

# **EXPLORATION INTO CO-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN MANJO AND DONJO IN SHEKA**

**BEHAILU AYELE**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School of Journalism and Communication**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication**

**Addis Ababa University**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

**June, 2016**

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**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

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**Addis Ababa University**

**School of Graduate Studies**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Behailu Ayele Angello, entitled Exploration into Co-Cultural Communication between Manjo and Donjo in Sheka and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and notes the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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**Chair of Department or Graduate Coordinator**

## ABSTRACT

### Exploration into Co-Cultural Communication between Manjo and Donjo in Sheka

Behailu Ayele

Addis Ababa University June, 2016

*A hierarchy of power exists in each society whereby certain groups of people have greater access to power than others do. The dominating group members use this power to create and maintain societal structures that intrinsically benefits them. On the other bottom side of the hierarchy reside co-cultural group members. The impact of the dominating group over the co-cultural group is prevalent, yet there exists inextricably linked relation within and across the groups. In such unbalanced relation, interaction with each other is inescapable. Thus, co-cultural group members will be more aware of the importance of strategically adopting communication behaviors that help them negotiate dominant societal structures. In view this argument, this study explores co-cultural communication between Manjo and Donjo people. To this end, the study employed an eclectic theory called co-cultural communication theory as a theoretical frame work. This theory helps to understand how traditionally marginalized groups communicate in dominant societal structures.*

*The study employed qualitative research method. From plethora of qualitative method, phenomenological research methodology is used to explore through the lived experience of the Manjo people. Accordingly, the researcher interviewed purposely selected 10 Manjo co-researcher using unstructured in-depth interview techniques. Besides, observation and filed notes were applied in gathering the Capta.*

*The study revealed that Manjo people use ridiculing-self, manipulating Donjo, overcompensating, avoidance, attack, disassociating and censoring self as their communicative practices in their interaction with Donjo. Yet, these communicative practices are subject to different influential factors. The study found that Manjo people consider what outcome they should gain, what cost and reward their communication would bring, their field of experience, their ability to use different communicative practices, the situational context they are dealing in and the communication approach and style they chose when interacting with Donjo member. The study also identified what co-cultural communication orientation Manjo and found that their co-cultural orientation emanates from the communicative practices they use and the preferred outcome they preconceive beforehand.*

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**FIGURE**

**1. Figure 1: Sheka Zone Map.....71**

## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

### **List of Acronyms**

**CCT:** Co-cultural Communications

**ICC:** Intercultural Communications

**EPRDF:** Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front

**SNNPR:** Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Region

### **Operational Definitions**

***Capta:*** conscious lived experience of non-dominant people

***Co-researcher:*** respondent in co-cultural communication studies

**Donjo:** a group name for the dominant clans in *Shekacho* ethnic group.

**Manjo:** marginalized minority hunters living in different zones of SNNPR

**Shekacho:** Ethnic group residing in SNNPR- south western part of Ethiopia

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the background, Statement Problem, objective, research questions and other related major concepts of the study.

### 1.1. Background

Ethnic based marginalization, which is one of the major concerns of the world, is critical problem stamping down many people around the globe. In Ethiopia there are people who have different ethnic backgrounds and experiencing the same situation because of their ethnicity.

In relation to the above claim, Alula (2001) states that throughout Ethiopia there are minority groups of craft workers and hunters who are excluded from main stream society. In southwest Ethiopia, as a core area of the study, scattered all over Sheka Zone consisting of Tepi, Masha and Andiracha *woreda's* and in the neighboring zones, live people called Manjo, a marginalized minority group of hunters (Liokola, 2014). These people, who live in south western Ethiopia, are extremely despised and ostracized minority (Alula 2001:78).

Based on the 2007 Census conducted by the Central Statistical Agency, Sheka Zone has a total population of 200,000, of whom 82% belong to Shekacho Ethnic Group. The remaining population is composed of the Amhara, Kafficho, Oromo, Bench, Sheko, and Majang ethnic groups. Sheka borders to the South with Bench Maji Zone, to the West with Gambela Region, to the North with Oromia Region, and to the East with Keffa Zone. The administrative town of Sheka Zone is Masha town. The *Shekacho's*, who are the dominant ethnic group in the zone, controls the political power except one shared sit in the cabinet with *Sheko* ethnic group.

The Manjo communities under study live 658 kilometers away from Addis Ababa in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), Sheka Zone. The Manjo in the Sheka Zone speak *Shekinoono*, an Omotic language which is the same as the one the majority speak.

Even if Manjo's are generally called Shekacho ethnic group, they are victims of social marginalization from the dominant clans, called Donjo, in the zone (Dagmawi, 2005).

### **Being Manjo**

Studies that aimed at finding out the origins of Manjo people lack substantial historic or anthropological evidences. This is mainly because they pass this question by simple remarks, fragmented accounts or anthropological descriptions (Dagmawi, 2005; Mengistu, 2001). Dagmawi's finding endorses the theory made by anthropologist Cerulli who theorized that the formation of Manjo like marginalized minorities in Ethiopia rose from historical cause, different environmental and peoples influences. In light of this Dagmawi (2005) pointed out that the Manjo people are originally an assimilated descendants of a people who were once part of a broad cultural layer. This can be noticed in the reports of Massaja (1951) as cited by Leikola (2014). Massaja reported, after paying a visit to South West Ethiopia, that the Manjo people have unrelated and special language unlike the dominant *Shekacho's* (people of Sheka) and *Kaffichos'* (people of Kaffa). In recent studies on the linguistics and culture of Manjo, the researcher has found different language and pronunciation which make the Massajas' report more valid.

In spite of all these theories, the Manjo people in Sheka trace their origin from Kaffa. In his thesis Kochito (1979) described Manjo as small ethnic group's that had originally inhabited in Kaffa. Based on the claim of the Manjo people and prior historical and anthropological researches many studies took Kaffa as the original homeland of Manjo in Sheka (Lange, 1981; Pankhurst, 2001;

Dagmawi, 2005; Leikola, 2014; Mengistu, 2001; Allula, 2001). The researcher of this study cross checked the validity of the arguments and learned that most of the Manjo people claim they are from *Kafficho* ethnic group. The reason behind their exodus from their original domicile, being marginalized and dwelling in Sheka is left to oral myths.

Workaferahu (2011) and Busho (1986) as cited by Mengistu (2001), narrated how Manjo come to reside in Sheka. The first tells that the Manjo were a member of Kafa people, who were apart of Southern Gonga kingdom (this kingdom believed to include the people of Sheka, Kaffa, Hinnaro, Shinasha and Matto and ruled the place South West of Gibe river), but when Kafa people migrate to their present place, Manjo group were the first to settle in Kafa and govern for decades and later over thrown by the competing tribe called *Matto*. Then Manjo dispersed to different marginal environment.

However it is depicted by Manjo history researchers like Dagmawi (2005) and Leikola, (2014), the historical root of the Manjo is only through oral traditions and with all its doubts and limitations this oral description are depicted here under to show the origin of the marginalization.

The tales are the most prominent myths, as wrote by Lange (1981), Leikola (2014) and Dagmawi (2005) as a reason of Manjo marginalization. The first narrates that:

*An unmarried daughter had a sexual intercourse with an animal ('a dog'). Then She became pregnant and her father discovered that her stomach was getting bigger and bigger eventually he threw her away to a valley. Yet, she didn't die even was not hurt. She then sat rested by the bank of a river and gave a birth to a boy-child and they started living in a forest near to the river. To feed herself and the baby, she started collecting warms. Up on maturing, her son hunted wild pigs, monkeys and baboons in the forest. He*

*ate what he killed and fed himself and his mother. After sometime they travelled far away and settled in a town. But, the son could not leave the habit of hunting. Their neighbors saw this unusual habit and forced these people to leave their surroundings. Unfortunately, these people had nowhere else to go but return back to the forest where they came from. This is how it is believed about the source of the marginalization of Manjo people started.*

The above narration is not the only myth told for the root cause of the social exclusion. The oral tradition based on the findings by Leikolas' and Dagmawis' in their distinct researches are very prominent and the most acceptable as the origin of Manjo exclusion. This myth blames the Manjo king for his bad exercise of the royal status by 'lacking food conformism' and 'greed extra wives'.

*The first king of the now Sheka and Keffa people was from Manjo. The Manjo king had ninety-nine wives. He was a good and respected person. But one day he saw a beautiful wife of his servant and was aspired to make her his wife. In order to marry this women he killed her husband and made her his hundredth wife. Then the angels got mad at him and asked him if it is right for a man who owns ninety-nine sheeps, to snatch the only sheep of a poor man. And he answered "no" and started to curse the person who snatched the sheep. As retribution, he was chased to the forest and made to hunt and eat colobus monkey and pig. Consequently, his clan was reduced to the lowest status of all clans. Then Matto from Donjo was crowed on his behalf.*

There is also another folktales that is believed to have contributed for the marginalization of Manjo. This folktales is related to the hunting tradition of the target society. Mengistu (2001) explained the oral tradition as follows:

*Seven brothers came together following the course of Baro River [the biggest river in south west Ethiopia which is a tribute to Akobo of Sudan] and they all went hungry and had nothing to eat. While six of them went on being hungry, the seventh (thereafter Manjo) ate bad things, such as colobus, monkey and worms. Since then he has been ostracized.*

From the above descriptions, one can explicate that the reasons for the marginalization of the Manjo people are the strange ways of living and the wrong doings out of the then society's norm and mores.

But beyond the myths and legends, care needs to be taken when dictating the reasons behind the marginalization of Manjo people. This is mainly because the oral remarks are vulnerable to high risk of distortion. Thus, the study reasserts the imperative remark made by Dagmawi (2005) that the Manjo are descendants of people who were once part of a broad cultural society in south west Ethiopia and the marginalization is a cumulative effect of a series of socio-cultural adaptations induced both internally among the Manjo and externally from the dominant group, Donjo members.

**DONJO:** The word, Donjo, serves as an explanation of the dominant group. The Donjo people are believed to be the '*Ashi Yero*' meaning 'Humans' and this group is differentiated in the path both occupationally and socially. Unlike Manjo, the means of subsistence for Donjo are crop and livestock production (Workaferahu, 2011).

The social categorization called *Gumbo* consists of the clans named *Bushasho*, *Barado*, *Akako*, *Yitto*, *gučči*, *Manjo* and *Kejjo* (Lange, 1981). The first five are called as 'pure and normal' and label them as super human. The group name for clans is Donjo (Mengistu, 2001). The others are

believed to be impure and thus are marginalized for their impurity. From the clans that are marginalized, like *Kejjo* and *Manno*, the Manjo are most marginalized of all.

In this study the name Donjo is used to refer to the dominant clans mentioned above and the word Manjo to refer to the co-cultural groups which are being marginalized by the dominant group.

Even if they are now called *Shekacho*, Manjo people claim Manjo people have their own identity. This cultural identity is constructed and is changing over time. The Manjo use the word ‘we’ to refer to a Manjo member and ‘them’ when calling a Donjo member. This is also reflected in the literature of Leikola (2014) where he witnessed the Donjo informants describing the house of the Manjo as ‘*Manji Kero*’ meaning ‘house of Manjo’ while calling the house of Donjo as ‘*Ashi Kero*’ meaning ‘House of humans’. Reaffirming this Gezahegn as cited by Mengistu (2001) and Dagmawi (2005) stated that both the Manjo and others think that the former has a separate identity and are different people.

The issue of identity is mainly seen in the traditional social organization: hierarchy, kinship and marriage, livelihood, labor division, traditional ceremonies and the like. Therefore, to better understand this argument, it is necessary to highlight the identity of Manjo as manifested by such social organizations. The Manjo clan have three hierarchies based on their occupational status. As per the study of Dagmawi (2005); Lange (1981) and Mengistu (2001): these hierarchies are ‘*Ogoge Manji Yero*’- clans of great hunters; ‘*Manji Tato Qoto*’- the guards and ‘*Gishi Manji Yero*’- little hunters; portraying the ladder of the social organization.

The kinship system of Manjo resembles what anthropologists call uni-linear which emphasizes on the paternal line of (Workaferahu, 2011). Dagmawi (2005) remarks that, the tie with patrilineal line of the Manjo clan does not mean that they disregard the mother’s line. However, the mother



has significant role in Manjo's social relationship. The importance of motherhood line in the society can be clearly seen in many ways. For instance, those who are born of the same mother do not rush into conflict.

The other identity manifestation for Manjo is their marriage system which is very different from the Donjo tradition. Unlike Donjo members, a Manjo member can inherit his father's wife (unless she is his mother), uncle's wife, even he can marry his wife's younger sister based on his economic capacity. The main reason behind this enduring kinship, as per Dagmawi (2005), is to establish strong ties and retain the property within the same family. Yet, this turns out to be one of the main reasons for their marginalization. Besides, Mengistu (2001) discussed that such kinship made Manjo to inhabit in the most remote part of the forest and avoided contact with other clans.

Most of the ceremonies include '*dume-duboo*' which is a ceremony held when a mother give birth to a child, burial ceremonies or child naming takes place in a very traditional and distinct way. When a mother gives birth, she will be taken to a forest in a new hut house. In the course of delivery she will be nursed by a close female relative or another wife of the husband (Dagmawi, 2005).

The naming of a child is exceptional too. The Manjo child name takes the first letter of his father's name (Leikola, 2014). For example, if the father's name is *Shegito*, the Child name probably will be *Shakito*, *Sheyido*, and *Shaweno* and so on by taking the first letter '*sh*'.

The burial ceremony is also unique and Dagmawi mentioned it as an identity of Manjo people and he believes that the burial ceremony reconstructs early history and social organization of Manjo. To widen this argument; when a notable Manjo dies his male relative will bring a beehive

of the dead and put it on the corpse. And when the corpse leaves his house the relatives let the bees into the house as a symbol of losing the dearest family. Meanwhile, the female relatives smoke leaves under the bed of the corpse. The smoking will be processed until the final rite using a clay and finally when the corpse gets into earth they smash the clay as an example of purification. The whole ceremony is always accompanied by songs and hymns appreciating the legend of the dead.

Currently the Manjo are predominantly hunters, but started farming and livestock raising. Most of them still hunt and eat animals that are considered impure by the Donjo members. In such complex and multifaceted socio-cultural convictions, the Manjo remains as the most identified and marginalized for many causes.

## **1.2. Rationales of the Study**

The motive behind doing this research is manifold. These motives can be labeled as recent incidents, methodological system the researcher chosen to pursue, studying from the non-dominant perspective and for the matter of discussion.

**Recent Past Incidents:** After the Dergue Regime (1974-1991) announced a new land tenure law, some of the Manjo communities were beneficiary and got land to farm upon. But, this was used only for propaganda and the land was eventually taken back from them (Dagmawi, 2005). From then on, there have been quarrels between the Manjo and the dominant members around the Southwest Ethiopia.

According to Yoshida (2008), even if the 1994 Constitution grants rights to ethnic groups, minorities like Manjo have not been regarded as ethnic groups and have become even more marginalized and deprived of access to economic and political resources. Because of this Yoshida reported that actual conflicts happened in 1997 and 2002 among the members of Manjo and

Shakacho/Kaficho (people of Kafa Zone). These incidents indicate that a broken co-cultural conflicts between the groups, peaceful co-existence of cultural communities and interaction among them is unthinkable without effective communication skills (Anteneh, 2012).

Yet there is no prior research done about the communication and the main reason behind power related conflicts encountered by Manjo people.

Therefore, this study envisioned to look deep into the co-cultural status of Manjo people because of the recent conflict trends witnessed in Sheka and other Zones between the dominant groups and Manjo people.

**Researching from Non-dominant Perspective:** Alula (2001) Pankhurst (2000) blamed academic researches which focused on minorities and the marginalized for failing to grasp the whole meaning of life about the people under study. The main reason behind this argument is the studies are done from the dominant perspective. As the researcher explicates a co-cultural communication of Manjo People for this study the main and the only sources of data are themselves, the Manjo's. Therefore, this study aims at explicating the life of the marginalized minority from the perspective of the non-dominant.

**Research Methodology:** this study is a phenomenological research which is done by an insider to the living condition of Manjo people. As Anteneh (2012) rightly pointed out, a research that attempts to grasp a comprehensive understanding of intercultural communication benefits from the insider's view of the researcher in that an insider research has an ample knowledge and can gain a quality data.

Above and beyond, the methodology used for this study, phenomenological research methods, recommends the researcher should be an insider or should immerse himself in the life under study for a long time (Van Manen, 1990; Orbe, 1998). Therefore, the researcher of this study chose to

study Manjo people because he has the accesses to the bureaucracy and the Manjo people directly. Besides, the research methodology empowers phenomenological researchers to be an insider and immerse themselves in the life experience they are about to study. Therefore, based on the above motives and reasons it is valid to have the motivation to explore into the lived experience of Manjo people co-cultural communication.

The proceeding section provides an outline of the manifestation of marginalization and the gap to be felt by this study.

### **1.3. Statement of the Problem**

This study explores the of Manjo people's co-cultural communications, by explicating their co-cultural lived experience. This part elucidates the major gap this study intended to fill.

The different social, political and economic transformations Ethiopia went through in the last century have hugely altered the ethnic/race relations and the modus operandi of the exercise of power and communications. Unlike previous governments and ruler's laws, the current Ethiopian constitution states that Every Nation, Nationality and People in Ethiopia have an unconditional right to self-determination (FDRE constitution, Article 39).

Although there has been much favored changes in the ethnic relations in recent past, there still is fundamental gap between the normative standards of living of marginalized minorities and majority groups. Yoshida, (2008); Allula (2001); Dagmawi, (2005) argue that minorities are still excluded from the mainstream of social life and are discriminated against by majority groups in different parts of Ethiopia. Among these people one of the marginalized minorities are Manjo people of the South Western Ethiopia.

The Manjo are a sect known to have been marginalized for centuries. Alula (2001) believe Manjo reside within a population that made them believe they are lesser creatures and take an obedient position of a status in their relationships with members of other groups. This obedience seems to have been recognized by the Manjo themselves. Their social relations are closed and any interaction they involve in with other groups is on an unequal and ostracized manner. Yet, as explained in earlier the dominant ethnic groups, in this case the Donjo member of Shekacho, claim Manjo are marginalized because they became out of the norm of the traditional society. According to Leikola (2014) and Yoshida (2008), this population is marginalized not only for trespassing the norms and traditions by eating porcupine, colobus monkey and wild pig, or meat of un-slaughtered animals or for disliking education, engaging in polygamy, and being unhygienic, but also for their manner of communication, clothing and greetings. Because of this discrimination and marginalization Manjo people are placed at the bottom of the tribe caste and developed different ways, strategies and medium to communicate with the dominant group.

Above all this, most of the power is controlled by the dominant group Donjo who seem to use different communication system to promote the marginalization. The dominant group also uses this long constructed power to discriminate the Manjo people. This power relation and marginalization, according to Leikola (2014) in his study of the linguistics of Manjo, is manifested in every day throughout the interaction of Manjo people with the dominant group.

Through this manifestation the Manjo identity has been constructed, maintained and understood for centuries. Next the researcher of this study discusses the major manifestations of the marginalization.

The first of the manifestation of the marginalization is the existing Manjo settlement. The residence of Manjo is far away from the Donjo residence, in the forest. A Donjo living quarters is forbidden to the Manjo members and that a Donjo is not supposed to enter the house of a Manjo. This is the traditional replica of the Manjo marginalization from the society by making them feel an outsider and otherness.

The other component of the marginalization is the way the dominant group member treats them: from the sitting arrangements to getting a turn to speak for themselves. Alula (2001); Leikola (2014); Yoshida (2009) pointed out that it's forbidden for a Donjo member to eat together with Manjo member in whatever situation. Besides, the Donjo members don't serve food for Manjo people inside their house, rather they serve them outside their house on tools that are no longer to be used again for eating purpose. In addition, the Manjo people are not allowed to sell any food they made at home either. Nobody buys a food cooked by the hand of Manjo. For countries like Ethiopia eating together symbolizes a special attachment and togetherness. By not eating with them, the dominant group detaches themselves from Manjo and communicates that the Manjo is an outsider.

The other experience of the marginalization is depicted through the traditional ceremonies and kinships. According to Dagmawi (2005) a member of Donjo cannot marry a member of Manjo group and there has not been public intermarriage between Manjo and Donjo. These traditional marriages are believed to be important to create and strengthen alliances and relationships between families and clans. Yet, the Manjo are ostracized to have a kinship with by dominant group. Manjo cannot marry any other clan, but only Manjo. This ideology contributed for the feeling of an outlander on the behalf of Manjo said (Leikola, 2014).

The other marginalization replica is the hierarchy the Manjo have in Shekacho ethnic group. Hierarchy of the society in *Shekacho* ethnic group is very ceremonial and counted as a pride. Lange (1981) wrote that in the early traditional categorization of *Shekacho*'s there are six major groups organized from number of clans and all of them are considered as Shekacho. These clans are Donjo, Chabaro, Manno, Manjo, Ke'jo and Gučči. The first three are said to be *Shekacho* proper. While most clans of the fifth and all those in six are immigrant from Kafa and marginalized (Workaferahu, 2011). From the last three the Manjo are the most marginalized of all (Mengistu, 2001). This ranking is visible in everyday life: when seating places are offered, when the hands are being washed before meals and when food is shared.

With regard to the Manjo, the hierarchical structure of the society is manifested through one's position in the *damba* (above, up) – *desh* (below, down) dimension: in settlement patterns, in seating arrangements, in passing on the road, in washing or taking water from the stream. Mengistu (2001) pointed out that the Manjo are at the bottom of the social hierarchy which can be observed from the attitude of the Donjo towards them. They are considered impure and polluting because of their eating of inedible animal. Thereof, they can't touch the Donjo member or their food neither they enter their house or walk in their field.

