beyond the market.

Another *Fuga* member informant (P3) recalled that he is now a teacher after many challenges. The challenges he faced and the path he passed through are encouraging to others now. Individuals helped him to overcome all pressure to become a teacher today. He feels happy now. He remembered it:

The influence of the other community or the influence of the students was great. For example, while other students spend time together, playing ball or sports during the school break times; I spend most of my break time in the hot sun, isolating myself from my friends. Now I feel very happy as more and more people pass along the same path. What I do love is the fact that one has taught me how much sacrifice one has to make in the course of history, and I am very happy for the individuals who made it possible for me to reach this milestone yesterday. They were proud of seeing me today. For me, they are my favorite still; I am giving them a special place.

According to the above informant, *Fuga* attending school has the challenge to be successful. It demands a big effort to reach this position. The upshot of the other community or the pupils was enormous. For example, while other children spend time together during school breaks playing ball or sports, he spends most of his break time in the warm sun, separating himself self from his classmates. Once upon a time, he decided to drop out of school in grade seven. Because there was a misconception in the Wumano community and among handicraft workers, that they said to them "Who among you is educated and employed?" What is an opportunity you have? At the time, he did not think that he would get a job, but that he would finish school. According to him, the opportunity to get a job after education was closed. With the support of the teachers, he joined the seventh grade and continued his education, hoping to finish his studies.

As he was approaching the eighth-grade ministry or national exams, he also encountered a challenge. At the time, students were pointing fingers at him and condemned that *Fuga* is coming. The informant not only faced challenges from students but also teachers, on the other

hand, set a bad example by citing his community as an example in the classroom and he had a serious moral collapse in the classroom. He demonstrated that when he returned home from school, he was in a state of depravity and unhappiness. He was forced to do it at home, but he did not have the morals to do his homework. As a result, he was seriously undermined. When he had these problems, he felt a sense of achievement in his education. During that time, he told to his father that he should not go to school and that he should look for an alternative instead of education. However, his father was determined and said to him: "If you don't go to school, you won't spend the night; you go out anywhere from the house." so, he did not want to leave the house, and continued his education. As a result, he is a teacher now and he feels happy today.

However, he reaches this position by struggling with his marginal status. He believes that man can work and change. Humanity has dignity since God created them equally; humankind is a gift from God. He believes that everyone is equal because God has given us all the ability to think with one mind, two eyes, two hands, and two ears.

Another important effort by the *Fuga* community is that they are saving money. The *Fuga* did not have a culture of saving while today they are adapting Wumano's experience of saving money for educating their children, constructing a corrugated house, and using it for holiday celebrations. According to participants so far, people have been trying to change the economy. *Fuga* society says they will change economically and improve their lives. However, the communities' effort toward social change is weak. It does not claim to change social interactions on its own. The community believes that changing social interactions are brought about by government support. It does not think that they can change themselves. When the other is isolating them, they run away and hide them.

Contrary to the preceding argument another informant, a *Fuga* they are fighting for the freedom of their society. Their efforts so far have been to encourage the full participation of members of the *Fuga* community. What they need to avoid are prejudice and chauvinism. Then there is to walk with other members of the community, to live together, to walk side by side, to learn one's point of view, to hold fast to one's faith, and to rise from the darkness to the marvelous light. There is no going back, only going forward. They need to talk to the zonal, regional, and federal governments to explain the implications and challenges they face. They are discussing the formation of a community organization to do this. One the informant (P2) demonstrated that:

Because of knowledge and belief, the current generation is often trying to destroy marginalization. I, too, am paying a high price to get rid of the past; unnecessary actions, unnecessary thoughts, unnecessary insights, and unnecessary attitudes. The next generation is a time of knowledge and learning, not a time of going backward.

According to the informant, the current generation has learned and acquired knowledge to overcome marginalization. It is the time when the unnecessary thoughts and actions of the past are broken through knowledge and consciousness. Today, *Fuga* believes that past thoughts and actions should be left behind.

However, they do not be able to get out quickly. There has been little change in the community, which has largely been involved in KMG community discussion. There is little difference now that this community has learned to get out of many plights and problems. However, there are many jeopardies. According to participants, many individuals opposed the change among the members of the *Fuga* society who are an obstacle in the fighting process for their freedom. An informant (P2) explained to them as follows:

They are often beggars on the street. They insult us with inappropriate words. They believe that if I do not benefit today, I will not fight for tomorrow; I will not fall, I will not rise; I will not change what I am, whether I live or die. They do not understand at all. As a result, we now see more problems than we can handle.

According to the above-mentioned informant, some members of the *Fuga* community want the old system to be preserved. These individuals survive on begging, and if this culture changes, they will lose their source of livelihood. They are the people who live in the old social order and think that changes have taken away their benefits. It is demonstrated that overcoming marginalization is a challenging and even difficult undertaking from the inside. The *Fuga* community's marginalization cannot be prevented at this time.

According to participants, the *Fuga* is making efforts to use government institutions equally such as education, municipality, health institutions, and courts. They said that one Wumano native and *Fuga* do not serve equally in a government institution. Nevertheless, they believe that the *Fuga* community is no longer living with inequality. In some cases, the *Fuga* is going to courts for asking justice. According to them, the court is a little better than others are. Their causes get

better attention in court than in the police stations. When cases go to court, it works for the truth. One of my informants (P1) experienced in the judicial process clearly shows how the *Fuga* is appearing in court. She disclosed her experience:

Last year, in 2013, E.C., someone took my son. Human beings are trafficked. He took my sister's boy and my son to Bulbula. He took them and said they could earn 200 birrs a day while working with him. My son is a 12-year-old boy who has never been anywhere. I immediately searched and lost my baby. When I was hurting, somebody informed me about the man who had taken him. The man lives in Adilo, and he is our relative.

I immediately reported to the police and detained him as a suspect in Adilo. I paid 200 birrs to the police. After his detention, Adilo police told me to go to Durame City Police and open an impeachment file. When I gave the impeachment to Durame City Police, the police said to me "you agreed for money and when you have finished the money, you came here for impeachment. Immediately in the yard, I shouted, "How can I give my baby money?" I cried out. Another police officer said, "Is this woman crazy? I told them I was not crazy; I cried and was upset that the Adilo police would release him if Durame police did not go there to take the suspect man. Then after I disturbed the compound, one police realized through the phone that the man had been detained on suspicion of trafficking children.

A police neighbor who grew up with me said to them that she is raising orphans. The police then went to Adilo to bring him. I had two thousand birrs in the bank; I took it out and wrote impeachment again while the first was written incorrectly. I wrote somewhere else and paid for it. They brought the man in and asked me if he was my relative. I said he was not a relative of mine, but we are of the same tribe. I told them that he had taken my son without my knowledge. Then the police saw me off and said that we would hear your word tomorrow. When they delayed, I got angry and went to the women and children's affairs office, and I shouted over them. Then they asked, "What happened to me?" I have detained the person who trafficked my child. The city police brought him from Adilo. I told them that the police did not hear my words and that they did not hear my witnesses. Then they called the police and said,

“Why didn't you hear her words?” Then on the third day, the police heard my word and my witness' word. Then the police officer who knew me told you that we were born and raised together and that he had helped me. The criminal had been sentenced to twelve years in prison. This is because it is a matter of humanity.

According to the above informant, the police have denied her cause because she is a *Fuga*. Even it was not volunteered to take seriously the impeachment. The police accepted her impeachment after she made a big effort with the support of others. However, the court has made an appropriate decision.

Participants disclosed that when somebody is either drunk or, due to personal bad behavior and annoyance, in the market, it is said to be *Fuga*. When they might fight each other, they say, "leave them alone" if they are *Fuga*. Example: Someone has been beaten, his blood has flowed, and legal bodies have taken the accused to police while there has been no legal decision made yet. This is a shortcoming. According to them, if a *Fuga* is detained in a police station, they are released immediately or at night without any investigation. No one asked them. Why do you commit misconduct? What is your problem? The police do not ask them for a solution.

Cultural and linguistic adaptation is one of the important ways to change one's status. As Amborn (1990) argues in Epple (2018a), overcoming marginalization is triggered by changing or adopting occupations. Artisans, hunters, and even farmers may shift professions or take secondary occupations in response to changes in the economy or natural environmental disasters. Farmers, for example, tended to undertake other activities, often craftwork, during periods of drought or when population pressure grew too high. Craft workers have also been observed beginning to farm or participate in a secondary craft when economic possibilities decrease. For example, Darasa farmers engage in blacksmithing and Konso farmers in craftwork to supplement their income.

The *Fuga* abandon their traditional customs and habits in favor of those consistent with the majority's beliefs and values. As part of adapting to a new social order, *Fugas* had to adjust to Wumanos' clothing, customs, and cultural ideas. While the major economic activity is still pottery, currently in Kembata the *Fuga* community is embracing the Wumano way of life and has adapted to diverse jobs instead of pottery. *Fugas* is currently striving to participate in various

economic activities due to a lack of soil access. According to sources, they become teachers, merchants, vocational entrepreneurs, animal raisers, footballers, laborers, and farmers as supplementary employment to augment their economy due to the scarcity of clay. Instead of pottery, they engaged in farming and animal husbandry in rare circumstances. They built better houses than before, but the majority of the *Fuga* community now lacks housing, and people are suffering. They have been educating their children about the right to be born at the age of three or four. The *Fugas* have engaged in construction work, either through labor or fetching water by cart. In addition to this, they worked on a form of stove manufacture that saved wood after they were trained by NGOs. However, its sustainability is questionable due to a lack of markets and because it demands huge funds for production. *Fugas*, who has completed their university degree, is currently employed as a teacher, which is a rare occurrence.

According to participants thus far, individuals have been striving to transform the economy. *Fuga* society promises they will transform economically and enhance their lives. Another crucial endeavor of the *Fuga* community is saving money. The *Fuga* did not have a culture of saving, whereas today they are shifting to the Wumano experience of saving money for educating their children, building corrugated houses, and using them for holiday celebrations. However, the communities' attempts toward social reform were feeble. It does not promise to be able to affect social relationships on its own. The community feels that government approval is needed to alter social interactions. The trend toward transforming oneself in this domain was too limited.

However, recently they have started organizing themselves to fight for their rights. On the day of March 6, 2022, I attended a community discussion of the *Fuga* Durame City Administration's Human Rights and Government Affairs Movement, which was held in Zeraro Kebele, and discussed concerns relating to the recognition of community committees and tribe delegates. The discussion leader, after presenting the agenda of the day, held a wide-ranging discussion to honor the committees created to handle the challenges of the community. Most of them declared they would go ahead, and some argued that they should be re-elected. In the end, it was agreed that the majority of votes would go through. Accordingly, ten people were represented on behalf of the community. It was unanimously resolved that these members of the committee would continue to represent the community and continue to work for the betterment of the community. The committees are also responsible for generating public relations. In addition, the notion of

recognizing tribal representatives who could resolve issues in the town and with the other Wumano communities was represented by eight previous tribal leaders in the city. This particular approach has the potential to be heard in the city.

According to participants, the *Fuga* are attempting to use government institutions equitably, such as education, municipalities, health institutions, and courts. They argued that one Wumano native and one *Fuga* do not serve equally in a government entity. Nevertheless, they feel that the *Fuga* community is no longer living with inequity. On certain occasions, the *Fuga* goes to court to request justice. According to them, the court is a little better than others. Their claims get greater attention in court than in police stations. When issues get to court, it works for the truth.

This study disclosed that the police had rejected their cause as serious. Participants recalled that in the market, when someone is either drunk or related to personal bad behavior and irritation, it is referred to as "*Fuga*." When they could fight one another, they say, "leave them alone" if they are *Fuga*. Example: Someone has been assaulted, his blood has flown, and legal bodies have brought the suspect to police while there has been no appearance in court and no legal decision yet.

### **5.2.2 Migration and Urban Context**

The era of Derg villagization was one of the politically motivated programs in Ethiopia. Wolde-Selassie (2001), notes the overall relocation project included Kambaata resettlement, both farmers and handicraftsmen. Despite the challenges the Kambaata resettlement faced in adjusting to a new physio-biotic and socio-cultural environment, the resettlement plan played a significant part in the *Fuga*'s socio-economic and cultural transformations. Benchi Maji zone in southern Ethiopia and Metekel in Gojam was one settlement area and many *Fuga* community members were settled there. Those the *Fugas* who were settled in Metekel were turned back to Kembata due to the downfall of the regime and conflict was raised there. However, Metekel returnees have better awareness and effort to overcome their marginal status than those participants who do not migrate anywhere from Kembata. Because, in Metekel, the *Fuga* settlers lived with the local population. Due to that, there were some sociocultural transformations. According to participants, they were not marginalized there as compared to Kembata Tembaro. One of the informants (P4) disclosed that:

I was born in Durame City, Kembata Tembaro Zone, Zeraro Kebele in 1977 E.C; Hambo is the kebele's old name. I grew up in the Pawi Special District, Village 17 in Gojjam. I was two years old when I went to Pawi. I lived there for about eleven years. I learned there from grades one to six. I got a good grade and I was a ranked student. There was no marginalization or social pressure. I attended school freely, thinking. In Pawi, in addition to the local population, the settlers lived there. In comparison to the place I was born and lived, right now the language of exclusion does not exist in Pawi. The people there believe transformation is coming up through hard work. There is no isolation in that region. The political orientation of the government worked on human transformation. At the time, the political system mostly worked on all citizens' equality. No one wasted time aimlessly.

According to the above informant in the settlement area, they were not excluded since they could cover their identity and descent. Due to the absence of marginalization, he attended school freely without any social pressure and achieved good grades. He has experienced exclusion in his birthplace. Unlike where he was born, the people there believe transformation is imminent through hard work. There is no isolation in that region. The political orientation of the government worked on human transformation. Therefore, migration is an internal effort that enables the empowerment of once marginalized individuals.