The final expression of the marginalization is the social interaction they have. As Mengistu (2001) pointed out traditionally the Manjo would greet a dominant member saying '*Aaddio Addarate*' meaning 'My Lord, I am beneath you'. But recently, especially after the coming Dergue regime, they started greeting one another using same wordings.

With this complicated and long rooted tradition of marginalization, communicating with the dominant group is inevitable. This is because human beings, as Orbe (1998) said, are

communicating beings. As a human being each person, in whatever situation or living condition he/she might be, have thoughts stirring in their minds that they desire to communicate out loud to an attentive and understanding listener. We desire to be understood by someone and to understand someone. Co-cultural groups like Manjo, have their own system of communicating whenever communicating with the dominant group. As explicated by Orbe (1998), for co-cultural group members, the need for strategic communication is reinforced by instances in which they did attempt to have their voice heard, only to be ignored by others.

Moreover the co-cultural groups differences based on levels of societal power attributed to various co-cultures, made intergroup communication sometimes difficult (Orbe, 1998). The Manjo people have been facing different communication barriers when interacting with the dominant group which made them accept what is set for them as a blessing. As a co-cultural group Manjo attempt to isolate themselves in homogenous settings by living in the woods distant from Donjo groups. Yet, Orbe and Richard, (2012) ultimately recognize that some interactions with the dominant group members is unavoidable, given societal structures; Manjo members come to the market to sell woods, fuel, honey, coffee; they help the Donjo members in building houses and fences; they attend weddings and funerals while keeping the distance.

Reflecting this reality, co-cultural group members are obliged to adopt specific communicative practices to survive or succeed in environments created with structures that are oppressive. In this regard, the co-cultural status of Manjo people is unknown and left for judgment call. Even if Manjo are co-cultural groups, no prior research has been made to study their communicational interaction with the dominant clans. Most of the prior studies on Manjo are concerned with their anthropological, historical, linguistics, sociological status (Lange, 1981; Pankhurst, 1999; Leikola 2014; Dagmawi, 2005; Mengistu, 2001; Alula, 2001; Alula & Freeman, 2001).



Furthermost, intercultural communication researchers in Ethiopia also faced lack of prior researchers about intercultural communication status of different groups in the country. Anteneh (2012) witnessed that in multiethnic and multicultural developing countries like Ethiopia, there has always been a little or no record of a scientific study of intercultural communication.

And so this research goes deep into Manjo's co-cultural communication status and explore their lived experience. Next the research objective is presented.

#### **1.4. Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of this thesis is to explore the co-cultural and communication Manjo has with Donjo People.

The thesis also has the following specific objectives:

- To find out the co-cultural status of Manjo.
- To find out the communication practices implemented by the Manjo to interact with Donjo.
- To find out the co-cultural communication influential factors Manjo consider in their interaction with Donjo members.
- To look into the co-cultural communicational orientations of Manjo people.

#### **1.5. Research Questions**

This thesis tries to answer the following questions

- What is the co-cultural status of Manjo?

- What co-cultural communication practices do the Manjo implement when interacting with the dominant clans? Why?
- What are the co-cultural communication influential factors Manjo consider when interacting with the dominant group? Why?
- What communication style do Manjo use when interacting with Donjo members?
- What co-cultural communications orientation do Manjo have?

## **1.6. Significance of the Study**

So far, no prior research has been done about the lived experience Mano people co-cultural communication status. Thus, this research can be used as a bench mark for future to related studies.

The research will also have a great input for non-governmental organization that work to empower marginalized people in Ethiopia. Non-governmental organizations have tried to eliminate the marginalization against Manjo at different level in different times. Up till now, the Manjo are marginalized minority in their own society. One of the main problem is failure of communication. Therefore, this study helps to understand Manjo people's communication system and implement best strategy to approach them.

The government has been empowering the Manjo people through affirmative activities. However, some scholars believe that the recent measures by the government worsen the situation of Manjo people (Yoshida, 2008). Consequently, the current study lets the policy makers understand the Manjo way of life by explicating their lived co-culture status and experience.

Most importantly, co-cultural communication theories and phenomenological studies which are implemented for this study aim at giving a voice to the marginalized by illuminating the true color

of their lived experience. This study gives the voice to the untold stories and curtailed lived experience of Manjo people by witnessing and presenting as the stories unfold themselves.

The next chapter reviews the theoretical frame work and related literatures.

### **1.7. Scope of the Study**

This study explores the lived experiences of Manjo people in Sheka zone, Masha *woředa*. Even if the culture and way of life of Manjo people have in different part of South West Ethiopia has resemblance (Dagmawi, 2005), this study doesn't necessarily reflect the lived experience of Manjo's other than the study area.

The study deals only about the co-cultural communication aspect Manjo people life. Therefore, the narrations and the lived experience described in this study does not show Manjo people linguistics, sociological or anthropological status.

### **1.8. Limitations of the Study**

The research method used in this study is phenomenological research. Phenomenological research recommends an in-depth interview with maximum of 10 informants for data collection. Accordingly, this research is limited to look into the lived experience of 10 Manjo '*co-researchers*' as a source of data. If the research was done in other methodologies, like Ethnography, the study might brought a more detailed version of this study, as the researcher is supposed to actually live with Manjo people for reasonable time in the course of the study.

This study focusses only in Manjo people residing in Sheka zone Masha *Woreda*. Therefore, the study is limited to the stories of Manjo living in Masha *Woreda*. Yet the Manjo people are also scattered all over Sheka, Kafa and Benj- Maji zones. This limitation comes from scarcity of time and resource. Besides, phenomenologists are recommended to take a precaution as the data to be

collected using phenomenological research can be too cumbersome. Thus, the study used a limited number of respondents to manage this limitation.

This study explores lived experience from non-dominant perspective only. As there is a lot of stories and experiences to analyze, the research is limited to the Manjo perspective of co-cultural communication and left the dominant Donjo perspective for other proceeding studies to explore.

The main reasons behind this limitation are the time and resource constraint and the method used as a research methodology.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1. Understanding Intercultural Communication**

Since the dawn of civilization, intercultural contact occurred whenever people from one tribe encountered members of another tribe and discovered that they were different (Samorav and others, 2010). From wandering tribes to traveling traders and religious missionaries, people have encountered others, different from themselves. These earlier meetings, like those of today, were often confusing and hostile (Samorav & Portrer, 2003).

Although intercultural contact has a long history, today's intercultural encounters are far more numerous and of greater importance than in any previous time in the past, because of different reasons. The main reasons as acknowledged by Martine and Nakoyama (2007) as contributors for ICC's impotence in the current human communication are the recent globalizations of economies, the immigration patters, advancement of communication systems and new technology spread.

Intercultural communication takes place when individuals influenced by different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in interaction (Ting-Toomey, 1999).

But for scholars like Gudykunst, (2003), what counts as intercultural communication depends in part on what one considers a culture, and the definition of culture itself is quite contestable. Some authorities limit the term "intercultural communication" to refer only to communication among individuals from different nationalities.

Other authors like Martin & Nakayama (2007), in contrast, expand the notion of intercultural communication to encompass inter-ethnic, inter-religious, and even interregional communication, and other small groups. And yet according to Jandt (1995), intercultural communication refers to face to face interaction among people of diverse culture.

Therefore, based on the above description, intercultural communications can be defined in general terms as communication, and the study of it among peoples of different cultural, ethnic and tribal backgrounds. Thereof, as human beings are communicative beings (Van Mannen, 1990), communicating with other cultures and co-cultures makes it imperative that people make a concrete effort to understand and get along with people who may be significantly different from them.

Many studies were done to better understand communications between culturally different people. This inquiry into the nature of intercultural communication (ICC) has raised many questions, but it has produced few theories and far fewer answers (Samorav & Portrer, 2003). This is because most of the studies focus on subjects other than communication. Different communication scholars and students studied intercultural communication from different perspectives. Mass media experts took ICC in searching answers for worlds information order, global broadcasting; international business communication scholars are concerned with such diverse concerns as negotiations and communication within multicultural organizations; International communicators used ICC to look into communication among nations and governments specially the communication of diplomacy and propaganda. Studies like this one also want to illuminate the cultural lived experience of non-dominant group's and their communications with the dominant group.

## **2.2. Culture and Communication**

Culture is notoriously difficult to define (Orbe, 1998; Spencer-Oatey, 2008; Spencer & Franklin, 2009; Anteneh, 2012).

This is mainly because culture is ubiquitous, multidimensional, complex, and pervasive (Samorav & Portrer, 2003). Supporting this argument Martine and Nakayama (2007) also said that because culture is so broad; there is no single definition or central theory of what it is.

Yet, culture has been defined in many ways—from a pattern of perceptions that influence communication to a site of contestation and conflict.

Samorav & Portrer (2003) defined Culture as:

The deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, social hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relationships, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving (pp. 7).

Culture also can be seen as a shared meaning system, found among those who speak a particular language dialect, during a specific historic period, and in a definable geographic region (Triandis, 1994).

As Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) observed in Martine and Nakoyma (2007) saying that culture consists patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the

one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as conditioning elements of further action.

According to Spenser-Otey, (2008) this definition points to several important features of culture

1. Culture does not consist only of physical objects.
2. Culture involves symbolic mental and physical (i.e. public) representations of the world.
3. Only those representations which are relatively stable for a long period of time and which form systems shared by the members of a social group are cultural. Therefore, culture distinguishes one social group from another.

**Communication:** The second component of this part, communication, is as complex as culture and can be defined in many different ways (Orbe, 1998; Fiske, 2000; Spenser-Otey, 2008; Spencer-Otey& Franklin, 2009; Anteneh, 2012). Yet, there is no universally accepted definition of communication (Samorav and Porter, 2003; Anteneh, 2012).

From this plethora of communication definitions the researcher of this study took the perspective of culture to define communication.

Communication may be understood as a “symbolic process whereby reality is *produced, maintained, repaired and transformed*” (Martin & Nakayoma, 2007). Therefore, the defining characteristic of communication is meaning, and one could say that communication occurs whenever someone attributes meaning to another person’s words or actions.



Martin & Nakayoma (2007) explained Communication and Culture from three different perspectives: Social Science, Interpretative and Critical Perspective. Based on this classification, we can look deep into the relation of culture and communication by contrasting the perspectives reviewing the writings of Orbe, (1998); Novinger (2001); Spenser-Otey, (2008); Martine & Nakayoma, (2010) and Anteneh (2012);

**Social science perspective:** advocates that for communication to exist there should be a sender/receiver, message, channel, and context in order for the communication to happen. It emphasizes on the predictability of communication because it tends to be patterned and it also focuses on the variables, or influences on the communication, like gender, or the nature of a relationship (Novinger, 2001; Spenser-Otey, 2008; Martin & Nakayoma, 2010).

On the other hand, this perspective views culture as a set of learned group-related perceptions. As Hofstede (1984) rightly pointed out, every person carries within him or herself patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting which were learned throughout lifetime. What Hofstede posit here is that culture becomes a combined experience which is shared with people in the same environmental circle.

For social scientists culture is learned and shared pattern of perception. Social science researchers focus not on culture per se, but on the influence of culture on communication. In other words, such researchers concern themselves with communication differences that result from culture. This implies for social scientist culture influences communication and they give a little concern to how people conceptualize culture or how people see its functions.

**Interpretative Perspective:** explains the symbolic, procession nature of communication. The symbolic nature of communication means that the words uttered or the gestures people make

have no inherent meaning, but their significance lays on an agreed-upon meaning (Martin & Nakayoma, 2010). As Grice (1989) explained meaning is systematically dependent on context (where the context is the set of assumptions used in interpreting a communicative act). When people communicate one another they assume that the other person takes the meaning that they intend. It is more likely, when individuals come from different cultural backgrounds and experiences, that this assumption may be faulty.

The more familiar communicators are to a culture specific culture-specific belief-assumptions, the more they are at risk of failing to realize that these belief-assumptions may not be available to their interlocutors, which may lead to misinterpretation (Spenser-Otey, 2008).

Interpretive perspective also emphasizes on the process by which it negotiates the meaning. Communication is not a singular, rather an ongoing process (Spenser-Otey, 2008). Thus, the messages are not discreet and linear but simultaneous, with blurry boundaries of beginning and end (Martin & Nakayoma, 2010). When people negotiate meaning, they are creating, maintaining, repairing, or transforming reality. This implies that people are actively involved in the communication process.

In disparity with other perspectives, an interpretative researcher believes that culture is learned and shared using contextual symbolic meanings. They argue that culture involves emotion too. Unlike social scientists, interpretative perspective researchers focus more on how cultural contexts influence communication. They summarize the relation between culture as “Culture influences communication; Communication reinforces culture”. Thereof, interpretative researcher emphasize practices of interactive construction and de-constructions of cultural

meanings and cultural differences (Spenser-Otey, 2008; Martin & Nakayoma, 2010; Anteneh, 2012).

The third point of view to look at communication is through a **Critical Perspective**. It emphasizes on the importance of societal forces in the communication process (Martin & Nakayoma, 2010). This is to mean that all voices and symbols are not equal, but are arranged in a social hierarchy in which some individual characteristics are more highly valued than others (Martine & Nakayoma, 2010; Orbe, 2012;).

Critical perspective narrates that culture is heterogeneous and dynamic site of contested meanings. Critical researchers, for their part, often view communication—and the power to communicate—as instrumental in reshaping culture. They see culture as the way that people participate in or resist society's structure. To put it in simple word, in contrast with the above perspectives, for critical researchers communication reshapes culture.

Some communication specialists proposed that all communication is intercultural. Hall (1959), in his book *The Silent Language*, said culture is communication and communication is culture. But, the relationship between culture and communication is complex by far (Martine & Nakayoma, 2007). Scholars have reason out that culture reflects the contemporary model of reality; however, communication helps create the cultural reality of a community Novinger (2001).

**Dialectical Approach** is seen as the best in conceptualizing culture; as it acknowledges the above perspectives characteristics and brought all approaches together. This approach sees culture dialectically as both static-dynamic, homogenous-heterogeneous and as a most contested zone of struggle.

Dialectical approach recounts that the relation between culture and communication is reciprocal: culture influences communication, and vice versa (Martine & Nakayoma, 2007; Anteneh, 2012).

Even if the above perspectives made the concept of culture and its relation with communication more distinct, to better understand the relation between culture and communication, the researcher of this study examines the elements of culture that most influence interaction members of two or more cultures come together, as suggested by Samorav and Porter (2003).

As explained earlier in the definition, culture is omnipresent and affects the life of a person in every available way. Because of this Hall (1977), came to the conclusion ‘Culture is everything and everywhere’.

For people to live together and send and receive a message, communicating one another is unescapable. As Hall’s conclusion, if culture is everywhere and everything, culture most definitely has an influence on the communication of people. Therefore, the researcher here discusses the major elements of culture and its relation to communication. Samorav and Porter suggest that examining universal characteristics culture helps to better understand the nebulous concept called culture and enable to see how the characteristics influence communication of people.

**Culture Is Not Innate; It Is Learned:** this characteristics is named as the most important yet difficult to explain. As Samorav and Porter reasoned out this is because the characteristic goes to the heart of what is called culture.

Bates and Plog (1990) note that whatever people experience in their life from feeding themselves by growing yams or hunting wild game or by herding camels and raising wheat

or their belief about the existence of God or goddesses; are determined by what they learn as part of their enculturation. This 'enculturation' happens through interaction and imitation.

Supporting the above argument, Samorave and Porter said that people born with basic needs- needs that create behavior-but how you go about meeting those needs and developing other coping behaviors are a matter of learning. This learning process comes through nothing, but only through communicating and sharing with each other with each other.

**Culture is Transferable:** as discussed above in, Spenser-Otey (2008) pointed out that for a thing, an event or a belief to be culture its should to be shared and presumed to be shared by a considerable number of people over a period of time.

This shows that culture is transmitted from one generation to another for a long period of time. Samorave and porter (2003) pointed out for a culture to exist, endure, and perpetuate, they must make sure that their crucial "messages" and elements get passed on and considered as central to a society that have existed for many years.

This characteristic supports the idea that culture and communication are linked. Because communication makes culture a continuous process, Keesing (1965) in Samorave and Porter noted any break in the communication process would lead to culture's disappearance.

**Culture is based on Language:** for a group to learn, share and transfer its culture, it's necessary to have a system to do so. The society symbol-making ability enables them to both learn and pass on their culture from individual to individual, group to group, and generation to generation (Samorave and Porter, 2003; Samorave, 2010; Spenser-Otey, 2008).

By language the researcher refers to verbal, nonverbal, images or icons which enable society to learn and transfer its culture.

The importance of language to culture is best explained by Bates and Plog (1990):

Language enables people to communicate what they would do if such and such happened, to organize their experiences into abstract categories (a happy occasion," for instance, or an "evil omen"), and to express thoughts never spoken before. Morality, religion, philosophy, literature, science, economics, technology, and numerous other areas of human knowledge and belief along with the ability to learn about and manipulate them all depend on this type of higher level communication (pp. ).

Therefore, these symbols of culture can be stored and transferred through different technological and traditional systems for generation. Samorave (2010) noted in this sense culture will be historical and preservable. Through time, each new generation might "Write" more, but the notes from the past represent what we call culture.

**Culture is tangible and intangible:** culture includes both the tangible (physical things) and it has an intangible component. Therefore, we can conclude from Spenser-Otey argument that culture can be characterized as a system of cultural representations and is a belief about another mental representation, which has become widespread across a human population over significant time span.

In order for a thing (tangible or intangible) to be entitled as a culture it is needed to be represented mentally, people needed to form some beliefs about these representations of those

things and needed to be shared and presumed to be shared by a considerable number of people over a period of time (Spenser-Otey, 2008).

Based on the above argument culture of a given group can be seen as a complex web of cultural representations relating to different types of regularities, or themes such as orientation to life and beliefs, value and principles, perception of role relations, behavioral rituals, norms and convention of communication and institutions.

**Culture is Fluid:** for Samovar and Porter (2003) cultures are dynamic systems that do not exist in a vacuum and therefore are subject to change. As people from different culture interact, they tend to learn, transfer and modify their culture based on the 'others' lived experience. This is because cultures are always being confronted with ideas and information for "outside" sources. Such interaction brings a change on a given culture.

When talking about culture being subjective to change, two things points about culture change: cultures are highly adaptive and the deep structure of a culture resists major alterations.

This can be seen taking Manjo as an example. According to the tale of being Manjo, their culture was destroyed through the effect of marginalization, yet they survived all the harm of the exclusion and they are still living with their culture beyond generations. On the other hand the culture of Manjo has changed in their ways of life, expressly the way they lead their life. Manjo people used to hunt animals, but now they mixed it with farming, which is supposed to be implemented by Donjo only.

**Culture is Ethnocentric:** Sumner (1940) in Samovar and Porter (2003), definition for ethnocentrism best describes the relation between group communication and culture. Sumner defined ethnocentrism as "the technical name for the view of things in which one's own

group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it". The definition is to mean that ethnocentrism is the lens through which cultures interpret and judge all other groups and their culture. Through this lens people tend to give themselves a prior position before others. This priorities include everything from what the "others" value to how they communicate (Spenser-Otey, 2008; Samorav, 2010; Samorav and Porter, 2003). The next part discusses the relation the basic concepts of intercultural communication: culture, context and conflict.

### **2.3. Communication Styles**

Communication is a tricky concept, and while people may casually use the word with some frequency, it is difficult to arrive at a precise definition that is agreeable to most communication scholars. As explained earlier, communication is immensely rooted in human behaviors and the structures of society. It is difficult to think of social or behavioral events where communication does not feature.

Human communication is revealed in different forms: verbally using words and non-verbally using gesture and expressions. This messages are transmitted in different tones and meta-message which contextualizes how listeners are expected to receive and interpret verbal message (Martin & Nakayama, 2007; Anteneh, 2012). Therefore, communication style refers to the meaning of a message that tells others how they should respond to the content of our communication based on our relationship to them.

Communication style reflects all aspect of language use and interaction behaviors of people including their choice of vocabulary and syntax, paralinguistic behaviors (such as intonation, stress, tone of voice) and other non-verbal behaviors like gesture, spatial relation and touch (Spencer-Oastey,2000; Anteneh, 2012).



Even if there are no consensus how to cluster these feature of communication style, recent communication scholars like Griffin (2012), Martin & Nakayama (2007), Spenser-Oatey (2003), Anteneh (2012) and Ting-Tommy (2006) documented Three style of communication; namely high-low context styles, direct-indirect styles, elaborated-understated styles. In relation, this study hereunder briefly discusses this communication styles.

**High-Low Context Style:** Cultural anthropologist Edward Hall was the first to label the communication style of collectivistic cultures as high-context and the style of individualistic cultures as low-context.

For collectivist culture, such as Japan, communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical *context* or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit part of the message. In other terms high context societies believe the message is in the context and non-verbal clues.

Therefore, high-context communication while being dependent on receivers understanding of the messages without dependence on verbal symbols, the sender embeds the message in the context leaving little verbal message (Spenser-Oastey, (2003); Martin & Nakayama, (2007); Anteneh, (2012)).

In high-context societies communication is more subtle. Bluntness is regarded as rude; patience and indirection are the marks of a civilized person. What is said is less important than how it is said and who did the saying. Meaning is embedded in the setting and the nonverbal code.

On the other pole, low-context communication is just the opposite, i.e., the mass of information is vested in the explicit code. As Hall explained in Griffin (2012), individualistic societies, such as America, believe in straight talk that rely more on message *content*.

In low-context communication, unlike high-level societies, assertiveness is saying what you mean; honesty is meaning what you say. Both are highly prized. Perhaps the highest art form of explicit communication is the legal contract (Orbe, 1998; Griffin, 2012).

**Direct-Indirect styles:** direct style of communication demands the message to be more firm and clear. This style refers to the extent to which a message is clear or ambiguous in the particular context in which it is uttered (Spenser-Otey, 2003; Anteneh, 2012).

Direct communication strategy is used by low-context cultures, where by verbal messages reveal the speaker's true intentions, needs, wants, and desires. Here the message is more explicit and blunt. As the message is the content, saying it loud and clear is common in direct communication style.

In a direct communication style, verbal messages reveal the communicator's intent with clarity and are enunciated with appropriate tone of voice (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2005).

Societies that use indirect communication more often, use soft words in implicit and contextual manner when communicating. This communication style obscures the communicator's intentions and is carried out with a softer tone.

**Elaborated-Understated styles:** this style refers to people degree of self-disclosure. As per Ting-Toomey (1999) elaborated-understated styles depicted one's level of self-enhancement or self-effacement.

Societies those elaborate themselves emphasize the importance of boasting about one's accomplishments and abilities. Martin & Nakayama (2007), argued that elaborating-self involves extended and rich use of expressive verbal code.

Because the self-disclosure is very important, silence is not much valued in elaborated communication style. Some culture in Ethiopia encourage individuals to 'sell and boast about

themselves'. As the Amharic saying the goes '*kalemenager shumet yikera*' which is to mean that if a person doesn't stand for him-self, he/she will lose an opportunity in hand.

In contrast, understated communication style values brief, simple assertions and the excessive use of silence. Ethiopians also value self-effacement, in that they tend to respect emphasizes the importance of humbling one-self via verbal restrains, hesitations, modest talk. Anteneh (2012) used the saying '*zimta werq naw*' meaning '*silence is gold*' which reflects the fortune silence would bring to people's life.

The next part discusses the nexus among of communication, culture and context.

## **2.4. Context in Intercultural Communication**

Recent human communication researches emphasized the role that contextual knowledge plays in determining the thought expressed by the utterance (Orbe, (1998); Spenser-Oatey, (2003); Martine and Nakoyama, (2007); Anteneh, (2012)). This is mainly because as discussed in dialectical perspective of culture earlier, the particular communication style people use may vary from context to context.

Context in its simplest form can be expressed as a multilayered communicative environment within which communication takes place (Anteneh, 2012). The word '*multi-layered*' here refers to the fact that communications' existence in different level (international, group, interpersonal and intrapersonal) and interpreted subjectively by the communication beings in a given environment.

Contexts can be also seen as a non-linear and yet multilayered interactive framework that directly and indirectly shapes communication and are themselves interpreted subjectively by individuals in communication. The communicative environment is made up of physical

(plant, infrastructure, location), social (number of individuals engaged in the context of interaction and the relation between the communicators) and perceptual components (Anteneh, 2012).

Therefore, communication depends on the context and goes well beyond the meanings of the words used. Spenser-Oatey (2003) argued that a plausible explanation of context selection in communication also needs to address successfully the problem of 'mutual knowledge' which is the knowledge that is shared between the communicators prior their conversation or presumed shared knowledge.

For Spenser-Oatey the communication between the communicator and the addressee should not be based on the belief of 'presumed shared knowledge', rather the message should be clearly represented in their mind, by explicitly identifying the given situation the two communicators engaged in.

Anteneh (2012) outlined four basic assumptions explaining the nexuses of culture, context and communications.

The first assumption states that context exists in different form and level. For Anteneh context is non-linear concept with multiple layers of a communicative environment. This environment is classified in macro and micro levels. While the macro level is concerned with national/cultural and demographic issues pertinent in shaping assumptions, perceptions and actions, the micro level includes the immediate physical, social and institutional environment where communication is taking place.

The macro level of context witnessed political, historical, power relation and socio-economic conditions of a society. On the other hand, context can be seen in individual level where

communication depends on personal and social attachments. Thus, context is neither static nor objective, but multilayered (Martine and Nakoyama, 2007).

The other assumption is about context uniqueness. As per Anteneh, Context is very unique to situation and environments that there are no two identical contexts despite any similarities between them. For example even if there are other clans like *Kejo* and *Manno* those are marginalized in Sheka zone, the lived experience and the social-exclusion context is very different. While the marginalization towards *Kejo* and *Manno* is fading out, the exclusion against Manjo is still getting new environments. Even if the clans are from the same ethnic group, because of different contextual factors their co-cultural status and communication is very different.

The third assumption recognizes the argument that intercultural communication is contextual. This can be seen in the simplest definition of intercultural communication: ‘intercultural communication is the communication between people of different cultural background’.

This cultural background includes the communicator’s political, social and economic understanding. As Anteneh (2012) argued because of such difference forms of context are represented and shaped in the individuals’ cultural and contextual positions. Besides, this has great impact on individuals’ abilities to interact with a person from different cultural background.

The final assumption recounts the communication action in different contexts. Here Anteneh emphasized that factors such as social roles, content of message and power relations force individuals to act differently in different contexts. As Orbe (2012) depicted different co-cultural

groups may chose silence while being oppressed by the dominant group. But in other times they may react to the same action/ oppression by attacking or sabotaging the dominant society.

To sum up, from the above description, because communication is subject to one's cultural background, it exists in context. As Anteneh argued there is no communication without a context for the simple reason that communication cannot be held in a nothingness.

Thus, context consists the social, political, and historical structures in which the communication occurs (Martine and Nakoyama, 2007). The social structure determined on the societal level, which includes societal behavior and perspective towards communication context. The political structure embraces forces that attempt to change or retain existing social structures and relations. This includes all political communication activities from the colors used for branding to the language of propaganda at different levels. According to historical context of communication, people tend to give more emphasize to large endowments given over the year over obscure situations. For example students in Ethiopia tend to choose universities with their seniority, historical privilege and reputation over obscure universities.

When people lose the point of in context in interacting, they get in conflict with the other party (Martine and Nakoyama, 2007). The next part discusses power relation and conflict.

## **2.5. Power Relation and Conflict in Intercultural Communication**

The other most important pillar of intercultural communication is power relation a given society practices and conflict among people from different cultural back ground. This study discusses hereafter, the basic concept of power relation and conflict in cultural communications.

**Power Relation:** Power is pervasive in communication interactions, although it is not always evident or obvious how power influences communication or what kinds of meaning are

constructed (Martine and Nakoyama, 2007). Yet people often think of communication between individuals as being between equals, but this is rarely the case.

As the founder of co-cultural communication theory, Mark Orbe (1998) describes it in every society a social hierarchy exists that privileges some groups over others. Those groups that function at the top of the social hierarchy determine to a great extent the communication system of the entire society.

In other words, member of a dominant group in a given society outcalls its power, consciously or unconsciously, create and maintain communication systems that reflect, reinforce, and promote their own ways of thinking and communicating.

Power in communication sense has different characteristics. The characteristics divulge the total picture power has in communication and how it is used by those who has it towards understated ones.

Power resides in the institution and gained through a member of that institution. This concept is best explained by Martine and Nakoyama as ‘power comes from social institutions and the roles individuals occupy in those institutions’ (2007: 110). In other terms, what matters in power relation and using it in communication is not the individuals being, rather the role, and the membership he/she has in a society. Therefore, as Anteneh (2012) explained the major sources of power for individuals could be their membership to a particular cultural group, position in a given organizational structure or social roles individuals occupy in societies. For example, the power a Donjo member has over a communication with Manjo resides in his membership or position of Donjo traditional structure. Generally, as Anteneh argues membership to dominant or popular cultural, political, linguistic or economic groups offers a stronger power. On contrary, membership to minority or subordinate groups offers weaker power.

The other concept is the dynamic character of power. Power is dynamic with relation to context and social roles (Martine and Nakoyama, 2007; Spenser Oatey, 2003; Anteneh, 2012). To look into the relation between Manjo and Donjo; the power Donjo has over Manjo differs according to the traditional events, situations and contexts. Donjo member communication has a great power when communicating with Manjo in his/her residence than in the local market place. Because in market places, Manjo has the option to reject the price quotation set by Donjo member, rather than Donjo residence.

Power is produced in communication processes. As Orbe (1998) and Martine and Nakoyama (2007) explained dominant cultural groups attempt to perpetuate their positions of privilege in many ways. However, subordinate groups can resist this domination in many ways too (discussed latter under co-cultural communication). Cultural groups can use political and legal means to maintain or resist domination, but these are not the only means of invoking power relations. This is because co-cultural groups can also negotiate power in varied and subtle ways. Power also exist in every communication. Power is pervasive in interactions and manifests itself in the process (Martin & Nakayama, 2007). In other words, as Anteneh (2012) narrated there is no communication that does not confirm an established inequality among communicators or that negotiate power relation between individuals. In Sheka ethnic group the marginalization against Manjo is manifested in every traditional, social, economic situation basing the hierarchy. Manjo people are marginalized from the day to day greetings to the funeral ceremonies. In every communication that come through such events the Donjo members show the power they have over Manjo.

Last but not least, power becomes very complex in cultural situations. Hofstede (1980) in Anteneh, (2012) argues that cultures vary on the extent to which less powerful members



of a society or institution accept the disproportionate distribution of power. Anteneh added that the extent and the nature of power individuals seize vary across cultures and this eventually influence communication between people from different cultures.

To sum up, the basic concepts here, mainly communication, culture, power and context intersect in intercultural communication. Based on the dialectical perspective of communication (Martine and Nakoyama, 2007), when intercultural interaction emerges between people from different cultures, the communicators consider historical, social and economic contexts while keeping power differentials in mind. Even if such things are not vivid, intercultural communication always comprises these concepts. And when the power relation become extremely unbalanced or people become out of an accepted context or use wrong communication styles with person from different culture, conflict happens.

**Conflict:** because conflict is here and there in the current world, understanding intercultural conflict is becoming mandatory for the present society. This is mainly because conflict is inevitable (Martine & Nakayama, 2010).

Intercultural conflict occurs when two or more groups from different culture get involved in a conflict with each other. A single conflict can have a multi-layered context based on the parties involved.

Intercultural conflict might be shaped by an economic context, the cultural identities and belongingness, and the political and religious contexts all work together (Martine & Nakayama, (2010). This is to mean that there is no need to look for a single source of conflict, because intercultural conflicts are characterized by being ambiguous.

For Welmot & Hocker (2001), what matters is the way people deal with the cultural conflict. They ask, should conflict be welcomed because it provides opportunities to strengthen

relationships? Or should it be avoided because it can only lead to problems for individuals and groups?

These questions are answered by Martine & Nakayama (2010) who came up with two orientations to conflict: conflict as an opportunity and conflict as destruction. Those who look at conflict as opportunity think that it is normal when conflict happens and is one of the processes to negotiation. In here, confrontation and conciliation are valued and they believe conflict should happen so that there would be a redistribution of opportunities, a relief from tension and exchange of knowledge and of course, finally, renewal of brotherhood among the conflicting parties.

The main idea is that working through conflict constructively results in stronger, healthier, and more satisfying relationships (Canary, Cupach, & Messman, 1995 in Martine & Nakayama, (2010)).

On the contrary, the second orientation to conflict is a perspective from a ritual and cultural value that believes conflict should be avoided because it ultimately unproductive for relation between groups of different cultures. This thought describes conflict as disturbance of peace, destructive and ineffective. Therefore, it should be avoided by disciplining the members of the society to obey the social system and adapt to the already established values. This orientation promotes a strong spiritual value of pacifism which dictates a nonresistant response, such as avoidance or silence when conflict does arise.

There are three approaches to understanding and dealing with conflict as Martine & Nakayama, (2010) suggest: the social science approach which focuses on cultural difference that caused the conflict, the interpretative approach which explains the intergroup relationship and the

critical one which approaches the conflict from cultural, historical and structural elements as a font of conflict.

The study hereafter discusses the social science approach in detail as it concerned with cultural differences. Social science approach responds to intercultural conflict through five strategies Dominating Style, Integrating Style, Compromising Style, Obliging Style and Avoiding Style.

**Dominating style** of conflict management is a strategy whereby an individual or member of a group achieves his or her goal at the expense of others' needs (Orbe, 2012; Martine & Nakayama, (2010)).

The second style, **integrating style** a conflict management s-strategy characterized by the open and direct exchange of information in an attempt to reach a solution acceptable to both parties. This style is seen as effective in most conflicts because it attempts to be fair and equitable (Orbe, 1998).

**Compromising style** conflict management strategy involves sharing and exchanging information to the extent that both individuals give up something to find a mutually acceptable decision (Martine & Nakayama, 2010, 2007).

**Obliging style** of conflict management strategy characterized by playing down differences and incompatibilities while emphasizing commonalities. This style describes a situation in which one person in the conflict plays down the differences and incompatibilities and emphasizes commonalities that satisfy the concerns of the other person.

The final style, **avoidance**, is a total withdrawal, sidestep, deny or bypass the conflict. But, this style is appropriate if the issue is trivial, if the relationship itself is unimportant to one person, or if others can better manage the conflict (Wilmot & Hocker, 2001).

The second and third approaches to conflict, interpretive and critical approaches to social conflict, tend to emphasize the social and cultural aspect of the conflict. These approaches believe conflict is deeply rooted in cultural differences in the social, economic, and historical contexts.

For these approach scholars, social conflict arises from unequal or unjust social relationships between groups. Therefore in order to understand the conflict one should look into the intercultural interaction the group has socially, economically or check for historical evidences, because the complexity are embedded in cultural differences (Wilmot & Hocker, 2001).

Some cultural conflicts are motivated by a desire to bring about a social change. In social movements, individuals work together to bring about social change by using confrontation as a strategy to highlight the injustices of the present system (Martine & Nakayama, 2010). Historical and political contexts also are sources of conflict. Many international conflicts have arisen over border disputes.

Whatever the cause of a conflict is how people manage conflict may depend on the particular context or situation. Societies may choose avoidance when dealing with conflict with their closest but confrontation at social movements.

Many conflicts are fueled by economic problems, which may be expressed in cultural differences and as the economic contexts change, people see more cultural conflict taking place (Wilmot & Hocker, 2001). There are also conflicts that arise based on historical and political context and still embedded in culture. Much of our identity comes from history. It only through understanding the past that we can understand what it means to be members of particular cultural groups (Martine & Nakayama, 2010). Sometimes identities are constructed in

opposition to or in conflict with other identities. When people are not seen as members of a culture, they may develop other identities that are seen in opposition to the mainstream culture. But when a conflict arises, societies need to manage it by looking its productive sense than destructive, by cooperating on other rather than being competitive.

Martine & Nakayama, (2010) advice societies tangled in intercultural conflicts to stay centered and not polarize, maintain their contact with the other party, recognize the existence of different styles, identify their preferred style, to be creative and expand style repertoire, recognize the importance of conflict context and to be willing to forgive each other.

## **2.6. Taxonomies of Marginalization in Ethiopia**

Marginalization is defined as “the lack and denial of resources, rights, goods and services and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities available to the majority of people in a society” (Levitas, 2007).

Cudd (2006) notes that social discrimination is an unjustified harm that intensely impacts marginalized groups personally and psychologically. It frames a humiliating and deeply felt experience that becomes coded into memories. There is hardly any consensus beyond the generally negative use of the term, and even less about the production of exclusion, its manifestations and its reproduction.

Thus, so far, as Bernt and Colin (2013) emphasized, a generally accepted understanding among scholars seems to point to exclusion being both a process and condition, one resulting from a combination of intertwined forms of social, economic and power inequalities and leading to disadvantage, relegation and the systematic denial of individuals’ or communities’ rights, opportunities and resources.

In Ethiopia there are people who are ‘marginalized minority’ (coined by Alula, 2001). This people are mainly depend their life on hunting, smith, pottery and tannery (Freeman, 2001). This people are marginalized from the mainstream social group for in number of dimensions, but the headline reasons are spatial, economic, cultural, social and political.

**The spatial dimension:** the spatial dimension of marginalization can be seen in settlement pattern and in segregation during social situation. Regarding settlement pattern, the minorities’ fall in two groups: those who live with integration and who are physically kept apart. The most segregated live in the outskirts of village, close to forest and on poor land on steep slopes (Alula, 2001).

From this one can understand that marginalization can be expressed based on one’s residence and landscape. This much further expressed in social events, market places, and other interacting positions (Freeman, 2001).

Whenever a marginalized person meet someone from dominant group they are expected to walk on the owner side, bow down or even kneel as a sign of respect and being inferior (Mengistu, 2001).

**Economic Dimension:** This is manifested through restriction on production and exchange and limited access to land and livestock. They live on the land of the patron and could be evicted any time (Allula, 2001).

**Political Dimension:** The marginalized could be excluded from the dominant traditional political organization of the group among whom they lived. They couldn’t partake in the important institutions, couldn’t participate in communal assemblies or aspire to position of leadership (Allula, 2001).

**Social Dimension:** This is characterized by segregation and non-reciprocal relations. This expressed in restriction of social interactions, commensality, and joint labor, membership of ass, burial practices and most profoundly, intermarriage (Alula, 2001). Most of them are not invited to major social events, if they do they may be barred from entering to houses or obliged to sit on the floor, rather than on stalls (Alula, 2001).

The denial of commensality is one of the most pervasive of marginalization. At social events Manjo are served inferior food such as head, innards and hooves of slaughtered animals. They are served separate, often being expected to eat off leaves, from broken pottery or from their own bare hand. Any plate or cup used by them would have to be thrown away. Whereas the marginalized Manjo eat food from the dominant groups, the revers is unthinkable (Mengstu, 2001).

No intermarriage. Member of Manjo cannot marry a member of the dominant by any means or any hint of sexual between them is considered polluted and dangerous (Freeman& Alula, 2001).

**Cultural:** Cultural marginalization is expressed in negative stereotyping, polluting work, and mythological justification of the low status of the minorities (Alula, 2001).

The stereotypes include: the marginalized is anti-social, untrustworthy, unreliable, lazy, liar, cowards, quick to anger, lack morality, disrespectful and shameful (Alula, 2001; Dagmawi, 2005).

## **2.7. Theoretical Framework**

### **Co-Cultural Communication Theory**

This thesis, as described on its methodology, is built up on co-cultural communications theory. This portion of the chapter provides a comprehensive summary of co-cultural theory; from its foundation and fundamentals to its strength and critics.

#### **Overview of Co-Cultural Communication**

As Orbe (1998) explained coining the term ‘co-culture’ is embraced over other terminologies, which are used in previous works of different scholars like “intra-cultural”, “subordinate,” “inferior,” “minority,” “sub-cultural”, “non-dominant”, and “muted group” to signify the notion that no one culture in a society is inherently superior (but may be dominant) over other co-existing cultures.

A co-cultural theoretical model represents an eclectic approach to communication theory in that it draws from various existing conceptual frameworks related to culture, power, and communication (Orbe, 1998, 2000, 2012).

The origins of co-cultural theorizing, as described by Orbe (1998), Griffin (2002), Orbe & Robert (1998) and Orbe (2012), can be traced to a series of studies that explored how underrepresented group member communicate within dominant societal structures. The focus of these early co-cultural communication studies were on specific practices that co-cultural groups used during their interactions with dominant group members (Orbe, 1996). The main theories are muted group and stand point theory.



Muted group theory was initially established by anthropologists Shirley and Edwin Ardener and later adopted by communication scholars to address the experiences of women (Kramarae, 1981). The main point of view of this theory is that in every society exists a social hierarchy which privileges some groups over others. Those groups that function at the top of the social hierarchy determine to a great extent the communication system of the entire society. Over time, the structures of this system which reflect the worldview of dominant group members are reinforced as the appropriate communicative system for both dominant and non-dominant group members (Griffin, 2002; Orbe, 1998; Orbe, 2012).

Standpoint theory denotes to a specific societal position, the result of one's field of experience, which serves as a subjective vantage point from which persons interact with themselves and the world (Orbe, 1998). This theory has the conviction that research must begin from one's concrete lived experience, rather than abstract concepts. Such an inductive, open process of discovery encourages scholarship that avoids the problematic of hypothetical investigation designed to solicit reconceived findings (Orbe, 1998).

Moreover, standpoint theory seeks to include the experience of subordinates, as Wood (2005) pointed out that moving away from the distorting practice of simply including neglected groups in research standpoint theory uses marginalized lives as the starting point from which to frame research questions and concepts.

The basic idea associated with the conceptual framework of muted group and standpoint theories serves as the launching pad for co-cultural communication theory. In short, the basic idea behind co-cultural theory can be summarized by the following statement:

*Situated within a particular field of experience that governs their perceptions of the costs and rewards associated with, as well as their capability to engage in, various communicative practices, co-cultural group members will adopt certain communication orientations \*based on their preferred outcomes and communication approaches\* to fit the circumstances of a specific situation. (Orbe, 1998: 51).*

### **Tenets of Co-Cultural Communications**

Co-cultural theory, as described by Orbe (1998), assists in understanding the ways in which persons who are traditionally marginalized in dominant societal structures communicate in their everyday lives with a particular focus on how they communicate within a group, as well as with the dominant group members. Grounded in muted group (e.g., Kramarae, 1981), standpoint theories (e.g., Smith, 1987) and phenomenology (Husserl, 1973; Lanigan, 1988), co-cultural communication theory is derived from the experiences of a variety of co-cultural groups, including members of racial and ethnic groups, women, persons with disabilities, gays, lesbians and bisexuals, and those with a lower socioeconomic status.

Co-cultural communication refers to interactions between “dominant” and “non-dominant” groups (Orbe, 1998). The term as mentioned earlier is preferred to other terms such as subculture, subordinate and muted group because these words connote the target group as inferior to the dominant and passively muted by oppressive communication structure (Orbe, 1998).

Therefore, Mark Orbe, the originator of this theory coined the word ‘Co-cultural Group’ so as to recognize the active and adaptive style of such groups in dealing with the attempt to mute their voices by the dominant group members.

One can be satisfied by the definition given earlier about the meaning of co-cultural communication. But it is more that and the definition ‘communication between dominant and non-dominant group members’ is a simplistic and more general one (Orbe, 1998) in that the societal membership consists of simultaneous membership. One can find a marginalized yet minority group in a given society while simultaneously noticing a minority group in the dominant circle too.