According to returnees of Metekel settlers disclosed that the whole community was come to their house and eats. Everybody also enters others' houses if they have a wedding and mourn together. They returned due to being harassed by blacks (Gumzes). When they were upturned by conflict, it was time for the EPRDF to come to power. With the entry of the EPRDF, the Abay road opened and people were allowed to go and come freely; it was previously closed by the Derg regime. At that time, no one was able to stay there; everyone lost persistence. The person who decided then to live there now has grown and prospered. Some people who went from Hosanna have left and are now living there, including my uncle's family. There is no such thing as isolation. There is no language of exclusion; all are equal. Everyone goes into someone's house to eat, drink, and dance. Right now, when some are remembered about it, they feel like going back to Gojjam.

The informants demonstrated they are experiencing marginalization in Kembata. However, still Metekel returnees have better awareness, engagement, and effort to mobilize the *Fuga* community to fight against their marginal status. They are committee members and responsible persons on behalf of the *Fuga* communities. Migration is one way of mixing populations and hiding one identity. According to the informant (P3), the *Fugas* migrate to cities and other regions. There are people from the community who have studied for a master's degree and a doctorate, and who are evangelicals at the faith level. He revealed his brother's experience:

My little brother is now an evangelist in Gurage, my mother's last child. He was oppressed in Kembata. Somehow, he went there to work, and now he works as an evangelizer. He got married there and had a family. He completed twelve grades in the Derg era. He went there after graduating from the three-year Bible study.

The above informant, the one who was oppressed in Kembata after he migrated to Gurage, became a preacher. He is married and lives with the family there. Migrating to another area or urban center, people can hide their previous status. Therefore, he can overcome marginalization and conceal himself in his new social relationships. He demonstrated how one could migrate to get jobs and a spouse. This person was oppressed in Kembata while he was successful in the Gurage zone.

Migration is speeding up the movement and mixing of human populations and the integration of the global economy (Giddens 2009). Artisans' marginalization has been influenced by migration to urban centers (Freeman and Pankhurst 2003). Individuals can distance themselves from the local context in urban contexts and places with ethnic mixing, which appear to offer better chances for marginalized people to integrate. Perpetual identity and descent are much easier to cover there, and such places allow individuals to distance themselves from the local context (Epple 2018a). For instance, as Freeman and Pankhurst (2003) note, *Fugas'* livelihoods have been significantly impacted by migration in the twentieth century and urbanization in the last half-century. The tribes that went to Woliso from Gurage and Kambata/Hadiya came from a position of marginalization in which they were recognized by Oromo clans and obtained land.

Villagization was one of Ethiopia's politically driven schemes during the Derg regime. The total relocation effort comprised Kambaata resettlement, which included both farmers and artisans.

Despite the difficulties that the Kambaata resettlers faced in adjusting to a new physio-biotic (pertaining to life) and socio-cultural environment, the resettlement plan was critical to the *Fuga's* socioeconomic and cultural development. Many *Fuga* community members were relocated to the Benchi Maji zone in southern Ethiopia (during the EPRDF period) and Metekel in Gojam (during the Derg period). Due to the collapse of the regime, the *Fugas* who had lived in Metekel were forced to return to Kembata, where unrest erupted. Returnees of former re-settlers, on the other hand, have more knowledge and effort to improve their marginal position than those participants who do not relocate anywhere outside of Kembata. Because the *Fuga* settlers lived in harmony with the locals in Metekel, As a result, various societal modifications occurred.

As explained by Piekut and Valentine (2016), attitudes towards outgroups can be improved through individual experiences, such as regular, equal-status contacts, but are also affected by contextual factors, like the ethnic composition of an area. The urban environment is used to conceal one's identity. In the city, perceived ethnic variety is a significant predictor of minority group social acceptability. According to participants, they were not marginalized in resettled areas as compared to Kambaata Tembaro. They were not barred from the settlement area since they could conceal their identification and background. People there think that hard work will lead to change. In such an area, there is no seclusion. The government's political approach is focused on human development. According to the returnees of previous settlers, the whole community came to their home and ate. They also visit one another's homes when there is a wedding and grieve together.

The informants revealed that they are marginalized in Kambaata. Returnees of former settlers, on the other hand, have more knowledge, involvement, and effort to organize the *Fuga* community to overcome their marginalization. Exposures to the external context raised their awareness, which empowered them to act on committees and made them committed to the *Fuga* communities. As a result, migration is one method of blending populations and elevating one's status. The *Fugas*, according to the source, move to cities and other areas. There are members of the group who have earned a master's degree and a doctor of philosophy and who are devoted preachers.

### 5.2.3 Distancing and Strengthening Self-Identity

Minority groups or segments of distinct communities have attempted to separate themselves from the mainstream larger society with different levels of success. These marginalized groups have purposefully promoted their differences to seek independence. *Fuga* in Kembata today began organizing themselves and discussing their future fate. On the date, March 12, 2022 my observations in the community discussion, the *Fuga* organized themselves and mobilize the community to create their own identity. According to participants everywhere, the *Fuga* (Woliso, Shashemene, Negele, and Kembata) look today, and the tide of protectionist sentiment is rising. At the local government level, they have been working hard to protect their rights, their dignity, their protection of the law, and the erection of Churches. They think they will not ever live in the future if they do not know who they are. Informants believe while they are among the first of the Kembata people, they are among the so-called minorities. The potters' society is now called *Fuga*. *Fuga* means to blow the trumpet. Its root is the Hadiya word "Fuge," which is not spoken in the Kambata language. The word is from Hadiya in the Kembata community. One of the informants (P2) disclosed that the *Fuga* community comes from the Israelites. The community today makes efforts to create separate sentiments. He explained as follows:

As a *Fuga*, we are from Israel. It is said that in the past, every community came here from Gondar. For example, Kembata itself is said to have originated in Gondar. However, our community originated in Israel. *Fuga* is now opening a church for his community. For example, in the Kembata zone, there is Shinshicho, and in Shashemene, there are two churches. In addition, Negele built a church. These are all Israelites. My sister's husband, who is living in Shashemene, is the pastor of the church. There is another person in Shashemene assigned as an evangelist who cares about our community.

According to the informant, the *Fuga* community is trying to build its own identity, explore its historical origins, and strengthen its spiritual unity. It is believed that the members of the *Fuga* community came from Israel and were part of Israel. The Bible is mentioned as the source of the information. However, it doesn't show any religious attachment of Judaism. They are attempting to overcome marginalization by forging their own identities and separating themselves from the dominant culture. This movement is also being carried out in different areas where the

community lives to protect their rights in a sustainable manner. It can be understood that the members of the *Fuga* community living in the Woliso area are making better efforts. According to him, the Woliso *Fuga* community members went to Israel when Meles Zenawi was the Ethiopian prime minister, who is now coming back from Israel, and they have an office in Addis Ababa. Those who left Wolliso and came back are actively working on this community. They are the ones who are struggling the most.

Today, the *Fuga* is beginning to question their unbalanced social relationship with Wumano. According to the participants, they have stopped going to the Wumano houses since the Wumano do not eat food in their houses. The *Fuga* went to Wumano House to participate in an event. However, when the *Fuga* invites them, they do not come to their house. The *Fugas* now say that they will not go again into Wumano houses if they will not come into the *Fuga* house when they are invited. One of the informants (P1) disclosed:

I went to their wedding and I ate and drank before. When I invited them, they did not come to my house. This is discrimination, so I decided not to go any further. Our communities were learning from my experience of attending events with our Wumano neighbors. Now our relatives are asking why we are going to their wedding. If they invite us, we will not go; we do not invite them.