In order to elaborate this concept Orbe cited Foucault (1979) as it relates to the idea that people can function as both the “target and vehicle” of oppressive communication (1998). For Orbe the stance of a dominant group status is pervasive throughout the society. But, positioning dominant and non-dominant group status is dependent on another cultural identities and communication contexts.

Co-cultural group members, despite different personal identities, characterize their communication with the dominant group members fairly in consistent terms (Orbe, 1998). Co-cultural groups, even if it is not all co-cultural groups, describe their interaction with the dominant groups as cautious, fearful, quite, unconformable, careful, and quiet (Orbe, 2012).

Without a doubt, co-cultural groups often feel ‘stifled’ by persons representing more powerful (dominant) group. Therefore, instead of spontaneous interaction typical of intercultural communication, co-cultural group members are apprehensive while speaking with other unlike themselves and “careful to say exactly what they mean” (Orbe, 1998).

In order to backup this situation co-cultural group members use different strategies through which they attempt to have their voices heard. This is because, communicating with the dominant group members is not a choice, but unavoidable.

*Although few co-cultural members attempt to isolate themselves in homogeneous settings, they ultimately recognize that some interaction with the dominant members is not avoidable, given societal structures (Orbe, 1998: 54).*

Therefore co-cultural group members try to adopt specific communicative practices, which will be discussed latter, so as to communicate with the dominant group members in the structures that are oppressive.

### **Epistemological Assumption**

The fundamental notion of co-cultural communication theory (CCT) is grounded in five epistemological assumptions.

The first assumption posits that a hierarchy of power exists in each society whereby certain groups of people have greater access to power than others do.

The second narrates dominant group members occupy most positions of power throughout society; these positions of influence are used to create and maintain societal structures that inherently benefit their interests.

Thridly, co-cultural theory explores how the reality of dominant group power impacts members of non-dominant groups. In particular, it states that dominant group members' societal structures work overtly and covertly against individuals whose cultural realities are different from the cultural realities of those in power.

The fourth assumption acknowledges the differences that exist within and between different co-cultural groups; however, it simultaneously recognizes the similarities that also exist within and across groups that occupy similar social positions.

The fifth, and final, assumption states that co-cultural group members will be more aware of the importance of strategically adopting communication behaviors that help them negotiate dominant societal structures. Such behaviors will vary within, and across, different co-cultural groups.

### **Strength and Critics**

In its earliest conceptualization, co-cultural theorizing represented a framework that provided significant insight into how underrepresented group members negotiate marginalized positions. Over the years, scholars have used, extended, and critiqued co-cultural theory in ways that extend beyond its initial scope. Based on grounded theories humanistic paradigm, CCT has its own strength and critics.

As the strength of Co-cultural Communication theory much has been mentioned by communication scholars. A good humanistic theory is expected to offer into human communication (Fiske, 2000). As per Orbe (1995; 1998; 2012) and Orbe and Roberts (2012) co-cultural theory is unique in that it originates from the lived experience of persons usually marginalized members, reflecting their communication experience within a dominant society gives scholars a new perspective from which to consider communication processes. In addition co-cultural communication theory gives a position to look at historical context of cultural power imbalance. This is through, as discussed earlier, giving a unique perspective to communication by revealing the common practice of members of traditional muted societal structure.

The other strength of this theory is its clarification of values. CCT creates knowledge that brings non-dominant peoples values into conciseness, instead of attempting to maintain an objective stance like other scientific counterparts. Revealing the values, according to Orbe, is seen as an important knowledge seeking activity for CCT, in that it is a continual of the examination of power relationships in inherent in all communication between dominant and co-cultural groups.

Theories need to bring an agreement among like-minded scholars. In this take, co-cultural communication very successful as it is used by other studies of researcher like Bashir, (2009); Native Hawaiians participating in public forums (Miura, 2001), African American leaders in organizations (Parker, 2002, 2003; Hopson & Orbe, 2007), Caribbean immigrants in the workplace (Bridgewater & Buzzanell, 2010), Native Americans at a western U.S. university (Covarrubias, 2008), and an Asian female professor in a diverse classroom (Lee, 2006). In similar ways, Orbe (1998, 2012) mentioned researches that has also studied traditionally college-aged women negotiating the “date rape culture” on college campuses (Burnett et al., 2009), gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transgendered persons in different organizations (Anderson & Giovanni, 2009; Dixon, 2009), and how persons with disabilities manage able-bodied privilege in organizations (Cohen & Avanzino, 2010; Worley & Cornett-DeVito, 2007; Fox, Giles, Bourhis, & Orbe, 2000). Therefore, we can definitely say that other communication scholars has accepted co-cultural communication theory to look deep into out-sider with perspective of communication.

Even so, as Orbe admitted the theory in its present form has its own limitations. Many of the limitation are forwarded by the theories blind reviewers since its inception. Based on this reviews, co-cultural communication has a limitation on its methodology and conceptualization. The researcher of this study summaries this limitations.

The first limitation is derived from the use of phenomenological methodology. Many criticized CCT for the selection process of *co-researcher* (informants) and the sampling technique. Because the sample is small, the critique pointed out the CCT's limited generalizability. Besides, the interpretative analysis used in co-cultural communication studies is believed by the critiques' to bring ideological bias.

But, Orbe defended his theory saying that the method used in researching a co-cultural groups needs carefulness. To get the best lived experience Orbe suggested different mechanism like 'bracketing self' [will be discussed in chapter three] to provide discursive space for muted voices to be heard. Moreover, the theory invites researcher to consciously include *co-researcher* in meaningful way in phenomenological inquiry process.

The limitation with its conceptualization resides in its being 'point in progress'. This limitation depicted in the overlapping characteristics among the communication practices and factor influencing the adoption of communication orientation [all discussed after this part]. But, in defense of the theory, pro-CCT scholars suggested the importance of recognizing this influence and communication approaches come from the description of the co-cultural groups how they communicate with the dominant members. Therefore, the conceptualization requires to look deep into the complex communication practices, influence and orientation the co-cultural group has.

To sum up, as Orbe admitted this theory is subject to further scrutiny, study and work, to use his wording it's a 'point in progress'. But, many articles forwarded earlier have showed that co-cultural communication theory is the best of all theories that enables researcher to witnesses the lived experience of no-dominant groups as it unveils itself. Next the co-cultural group

communication practices, the influence this communication bears and the orientation the groups follow will be discussed.

## **2.8. Co-cultural Groups Communicative Practice**

Mark Orbe identified and explained 26 various communication practices that co-cultural members use while interacting with dominant societal structures.

Communication is a bidirectional, dialectic, transitional process and these 26 communicative practices as per Orbe (1998); Roberts & Orbe (1996) describe the perception of this process for co-cultural group members: Averting controversy, Extensive Preparation, Overcompensating, Manipulating stereotypes, Bargaining, Dissociating, Mirroring, Strategic distancing, Ridiculing self, Increasing visibility, Dispelling stereotype, Communicating self, Intragroup networking, Utilizing liaisons, Educating others, Confronting, Gaining advantage, Avoiding, Maintaining barriers, Exemplifying strengths Embracing stereotypes, Attacking and Sabotaging others.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher chose only those communicative practices that are mostly used by the Manjo ethnic group when communicating with the other Donjo members, who are dominant in the societal structure.

**AVOIDING:** is one of the overriding strategies's used by co-cultural groups while interacting with the dominant is total avoidance. This strategy ranges from avoiding a single person and conversation to a topic (Roberts & Orbe, 2012; Orbe, 1998).

Avoiding is a more physical communication strategy; it involves maintaining distance with acquaintances and co-members. Others clearly communicate only with people different from themselves when absolutely necessary (Orbe, 1998). This type of communication is also seen in segregation behavior.



**AVERTING CONTROVERSY:** This communicative practice refers to behaviours of deflecting communication away from topic that deal with certain “controversial” or potentially dangerous subject matter (Orbe, 1998). In this case members of co-cultural group may abstain from discussion about their situation, shift topics and use other practices to deflect the discussion point.

**MAINTAINING INTERPERSONAL BARRIER:** Related to the idea of avoiding is the mechanism by which co-cultural group members maintaining existing interpersonal barriers to reduce the chance of face-to-face communication with the dominant (Orbe, 2012; 1998).

When applying this strategy, co-cultural group members create and maintain a psychological distance when physical distance is impossible. Such activity draws from the natural tendency for separation between co-cultural groups (Orbe, 1998; Robert & Orbe, 1996).

**EMPHASIZING COMMUNALITIES:** As Orbe described on his book, this practice focuses on human similarities while downplaying or ignoring personal (co-cultural differences) (1998). This practice is employed when persons try to promote a utopian society in which “people are people” and cultural differences are not as significant as shared human characteristics.

**MIRRORING:** This communicative practice, according to Orbe (1998), represents an integrative communication practice that recognizes dominant and subordinate group difference and attempt to downplay those differences by making co-cultural identities less visible or invisible at all and adopts those behaviors and images of the dominant culture.

**DISSOCIATING:** Dissociating involves a conscious attempt to avoid any stereotypical behavior generally associated with your co-cultural group (Orbe, 1998). This is typical of many of the segregated societies. These societies made a conscious decision to not act according to

the already sat stereotypic behavior so as to interact with the dominant members. Woods (1993) pointed out that co-cultural group members play against the stereotype of co-cultural group by avoiding those behaviors.

To put in words of Orbe (1998), for those who use dissociating communicative practice as a way to mirror dominant society, attempts are also made to avoid stereotypical behavior that dominant groups may find positive and want to emulate.

**DISPELLING, MANUPLATING and EMBRACING STEREOTYPE:** Co-cultural group members have their own way of dealing with stereotypes that arises in their everyday interaction with dominant group. Most of them, as described earlier resemble to minimize, if not avoid, the interaction and the stereotypes using different strategies. But it is impossible to total ignore the stereotypes the dominant group have about them.

Therefore, they tend to dispel or manipulate or embracing the stereotypes (Orbe, 1998). For the convenience of this study we will see these three communicative practices together.

Repelling stereotype is a behavior, unlike dissociating, that is large unconscious and natural (Orbe, 1998). This practice is seen on co-cultural groups when they appear in ‘dominant group’ populated environments. It’s more a placid approach where by the co-cultural group members think that there mere presence can affect the stereotype and through time they can refute those stereotypes.

Like dispelling, *Manipulating* stereotypes doesn’t attempt to challenge the existing stereotypes rather use them for personal gain. As Orbe (1998), explained co-cultural group members tend to conform to commonly accepted stereotypes to obtain certain benefits rather than dispelling stereotypical behaviors.

The third tactic used by non-dominant members to deal with stereotype is by *embracing* it. Persons from co-cultural group undertake a negotiated reading of cultural stereotypes by which they adopt the dominant ideology in broad outline but selectively apply it in specific cases and reject it in others (Orbe, 1998).

**CONFRONTING:** The earlier communicative practices and most of the strategies mentioned by Orbe represent more or less a system of adopting, or tactful rejection.

But confrontation comes when a co-cultural group member aggressively confronts the dominant group member so as to get his/her voice heard (Orbe, 1998) and it ranges from malicious to belligerent behavior when interacting with the dominant group member. Leets and Giles (1999) conceptualized a framework of “harmful speech” which is situated in various forms of societal oppression.

**BARGAINING:** Orbe explained bargaining communicative strategy as: *Bargaining is a communicative practice by which non-dominant group members strike an arrangement with dominant group members: they pledge to confirm dominant group members' innocence in societal oppression when they accepted and allowed to participate in dominant-structured environment (1998).*

When bargaining with the dominant group co-cultural group members doesn't mention their identity therefore the dominant group members will be able to separate their identity from them while interacting within a confines of dominant societal structures (Orbe, 1998).

**ATTACKING:** This approach involves, according to Orbe (1998), insulting the dominant group members by referencing personal shortcomings, using offensive language, attacking their character, screaming and yelling and using sarcasm.

This communication strategy is used to counter the power of dominant group members.

**SABOTAGING:** This communication strategy refers to co-cultural groups members attempt to undermine the ability of the dominant group member have to excel in the environment that give them an inherent advantage over others (Orbe, 1998, 2012; Robert & Orbe, 1996).

**CENSORING SELF:** this occurs when co-cultural group members feel as if their response would magnify cultural differences and / or alienate them from others. This practice is common in that non-dominant groups remaining silent when comments from dominant group members are inappropriate, indirectly insulting, or highly offensive. Instead of confronting and disclosing their discomfort, they tend swallow their feeling and say nothing.

For this study the researcher chose to review the above communicative strategies. This doesn't mean that the rest strategies are not applied to Manjo in their interaction with Donjo. Rather the aforementioned communicative practices are often used by non-dominant groups.

## **2.9. Influential factors in Co-cultural communication**

Orbe (1998) identified four assumptions about how co-cultural group members employ the above stated communicative practices. This factors influence non-dominant groups when interacting with dominant group members.

### **2.9.1. PREFERRED OUTCOME**

One of the basic factors that influence the communication of co-cultural group members is the preferred outcome that they have for their interaction. Each person asks herself or himself the following question: What communication behavior will lead to the effect that I desire? (Orbe, 1998).

With this in mind, co-cultural group members consider how their communication behaviors affect their ultimate standing with dominant group members. According to the descriptions of

co-cultural group members, three primary outcomes exist assimilation (conforming to dominant group norms), accommodation (working within dominant societal structures so that they reflect co-cultural experiences), and separation (working with other co-cultural group members to create spaces that are reflective of their own values, mores, and norms).

### **2.9.2. FIELD OF EXPERIENCE**

Field of experience, as an influential factor in co-cultural communication, refers to the sum of an individual's life experiences. The influence of one's past experiences is an important consideration in the constant process of thinking about, selecting, and then evaluating co-cultural communication practices.

Field of experience is an all-inclusive concept; some examples include family influences, socialization, formal and informal education, critical incidents, and other past events. Through a lifelong series of events, co-cultural group members learn how to use a variety of practices and also come to realize the consequences for using certain tactics in different situations. Over time, each co-cultural group member engages in a dynamic process of constructing, and subsequently deconstructing, the perceptions of what constitute appropriate and effective communication with dominant group members.

### **2.9.3. ABILITIES**

One factor that affects co-cultural communication is a person's capability to use different practices. Most co-cultural practices appear to be accessible to all co-cultural group members. However, being able to use some practices may vary greatly depending on the individual characteristics and situational circumstances. For instance, a co-cultural group member may not be able to engage in verbal abuse, personal attacks, or confrontational tactics. Another might lack any chance to network with other co-cultural group members or experience difficulty in

identifying dominant group members who can be trusted as liaisons. In this regard, theorists cannot assume that all co-cultural group members have total access to use all of the co-cultural practices that exist.

#### **2.9.4. SITUATIONAL CONTEXT**

Like many communication theories, the importance of situational context is central to co-cultural communication. Co-cultural group members do not typically select one practice, or cluster of practices, to use for all interactions with dominant group members (Orbe, 1998). Instead, the details of each situational context (e.g., where the interaction occurs, who is present, and other key environmental issues) influence the selection of particular co-cultural practices. Because of this, co-cultural group members may adopt different practices within one general setting (e.g., work, school, and in public places), depending on the particular set of circumstances.

#### **2.9.5. PERCEIVED COSTS AND REWARDS**

Each co-cultural communication practice, when enacted in a specific situation, contains some consequences. Through their field of experience, co-cultural group members come to recognize that certain costs and rewards are associated with different communication practices. Although it is sometimes difficult to successfully anticipate specific consequences, each communicative behavior has the potential to result in advantages and disadvantages. Specific advantages and disadvantages, however, are not perceived as the same for all co-cultural group members. Instead, particular perceptions of the costs and rewards associated with each co-cultural practice depend largely on the field of experiences and preferred outcome of individual co-cultural group members (Orbe, 2012; 1998).

### **2.9.6. COMMUNICATION APPROACH**

The final factor that influences the process of co-cultural practice selection is communication approach. In one regard, a conceptualization of communication approaches that emerged within early co-cultural communication studies includes non-assertiveness, assertiveness, or aggressiveness (Wilson, Hantz, & Hanna, 1995). From the perspective of co-cultural group members, nonassertive behavior includes actions where individuals are inhibited and non-confrontational while putting the needs of others before their own (Orbe, 2012; 1998).

In contrast, aggressive communicative behaviors include actions more hurtfully expressive, self-promoting, and controlling where individuals put self needs before the needs of others. Reflecting a balance between non-assertiveness and aggressiveness, assertive behaviors encompass self- and other-enhancing, expressive communication that takes into account the needs of both self and others (Orbe and Robert, 2004).

## **2.10. Communication Orientation of Non-Dominant Groups**

Communication orientation refers to specific stances that co-cultural group members assume during their everyday interactions (Orbe & Robert, 2012).

According to Orbe (1998) communication orientation is primarily influenced by two components, communication approach and preferred outcome, but is also influenced by the other four factors (field of experience, perceived costs and rewards, capability, and situational context).

These are inherently interdependent and, taken collectively; represent a holistic framework for understanding co-cultural strategic decisions.

*Situated within a particular field of experience that governs their perceptions of the costs and rewards associated with, as well as their ability to engage in, various communicative practices, co-cultural group members will adopt certain communication orientations—based on their preferred outcomes and communication approaches to fit the circumstances of a specific situation (Orbe, 1998: 108).*

Each communication orientation is primarily defined through a specific preferred outcome (assimilation, accommodation, or separation) and communication approach (nonassertive, assertive, or aggressive), and includes specific practices that are associated with each combination of these two factors.

#### **NONASSERTIVE ASSIMILATION**

Some co-cultural group members seek to fit within dominant society and typically put the needs of others before their own. These efforts are enacted in a seemingly, yet sometimes strategically, inhibited manner. As described in a nonassertive assimilation stance typically employs co-cultural communicative practices like emphasizing commonalities and censoring self as a means to blend into dominant society.

**ASSERTIVE ASSIMILATION:** This orientation strives to downplay co-cultural differences and become absorbed into the dominant society through a more assertive communication approach. Through such practices as overcompensating, extensive preparation, and bargaining, co-cultural group members attempt to fit into dominant structures by highlighting the quality of their contributions as individuals.

**AGGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION:** An aggressive assimilation orientation to co-cultural communication assumes a determined, sometimes belligerent, approach to efforts to fit in with



dominant group members. As seen in Table 1, individuals operating from this orientation use such practices as strategic distancing or mirroring. Co-cultural group members who enact these practices place great importance on fitting into the extent that others' rights and beliefs are deemed as less important in comparison.

**NONASSERTIVE ACCOMMODATION:** A nonassertive accommodation orientation to co-cultural communication attempts to invoke change through a somewhat constrained and non-confrontational manner. This particular co-cultural orientation includes such practices as dispelling stereotypes and increasing visibility. Some may suggest that some instances of these strategic efforts may be considered more assertive than nonassertive, yet co-cultural group members describe using these practices as a delicate way to influence dominant group members (Orbe, 1998).

**ASSERTIVE ACCOMMODATION:** An assertive accommodation co-cultural orientation seeks a balance between attending to self and others' needs as they work to transform societal structures. A number of different co-cultural practices (e.g., communicating self and educating others) appear to promote accommodation through an assertive communication approach. The goal is to change existing dominant structures so that they increasingly reflect co-cultural experiences.

**AGGRESSIVE ACCOMMODATION:** Adopting an aggressive accommodation orientation involves attempts to become part of dominant societal structures and then work from within to promote change. Two particular co-cultural practices that are associated with this orientation are using confrontational tactics and power moves to gain advantage. Although these practices may be aggressive in nature, they also reflect a genuine desire to work with, and not necessarily against, dominant group members to promote societal change.

**NONASSERTIVE SEPARATION:** Co-cultural separation can occur with little communicative effort. Yet, some co-cultural group members do use nonassertive communicative practices to maintain a separation orientation during co-cultural group interactions. As described in, co-cultural communicative practices like avoiding and maintaining interpersonal barriers are enacted non-assertively to facilitate co-cultural separation. For those individuals who adopt this primary orientation, physical avoidance is enacted whenever possible.

**ASSERTIVE SEPARATION:** People who adopt an assertive separation orientation are more confident and self-assured in their attempts to create co-cultural spaces that do not welcome dominant group members. Practices that can effectively establish an assertive separation orientation include exemplifying strengths and embracing stereotypes. From the perspective of different co-cultural group members, other practices such as communicating self and intra group networking also appear useful for both assertive separation and assertive accommodation orientations depending on the person's intention.

**AGGRESSIVE SEPARATION:** This particular orientation exerts personal power through the use of co-cultural communicative practices like sabotaging dominant group efforts and verbal attacking. It is important to recognize that the levels of co-cultural personal and organizational power do not match the societal power bases of dominant group members. However, they do enable some individual's to confront the pervasiveness of dominant structures on an individualized level.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The main objective of this thesis is to explore into co-cultural communication between Manjo and Dojo in Sheka zone. Using the co-cultural communication theory, this thesis looks deep into the communication strategy, orientation, influential factors and practices used by the marginalized Manjo people whenever interacting with the ‘Ashi-yero’ - ‘*super-people*’, the Donjo people. This part of the research discusses the research method employed to study the subject matter.

#### 3.1. Research Design

In order to explore the lived experience of Manjo people, the research adopted qualitative research method. Since the research is concerned with the meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things, the researcher used qualitative method. Supporting this Vanderstoep & Johnston (2009) argued that qualitative research focuses on the meanings of experiences by exploring how people define, describe, and metaphorically make sense of these experiences.

Qualitative research helps to fully understand and grasp the whole concept in a particular culture. Drew (2001) pointed out that qualitative research is useful for understanding a range of societal issues that arise from particular cultural contexts.

Above all qualitative research focuses on giving a voice to people at the margins of a culture (Vanderstoep & Johnston, 2009). Based on the above arguments, qualitative research has become the favored methodology for those scholars doing Marxist, feminist, gay and lesbian, and cultural studies. Thus, the study employed qualitative research method.

From the plethora of qualitative research methods, the researcher chose phenomenological research method, as suggested by Orbe (1998) and Van Manen (1990) to effectively study the lived experiences of the Manjo people.

Phenomenology is an umbrella term encompassing both a philosophical movement and a range of research approaches. According to Maykut & Morehouse (1994) and Kafle (2011) phenomenology has been conceptualized as a philosophy, a research method and an overarching perspective from which all qualitative research is sourced.

The phenomenological movement was initiated by Husserl (1859-1838) as a radically new way of doing philosophy. Later theorists, such as Heidegger (1889-1976), recasted the phenomenological project, moving away from a philosophical discipline which focuses on consciousness and essences of phenomena towards elaborating existential and hermeneutic (interpretive) dimensions (Van Manen, 1990; Orbe, 1998; Kafle, 2011).

Phenomenology is one of the human sciences which studies about the world people live as they experience it (Van Manen, 1990; Orbe, 1998). Welman and Kruger (1999) also pointed out that phenomenology is concerned with understanding social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of the people involved. Therefore, the aim of phenomenology is to construct an animating, evocative description (text) of human actions, behaviors, intentions, and experiences as we meet them in the life world.

From the above statement one can understand that a researcher applying phenomenology is concerned with the lived experiences of the people involved, or who were involved, with the issue that is being researched. Supporting this Creswell (1998) argued that Phenomenological

Research is a recommended methodology when the study goals are to understand the meanings of human experiences or to explore concepts from new and fresh perspectives.

One of the inevitable everyday life experiences is the co-cultural communication between people from different background or way of life. As Orbe (1998) depicted, the fundamental stance of phenomenology appears especially fitting in the exploration of co-cultural communications. This is mainly because phenomenology aims at gaining a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences (Van Manen, 1990).

The next part explicates the major assumption of phenomenological research method from the view point of this study.

## **Basic Assumptions**

Phenomenological research has different assumptions which are the bases for its tenets and principles.

Van Mannen (1990) and Orbe (1998) in their books pointed out five assumption of Phenomenological research methodology. For the purpose of this study, a summary of the main points of the works of the two scholars is presented hereunder.

The **first assumption** states that in phenomenological research being completely objective is impossible. This is mainly because the researcher studies deep in the life of the subject being studied. Phenomenology requires researchers to acknowledge the ways in which they position themselves in the life they trying to understand (Orbe, 1998).

In this regards, the researcher of this study has done a self-assessment to differentiate his preconceived biases, ideas and subjectivity from the research. Being one of the members of the Shekacho ethnic group, which includes the Manjo people, the researcher is very close to the

subjects of the study and is immersed in the process of data gathering. Yet, while being in this position the researcher bracketed his bias, subjective judgment and stayed true to the *Co-researchers* by using the phenomenological reduction and bracketing techniques which are discussed later in this chapter.

In addition, the researcher is from a mixed ethnic group family and born in the central Ethiopia. His families were one the few to fight for Manjo people by breaking the socially constructed line and hosting Manjo members in their home.

Moreover, as an academic researcher, the researcher is also indebted to the ethics, standards and accountability of professionalism and academic responsibility.

The **second assumption** is that phenomenology seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the nature and meaning of everyday experience (Van Manen, 1990; Fiske, 1991). In order to understand the co-cultural communication of the marginalized minority Manjo, the researcher made long interview sessions with every *co-researcher*. The researcher also empowered every *co-researcher* to express some critical incidents they had, by making a month long interviewing, observation and noting. By interviewing purposely selected 10 Manjo *co-researchers* in person, the research tried to go deep into their life experience and stories.

The **third assumption** discusses the fundamental point of departure for phenomenology research from traditional research methods. Phenomenological research is a methodology to find out life experiences that are not traced before by researches. But, a traditional research method specifies what it predicts beforehand (Orbe, 1998).

Traditional research methods are deductive and based on pre-settled assumption and mainly hypothesis. Phenomenological research gives the full freedom for the subject under study to

disclose itself. And the question is not getting a proof to land on judgment rather as Van Manen (1990) pointed out, phenomenology is discover oriented and its questions are meaning questions. Such questions cannot be resolved; rather they are supposed to bring a meaning behind the subject under study.

The **fourth assumption** is the view that “phenomenology studies phenomenon as it is, in an open and unconstructive way” (Orbe, 1998: 36). The research is an inductive rather than a preconceived hypothesis. In order to achieve this, Orbe suggested researchers to use a process of bracketing themselves. This study as described in chapter one and here this study is an inductive qualitative research. The researcher of this study bracketed all his preconceived assumptions and biases and tried to gain full life experience of the The Manjo people based on study objective and the research questions. The research tried to reveal the facts as they were told by the The Manjo people and are interpreted based on scientifically proved ways of phenomenological research methods.

The **Final assumption** argues about the correct terminology to use when expressing the life experience and the people under study. For Phenomenologists, phenomenology studies about persons not individuals. Orbe (1998) depicted that the word ‘*persons*’ refers to the uniqueness of each human being, as the word ‘*individual*’ refers to any number of things. Furthermore, the persons involved in the research are called ***co-researchers*** rather than the traditional words; participant, subject or narrators. The change of this terminology stands politically correct and defines the way in which the researcher approaches the inquiry (Richar and Orbe, 1998).

Regarding the word to express the life experience, phenomenologists use the word ***Capta*** rather than Data. Lanigan (1979) in Van Manen (1990) pointed out that phenomenology focuses on

researching conscious experience (*Capta*) rather than hypothetical situations (data). Orbe (1998:38) affirms Lanigan's stand; "the word *co-researchers* to refer to what is taken from experience and allows people to assign meaning to themselves".

Accordingly, the researcher used the word *co-researcher* to refer to Manjo under study and the word *Capta* to express the life experiences gathered from them.

Based on the above assumption this research went deep into the Manjo cultural communication and life experience with the Donjo group members and interpreted as is, from the possible bracketed position.

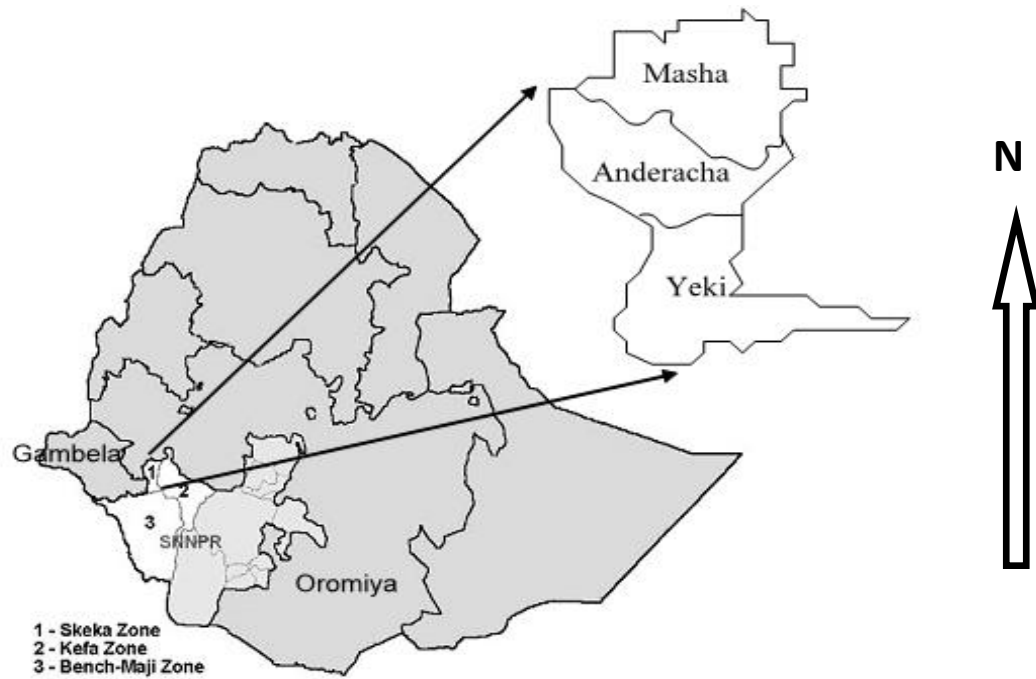
### **3.2. Study Area**

The Sheka Zone is located in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) Regional State. Geographically, the Zone lies between 7°24'–7°52' N latitude and 35°13'–35°35' E longitude. The Zone has three *Woreda's* (districts), namely the Masha, Anderacha and Yeki (Figure 1).

In total, there are 56 rural and 7 urban *kebeles* in the three *woreda's*. Sheka Zone covers about 2175.25 km<sup>2</sup>, out of which, 47% is covered by forest, including bamboo.

The altitudinal range of the areas in the Zone falls between 900–2700 m above sea level, and it receives high amount of rainfall, with an average of 1800–2200 mm annually. With a population of 200,000 (CSA, 2008), Sheka zone is a home for many ethnic groups, and mainly the dominant of *Shekachos'* ethnic group. According to Teshome et al. (1994 e.c), different ethnic groups reside in the zone including Amhara, Oromo, Tigre and Kafa ethnic groups.





**Figure 1: Sheka Zone Map. (Courtesy of MELCA MAHIBER)**

The zone borders with Oromia Region to the North, *Kafa* Zone to the East, and Bench *Maji* Zone to the South and Gambela Region from west. The dominant language in the zone is the indigenous *Shekinono*. But languages like Amharic, Oromifa, Tigrigna, Kafinono and other languages are also used widely.

The specific area under study is Masha woreda. This town is selected because it is the administration capital of the Zone and the home town of the researcher. In Masha *Woreda* there are about 60,000 residents, from which 3,000 [estimation of Melca Mahiber] are members of the Manjo group scattered all over the *Woreda*. Selecting this area helped the researcher to gain full access to the bureaucracy, available related documents and willing participants for the study.

### **3.3. *Capta* Gathering Tools**

As explained in the last assumption of phenomenological research method deliberated above, the word *Capta* in phenomenology refers to what is taken from experience and allows people to assign meaning to themselves.

In order to gain a full understanding of a lived experience, Van Manen (1990) and Orbe (1998) suggested different types of *Capta* gathering methods.

For the persistence of this study the researcher used unstructured in-depth interview, personal observation, critical incident and field notes.

#### **3.3.1. Unstructured In-depth Interview**

The most common and overwhelmingly dominant technique used to collect *capta* in phenomenological study is in-depth interview (Van Manen, 1990; Yin, 2011). This is because in-depth interviewing involves conducting intensive individual interviews with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation (Boyce and Neal, 2006).

In order to explore into the co-cultural communication of Manjo, 10 *co-researchers* were chosen purposely. The need to use in-depth interview technique is to see the life through the eye of the person from the Manjo themselves. This tool helped the researcher to fully grasp the context and understand the lived experience of the Manjo people.

As to the type of questions that were used for the in-depth interviews, the researcher chose unstructured in-depth interviews. Researchers who prefer to use unstructured interviews generally do not have an interview guide or a prepared series of questions. The researcher will

instead spend time building rapport and allowing each participant to shape how they want to talk about the subject of the study using open ended questions (Briggs, 1986).

Open-ended questions have the ability to evoke responses that are meaningful and culturally salient to the participant, unanticipated by the researcher, rich and descriptive in nature. The *co-researchers* were urged to use their own words, not those predefined by the researcher, when describing their lived experience.

The interview tone was conversational and friendly. Yin (2011), suggests conversational mode in qualitative interviews. This is because conversational lets the *co-researchers* to communicate in a natural and everyone's routine spoken communications. Because the researcher speaks the indigenous language, *Shekinono*, which is also used by Manjo, the conversational interview helped in getting the full *Capta* out of the *co-researchers*. The researcher entered the conversation with flexible questions and probes, even with just a list of bullet points as suggested by Creswell (1998). The questions were all open ended and are conducted in April 2015 for 30 consecutive days.

### **3.3.2. Critical Incidents**

The other technique used to gather *Capta* from *co-researchers* in phenomenology was critical incident. As Patton (1983) pointed out in Orbe (1998), this method is used to get the *co-researchers* perspective on their lived experience.

The strategy of this technique is to uncover the past communication interaction *co-researchers* have. This allows the researcher to describe self-selected events of significance from their own perspective (Orbe, 1998).

The researcher urged Manjo *co-researchers* to describe past communication incidents they have with Donjo members. Above all that, critical incident helped the researcher to gain phenomenological descriptions which are told by the *co-researchers* own words and terms. Besides as Van Mannen (1990) rightly pointed out phenomenological description is collected by lived experience and recollects the lived experience which validates the lived experience.

### **3.3.3. Observation**

Observing can be an invaluable way of collecting *Capta*, this is because as Yin, (2011) pointed out what a researcher sees in his/her own eyes and perceive with own senses are not filtered by what others might have reported to him/her.

The researcher observed the living area of Manjo and witnessed the way Manjo and Donjo members' converse. This areas are where the two groups interact so as to sell and buy things, to make and receive work order (the work order is given by Donjo members), on group works from building house to a group assignment in schools.

So, the researcher visited and observed The Manjo people interaction on Wednesdays and Saturdays while selling and buying products from market places in Masha town. The two days are chosen because the local big market happens on these days.

The researcher also went to Manjo village to observe their everyday life activities and listened and noted their interaction within their group and the Donjo members. The researcher gave a careful attention to record his observational times and locations.

In order to avoid any bias and bracket prejudgments, as suggested by Van Manen (1990) and Yin (2011), the researcher had observed such events and other activities in multiple days, different occasions and slightly different locations.

### 3.3.4. Field Notes

‘Memoing’, as suggested by Miles & Huberman (1984), is another important data collection/source in phenomenological qualitative research. Memoing’ is the researcher’s field notes recording: what the researcher hears, sees experiences and thinks in the course of collecting and reflecting on the process. According to Glaser, cited by Miles and Huberman (1984), a memo is a theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationship as they strike the analysis while coding: it can be sentence, a paragraph or a few pages.

The main purpose of taking a field note is to make it possible to understand the unstructured in-depth interview text in relation to its context field notes are taken during the interview, i.e. arrangements, interruptions, etc. are noted (Lindseth and Norberg, 2004).

The researcher took a memo whenever he met Manjo member. But more frequently when word and expressions used by previous *co-researcher* was used again by another *co-researcher*. This helped the researcher in thematically categorizing the findings and paved the way to analyze them according to the lived experience as recommended by Van Manen, (1990).

Before all this is done, Orbe (2012) suggests three important guidelines when gathering phenomenological descriptions. The very guideline is that the researcher should attend the phenomena of experience as it reveals itself. The researcher of this study actually went to Sheka Zone, Masha *Woreda* and gathered the whole description by meeting Manjo group members face to face.

The second point Orbe suggests that the researcher and *co-researchers* to focus on describing the phenomena not explaining it. This guideline is also used to collect detailed and vivid life experience of the Manjo people. The interview question used for this study were open ended

and the researcher always encouraged the respondents to describe their lived experience as it is. The researcher also bracketed the preconceived notion he had on the *co-researchers* and allowed the phenomena to reveal itself.

Finally, the phenomenological researcher has a responsibility of viewing each *co-researcher* equally. In order to implement this, as suggested by Van Mannen (1990), interview protocols and the research questions were bracketed so that every description was viewed equally important. The researcher never compared the view of the *co-researchers* with each other, rather the gathered *Capta* was transcribed as it was told by the Manjo *co-researchers*.

### **3.4. Sampling Techniques**

Sampling is very important because, in most cases, it is not practical to study all the members of a population. For the purpose of this study two types of sampling techniques were employed: purposive and snow ball sampling.

The researcher, basing Creswell (1998) recommendation of long interviews with up to 10 people for a phenomenological study, chose 10 Manjo *co-researchers* for this study. This was mainly for the reason that the research is a qualitative study of people life. Conforming this, Hycne (1985) argues that doing this kind of phenomenological research for the most part requires only a limited number of people to be interviewed given the vast amount of data that emerges from even one interview. Besides, phenomenological research focus is of course on qualitative issues, not quantitative.

The researcher chose two sampling techniques to get the most representative and appropriate for the methodology of the study: purposive sampling and snow ball sampling.

### **3.4.1. Purposive Sampling**

The researcher used purposive sampling, because it is considered as the most important kind of non-probability sampling to identify the primary *co-researchers* (Welman & Kruger, 1999).

Most co-cultural communication and phenomenological qualitative researchers like Van Manen (1990); Orbe & Camara, (2010 ); Ramírez-Sánchez (2008) and Orbe and Richard, (2012) at the very least, engage in purposeful sampling, which means that researcher purposefully chose *Capta* that fit the parameters of the research questions, goals, and purposes.

The researcher chose 10 *co-researchers* from Manjo group members. The reason to select 10 *co-researchers* was to manage the gathered *Capta* and describe after understanding the whole and detail meaning of the text that come out of it. Moreover, Creswell (1998,) recommends long interviews with up to 10 people for phenomenological study.

These 10 *co-researchers* are selected from 3 *kebeles* of Masha *woreda*. This diversified nature of the location of the *co-researchers* helped the researcher to gain different and rich perspective about the Manjo co-cultural communication lived experience.

### **3.4.2. Snowball Sampling**

Another method for reaching difficult-to-access or hidden populations was snowball sampling. The researcher began by identifying several participants who fit the study's criteria and then ask these people to suggest a colleague, a friend, or a family member (Tracy, 2013). Fiske (1990), also notes that snowball samples are often well poised for investigating organic social networks and marginalized populations.

This technique of sampling was used to get Manjo *co-researchers* with rich life experience. This was done by asking purposely selected *co-researchers* to suggest other well-known Manjo members for their wit and life experience.

### 3.5. Phenomenological Interpretations

Unlike other methodologies, phenomenology cannot be reduced to a 'cook book' set of instructions; it's more an approach, an attitude, an investigative posture with a certain set of goals (Hycne, 1985).

What Hycne posits in his argument is that no method should be imposed to analyze and conclude the lived experience of some group under study, arbitrarily. Yet, there are some guidelines that are forwarded by the phenomenological research scholars.

The researcher used Hycne's (1985), Van Manen's (1990), Orbe's (1998) and Lindseth and Norberg's, (2004) suggestions to interpret the lived experience of Manjo people.

The next part discusses the steps taken to present and interpret the *Capta* gathered from Manjo *co-researcher*.

#### 3.5.1. Transcribing the *Capta*

The first step of phenomenological interpretation is to transcribe the gathered *Capta*. This phase demands the researcher to listen and transcribe all the interviews, arrange the observation and synchronize the field note with the interview, horizontally without making any notations.

Here the researcher is expected to include the literal statements and as much as possible noting significant non-verbal and para-linguistic communications too (Orbe, 1998). The main motive behind Orbe's argument is to give the chance for the *co-researchers* voice to be heard, as it is. To be effective when transcribing a *Capta*, Lindseth and Norberg, (2004) advisess phenomena researchers to make the *co-researchers* feel free to relate their experience in order to guarantee that the interviewee's voice is heard in the interview text.



To get the *co-researchers* voice heard, this phase demands the researcher to listen to the entire tape several times as well as reading the transcription a number of time which provides a context for the emergence of specific units of meaning and themes later on.

Accordingly, the researcher of this study transcribed and listened over and over again the interview tapes of the Manjo *co-researchers* and took notes for specific units of meaning so as to make a cluster.

The final touch of transcribing a *Capta* demanded the researcher to listen to the interview and red the field notes once again. This yielded a table of the transcribed interview with all its verbatim and pauses, which are marked by empty intervals in the transcribed text. As per Lindseth and Norberg, 2004) and Hycne's (1985) nonverbal and para-lingual communication *Capta* that seem relevant were also marked in the text.

### **3.5.2. Phenomenological Reduction**

Phenomenological reduction is a very critical phase of the phenomenological research. In order to interpret a lived experience, first, the researcher systematically reduced unwanted *Capta*, his personal preconceived biases and other orientation from the study. This process is called *Phenomenological Reduction*.

Phenomenological Reduction as Orbe (1998) and Hycne (1985) explained it is a conscious, effortful, opening of our selves to the phenomenon as a phenomenon. This is to mean that the researcher should listen to the words that were spoken; listen for the meaning as they eventually emerged from the event as a whole is to have adopted an attitude of openness to the phenomenon in its inherent meaningfulness.

In order to accomplish phenomenological reduction the researcher has to 'bracket' his response to separate parts of the conversation and to have let the event emerge as a meaningful whole (Keen, 1975 cited in Hycne 1985: 280).

This argument is also backed by the father of phenomenology Edmund Husserl. Husserl in Lindseth and Norberg (2004) pointed out the need for bracketing as:

The natural attitude is an attitude in which we judge— and have already made judgements [hypothesis] – about the existence of phenomena. We already know, we conclude, we state the facts and take for granted what is meant. To shift to the phenomenological attitude we must refrain from making judgements about the factual. We must accomplish *epoche* or *bracketing* (pp. 146).

What Husserl want to say is the easiest and the natural way of doing phenomenological research is to narrate from lived experience. Therefore, the researcher by narrating the phenomenon of Manjo people naturally refrains from judging and concluding.

The researcher is not interested in stating facts, but in relating what the *co-researcher* have experienced (Lindseth and Norberg, 2004). By bracketing the preconceived judgments, the researcher opened himself to learn the natural experience of Manjo *co-researchers*. As per the main assumption the researcher made a self-assessment and came to learn his preconceived judgments. The main preconceived notions of the researcher are:

- Manjo are marginalized and become weak in their communications
- Manjo prefer to use an aggressive and forceful communication

By bracketing the above stated biases the researcher made himself opened to the phenomena that were described by Manjo *co-researchers*.

### 3.5.3. Thematic Interpretation of *Capta*

Following transcribing the *Capta*, pre-identifying meaning out of the interview and bracketing the entire preconceived notion, the researcher asked what essential characteristics and similar experience were there in the expressed meaning the Manjo had.

Phenomenological themes may be understood as the structures of experience. As van Manen depicted when analyzing a phenomenon, the researcher should try to determine what the themes are and the experiential structures that make up that experience (Van Manen, 1990).