According to the informant above, when there are various social events, it is common for the community to eat and drink together by inviting each other. When these events are held in Wumano homes, the *Fugas* attend and eat together, but not in resprocate. As a result, the *Fuga* community notices that if the Wumano does not join festivities in *Fuga* home, the *Fuga* community may not attend events at the Wumano's house.

*Fugas* believe that their children have no chance of marrying Wumano. The *Fuga* women do not accept a marriage proposal from Wumano. Because they believe that if they marry, they will insult and despise them. Even a mother informant said that she has four unmarried children. She would like her children to marry Wumano. However, the Wumanos do not allow it because they despise them. Marriage is not possible because Womeno reviles and abnegate the *Fuga*. Therefore, she is glad if her children marry from the *Fuga*. She raised questions, how will

marriage be possible if they refuse to drink a cup of coffee that we made? They do not also attend their wedding celebrations.

Even though the two communities have the same Idir association, Wumano still didn't drink the coffee made by the *Fuga*. If the *Fuga* relative dies, they will not eat in their house when they come for mourning. The food 'Prepare another Wumano house for Wumano. Following this, the *Fuga* are escalating their objection to refuse this action. According to the informants, the *Fuga* is now discussing as a community to express their objection to their marginal status in the Idirs.

Since the Soil, problems are very serious for the *Fuga* community; they are trying to ask for their rights to access land in the municipality and other government offices. One of the informants (P1) disclosed that:

We are asking for land and now following the case in the municipality. We are talking to the community. Our debate is now over, and if we do not have an answer, we will protest to the government; how do we raise our children? If there is anyone, respect our rights and give us grazing land. We have a complaint and there is no response.

As the informant said, the municipality does not respond to their question about land access. Even the representatives from the municipality would be absent from the meeting to discuss their issues and talk to the associations of *Fuga*. They believe that their rights have not been respected. Now they are just discussing protesting. They believe that as the people in the zone, the authorities should respond to their questions. As a community, they are discussing that if they do not get a response, they will march to protest for their rights.

Minority groups or parts of discrete communities have endeavored, with varying degrees of success, to detach themselves from the dominant wider group. To achieve independence, these oppressed groups have actively exploited their distinctions (Epple 2018a). Today, *Fuga* in Kembata began organizing and debating their future fate. On the date of March 12, 2022, my observations in the community discussion show the *Fuga* organizing themselves and mobilizing the community to create their own identity. According to participants, wherever the *Fuga* (Woliso, Shashemene, Negele, and Kembata) look these days, the tide of a protectionist attitude is finding its way. At the community level, they have been fighting hard to retain their rights,

their dignity, and their protection under the law, and the installation of the churches. They are concerned that they will never look forward to the future if they do not recognize where they are from. According to sources, while they were one of the early Kembata people, they are now considered a minority. This society is currently known as *Fuga*. *Fuga* means, "to blow the trumpet." It derives from the Hadiya word "fuge," which is not spoken in Kambata. The word is from Hadiya in the Kembata community. The informants recalled that the *Fuga* community is descended from Israelis. Today's community works hard to foster distinct sentiments. From the previously mentioned sources, the members of the *Fuga* community immigrated from Israel and were descendants of Israel. The informants remembered the information derived from the Bible. Those who fled Wolliso and returned are still active members of the community. They are the ones that are encountering the greatest challenge in the community.

Today, the *Fuga* are seriously reconsidering their unequal social connection with Wumano. According to the participants, they might cease visiting the Wumano residences since the Wumano do not eat meals at their homes. The *Fuga* attended an event at Wumano House. However, when the *Fuga* welcome them, they do not come to their home. The *Fugas* have now said that if the Wumanos do not come inside the *Fuga* home when invited, they will not reciprocate. *Fugas* feel that their children have almost no chance of marrying a Wumano. Wumano's marriage proposal is rejected by the *Fuga* women because they believe that if they marry, they will be humiliated and rejected. A mother informant even revealed that she had four unmarried children. She wishes for her children to marry Wumano. The Wumanos, on the other hand, will not allow it since they despise them. Marriage is impossible because the *Fuga* is detested and rejected by the women. As a result, she is pleased if her children marry *Fuga*. She questioned how marriage would be viable if they refused to drink a cup of coffee that *Fuga* had prepared. They do not host their weddings as well. Following this, the *Fuga* are escalating their objections to this action.

The Manjo began to express their discontent with the Kafa-Manjo relationship. After 1997, a group of Manjo and Sheka groups came together to make a petition asking for recognition and protection of their constitutional rights (Yoshida 2018). This study revealed that the *Fuga* are now debating how to demonstrate their anger with their marginal position in the Idirs as a group.

Today, the *Fuga* community spoke with the municipality to recognize the right to clay. They are debating whether to march as a community to elicit a reaction and protect their rights. The soil concerns are quite important for the *Fuga* community; they are attempting to ask for their rights to access soil in the municipality and other government institutions. According to sources, they fight for the freedom of their society. Their efforts thus far have been to promote the full engagement of members of the *Fuga* community. What they need to avoid are prejudice and chauvinism. Then there is to walk with other members of the community, to live together, to walk side by side, to learn one's point of view, to hold strong to one's faith, and to rise from the darkness to the marvelous light. According to informants, there is no looking back, just continuing ahead. They need to talk to the zonal, regional, and federal governments to discuss the ramifications and issues they confront. They organized a community organization to discuss and obtain responses.

## CHAPTER 6: CHANGES AND CONTINUITY IN MARGINALIZATION

According to informants disclosed that marginalization is reduced by external and internal factors discussed above, even though some areas of cultural and social life have persisted. For instance, intermarriage between the *Fuga* and Wumano, electing and accepting the *Fuga* as a leader, and sharing cooking materials and commensalism are less possible. Sergework Sisay (2009) demonstrated that the majority-minority relationship is not only explained by segregation, insulation, withdrawal, social distance, etc. but also interaction & interdependence are other typical features of it. Epple (2018a), in general, the prevailing majority rejects the supposed impure's integration. There are, however, certain instances when minorities refuse integration and others where the minority actively contributes to the continuation of social isolation. Huda (2018), both majorities and minorities should take the effort to achieve group equality seriously. To achieve an egalitarian community, two parts must come together: the majority group's desire to end dominating and benefiting from the inferiority of the minorities, and the minority group's effort to stop majority dominance. This study finds out the areas of integration and its failures between Wumano and *Fuga* communities.

### 6.1 Areas of change

Today, the *Fuga* community participates in some social occasions partially. They are participating in Ekub and Idir associations. Informants reveal that they have good interactions even though the attitude towards commensalism has not changed significantly. The informant (P4) recalled:

As Christians here, we celebrate the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ. We also celebrate the Ethiopian New Year and the Festival of the True Cross. During these holidays, we attend church services with our neighbors. Before we return, we attend the church's invitation to worshippers. We would have a cup of tea or coffee from the church. After that, there would be no brewed Tela in Kembata; Kinito would be prepared, the bread would be baked, and coffee would be made. Concerning slaughter, chickens may be slaughtered. We share money with other Wumano communities and share a basket of meat (k'rich'a siga).