This is a process of getting at the essence of the meaning expressed in a word, phrase, sentence, paragraph or significant non-verbal communication (Hycne, 1985). The process of analysis demands a crystallization and abridgment of what the *co-researcher* had said, still using as much as possible the literal words of the participant. In other words at this stage the researcher categorizes the transcribed interview and clusters same experience and answers together. As Van Manen said it would be simple if we see themes as conceptual formulations or categorical statements.

But, before all this is done, the researcher engaged in profound reading to gain understanding of the whole text of the lived experience. Lindseth and Norberg, (2004) recommend that the text should be read several times in order to grasp its meaning as a whole. To do this it is necessary for the researcher to be open enough to allow the text to speak for it self.

By intense reading, the researcher of this study got typical several thematic descriptions and an understanding of the lived experiences, incidents and other walks of life from the Manjo *co-researchers*.

Following this, by reviewing the thematically categorized *Capta* the researcher eliminated redundant response gathered from *co-researchers* and seeks for shared themes (Hycne, 1985).

In order to uncover themes, Van Manen (1990) suggested three approaches: holistic or *sententious* approach, selective or highlighting approach or detailed or line-by-line approach.

The researcher used the last approach in uncovering the themes for this study.

Detailed or line-by-line approach of uncovering themes, as described by Van Manen (1990) means to read each sentence or sentence cluster carefully and ask what each sentence or sentence cluster seems to reveal about the phenomenon.

The thematically categorized *Capta* were then sorted and the similar *Capta* were further condensed and sometimes even abstracted to form sub-themes, which are assembled to themes, which are then assembled into main themes.

After uncovering the themes the researcher interpreted the *Capta* gathered from the *co-researchers* using thematic analysis. Lindseth and Norberg, (2004) explained why the best method to interpret the lived experience of people is using thematic analysis;

....thematic analysis is a way of seeking to identify and formulate themes. A theme is a thread of meaning that penetrates text parts, either all or just a few. It is seen as conveying an essential meaning of lived experience (pp. 149).

Supporting the above argument Hycne, (1985) and Van Manen (1990) suggests the researcher to interrogate all the clusters of meaning to determine if there is one or more central themes which expresses the essence of these clusters and that portion of the transcript.

Here the researcher was involved in finding important themes and ideas of how this themes related to one another. In order to capture the meaning of lived experience the research did not formulate the themes as abstract concepts, but rather as condensed descriptions. The researcher

formulated themes in a way that discloses meaning (Lindseth and Norberg, 2004). This is because the aim of interpreting phenomenon thematically is to discover the interrelatedness among the themes that link the phenomenon under investigation with consciousness (Nelson, 1989 in Orbe, 1998).

Therefore, after finding the possible themes from the speech of Manjo, the condensed meaning units were read through and reflected on regarding similarities, differences and other inter-related experiences.

When dealing with this phase, the researcher once again implemented phenomenological reduction to not lose objectivity. As Orbe rightly pointed out, the process of simultaneously thematizing, bracketing, interpreting and then beginning the process again is mandatory in phenomenological study (1998).

This was achieved by decontextualizing the meaning units from the *Capta* gathered from the *co-researchers* as a whole, i.e. considering the text parts as independently as possible from their context in the *Capta*, as Lindseth and Norberg, (2004), suggested.

#### **3.5.4. Comprehensive Understanding (Interpreting the Whole)**

Once again the researcher went back to the narration of the co-researchers and read the transcribed *Capta* and thematic categorization, so as to gain the whole concept. After reading for the whole meaning, the researcher summarized the main themes, themes and sub-themes and reflected on in relation to the research questions and the context of the study.

Subsequently, the researcher of this study, based on the understanding of the whole *Capta*, critically reflected and interpreted the *Capta*, while remaining true to the phenomenon (Hycne, (1985); Orbe, (1998); Lindseth and Norberg, (2004)).

At this point the researcher related the interpretation with the available literature as suggested by Van Manen (1990). But, as Lindseth and Norberg, (2004) cautioned researcher did not force the literature's perspective on the gathered *Capta* but let the chosen literature illuminate the interview text and interview text illuminate the chosen literature.

### **3.5.5. Writing the Findings**

What the scholars reflected on the above point is that, relating the findings with a literature widens the view point of the researcher and backups the findings with scientific arguments.

Through all this when writing the findings and interpreting the lived experience, the researcher is advised to use everyday language as close to lived experience as possible.

Conforming to this, Orbe (1998), Van Manen (1990) and Lindseth and Norberg (2004) pointed out that everyday language emanates from elemental lived experience. When researcher tries to express the meaning of lived experience s/he therefore uses everyday language rather than abstract well-defined scientific language. Conforming to the scholar's suggestions, the researcher used narrative language. This is mainly because narrative language often involves poetic expressions. Poetic language makes the words mean as much as they can and creates mood, which reveals possible ways of being in the world and 'shows a deeper mode of belonging to reality'.

Therefore the above stated suggestions and steps are implemented when exploring the lived experience of Manjo people and analyzing the *Capta* gathered from the Manjo *co-researchers*. The next chapter presents the major findings and discusses the *co-researcher* lived experience using research methodology and the theoretical frame work discussed in chapter two.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter narrates, describes and interprets the lived experience of the Manjo people interaction with Donjo members. As described in the previous sections, the study explicates Manjo people co-cultural communication experience using co-cultural communication theory and phenomenological research method.

As it is acknowledged in literatures, co-cultural communication theory dictates that (Orbe, (1998); Orbe, (2004); Rami'ez-sa'nchez, (2008) and Orbe & Roberts (2012)), societies are structured in hierarchical terms. This hierarchy creates a dominant position for certain cultural groups while other groups are maintained in the margins. Marginalized groups like Manjo, in this respect, can be seen as co-cultures, or groups that co-exist within the dominant, Donjo, cultural sphere. Thus, co-cultural theory is applied to look into how Manjo group members interact with dominant groups in society and are directly influenced by the situated experiences.

The study employed phenomenological research method and to collect *Capta* from Manjo, the researcher conducted unstructured in-depth interview with purposely selected 10 Manjo *co-researchers* as the major *Capta* gathering method. The in-depth interview aimed at witnessing the lived experience of Manjo *co-researcher* as it reveals itself. In addition to in-depth interview, the researcher also instigated *co-researcher* observation and filed note as *Capta* gathering technique.

Accordingly, to answer the research questions the gathered *Capta* is presented and discussed in five major themes. The first part presents the co-cultural status of Manjo. It discusses the manifestation of Manjo co-cultural status in through their everyday interactions. The next part

explicates the co-cultural communication practice of Manjo people. This theme discusses the different strategies Manjo members use when communicating with the dominant Donjo members. The third theme narrates the influential factors Manjo consider when interacting with the dominant group members. This section deals with the communication power balance, context, experience and communication outcome that are considered by the co-cultural groups like Manjo. The last two themes deal with Manjo people conflict resolution and communication styles.

A reader should note that the superscripts at the end of the *co-researchers* narration depicted hereunder leads to the *shekinono* version attached at the appendix 2 and used as a code when interpreting the *capta* in Discussion of Findings.

#### **4.1. Data Presentation and Analysis**

##### **Brief profile of *Co-researchers***

All *co-researchers* are members of Manjo community. To give the highlight of their current condition and to understand the level of their lived experiences, the *co-researchers* profile is presented here under. The researcher used only the Ethiopian first name of the Manjo *co-researchers*, as they didn't want to disclose their full name, except for Bekele.

1. **SHODITO:** Male, 55 years old. He has his own land and supports his family with farming and like his members selling fuel wood and charcoal. He has a wife, but children.
2. **SHANNO:** 58 years old man. He has a farm land; predominantly he supports his life selling charcoal.



3. **DIBABA:** Male, 54, attended formal primary education until he quit because of the marginalization in the 1960s. He has children and supports his family selling wood, honey and working as a laborer.
4. **ALEMU** is a 30 years old father of two. He leads his life selling forest products: fuel wood, honey, coffee and charcoal.
5. **BEKELE ENDASHAW:** Male, AGE 20, attended formal education and took the national secondary school living examination before three years. He serves as a security officer at the local protestant church. He is hymnist at the protestant church.
6. **ASKALE** is 38 years old house wife and mother of 3 children. As the rest Manjo people. Her family's main income is from wood and charcoal selling. She says she works hard every day, so that her children won't get out of school.
7. **AKAKE** is 45 years old mother with her 7 children. She supports her family selling charcoal and wood. She has her own land and shares it with her first son.
8. **ADINO:** he didn't want to say anything about his profile. From observation he is a 40 years old strong man.
9. **AZALECH:** 80 years old very old woman. She lives with her widowed daughter. She is a neighbor of Endashaw, one of the *co-researcher*.
10. **ENDASHAW:** 70 years old Man who has 4 grandchildren's. He has his own farm land. He raised 8 children including one of the *co-researchers* Bekele. He has been selected as a *Shengo* (committee) member during Dergue regime. He still represents Manjo people in many government meetings.

#### 4.1.1 Manjo People Co-cultural Status

From the discussions in chapter one and chapter two, one can deduce that Manjo people constitute a co-cultural group within the *Shakacho* ethnic group. Yet, many of Manjo *co-researchers* pointed out that the marginalization is beyond economic, political, cultural or social life; the marginalization is manifested in every day activity and interaction. This is exemplified by all *co-researches*. To elucidate the co-cultural status of Manjo people, the study found *Capta* driven clusters multiple marginalizations: being an ‘outsider’, the traditional power relation and the spatial references. The marginalization is a multi-level exclusion ranging from everyday greetings to hierarchical power relations.

**‘Outsiders’ in their own community:** One of the manifestations of the marginalization is Manjo exemption from entering to Donjo’s house. For instance, let us see the following narrations.

**Shanno:** Still, they never let us to get into their home- when we go to their house. <sup>[1]</sup>

**Shodito:** Donjo members never allow us to live together or eat together with them. We live in the woods; [*stressed voice*] outside the society. <sup>[2]</sup>

**Alemu:** we are Shekocho too. But, [*excels his breath*] even if we speak Shekinono, our living style is very different. We are not together. We never eat together. <sup>[3]</sup>

**Addino:** when I went to school in my early days, they [Donjo] made me get out of school, because they thought by just being in the class with them, I might spit on or slap them. <sup>[4]</sup>

Talking about school life the 20 years old and the 10<sup>th</sup> grader Bekele recounts what made him feel more marginalized and furious about Donjo classmates.

**Bekele:** In my school time, my class mate uses the word Manjo as derogative word.

Whenever they want to insult someone they mad at, they call them ‘Manjo’, even if he is a member of Donjo. They never touch us, as if we were inviolable people. <sup>[5]</sup>

Similarly, a woman *co-researcher* also pointed out that the marginalization is manifested in her everyday life.

**Askale:** When we clean their compound, they never let us clean the place around their house. <sup>[6]</sup>

But for Manjo people, like Akake, the above is not the case. She narrates Donjo member accept her and live with her in harmony and even let her get into their houses.

**Akake:** Donjo members never undermined me. They never pushed me away. <sup>[7]</sup>

From the *co-researchers* answers, we understand that the marginalization is manifested throughout their daily routine life.

In addition to the above narratives, Manjo people are marginalized from the major social and cultural events that are ought to strengthen the tie between members of the society. The major social events in *Shekacho* society are wedding ceremonies, funeral and ‘*daffo*’ - a traditional event where people gather to help each other in building houses or clearing bare land. But *co-researchers* recount that because they are Manjo they never got invited to such events.

**Alemu:** If there is ‘*Daffo*’ [*traditional system of helping each other when someone build house or clears bare land for farm*], they [Donjo] never call up on us. They just do it with other Donjo members. <sup>[8]</sup>

**Askale:** Donjo won't invite us to their weddings. Even in case of funerals we go by our own will, if we know the dead well. Donjo always excludes us. <sup>[9]</sup>

Alemu and Askale stories shows Manjo are excluded from major societal events for mere reason of being Manjo. Askale asserts by not being invited to such events, the Manjo people feel lowliness in their own society.

The marginalization is also manifested through economic embargoes. This can be seen in Manjo being excluded from selling food and beverages in the market. Donjo members buy their food that is not prepared in Manjo house. *Co-researchers* like Alemu describe a similar experience:

Donjo members never buy a thing from us. What they pay is only for honey, '*Gejjo*' – a wood used for building house, or fuel wood only. <sup>[10]</sup>

From a co-cultural perspective, many of the experiences portrayed in Manjo are connected with the Donjo member's control of every power position to secure and attain their want. Orbe (1998, 2004) discussed that the dominant group members occupy most positions of power throughout society; these positions of influence are used to create and maintain societal structures that inherently benefit their interests. Thus, by excluding Manjo from different social, economic and cultural life, Donjo members make sure they are dominant over Manjo. By implementing different marginalization acts towards Manjo people, the dominant group in a given society, in this case Donjo, outcalls its power, consciously or unconsciously, create and maintain every systems that reflect, reinforce, and promote the Donjo ways of thinking and communicating. In societies like *Shekacho*, communicating each other starts with greetings. The way Manjo greet Donjo members also confirms their co-cultural status.

**Power Relations:** power resides on one's membership to social institutions and the roles that individuals hold in those institutions. This power is used to build a hierarchy and maintain a distance between the dominant and the 'subordinate'. This power relationship is manifested in many ways and dominant cultural groups attempt to perpetuate their positions of privilege using their power. Manjo people are not allowed to sit, eat, and shake hands with Donjo members. This can be seen in the narrations of the *co-researchers* of this study.

**Shodito:** Manjo members let alone sitting together, we are not allowed to stand on the same ground with Donjo. We never eat food together. They [Donjo] gave us a drink on a broken glass. They don't even give it directly. They gave us after they switch the drink to another glass. <sup>[11]</sup>

**ALEMU:** When we go to Donjo home, we sit down besides the fence. Our drinking glass is different. We never shake our hands with Donjo member. <sup>[12]</sup>

This type of exercising power by discriminating Manjo group member still exists in *Shekacho* society. Shodito affirms this:

**SHODITO:** We are never been allowed to get into their house. We stay outside and eat there. Still we sit outside the Donjo house on the veranda. If we reject to eat what they gave us, they always insult us. <sup>[13]</sup>

**ALEMU:** Donjo never invite us to thier home. It is forbidden to inter to Donjos' home. <sup>[14]</sup>

Donjo members also exercise their power over Manjo when they gather for the traditional and 'kebele' meetings. In such gatherings, the sitting arrangement provides the first and the upper sit for Donjo, while the Manjo sit behind and down the place. As most of the traditional meetings happen under a big tree, the land slope defines the up and the down positions.

According to the *co-researchers*, in such meetings Donjo members stand for their arguments firmly and reject the idea raised by Manjo members. This best narrated by some *co-researchers*:

**SHANNO:** Donjo only makes his point on meetings. They never heard our voice. If we ever got the chance to talk, they laugh at us. They didn't wish a better life for us. We have so many sorrows to talk about, but because they [Donjo members] ignore our point, we do not talk anymore. <sup>[15]</sup>

**ALEMU:** When we assemble for meeting, even if we have something to say, we never got the chance to say it out loud. If we tried to talk, someone from Donjo member orders us to 'shut up'. <sup>[16]</sup>

**AKAKE:** When I told them I have no place to leave and farm on, they said 'you don't need any farm land. What you thinking, do you want to be equal with us?' <sup>[17]</sup>

Donjo members use the power they have in every moment and place. In his lived experience Endashaw witnessed Donjo rejecting Manjo voices. The 20 year old Bekele also narrated how the Donjo member students made him feel at school by denying his fundamental right to talk.

**BEKELE:** my class mates never got the time to hear me out. When I raised my hand to answer the teachers' question in class, all Donjo students laughed at me. In my last school time, I never talk in the class. The surprising thing is they never laugh at other Donjo members even if their answer was wrong. <sup>[18]</sup>

**Endashaw:** In the past we are not allowed to ask. Donjo members didn't allow us to enter to their compound. We are not allowed to stand on their farm land.

When we go to their home, they say ‘stay down the fence and sit the, someone will be right with you’. <sup>[19]</sup>

***The Spatial Dimension:*** marginalization is also manifested by the residential dimension. As Allula (2001), pointed out spatial reference is one of the type of exclusion Manjo group members face. In the interview with Manjo *co-researchers* the spatial dimension of marginalization is depicted as one of the major tactics implemented by the dominant Donjo groups which made Manjo people feel like they ‘an outsider in their own society’.

**SHODITO:** Our life style and living condition is unknown. We hunt what is in the woods and live there. We never lived with Donjo member together. <sup>[20]</sup>

The spatial dimension of marginalization still persists in the study area. To interview women Manjo *co-researchers*, the researcher went 5 Kilo Meters out of the Masha town. Most of the Manjo people still live in a dense forest and their livelihood still depends on the forest. The researcher witnessed that their main income is generated through selling fuel wood and charcoal.

From the basic descriptions and assumption about co-cultural groups, and the response of the *co-researchers* deduces that Manjo are co-cultural groups. For instance the expressions of Shanno “Donjo only makes his point on meetings” and Alemu “....we never got the chance [to talk], “someone of a Donjo member tell us to ‘**shut up**’” shows the Donjo members have greater access to power than Manjo do. The Donjo members use harsh words and actions that made Manjo more marginalized and inferior. The word ‘Shut up’ while a person speaking shows one’s disregard for the other person. Arguing for such experiences, Orbe (1998) hierarchy of

power exists in each society which favors some group over others. The experiences of the co-cultural position of Manjo exemplify Orbe's argument.

#### **4.1.2. Co-Cultural Communicative Practices of Manjo**

As the literature review illustrated, co-cultural group members use different communication strategies when interacting to dominant group members. This is mainly because it is impossible to leave, for most of the co-cultural groups, without interacting with dominant group members.

When asked how they interact with the dominant group, Manjo *co-researcher* narrated the following experiences. Every time they meet a Donjo member, their communication starts with greeting with each other. But, in case of Manjo the words, tone and actions displayed when greeting Donjo shows how they make themselves a less person. Shanno remembers how he used to salute Donjo members:

**SHANNO:** In the past when greeting Donjo, I used to bow for Donjo members saying 'I am a lesser person; I live in the woods'. If the Donjo member is female, it was expected of me to say 'let me lay down on the ground' while bowing down. <sup>[21]</sup>

The *co-researchers* practiced same experience with Shanno. This *Capta* found that, because they use the phrase "I am a lesser person" every time they greet Donjo member, Manjo people feel they are a subordinate. Manjo people wording such as 'lesser', 'bow', 'lay down' are used invoking or participating in discourse, either passively or actively, even if the word are demeaning to them. This strategy is called Ridiculing-self (Orbe, 1998). Ridiculing-Self is a communicative strategy used by non-dominant group members to express themselves in view of getting what they desired by letting themselves down.



Manjo people still ridicule themselves in-front of Donjo members. This can be seen in the narrations of the following *co-researchers*. Even if they no longer use such words, they still present themselves as a lesser person. For instance we can see the following narration of Manjo *co-researcher*:

**Dibaba:** Now days, even if we no longer use the phrase ‘am a lesser person’ we still say  
*‘let me die on your behalf’* when greeting Donjo members. <sup>[22]</sup>

From the above explanation one can understand that ‘ridiculing-self’ communicative practice is still used by Manjo. In other communication contexts, Manjo people use different communicative practices. These practices vary from confronting the situations to avoiding interactions. The situations include request for a rights, market place negotiations, request for favor and many others.

Through observation, the study result depicts that Manjo tend to ask for favor or acquire materials for free from Donjo. In order to gain a favorable answer, Manjo overcompensates and begs Donjo member.

**Askale:** If I have nothing to eat, I beg for food. <sup>[23]</sup>

**Endashaw:** I always go to decent Donjo members for begging food. And then I say ‘I came to you for help....*my hand be rotten*...please give me some food’. If they gave me I eat, if not I got back to my hunger and my house. <sup>[24]</sup>

In other situations Manjo tend to exclude themselves from any activity that would make them interact with Donjo members. In such communication contexts, Manjo people disassociate

themselves from the society. In the stories of some of the *co-researchers*, it is common to see this communicative practice.

**ENDASHAW:** We are still marginalized. Because this I won't go to the gathering of Donjo. I never sit together. I never go where they go. <sup>[25]</sup>

Another experience of Askale and Shodito shows that Manjo people even exempt themselves from going to traditional events.

**ASKALE:** I won't go to Donjo wedding ceremonies, even if I'm invited. When we appear at Donjo events, they never see us as a human. So I never wanted to go there. <sup>[26]</sup>

**SHODITO:** I never attended the wedding ceremonies or funerals of Donjo members. Whenever Manjo attend they got overlooked by Donjo. Because of this, I never went to such events. I never approach or answer while a Donjo is speaking. <sup>[27]</sup>

This strategy is also used by Manjo people as a system of demarcation. Alemu practices disassociating communicative practice to show his independence.

Donjo lives by his own way and me on my own. I won't trespass to their territory. I never eat with them or live with them. <sup>[28]</sup>

But, in hard situation strategic disassociation may not be an option to follow. In such context Manjo member avoid any interaction with Donjo members. The *co-researchers* narrated as follows:

**Dibaba:** As far as we are in *Sheka*, there will never come a better day. So, I never want to talk to *Shekacho*. I never gave them salutations. I never answer what they ask me. I just live with Manjo and talk to ‘my people’. <sup>[29]</sup>

In other situations Manjo practice manipulation as their communication method. They talk what the Donjo wants to hear, so that they get what they want. This kind of communicative practice is best experienced by Akake.

When I approach Manjo, they always accept me and give me food. Sometimes they even give me money. As far as I tell them what they want and beg for help, Donjo members never let me down. <sup>[30]</sup>

But, for most of the Manjo members this is not the case. Akake, as per the researchers understanding and observation, is good at communication and has gained a respect and acceptance by Donjo members. Akake continues

I speak humbly to Donjo. I ask for what I need using my sarcasm. If I want more money for my labor, I work hard at the given job and ask for more money. And they always pay me. <sup>[31]</sup>

Other *co-researchers* narrated that they have to go beyond manipulation. They ridicule themselves, so that the Donjo member approached might feel sorry for them. In some situations this ridiculing self includes mentioning their being a lesser of the Donjo member and begging.

**Dibaba:** I get a help from Donjo member by implore. <sup>[32]</sup>

**Shodito:** When I am in need of loan, I implore to get money from Donjo. I beg Donjo getting myself down and thanking him [*Donjo*] for the good deeds he have done for years. <sup>[33]</sup>

**Akake:** When I go to get help from Manjo I say [While hymning with a weeping voice] ‘my ‘*king*’ am here in front of you to tell my sorrow. I am starving to death. Please help’. And I beg them to help me. <sup>[34]</sup>

Unlike the above stories, when it comes to decision making Manjo people incline to be more subtle. They accept what they are told without complain. These communication practices are best seen in the narration of some *co-researchers*.

**Dibaba:** Donjo took my bee hive. They took my resources. When I told traditional leaders, they couldn’t give me justice. I left to Gods Justice. I don’t think I can do anything, but sit and watch. <sup>[35]</sup>

**ENDASHAW:** If I ever got in argument with Donjo, am not allowed to respond. I just keep my mouth shut, as they told me too. <sup>[36]</sup>

**Askale:** Donjo didn’t wish for our benefit. They push us to the margins. We never ask why. We just kept silent, so that we can live. <sup>[37]</sup>

**SHODITO:** For any decision Donjo pass on me, I pass it to God to give me justice. I kept silent. That’s how I lead my life. <sup>[38]</sup>

The *co-researchers* pointed out that silence is used as communicative practice and accepting what is set by Donjo is common in their day to day life. They claim they never got a chance to get heard. The critical incident happened on Alemu explains further.

This year, Donjo accused me of sending my children to eat from his potato farm. The traditional leaders believed him and they took my ox as a claim payment. I don't have anything to say, but keep silent come home [*his voice filled with obstinacy*]. They took my property, but nobody cared enough to hear me out. Even recently other traditional leaders told him to return my ox or pay the dues, but he did not. Now, I don't have my ox and I kept silent. May be, God will give me justice. <sup>[39]</sup>

Communicating through silence continues in local meetings too. In gatherings to decide up on common societal issues, Manjo people sit on their hierarchy and hear while the Donjo members decide on common interest issues. The *co-researchers* narrate, even if they have something to say, no body would hear them or accept their ideas. Therefore, nowadays they go to such meetings but keep silent. Azalech life confirms such experiences.

If we are called up to gatherings, we never tell a thing, we just keep silent and come back home. <sup>[40]</sup>

Other *co-researchers* went other ways dealing such oppressions. When context changes and time forces them, Manjo members confront and attack Donjo. They use this communicative practice when they run out of other choices. After implementing all the above communicative practices, when they feel the interaction is not worthy, Manjo members respond in harsh manner.

**SHODITO:** Sometimes I hit Donjo, if they hit me. After that I never set back, but confront them. <sup>[41]</sup>

**SHANNO:** They always nag us. They harass and insult us. We also reply them with insults. <sup>[42]</sup>

The above presentations infer that, depending on the situation, time and context Manjo people practice different communicative practices such as overcompensating, manipulation, attacking, confrontation, silence, and ridiculing self, disassociating and avoiding when interacting with Donjo members.

#### **4.1.3. Manjo Co-cultural Communication Influential Factors**

Influential factors in co-cultural communication are interrelated factors that influence the process by which underrepresented group members like Manjo, communicate within dominant societal structures. As discussed in chapter two this study, influential factors in co-cultural communications include preferred outcome, field of experience, abilities, situational context, perceived costs and rewards, and communication approach.

**Preferred outcome:** this factor arises from the Manjo preconceived judgment in order to follow some communication practice over the other to gain a benefit out of the interaction with Donjo member. In other terms, Manjo ask themselves ‘what communication behavior will lead to the effect that I desire?’ (Orbe, 1998:89). With this in mind, Manjo members consider how their interaction strategy affects their ultimate standing with dominant group members. Preferred outcome includes one communication practice selection to assimilate, accommodate or separate in a given situation.

In most of the experiences narrated by *co-researchers*, Manjo people conform to the dominant group norms. Let’s see some lives experiences:

**SHODITO:** In my experience, because of our fear, we accept what they told us. If they told us to leave, we leave. We live by their rule. <sup>[43]</sup>

Shodito continues narrating his experience:

When we meet Donjo in the local market, we sell our products by their prices, given they want to buy our things. Because nobody buys our products we accept what is given and sell under a market price. <sup>[44]</sup>

The experience of Akake indorses the experience of Shanno.

Donjos' word is respected. I accept what they said. If they tell me to come, I go. If they say I have to leave, I respect what they say. I do what they ask me to do. I live like this. <sup>[45]</sup>

In the past, things were worse than the above experiences. Because they live by the norms and rules of the Donjo member, Manjo people were taken as an outlander and treated that way. When life becomes hard, they leave their area for Donjo and migrate to other places where they can live under other Donjo tribe leader. As explained in chapter one there are different Donjo tribes [Bushasho, Barado, Akako, Yitto and gučči] that constitute Donjo. The experience of Endashaw shows this:

In the past if we reject to work for Donjo, they made us to leave our places. Therefore we migrate to other places and start life there. <sup>[46]</sup>

Because we are a lesser person, everybody laughs at us and oppress us. Even if we are human beings, nobody accept us like that. Therefore we live conforming that we are a lesser human being. <sup>[47]</sup>

This thinking of assimilation doesn't exist in the younger generation. But, people like Dibaba planned to leave Sheka, and start life in neighboring regions.

As far as we are here, there never come better time. Donjo doesn't want to bring change in our life. Therefore, I will be leaving to other place very soon. <sup>[48]</sup>

Separating self is also practiced by Azalech. She maintains her boundary and creates spaces that are reflective of her own values, mores, and norms.

Donjo lives by themselves. I never bother them. I just give them my greetings. I never go to Donjos' home. I only speak to my people [Manjo people]. I am my own master. <sup>[49]</sup>

**Field of experience:** refers to the sum of an individual's life experiences. As Orbe (1998) explained the influence of one's past experiences is an important consideration in the constant process of thinking about, selecting, and then evaluating co-cultural communication practices.

Field of experience includes the co-cultural group members' socialization, formal and informal education, critical incidents, and other past events. Accordingly, the cumulative effect of such experiences influence the way Manjo approach Donjo members. Most of the respondents didn't take formal education. This field of experience is blamed as the main cause of Manjo being still a marginalized group. According to the narration of the Dibaba, their being illiterate affected their life and left them in misery.

I had a class up to grade four (4). But, at the time Donjo didn't allow me to pursue my education. They made leave class and I stayed at home. At the time I feared for my life and never returned to school. Because of this I become illiterate. <sup>[50]</sup>

For Bekele, who took the secondary school examination, education is the key to get out of the oppression. For him the main problem behind the persistence of marginalization is the illiteracy of Manjo people.



In other narration *co-researchers* told the researcher of this study how life has become easier from time to time by going through their experience in different governments. The elderly *co-researchers* thank the Dergue (1974-1991) regime for the good deeds. They say the Dergue period was the time they ‘got their breath back’ from multiple oppressions. Endashaw narrates what he experienced in Dergue regime comparing with the feudal administration (1930-1974).

When *Janhoy* [another name of *Hailesilase I*] was on the rule, we were living in the dense forest. Nobody heard us. We were like untamed animals. But, when Dergue came we become equal with Donjo. I had been elected in *shenego* [Dergue Committee]. We were saved by Dergue. <sup>[51]</sup>

Akake also has the same experience with Endashaw:

When Dergue come to power, it made us got into Donjo home and ate with them. <sup>[52]</sup>

With the current government the *co-researchers* admit they got a better involvement in the society’s life. But, because the marginalization is long rooted, the affirmative action of the current government didn’t change they life radically.

**DIBABA:** As far as we live here, we will not be changed. EPRDF has set many rules and affirmative action for us, but Donjo does not allow us to benefit from that. As far as we are in Sheka, our life won’t change. <sup>[53]</sup>

**ASKALE:** We are still marginalized people. Even if the government [EPRDF] is doing its best, Donjo members does want us our life to change for the best. <sup>[54]</sup>

Some *co-researchers* also believe that the socialization is better than the old days. For Akake, her socialization with Donjo is getting better one’s she know how to approach them.

When I go to my Donjo friends, they let me get into their home. They give me money. <sup>[54]</sup>

Bekele agrees with Akake. He said that his life has been changing from time to time. He joined a protestant church and they threat him as any other member of the church.

The above experiences result that in course of experience the relation between Manjo and Donjo has been changing for good. But the change is not fundamental.

**Abilities:** One factor that must be acknowledged in the co-cultural communication process is the person's relative ability to enact different practices. As explained earlier from the 25 different co-cultural communication practices Manjo some of them based on the situation they deal with.

Most of the practices used fall under the assimilation, separation, non-assertiveness, assertiveness and aggressive communication approach categories category [the relation will be discussed later]. Other communicative practices that demand high educational background, power, money or societal position are not practiced by Manjo people.

In addition the ability to use other co-cultural communicative practices may vary greatly depending on specific personal characteristics and situational circumstances. Some members of co-cultural groups may not have the natural ability to engage in verbal abuse, personal attacks, or confrontational tactics (Orbe, 1998; Orbe and Roberts, 2012; Van Manen, 1990).

According to the study's observation *Capta* most Manjo people use subtle communication and if the way is closed they tend to confirm with Donjo. This is mainly because, according to Bekele and Endashaw they have no the opportunity, the education or understanding of the current issues to use other systems to influence Donjo members.

Earlier chapter two discussed that, because of their muted voice as a co-cultural group, co-cultural communicative practices recognizes that one's ability to use each tactic is something that should not be assumed.

**Perceived Costs and Rewards:** As co-cultural group members select various communicative practices, one factor brought into consideration is the perceived costs and rewards for enacting certain communicative practices during co-cultural interactions (Orbe, 1998).

Manjo people always think about the consequence of their communication. Therefore, they are restraints of their wording, addressing and questioning when interacting with Donjo members.

**ASKALE:** God knows what I always think. If I need help, I always think how to ask them. And I always open myself to the one I believe. If they rejected my request I tell them that am thankful they heard me out and get back home. <sup>[55]</sup>

**SHANNO:** Donjo members are not transparent when they communicate with us. They are always thinking how to win the situation they are at. Because of this we gestate what they might think and keep silent. <sup>[56]</sup>

**SHODITO:** I don't go to ask for justice, if am attacked by Donjo. I know what they would do to me if I go. Nobody would want to count as a witness for our injustice. They are good with words and not open to me. Therefore, I always act considering the cost. <sup>[57]</sup>

**BEKELE:** Donjo is very good at talking and using his position. They are not transparent. Therefore, I always consider and think hard before I talk to them. <sup>[58]</sup>

Under those circumstances, Manjo people always perceive what would be the cost or benefit of their action. Drawing from Manjo lived experiences, practices where the anticipated rewards (communication effectiveness, social approval, or increased money or status) are greater than the costs (expended energy or time, anticipated sanctions from inappropriate behaviors, loss of self-respect) are those that are most attractive to them. In order to gain a favorable answer Manjo do not mind to ridicule self, lose respect, eat outside house than to confront and get alienated for the rest of their life.

**Communication Approach:** The final influential factor assumes that the communication approaches of non-dominant group like Manjo as non-assertive, assertive, or aggressive would affect the strategy selection process of co-cultural group members.

As discussed earlier Manjo *co-researchers* experience shows that their communication is more subtle and they separate themselves, if not assimilate, from the norms of Donjo. But, communication depends on the situational context they are up to.

But, in most cases Manjo people put the idea of Donjo and accept the norm set by Donjo members without questioning. For instance let see some experiences:

**ADINNO:** I am a lesser person. I accept whatever Donjo say. I never confront them. <sup>[59]</sup>

**ALEMU:** Because they [DONJO] are the majority, we do not stand for our rights. We accept what they say. Even in courts we didn't get justice. They all are against us. So we keep silent. Even we never answer when they insult us. <sup>[60]</sup>

Other *co-researcher* like Shanno use different strategy when they approach Donjo. They stand for their idea and action firmly. And if the context does need an aggressive approach, Shanno describes his action hurtfully.

**SHANNO:** When I am in disagreement with Donjo, I take action. If they hit me, I hit them back. If they insult me, I reply the same. <sup>[61]</sup>

Shanno said most of the time he controls himself, but when things get out of control he takes action.

Such aggressive behaviors have their own effect, not only at the individual but also on Manjo people at large. Because of this Akake chose to use nonassertive communication behavior

**AKAKE:** I would have done whatever it takes to get my human right. But, as per my experience Manjo never get justice. Thus, I keep silent and accept what Donjo gives. I firmly know I am a lesser person. So why would I get in quarrel with them? <sup>[62]</sup>

Alemu support the idea raised by Akake

I accept what Donjo says to me. This is because they judge us as a group. My wrong doings affects other my people [Manjo]. So, I live by their [Donjo] norm. I live by Donjo word. <sup>[63]</sup>

Thus from the above descriptions, we can elucidate that Manjo people approach Donjo by being soft than being aggressive or hurtful.

#### 4.1.4. Manjo Conflict Management Style

Conflict is inevitable in intercultural relations. When such conflicts happen, co-cultural group members use different approach to resolve them. Martine and Nakoyama (2007), as discussed in chapter two, pointed out three approaches to resolve intercultural conflicts: dominating, integrating, compromising, obliged and avoiding.

When we look at Manjo experience, as a non-dominant group, they have been oppressed for centuries. Power resides on the hand of Donjo. This is shown in previous discussion of their way of communication, influential factors and communication approaches.

When asked how they manage conflict they had in their experience they answered accepting what is decided by Donjo members. Let's the current critical incident of the *co-researchers*:

**AKAKE:** This year Donjo took my land. When I ask for justice they say 'what you thinking? Do you want to be equal with us? There is no land for you.' So I never answer for their claim. <sup>[64]</sup>

**Azalech:** never get in conflict with them. I am on my own. <sup>[65]</sup>

**DIBABA:** We are loners here. Thus, we never get in trouble with them. <sup>[66]</sup>

**Alemu:** Manjo have no any power. We always ask for justice, no body heard us. We are left alone. <sup>[67]</sup>

**ASKALE:** I never had been in a quarrel with Donjo. Before five years Donjo took my livestock. I went to traditional leaders, and they told him to pay me back. But he never did. I am still waiting for justice. <sup>[68]</sup>

**ENDASHAW:** I never had been in conflict with Donjo. I live with silence. Whatever the situation is, I never get in conflict with Donjo. If they want Donjo members attack us. I never reply to their action. <sup>[69]</sup>

The above experiences show that some Manjo members avoid conflict. By dodging the conflict topic and denying the existence of conflict Manjo members get away from quarrel. Yet, in some situations other Manjo members confront Donjo and make their points.

**SHANNO:** Donjo sometimes attack us. I confront them when this happens. As far as the government is here, I won't take their abuse. <sup>[70]</sup>

**Addino:** Once I had been in conflict with Donjo. When I went to court, no one backed me up. So I never talk about my sorrow. I keep silent and live. <sup>[71]</sup>

**Shodito:** Donjo member took my land. I work hard to make that land to be farm land. But they took it and expelled me from my own land. When I went to court, everybody hears what he [the Donjo] says. They accused me of lying, while I had the only truth. So I kept silent. <sup>[72]</sup>

The *co-researcher* recounts demonstrate what type of conflict management Donjo follows. Based on the narration of the *co-researcher*, the *Capta* resulted that Donjo members use dominating conflict resolution style. Donjo members control every power and hierarchy of the available system while denying the opportunity for Manjo to make a case. According to Anteneh (2012) and Martine and Nakoyama (2007) such groups are identified as having a win-lose orientation and forceful verbalization which in some cases could be counterproductive. Therefore this style, which is used by Donjo members, left Manjo at the loser side of the resolution and the dominant group at the winner position.

#### **4.1.5. Manjo Communication Style**

The final theme discusses what communication styles Manjo people use when interacting with Donjo members. Communication style refers to the way individuals use verbal and body

language in their interaction with others. In other words, it is the preferred way in which individuals interact with one another (Samovar & Porter, 2001; Anteneh, 2012). Communication styles are set in comparison of two approaches: High and Low context, elaborated and understated, Formal and Informal and Direct and Indirect.

The description of the lived experience of Manjo resulted that Manjo prefer to keep silent, so that they can live peacefully. Observations on the way Manjo communicate at different gatherings, like market places, shows that Manjo predominantly use different tones (sympathy, angry, acceptance, lowered voices as a confirmation to an order) besides verbal communication. Shodito uses silence as the main socialization style when he meets Donjo people. Being silent, Shodito believes, shows a respect for the other party, confirmation to order and being obedient.

I don't ask a Donjo member. I start to talk when they ask me of my need. I know I am a lesser person and they are the dominants. <sup>[73]</sup>

**BEKELE:** I accept what they say. I kept silent. That is a sign of respect and obedience. <sup>[74]</sup>

Alemu narration shows the same experience.

When I go to traditional gatherings or government meetings, I never allowed talking. I keep silent. I never disclose my feeling or idea. <sup>[75]</sup>

**SHANNO:** I wait for them to let me speak. If they didn't want me to speak I keep silent. <sup>[76]</sup>

The above lived experiences show that, Manjo people value excessive use of silence. This infers Manjo use understated communication style when communicating the dominant group. The silence communicates Manjo people inferior position, politeness, respectfulness and obedience to the decision of Donjo group member.



As communication depends the context it is in, in some other situations Manjo people prefer to express their idea using different communication styles. Especially when they are in need of something from Donjo members they present their request by ridiculing themselves. As per the *co-researcher* response they beg by expressing their being a ‘lesser person’. Let us see some lived experience of the *co-researcher*:

**ALEMU:** We made ourselves down and lesser on the face of Donjo. We present ourselves as their striver. So that Donjo might empathize for us. If they want to help, they tell us to speak what we need. <sup>[77]</sup>

**SHANNO:** When I talk to Donjo I start saying ‘*let me die your death*’ (a local saying where people show their love and respect one another by saying they would die for the person they are talking to) so that they might sympathize for me. <sup>[78]</sup>

**AZALECH:** When I communicate with Donjo, I present myself as a lesser person, so that they feel like talking to me. I go to their home and sit on ground alongside their fence. Then they come out and talk to me. <sup>[79]</sup>

**ENDASHAW:** In the past Donjo doesn’t want to talk to us. We communicate with their slave. And Donjo also answers through his/her slave. <sup>[80]</sup>

The researcher of this study observed that, when the Manjo members meet Donjo members they bow for Donjo members. If the Donjo give his/her hand for greeting, the Donjo have to kiss the hand while bowing to show respect. Otherwise, the Manjo is supposed to talk after the Donjo let him. Sometimes the Donjo walks away while the Manjo speaking. In such contexts the Manjo person uses a hard tone and sign to explain his/her thought. This observation is also captured in the *co-researcher* narration.

**AKAKE:** I beg for any thing I want from Donjo. [While moaning in a distressed voice]

I beg for their mercy, saying I am a lesser person. Then the Donjo allows me to speak up my case. Then I explain my request. <sup>[81]</sup>

Akake Continues

I always present my case with sarcasm and jocks. They lough by my jocks and I always get what I need. <sup>[82]</sup>

**Dibaba:** When I interact with Donjo at their village, I stand by their fence and call. If they let me I get inside. Then I talk to them. And when they talk to me I keep silent. <sup>[83]</sup>

The above lived experiences narration shows that the Manjo people are high context people who use indirect and understated communication style.

Manjo people believe they are lesser person. So, when interacting with the Donjo member, they hold on so that the Donjo speaks first. And when the Donjo lets them, they start talking. In high context societies intentions and messages are communicated through contexts by preserving social roles or positions. In addition, high context societies value non-verbal communication. As most of the *co-researchers* described, Manjo people use non-verbal languages very often to express their ideas. Observation *Capta* depicted when Manjo people beg for mercy or favor they bow down several times. Such nonverbal languages help them to attain some need and communicate smoothly with the Donjo members.

Manjo also prefer to obscure their intensions and communicate with a softer tone. The self-ridiculing approach of communicative practice they use shows that rather than talking directly, they tend to go around the bush. Depending on the response from Donjo they then start to speak.

Silence is very much celebrated by Manjo people. They say ‘*silence is the savior of our life*’. The description of the *co-researchers* lived experience, conflict resolution, influential factors and communication approach results that silence is the dominant communication style used by Manjo people. Silence here plays a central role and communicates their respect and obedience to Donjo member and their idea. As Anteneh (2012) explained refraining from speaking in Ethiopian culture communicates politeness, respect and socially acceptable conduct. Therefore, the *Capta* resulted that Manjo prefer understated communication style when interacting with Donjo members.

The next part discusses the major findings of the study.

## **4.2. Discussion of Findings**

In its most general form, co-cultural communication refers to interactions among underrepresented and dominant group members. The theory provides insight into the process that co-cultural group members use to negotiate their “cultural differentness” with others. Such negotiation appear as co-cultural status manifestation, communication practice, style and influential factors and co-cultural orientation the co-cultural group incur in a given communication context.

Manjo people, as per the description of the *co-researchers*, have their own way of illustrating their co-cultural status, communication approach, style and influential factors and co-cultural orientation. Therefore, based on the *Capta* described before, here the study discusses the above variables from co-cultural communication perspective.

#### 4.2.1. “It is not our world, but Donjos”

One of the evidences that conforms the co-cultural status of Manjo is their being marginalized from the main stream society for a long period of time. Previous anthropological, historical and linguistics researchers reported that Manjo are a ‘marginalized minority hunters’ (Allula, 2001; Pankhurst, 2000; Leikola, 2014; Mengistu, 2001).