The informant demonstrated that members of the *Fuga* and Wumano communities celebrate together in churches during festivals. Although there is no significant change in commensalism, they eat the food prepared in the church. They have also started sharing baskets of meat (k'rich'a siga) by contributing money together during festivals. These are changes in sociocultural interaction that did not previously exist and are still occurring to some extent today. In fact, due to their knowledge of meat shearing, *Fugas* are wanted by Womano for slaughtering during festivals.

Somehow, today the *Fuga* minorities are members of Idirs, Ekub, and church evangelizers. Marriage between *Fuga* and Wumano is also permitted by the priests. However, if a *Fuga* and a Wumano married one another, they might not live in the community where they grew up. Another informant (P5) explained:

Today, the church servant from Wumano is allowed to marry into the *Fuga* community. Permission has been granted. The church that brought up one *Fuga* man and Wumano woman gave a covenant and they married each other. The girl (Wumano) came from the Doyogena woreda and he is from Durame town. They were living in Bale and they came here for the wedding, and the entire marriage was honored by the church.

According to the informant, marriage between *Fuga* and Wumano is prohibited and not allowed, but some individuals do marry on some occasions. For this to happen, religious leaders in the Wumano community have started giving a covenant and recognition. This was completely unthinkable and forbidden. However, an indigenous organization called KMG Ethiopia has made extensive efforts to bring about change by involving religious leaders and elders from both sides. KMG strongly influenced the religious leaders and elders to take the initiative to harmonize marriage between the two groups of society. In addition, the bridegroom's families from *Fuga*, especially his father, were those who have received education by KMG and who are more actively participating by coordinating, raising awareness, and representing the *Fuga* community in any discussions with the members of the Wumano community. Therefore, these were believed to have contributed triggers that enforced the religious leaders' covenant.

An expert from the Women, Children, and Social Affairs office noted that there is a certain change in relations among these groups of people from the past. In the past, *Fuga* did not enter the Wumano house, and when they did enter the house, they would sit at the door and be kept out of the public eyes. Different views made them so isolated in the past. First, these people eat dirty things, and secondly, they engage in unacceptable behaviors (poly marriage, drunkenness, insulting, and fighting). This is the view of the fathers of the past.

These people are the first of the seven tribes in Kembata. *Fuga* is the name of the community, so it is called *Fuga*, not the name of the person to call. There were situations like this. The expert (P8) gave details as follows:

Now there are changes. I do not mean to say that there is a hundred percent change, but there is a certain percentage change. What is the change? There is no eating dirty, and drunkenness has decreased. Because in the past, it was a matter of getting their children to study together; now they are learning together. There are also cases where they become educated and become teachers. Some serve as evangelists. The majority is protestant in this area, and they serve in the church and work with any member of the community.

The above informant demonstrated previously, *Fuga* did not enter the Wumano house, and when they came, they would sit at the door and be kept out of the public contact. Different points of view have previously segregated them. First, these folks ate filthy foods, and second, they participated in inappropriate actions (poly marriage, drunkenness, insulting, and fighting). This was the perspective of the ancestors. However, owing to the modification of the aforementioned assumptions, the relationship between *Fuga* and Wumano becomes somewhat transformed. According to Wolde-Selassie (2003), *Fuga* in Kembata has harmonious interactions with the rural farming population in their daily lives, despite their low social position. The *Fuga* charge villagers less than the open market price when exchanging goods. They visit the sick and, when necessary, provide labor services to farmers. Male *Fuga* helps farmers with festive labor, trades products at local markets, and fetches water from the same spring. They contribute money to the village's social events. Farmers' associations do not accept *Fuga* as members. *Fuga*, on the other hand, has just recently begun to be given limited consideration by the community burial organization. When a farmer's family member dies, *Fuga* is only recognized to offer money,

grain, and labor, but they are not permitted to provide prepared food since non-*Fuga* would refuse to eat it.

The current generation has gained the right to join burial organizations (primarily after the 1974 Revolution), in part because land ownership has allowed them to settle permanently in one area. This study found that the *Fuga* community engages in some social events today. They have joined the Ekub and Idir associations. *Fuga* minority is represented in Idirs, Ekub, church choirs, and preachers while to be elected and leadership is not allowed to them. Marriage between *Fuga* and Wumano is also permitted by the priests, but marriage remains a severe taboo among the communities. There are changes from the past. Because it was once a problem of getting their children to attend school together; now they are learning together. The *Fuga* community attends events with their Wumano neighbors, but not counters.

Even though Wumano and the *Fuga* have the same association as Idir, the *Fugas* do not have equal rights as Wumanos in terms of being a leader and their voice can't be heard. *Fuga* and Wumano spend time together during a holiday celebration in church. They also share meat during the Mesela feast. In addition, they participated in places of worship and became singers, preachers, and elders. The *Fuga* were not allowed to enter Wumano's houses and even sat next to them. However, today the *Fuga* is present at events in Wumanos' houses and share the same spaces to sit. According to informant (P3) in day to day interaction they can exchange greetings regularly:

When we meet, they raise their hands in greeting. We pass by giving greetings too even though there is no such thing as shaking hands.

In their daily interaction, the *Fuga* today do not give the greeting of "Aboda" as in the past they did when they meet everywhere. In the past, the *Fuga* was down on the ground or hid until the Wumano went away from them. This situation shows the lower positions of the *Fuga*. Today, giving this kind of greeting is changed to waving hands when they meet.

Documents from KMG disclosed that the beginning of the Eje work/Golden Hands/ and the Womans to marry each other is one of the major changes. The first couples were severely discriminated against. For example, Wumano's parents unknowingly took their daughter and her husband from Golden Hands and took them down to the police station. When she appeared in

court, she was released from prison because she had married *Fuga* voluntarily. Some have fled their homes for fear of family pressure, while others are under increasing pressure from the community. Some parents, on the other hand, are more likely to marry off their children.

In the past, when the *Fugas* were attacked, they accepted it and left. Now they are not only defending themselves but also calling the police to intervene. The police response is a new development, and in some cases, the police don't take it seriously.

In the past, the *Fuga* built a temporary house constructed of brushwood over their patrons' land. There was no hygiene, no eating clean food, and no social interaction; they did not know the way of life. According to Belachew (2001), a low nutritional status, torn clothes, small homes built with bad wood, unclean and small compounds, a lack of domestic animals, and other characteristics describe *Fuga* life. However, recently, they have learned the way of life; they practice good hygiene, eat clean food, and have good social interaction. Even if they are small in number, access to training, the adoption of material culture, and local construction all influence marginalization reduction. *Fuga* village houses in Durame are made of the same materials as other Ethiopian houses: corrugated iron sheets and wood. The walls are made of mud tiles, the ceiling is made of plastic, and the floor is not cemented. The doors and windows are made of wood, and the living room and bedroom are split.

As long as they know what they deserve as citizens, the *Fugas* are applying for participation in all matters such as education, health, economic opportunities, electives, employment, and land use. Their children are going to school and are sitting in the same chair as Wumano's children. Some of them have grown up after graduating from university and are working with KMG to serve their people. Others are employed by large corporations in Addis Ababa. Nowadays, Golden Hands, instead of digging holes and beating drums at social events, have come to mine as mourners, members, and neighbors. In addition, they participated in places of worship and became singers, preachers, and elders. Now they do not greet each other as they pass by (*Aboda*). "*Aboda*" was the way of greeting *Fugas* among Wumanos.

## **6.2 Continuity in Marginalization**

Contrary to the social integration discussed above, there have been failures of change, which show the continuity of marginalization. These demonstrate that the *Fugas* will not be able to get

out quickly from the continuing marginalized structure. There has been a slight modification in the community, which has mostly been immersed in KMG community discussions. There is little difference today that this community has learned to get out of many plights and challenges because there are many threats. According to participants, there are many individuals resistant to change among the members of the *Fuga* community who are an obstacle in the battle process for their emancipation. It seems like overcoming marginalization is so hard, and even challenges are emerging from within. *Fuga* participants recalled that if they offered Wumanos, they would not attend their party. Even though they want *Fugas* to eat like a beggar at their house, they are not excited about making their preparations. Some individuals from *Fuga* love this manner of celebration. However, some others believe these things are not needed again. They desire to celebrate with roasted grains in their home.

Even though the community representatives try to address the whole *Fuga* community, on the other hand, some people resist changes. As an informant (P2) remembered:

If we now have someone in the community who says he will not work cooperatively with us, once we understand why he or she is not involved in the community discussion, he or she will come to us, discuss it, and raise awareness. Otherwise, we should not tie a man to a rope; he/she is a human, not an animal. It is his/her right to live, especially if he/she wants to live his/her way. It does not invade on anyone's rights. However, because we are trying to communicate, cooperate, and know who we are, we are trying to reach out to those who can see and hear, so that we can all come together and clear the way. This is the time when we are moving in the right direction to eliminate the problems in our society.

According to the informant, there are members of the *Fuga* community who do not support or participate in the process of change movement. Attempts are being made to engage these parts of society in community dialogue. However, it demonstrates that there are those who are unwilling to engage in such discussions. The community coordinators would make efforts to persuade the deviant individuals to participate in and cooperate with the community triggers for change. This demonstrates that the effort to overcome the *Fuga* community's marginalization has been confronted with resistance from within the community. Regarding that, it may take longer for the entire community to overcome marginalization.

Some members of the *Fuga* community are also concerned about loss and deterioration of the traditions of their ancestries and thus are resistant to culture change. Particularly, the *Fuga* elders not only are pessimistic regarding such loss of tradition, they as well are keen to blame the younger generation for negligence and recklessness on the issue. An informant (P4) clearly depicts this point as follows:

...they [*Fuga* elders] say that ‘the younger generation does not condemn changes. Because they do not know what life was like then, it is the fathers who condemn the changes. ... there are changes in an annual {*Fuga*} game played during the Cross celebration called Gifata. Only *Fuga* (potters) play Gifata in Kembata. Other people come together and give the players about 10 birr, 20 birr, and 100 birr every year. Though they see it as scorn, not as a tradition.

As such, the *Fuga* elderly express their resistance against culture changes, while blaming their youths, whom they say, do not understand the meaning of change of tradition and thus failed to condemn it. The elders, for instance, are concerned that there is a decline in the number of people who participate in the Gifata game. Even this issue of the Gifata divides the *Fuga* members in to two competing segments, as P4 argues: on the one hand there are those “*Fuga* Protestants who now oppose to the conduct of this ritual {Gifata}. Some of them claim that this game is being used to further marginalize the community.” On the other hand, some individuals are concerned that “when this culture disappears, the people would lose the benefits they get from it.” The individuals in this segment are of negative attitudes toward those who demand the abolition of this culture. This conflict between the two segments of members is too significant that even the community leader admitted that it is causing problems for the community. As a result, they face discrimination; they are viewed as inferior, and they refuse to allow anybody to stop them. They asserted that it is a culture to which they are accustomed and that they will not give up. There is also the subject of insulting and misappropriating words. Furthermore, they will sometimes become drunk and beat that individual. They dislike being told to stop doing this. Those who undertake spiritual practices are those who reject this tradition.

According to Belachew (2001), the Kambata associate disorders with the *Fuga*. When a Kambata family's parents punish their children, they warn, "Don't act like the *Fuga*!" The *Fuga* have no social norms and no respect for their parents, as per the Kambata. This study revealed

that in schools, teachers are now warning students not to act like *Fuga* in school. One of the informants (P1) recalled her child's experience:

My older son told me that there were many ethnic groups in the tenth-grade class. One of the teachers came in one day while we were studying and told us not to be like *Fuga*. I was shocked when she said, "Don't be like *Fuga*." "There were three of us (*Fugas*) in that class, so we went on break time to the director's office." He said we should attend our class and he would call her to talk. Our children and we as a tribe is hoping that God will change. What they learn while they are repenting often influences what they are learning. We teach our children to hope in God. This embarrasses our children.

According to the above informant, there is still a tendency to segregate the *Fuga* and cites the example of a bad actor. Citing *Fuga* for bad habits reinforces marginalization. As a result, the marginalization attitude is prevalent in contemporary contexts. However, unlike in the past, the *Fuga* children do not keep silent when insulted. These students, who were insulted in class, reacted and were accused by the director's office. This is one effort to combat marginalization.

According to informants, one student was fired this year. The teacher said, "You can go assist your mother in making pottery, but you can't learn at this school." In front of her classmates, the teacher told her to make pottery. As a result, she no longer attends school. Her current aim is to attend a different school next year. As admitted by a labor and social affairs expert, a third-grade student was recently fired from school because she is a *Fuga*. He confirmed it and attempted to call the director of education's head of the teaching and learning department to reassure him that the matter would be handled and that it would not happen again. He is still looking into the situation. According to him, previously, fourth- and eighth-grade students encountered the same issue, and the principal admitted it was incorrect and immediately solved it, so they are now eighth- and eleventh-grade students.

As a result, the study revealed that social integration between the *Fuga* and Wumano is in its infancy and remains superficial when viewed through the lens of the UN (2008), which defines social integration as a vigorous process of developing values, relationships, and institutions that enable every individual or group to participate in social, economic, cultural, and political life on an equal footing with dignity and equity.

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

### 7.1 Conclusions

This study attempted to understand how underprivileged *Fuga* communities overcame their marginalization. It especially investigated how marginalization manifests in a contemporary setting, while efforts are made to reduce the marginalization of the *Fuga* minority in Kembata. It also explored how empowered *Fugas* manifest their integration into the dominant society.

The research found that marginalization is persisting across socio-cultural, economic, and political indicators. Despite some changes in the relationship between the *Fuga* and the Wumano, the *Fugas* are excluded from the larger society. The Wumano and *Fuga* communities interact regularly, but with significant limitations. Marginalization displays itself socio-culturally through constraints on social contact. For instance, in Idirs, funeral materials like mattresses, blankets, and rugs are not permissible for *Fugas* when there is mourning. Wumano daughters do not marry *Fuga* sons, and *Fuga* daughters do not marry Wumano sons. However, recently, marriage between *Fuga* and Wumano was also permitted by the priests, but marriage is still strictly forbidden.

In the past, minorities used to have very little access to land and livestock. With the land reform of 1975, they were granted rights to their backyard plots. However, this study revealed that this small plot of land is used to build houses. Since *Fuga* families live in large households, those who were entitled to land during the Derg regime shared their lands with their children and relatives. Therefore, *Fuga* does not engage in farming due to inaccessible land. The *Fuga* community has many restricted rights. For example, it is not involved in politics; it is landless. It is said that they made pottery for deception, even though there was no soil for the pottery. When a Wumanos family member dies, *Fuga* is only recognized to offer money and labor. They are not permitted to provide prepared food since non-*Fuga* would refuse to eat it.

The *Fuga* community is not represented in any of Kembata Tembaro Zone's councils or government entities. The *Fuga's* political engagement is confined to the national election, which occurs every five years. The *Fuga* is not only excluded from the political structure but is also scared to discuss community concerns. To make matters worse, land shortages are one of the most pressing issues for the *Fuga* community in Kembata, Ethiopia. The entire *Fuga* family's

major livelihood is working with clay; they need proper soil to produce pottery. Even if the *Fuga* want to buy land, Wumano will not sell it to them. When two small microenterprises were founded by pottery employees, the government stepped in. KMG supports economic empowerment efforts. Their saving habits have been considerably altered because KMG attempted to educate people and because of the government's legalization of the process.

Previously, *Fuga* did not enter the Wumano house, and when they came, they would sit at the door and be kept out of the public eye. However, owing to the modification of some past assumptions due to external and internal efforts, the relationship between *Fuga* and Wumano becomes somewhat transformed. The *Fuga* minority is represented in Idirs, Ekub, church choirs, and preachers. The *Fuga* community attends events with their Wumano neighbors, but not counters.

Because it was once a problem getting children to attend school together, now they are learning together. Ethiopia's government has made it possible for *Fuga* children to attend school and treats them like everyone else when they go to the hospital. A government-sponsored structure exists to offer services to the *Fuga* community, particularly in the education and health sectors. The government provides services to the *Fuga* community, such as organizing them and giving clothing and educational resources to assist children in studying. In addition to government health insurance and free treatment, individuals who own older homes will have their homes repaired. The government has trained youths in a variety of vocations, for example, teaching young people hairdressing and tailoring.

*Fuga* had previously avoided becoming involved with or participating in church. Wumano stood up and went away when they sat down on a chair next to them. Today, we can see them sitting together and eating meals. Churches are one institution that plays an important role in the integration of the *Fuga* and Wumano communities. Wumanos' attitudes toward the *Fuga* have shifted because of the spread of the Catholic and Protestant religions in Kembata. The *Fuga* minority is represented in church choirs and preachers.

The study finds out that in the past, the *Fuga* were isolated because they ate dirty things. They simply ate what was dead without being slaughtered or blessed. However, this is no longer the case today, as they now share meat with Wumano and attend church with their neighbors.

The KMG is a local non-governmental organization that works to increase women's social and economic decision-making power in *Fuga*. KMG claims that before its establishment, no strategy was developed to provide the *Fuga* community with social services such as education, health, and justice. It contributes significantly to the external effort to overcome the marginalization of the *Fuga* community. It works closely with the government to ensure its long-term viability. In the current context of the Kembata community, KMG believes that there are visible and tangible changes. Like everyone else, there is an awareness that *Fuga* women should give birth in health institutions. *Fugas*, assisted by KMG, are aware of their personalities and identities; participate in all social and economic affairs on an equal footing with the rest of society; foster a culture of saving and credit; provide entrepreneurship, financial management, and banking training; and donate donkeys and carts to transport their goods and property. Since its program launched in 2006, KMG has been a major supporter of the *Fuga*. However, following the death of Dr. Bogalech, the KMG's founder, and the emergence of Corona in 2019, the organization lost faith in the project.

Through the internal triggers, the *Fuga* themselves have made efforts to reduce their marginal status. *Fuga* abandons their traditional rituals and practices in favor of those compatible with the majority's beliefs and norms. In Kembata, the *Fuga* community is embracing the Wumano way of life and has adapted to diverse jobs instead of pottery. *Fugas* are currently striving to participate in various economic activities due to a lack of soil access. As part of adapting to a new social order, *Fugas* had to adjust to Wumanos' clothing, customs, and cultural ideas.

Access to education, as well as the adoption of material culture and local architecture, all contribute to the reduction of marginalization. *Fuga* village homes are constructed of the same material as other Ethiopian homes. Due to a lack of soil access, *Fugas* now tries to participate in different economic activities. They become teachers, traders, vocational entrepreneurs, animal raisers, footballers, laborers, and farmers as secondary occupations. They are using the Wumano experience of saving money to educate their children, constructing corrugated houses, and utilizing them for holiday celebrations. Another crucial endeavor of the *Fuga* community is saving money.

The *Fuga* are attempting to ask for their rights to access soil in the municipality and other government institutions. Their efforts thus far have been to promote the full engagement of

members of the *Fuga* community. What they need to avoid are prejudice and chauvinism. They are looking forward to just continuing ahead. They need to talk to the zonal, regional, and federal governments. Today, the *Fugas* are going to the courts to request justice. Their claims get greater attention in court than in the police stations.

Migration is speeding up the mixing of human populations and the integration of the global economy. Artisans' marginalization has been influenced by migration to urban centers. Individuals can distance themselves from the local context in urban contexts. Perpetual identity and descent are much easier to cover in places with ethnic mixing. Many *Fuga* community members were relocated to the Benchi Maji zone in southern Ethiopia and Metekel in Gojam during the Derg regime. Those *Fugas* who were settled in Metekel were turned back to Kembata due to the downfall of the regime and conflict. However, Metekel returnees have better awareness and effort to overcome their marginal status than those participants who do not migrate anywhere from Kembata.

The political orientation of the government worked on human transformation in the Metekel settlement area. The people there believe transformation is looming through hard work. According to an informant in the settlement area, they were not excluded since they could cover their identity and descent. Exposures to the external context raise awareness that empowers them to act on committees and are committed to the communities.

Minority groups or parts of discrete communities have endeavored, with varying degrees of success, to detach themselves from the dominant wider group. *Fuga* in Kembata began organizing and debating their future fate. According to participants, wherever the *Fuga* looks these days, the tide of a protectionist attitude is rising. The *Fuga* is seriously reconsidering their unequal social connection with Wumano. Today, the *Fuga* spoke with the municipality to recognize the right to clay and how to demonstrate their anger with their marginal position as a group. They are debating whether to march as a community to elicit a reaction and protect their rights.

This study finds the areas of integration and its failures between the Wumano and *Fuga* communities. Minority marginalization is reduced by external and internal factors, even though some areas of cultural and social life have persisted.

Whereas integration, the *Fuga* were not allowed to enter Wumano's houses, and even sitting next to them was impossible. Today, the Wumano and the *Fuga* have the same association as Idir, but the *Fugas* do not have equal rights as Wumanos. In their daily interaction, the *Fuga* do not give the greeting of "Aboda" as in the past when they met everywhere. *Fuga* village houses in Durame, Ethiopia, are made of corrugated iron sheets and wood. Access to training, material culture, and local construction all influence marginalization reduction. However, recently, they have learned the way of life; they practice good hygiene, eat clean food, and have good social interaction.

*Fugas* are applying for participation in education, health, economic opportunities, electives, employment, and land use as long as they know what they deserve as citizens. Nowadays, *Fugas*, instead of digging holes and beating drums on social issues, have come to participate as mourners, members, and neighbors. Their children are going to school and are sitting in the same chair as Wumano's children. Others are employed by large corporations in Addis Ababa. Some of them have grown up after graduating from university and are working with KMG to serve their people.

On the other hand, even though there has been a slight modification in the community, which has mostly been immersed in KMG community discussions, There is little doubt today that this community has learned to overcome many plights and challenges. As the research finds out, in addition to sociocultural, political, and economic factors, there are many individuals resistant to change among the members of the *Fuga* community who are an obstacle in the struggle for their emancipation. For example, the Gifata game is played during the Cross Feast celebration. The *Fuga*, who became Protestants, are now opposed to the conduct of this ritual. Some of them claim that this game is being used to further marginalize the community. On the contrary, when this culture disappears, some people believe they have lost its benefits. It seems like overcoming marginalization is so hard, and even internal challenges are emerging. The elderly are becoming more resistant, but the younger generation does not condemn changes. Even the Wumanos want *Fugas* to eat like a beggar at their house.

Even though there are modifications that break the boundaries between the *Fuga* and dominant group relationships, the changes are superficial. As a result, marginalization is prevalent in contemporary contexts. Intermarriage between *Fuga* and Wumano, electing and accepting *Fuga*

as a leader, and sharing cooking materials and commensalism are less possible. *Fuga* cites an example of a bad actor in school.

## **7.2 Implications of Findings**

### **7.2.1 Implications for Research**

This research has contributed a discourse on how marginalized *Fugas* could change their position through their own efforts and external factors that harmonize social, economic, and political interactions with the dominant society. As a result, the findings would provide the groundwork for future research in the field. The study demonstrates that marginalization persists in contemporary society and that greater efforts should be made to overcome it. Therefore, it investigated external and internal efforts as potential triggers of group status changes. Both internal and external efforts to prevent marginalization are promising.

However, economic success alone does not reduce marginalization. Political intervention through the enactment of laws and policies, non-governmental organization efforts, and the efforts of religious institutions are all significant in promoting status change. Due to external efforts, dominating behavior toward *Fuga* status groups has been at least reduced in the public realm, and social contact has grown more friendly, sociable, and cooperative in some areas.

Internal efforts appear to be making a change, while acceptance by the majority group is required. Despite the fact that they are dependent on the consent of the majority of society, the *Fuga* society adapted to the culture and the ideas of the majority which offered a chance for the integration of artisan and the majority. Even while there are modifications that break down the barriers between the *Fuga* and dominant group relationships, the integration remains superficial. The absence of some rituals assisted in social acceptability and helped overcome marginalization. On the other hand, to attain independence from dominant society, the *Fuga* are making self-identity claims and distancing themselves.

### **7.2.2 Implications for Policy**

The research can cause concern and has the possibility of increasing responsiveness by the government and civic society, which may use some of the policy feedback. It demonstrated that the *Fuga* minority are unaware of laws or policies, and also how to utilize them effectively. Due to a lack of awareness, *Fugas* have been largely excluded from social, economic, and political benefits. Ethiopia is a country that promotes international human rights laws and declarations

across its territory. Article 25 of the 1995 constitution provided broader justifications for explicitly barring discrimination based on a person's physical or mental development, including race, ethnicity, nationality, or other classification, such as race, gender, language, religion, political or other beliefs, property, birth, or social background. Even though the status groups such as *Fugas* exclusion from political, social, and economic privileges are persisted, there are modifications towards relationship of *Fuga* and Wumano in Kembata. This is because the external and internal efforts that brought some changes especially in the social interactions. However, integration of the artisans and the dominant group is remained superficial. It is because the continuing marginalization prevent them from using legal procedures. As a result, the government's efforts to foster sustainable human development, promote integration, and strengthen the *Fuga* with better attention to the *Fuga's* status with their engagement. Overcoming minorities' marginalization has direct implications for national development processes and the realization of inclusive growth. Greater efforts are required to address difficult-to-reach issues such as educational achievement in *Fuga* communities, enabling political participation, access to justice, and access to employment and business opportunities.

Although marginalization differs by place, the researcher argues that the mere presence of a policy cannot ensure *Fuga* community integration. As a result, open community discussion, advocacy, and improvements in the raising of awareness about the matter are required, which is fully reliant on the appropriate policy. Although the present constitution prohibits discrimination based on identity, it lacks strategies for bridging awareness gaps and how to overcome traditionally underrepresented communities such as *Fuga*. If the law is to bring about the desired transformation, the complicated normative practices and broad constraints hindering *Fuga* minority integration must be addressed.

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## Appendixes

### Appendix I: Fieldwork Guiding Questions

#### **A. Semi-structured Interview Guide: Overcoming Marginalization: The case of *Fuga* in Kembata, Southern Ethiopia**

##### Dear Sir/Madam

I am a graduate student in the department of sociology at Addis Ababa University. Currently, I am undertaking a research on “**Overcoming Marginalization: The case of *Fuga* in Kembata, Southern Ethiopia**” You are one of the respondents selected to participate in this study. Thus, I would kindly request you to answer these questions. Your honesty and kindness would be of great help in many aspects. Finally, the information that you will share will be kept confidential and only used for the academic purpose. Thank you in advance for your support and commitment.

Name or Code: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Age
2. Sex\_\_\_\_
3. Educational status\_\_\_\_\_
4. Could you describe your daily interaction with the other community?
5. What is your role in your community?
6. Could you describe an important holiday or festival you celebrate?
7. Could you tell me your relationship with your neighbor?
8. Would you describe the difficulties that you face today?
9. Could you describe one of your most challenging experiences and explain how you dealt with it?
10. What is your livelihood?
11. What are triggers that empower you rich at this position?
12. What kinds of support/services the governments provide for you?
13. Would you describe any support from NGOs?
14. Could you describe your political participation?

15. Could you explain the transportation system/educational system/monetary system for your children?
16. If you got sick or had an accident, what would you do?
17. Would you tell me your role in the church?
18. What is your effort to overcome your marginal status?
19. Would you think a *Fuga* could live without any discrimination with others Wumano?

**B. Ethnographic Observational Guilds**

1. Specific setting; (e.g. a shopping mall, a church, a school)
2. Events; sequences of activities longer & complex (meanings, beliefs, emotions,)
3. Human, social environment; the way people interact with the environment such as;
  - 3.1 Patterns of interaction
  - 3.2 Directions of communication patterns
  - 3.3 Decision making patterns
4. Formal interactions (flow of official structured information through proper, predefined channels, and routs);
5. Informal interactions (unofficial in nature, social relationship formed without hierarchy)
6. Demographic factors (e.g. indicators of socioeconomic differences,)
  - 6.1 Types of housing/building materials,
  - 6.2 Presence of indoor sanitation,
  - 6.3 Presence and number of intact windows
  - 6.4 Method of garbage disposal

## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Addis Ababa University

December 2022