Most importantly, from the descriptions of this study’s *co-researchers*, when explaining their co-cultural status they mentioned the multi-level marginalization the dominant group imposed on them.

One of the manifestations of their being alienated is the spatial reference. From the narration of Alemu <sup>[3]</sup>, Shanno <sup>[1]</sup> and Shodito <sup>[2]</sup>, one can notice that the Manjo still live in the woods far away from the dominant group. The researcher witnessed that the distance of the closest Manjo village is 3 Kilo meters away from *Masha* town. The village has a dense forest and is used by Donjo members for herding lives stock and farming; yet, no body lives there except Manjo. As their life depends on the forest for fuel wood, charcoal and bee keeping, they live in the forest with scattered manner. For linguists like Leikola (2014) this spatial reference is a strong component of Manjo identity.

The other description told by Manjo is their being counted as ‘outsiders’ in their own society. The main manifestation of this type of marginalization is their being exempted from entering to the house of Donjo members. As Orbe (1998) pointed out the dominant group uses different strategies to make sure that the non-dominant groups are powerless and remain the same way. In the speech of Askale <sup>[6]</sup> and Bekele <sup>[5]</sup> clearly depicts this situation. For them the other face

of being Manjo is being outside the house and the compound of Donjo, until they get a permission to enter.

Endashaw in an off-record interview depicted what he feels about such marginalization deeds of Donjo people. He said ‘I feel I am lesser than all, even lesser than my dog. Donjo lets my dog to enter to their compound, while looking after me to not enter. This tells me that for them we are even less than a dog’.

The other co-cultural status Manjo have is their hierarchical position. The traditional Donjo hierarchal position puts Manjo at the verge. Lange Warner (1982) classifies the hierarchical position as ‘*Oge Ashi Yero*’-meaning *super humans*, which takes the top position and includes members of Donjo and ‘*Gishi Ashi Yerro*’-meaning *sub-humans*, which includes Manjo and other craft and artisan workers. This hierarchical system goes beyond holding positions in society. As per the narration of the *co-researchers*, the hierarchy is expressed in everyday interaction. As described in the stories of Endashaw <sup>[25]</sup>, Shodito <sup>[13]</sup> and Alemu <sup>[14]</sup> Manjo members take the lower position when sitting protocols are arranged on the traditional events. When they also enter to Donjos’ compound, they are not allowed to get closer to the house. They communicate with Donjo sitting inside *Enset* –*false banana (In Sheka and other Omotic people, Enset is a plant used to make the traditional staple food called qoc’o- Enset bread)*. This hierarchical alienation also depicted through speaking order. As per the *co-researchers* experience, they are not allowed to talk first in social gatherings or even government meetings. The Donjo speech comes First. This hierarchy gives the power to Donjo to reject any idea that arises from Manjo members (see the story of Shanno <sup>[15]</sup>). Besides, using such traditionally built power Donjo silences Manjo members (narration of Endashaw <sup>[19]</sup> and Bekele <sup>[18]</sup>).

The above discussions validate co-cultural communication theory assumption 2 which states that ‘The dominant group members occupy most positions of power throughout society; these positions of influence are used to create and maintain societal structures that inherently benefit their interests’ (Orbe, 1998:11).

In addition Manjo people refer Donjo members as ‘*them*’ and their mates as ‘*we*’. For instance, when he referring to Donjo Endashaw <sup>[47]</sup> , Alemu <sup>[16]</sup> , Dibaba <sup>[50]</sup> and other used the word ‘*bonne yerro*’ meaning ‘*their member*’ when referring Donjo members and ‘*Noo Yerro*’ meaning ‘*our member*’ when calling other Manjo people. This social grouping and hierarchical position confirms the co-cultural status of Manjo people.

To sum up, because of the multiple-level of marginalization, Manjo people developed the feeling of being an outlander in their own society. Dibaba <sup>[53]</sup> said that there would never come a better day for Manjo people as far as they live with *Shakacho* Society. Such frustration enforced Manjo members like Endashaw <sup>[25]</sup> to separate themselves from the dominant group. Yet, since human beings are communicative beings, communicating with the dominant group in inevitable.

In their interaction with the Donjo members, Manjo people developed different communicative strategies that they believe would bring benefit for them.

#### **4.2.2. Manjo Communication Practices**

Manjo people enact different communication strategies when interacting with Donjo members. Based on the factors they got influenced by, Manjo select different communication strategies that they believe would bring a benefit from a given interaction.

This part of the chapter discusses the communicative practices used by Manjo people when interacting with Donjo members.

**Ridiculing-Self:** in the *co-researchers* narration ridiculing-self is repeatedly mentioned as one of Manjo communication strategy. Manjo people use this strategy when they greet Donjo members or are in need of some favor or help as witnessed from the speech of Dibaba <sup>[22]</sup> Askale <sup>[23]</sup>, Endashaw <sup>[47]</sup>.

This strategy is all about invoking in a discourse by demeaning self in-front of others. Manjo often interact with Donjo form many reasons, including selling their fuel wood and charcoal, requesting for help or when working as a drudge. When they ask for favor, it is common to hear them say '*I am a lesser person*' or '*may your death come on me*' to get the favor from Donjo member. By using such words and related non-verbal action, like bowing while talking, they believe the interaction would be fruitful.

In addition, when they explain their argument they use indirect communication style. They use soft tones, so that Donjo may feel sorry for them and give a hand to help them out. When they do this they bow and beg with broken voice. In most contexts this strategy works results their desire.

**Overcompensating:** another common practice implemented by Manjo members refers to their conscious attempt to response in a positive manner so that they can avoid future discrimination.

Manjo people over compensate using words and sometimes their resources. In his critical incident Alemu <sup>[39]</sup> explained that he paid his ox, because he is accused of sending his children to Donjo farm to eat potato. For what he claims it is a false accusation, he kept silent in fear of future discrimination. Akake <sup>[64]</sup> also has the same experience where she lost her bare land, she claims, for no reasons.

Such incidents dictate that Manjo over compensate Donjo so that the future interaction would be smooth and safe. As Orbe (1998) explained such strategies are used in fear of future discrimination.

**Manipulation:** Co-cultural groups tend to conform to commonly accepted beliefs about group members as a strategic means to exploit them for personal gain. Observation *Capta* shows that when interacting with Donjo member, Manjo use words that exaggerate the deeds of Donjo member while diminishing their own status.

In addition Akake <sup>[30]</sup> story shows that when Manjo are in need of help they manipulate Donjo members. In other terms to obtain certain benefit Manjo people practice manipulation, rather than dispelling the marginalization and the stereotype.

The manipulation is not covert and known to Donjo members. Instead, it used indirectly celebrating the Donjo member. As explained by *co-researchers*, Manjo people preconceive what might the Donjo decide about their request. Therefore, in order to gain a win over their conversation, they manipulate the Dojo by conforming to the norms rather than ousting them.

**Avoidance:** Some of the *co-researchers* like Askale <sup>[26]</sup> said that that they avoid any communication with Donjo group members. They implement this communication strategy by maintaining a distance and setting demarcations. Manjo people refrain from activities and location where the interaction with Donjo might happen.

For instance, Endashaw <sup>[25]</sup> doesn't attend the gathering of Donjo and Askale <sup>[26]</sup> never went to weeding and funeral ceremonies of Donjo members even if she is invited.



Avoidance is also seen in Manjo conflict resolution style. Rather than going through argument and try to win the situation, Manjo avoids any conflicting positions they might be in facing Donjo members. From the explanation of Endashaw <sup>[69]</sup>, avoiding such conflict is the only option he sees as a Manjo member. No other option can bring peace, but more oppression.

The strategies Manjo use when avoiding a communication is physical absence or by being silent. Study resulted that Manjo people like Azalech <sup>[25]</sup> abstain from going to traditional events and Askale <sup>[68]</sup> kept silent to the deeds of Donjo members.

**Attack:** the other communicative practice implemented by Manjo people demands being aggressive. This type of communication is expressed in hurtful way and harsh manner. But, for most of the *co-researchers* this communication practice is the last option they use while defending themselves from Donjo attack.

Shoddito <sup>[41]</sup> experienced a fight with Donjo members. That field of experience made him to confront them when the Donjo trespasses his demarcation. Shanno <sup>[42]</sup> also experienced harassment and insult and he replied to Donjo by the same hurtful manner.

In such communication contexts, Manjo people approach Donjo member aggressively. But, by an off-record interview with Endashaw the study found that such influences are bad experiences as they have a consequence not only on the individual, but also on Manjo community. Aggressive Manjo members are advised by their community to think about the cost of the action they take would bring to their families and Manjo people. Thus, by considering the cost and reward of practicing attacking communication strategy, Manjo members like Endashaw did not use it for long time.

The lived experience of Askale <sup>[55]</sup> shows that because she preconceives the cost of her deeds, she doesn't get in quarrel with Donjo member, rather she thank Donjo for their words. In Akake <sup>[62]</sup> we also noticed avoiding such aggressive behaviors made her effective than defending her right to get justice.

**Disassociating:** overtime, based on some situational contexts, Manjo prefer to exclude themselves. Such experiences are expressed by making a concrete effort to elude and connection with behavior typically associated with one's co-cultural group.

Disassociating communication style are witnessed in the narration of Shodito <sup>[27]</sup> for the reason that traditional ceremonies of Donjo and other connected deeds made him feel overlooked, he disassociated himself from such places. Alemu <sup>[28]</sup> also implemented such communicative practice as he wants Donjo to respect the territory and imaginary demarcation.

**Censoring-self:** is one of the most dominant communicative practices employed by Manjo members. This strategy depicts the behaviors co-cultural members silence when comments from dominant group members are inappropriate, indirectly insulting, or highly offensive.

This communicative strategy is implemented by most of the *co-researchers*. Manjo people like Endashaw [69, 19, 36], Askale [37], Alemu [39, 60, 75], Bekele [74] and Dibaba [83] recounted that they always keep silent to the insults, wrong deeds and oppressions of Donjo members. Bekele, in an off-record interview narrated that Donjo members actually use the word Manjo as a derogative. Thus, his Donjo member class mates use the word to insult each other, while he was standing in front of them. But, he keeps silent even if he is angry inside. Censoring self is seen in Manjo way of handling conflict resolution too. As explained earlier in the presentation, even when they are at the traditional courts, the traditional leaders favor Donjo

member over Manjo, when the truth justifies the claim of Manjo. From the narration and observation, the research understood that Manjo prefer this communicate practice because in their experience they never seen justice been given to them and always thought that whatever the action they would take they know they would be a victim.

The above communicative practices and communication styles are subject to the context and the situation the co-cultural group find themselves in. Context, as Antneh (2012) explained, refers to the existence of communication in different forms and levels.

Co-cultural group members apply communicative practices depending on the form and level of interaction they are dealing with. This is the fundamental characteristics of co-cultural communicative practices. As Orbe (1998) explained co-cultural group members do not typically select one practice over the other or use one practice for all interaction. Rather, the situational context influences the communication practice they use in a given interaction.

#### **4.2.3. Manjo Co-cultural Orientation**

Co-cultural orientation refers to specific stances that co-cultural group members assume during their everyday interactions (Orbe & Robert, 2012). Co-cultural orientation, therefore, arise from the interrelatedness of the influential factors Manjo consider when interacting with Donjo members. Even if this tenet of co-cultural communication takes communication approach and preferred outcome as a fundamental element, it also considers the relatedness of all influential factors (field of experience, perceived costs and rewards, capability, and situational context).

This orientation is basically derived from the Manjo communication practice and knotted by their influential factors, specifically with their communication approach and preferred outcomes.

From the *co-researchers* communicative practices and previous section *Capta* presentation and descriptions, the study resulted 5 co-cultural orientations Manjo people have namely: Aggressive-Assimilation, Aggressive-Separation, Non-assertive-Separation, Non-assertive-Assimilation and Assertive-Assimilation. The following discussion describes the co-cultural orientation of Manjo through the lived experience of *co-researchers*.

**Aggressive-Assimilation:** this co-cultural orientation refers to the effort made by the co-cultural groups like Manjo to fit in with dominant group members. Such behaviors become overt when Manjo try to approach Donjo members with determined, sometimes belligerent, approach of communication.

The story of Endashaw <sup>[24]</sup>, Akake <sup>[23, 62]</sup>, Dibaba <sup>[22]</sup> and Shanno <sup>[21]</sup> shows that they ridiculing themselves when greeting or asking Donjo for favor. In other contexts Manjo people also disassociate themselves from any behavior and places that demand an interaction with a Donjo member. These two points clearly depict Manjo people trying to get away from Donjo members in some situations while making an effort to fit in the norms of Donjo by demining self.

Orbe (1998) and Orbe and Robert (2012) distinguish ridiculing-self and disassociating as an aggressive-assimilation orientation of co-cultural groups. Thus, Manjo people practice such communication practices without considering other Manjo thoughts and beliefs about their action. Observation showed that, to fit in with the conversation of Donjo, Manjo members sometimes blame the action of other Manjo.

Thus, we can say that in some contexts Manjo follow an aggressive approach towards their group or themselves, so that they can fit with the norms of Donjo members.

**Aggressive-Separation:** refers the exercise of individual power by practicing co-cultural communication practices those sabotage the dominant group or attack them verbally or physically.

Some members of Manjo community attack Donjo members ‘in defense of self’. This action is described by the narrations of Shanno <sup>[70, 71]</sup> and Shodito <sup>[72]</sup> shows that in some situation Manjo take an aggressive action against Manjo.

Besides the narration of the *co-researchers*, Yoshida (2008) also reported that in 2002 small number of Manjo raised an arm and got in conflict because they were denied of ‘self-determination’ from the then *Kaffa*- Sheka zone (Now they are independent zones) by the government. Such narrations and incidents show that, Manjo want to aggressively separate themselves from the dominant group.

But, it is important to note that, such actions are not the deeds of many Manjo, rather they are practiced at individual level for the reason that the hierarchical position and the multi-level marginalization doesn’t allow them to practice such communication strategy more often.

**Non-assertive Assimilation:** this co-cultural communication orientation ascends when co-cultural members silence themselves and abide to the decision of the dominant group. In other terms co-cultural group members seek to fit within dominant society and typically put the needs of others before their own.

This co-cultural orientation is dominant in the lived experience of Manjo people. In most of their interaction, from the story of the *co-researcher*, Manjo members tend to censor themselves by keeping silent and by developing positive face. For instance Endashaw <sup>[69,19, 36]</sup> , Askale <sup>[37]</sup> , Alemu <sup>[39,60,75]</sup> , Azalech <sup>[40]</sup> , Shanno <sup>[56,76]</sup> , Akake <sup>[62]</sup> , Shodito <sup>[72]</sup> , Adinno <sup>[71]</sup> , Bekele <sup>[74]</sup>

and Dibaba <sup>[83]</sup> narrate that because of their illiteracy, influence of day to day marginalization, hierarchical powerlessness and other personal reasons they predominantly keep silent and build positive face when interacting with Donjo members.

This strategy of is implemented, as Orbe (1998) wrote, intending to blend self into dominant society. Thus, by practicing silence and accepting what is forwarded by Donjo members, Manjo people assimilate with the dominant group without making themselves that visible in the situation.

**Non-Assertive Separation:** this practice is used to maintain a separation orientation during co-cultural group interactions. This orientation very often expressed by avoiding any interaction with dominant members.

Communication avoidance is used by Manjo members considering the situation and the Donjo member's behavior towards them. From the narration of Shodito <sup>[27]</sup> Endashaw <sup>[25, 69]</sup> and Askale <sup>[26]</sup> we understood that they apply physical avoidance from an interaction with Donjo members. But this practice is no overt. The avoidance is a strategic without being noticed by Donjo members.

**Assertive-Assimilation:** the other dominant co-cultural orientation seen on the practice of Manjo people is assimilation in an assertive way. This orientation is deduced from their practice manipulation and over-compensation as a communication practice (Orbe, 1998).

Manjo people, based on tells from Akake <sup>[30, 31]</sup> Askale <sup>[23]</sup> Dibaba <sup>[32]</sup> Shodito <sup>[33]</sup>, manipulate Donjo members to gain a self-satisfactory reply for their request. In other situations Manjo people overcompensate with words and resources. Askale and Shodito compensated their

income generating resource, land and ox respectively, to Donjo member. Overcompensation is practiced in fear of future discrimination and attack from the dominant group.

#### **4.2.4. Manjo Communication Resembles its Context**

Context defines communication. Antneh (2012) maximizes the power of context over communication noting communication doesn't exist without a context.

Like other communication types, context is a nucleus to co-cultural communication. Thus co-cultural group members do not typically select one practice, or cluster of practices, to use for all interactions with dominant group members (Orbe, 1998). Instead, the details of each situational context (e.g., where the interaction occurs, who is present, and other key environmental issues) influence the selection of particular co-cultural practices (Orbe & Robert, 2012).

The communication practice of Manjo also resembles the situational context they are in. Based on the context Manjo people apply different communication strategies to interact with Donjo members.

For instance, Alemu practices communication strategies based on situation he is dealing with. When he is in need of loan or other favor he goes to Donjos' house and begs (Alemu <sup>[12]</sup>); in other times he kept silent in the meetings if there are Donjo members (Alemu <sup>[16]</sup>); in bad days he overcompensates his resources so that he can save himself from future 'discrimination' (Alemu<sup>[39]</sup>); he also avoids the traditional weeding and funeral ceremonies of Donjo members(Alemu<sup>[26]</sup>) while trying to build positive face (Alemu <sup>[60]</sup>).

This is not only the case for Alemu. Many *co-researchers* practiced different communication style while considering different influential factors. Endashaw keeps silent from the feeling of frustration <sup>[80]</sup> and uses indirect communication style. Sometimes he ridicules him-self <sup>[24]</sup> in front of Donjo and when the context lets him to disassociate him, he avoids <sup>[69]</sup> any interactions with them.

Some members of Manjo practice opposite communication strategies. To mention one, Shodito has been an aggressive and also non-assertive communicator in his life. He narrated that he avoids <sup>[27]</sup> from going to traditional ceremonies, build a positive face by being silent at local meetings <sup>[38]</sup> and he also attacked <sup>[27]</sup> a Donjo member.

The above lived experiences of Manjo people clearly depict that based on the situation they are at they use different communication strategies to deal with the situation and be a winner. Thus, the communication of Manjo resembles its context.

The next part summarizes the major findings and concludes accordingly.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION AND RESEARCH IMPLICATION

The main objective of this study was to find out the co-cultural communication between the Manjo and Donjo people in Sheka zone. To achieve this, the study employed qualitative study. As the study is about a lived experience of marginalized group members, from plethora of qualitative research methods the researcher used phenomenological research methodology.

Drawing on co-cultural communication theory and phenomenological research methodology, this study explored and found out the co-cultural status, co-cultural communication practices, factors that influence Manjo communications practices and styles and Manjo co-cultural orientation.

The *Capta* is gathered from 10 Manjo *co-researchers* using in-depth interview. This technique is also supported by observation and field note *Capta* gathering tools. The findings were analyzed using phenomenological analysis method.

The following major findings and concluding marks were discovered in the course of explaining Manjo people co-cultural status, their communication practices, factors that influence Manjo co-cultural communication, communication styles Manjo members use and the co-cultural communicational orientations of Manjo members.

**Co-Cultural Status:** when narrating about their being a co-cultural group, all of Manjo *co-researchers* replied by expressing the multi-level marginalization which is expressed through the unbalanced power relation, their being an ‘outsider’ in their own society and spatial exclusion.

The multi-level marginalization is manifested by disallowing Manjo people from interaction and denying the rights enjoyed by the dominant group. This marginalization is expressed in every day life from forbidding to enter to Donjo compound to shaking Manjo hand for greetings. In addition, the power relation and balance between Manjo and Donjo favor Donjo members. The traditional hierarchy is abused by Donjo members so as to create and maintain societal structures that inherently benefit Donjo's interests. On top of this, Manjo people live away from Donjo members. They are set to live in the woods.

The above facts show that Manjo people are a co-cultural group who are marginalized by Donjo people and the exclusion is depicted in every day interactions.

**Co-Cultural Communication Practice:** Manjo people enact different communication strategies to interact with Donjo members.

Manjo people ridicule themselves in front of Donjo and overcompensate for the deeds of Donjo members. But this communication strategy is practiced based on the influential factors they might consider in a given interaction. For instance, some Manjo people choose to be silent and humble, while in other times they tend to attack Donjo members.

From the narration of the *co-researchers*, this study found that Manjo are obedient and try to build positive face in their communication with Donjo members. Even, after they confront or attack Donjo members, Manjo people are apt to overcompensate in fear of future discrimination.

The predominant communicative practice of Manjo is self-censorship. Manjo people mostly follow understated communication style and censor their thought when interacting with Donjo member. Manjo member believes that silence is the only option she/he have when they are in

argument with Donjo member. To use the *co-researchers* expression ‘silence kept their life alive’.

Manjo people also disassociate themselves from places that made them interact with Donjo members. When they got in disagreement Manjo people try to avoid the situation besides the oppression of Donjo members. But, when the above strategies fail to work, Manjo people flip to an aggressive behavior and attack Donjo with words and sometimes physical.

**Influential Factors:** Manjo people consider different influential factors before selecting their communicative practices. As Orbe (1998), said co-cultural groups like Manjo are influenced by such factors when interacting with dominant group members.

Based on the lived experience of the *co-researchers* the study found that Manjo people consider all influential factors in different contexts.

Manjo decide what communication strategy to follow before interacting with the dominant group. Manjo people make a preconceived judgment so as to select the best communication practice that would yield a benefit out of the interaction with Donjo member. In other terms, Manjo consider what a communication strategy they have to follow and retain the ultimate standing they have with Donjo. Thus, Manjo judge the communicative practice compatibility with the situation and its power to let them assimilate or separate with/from the situation, while bringing merit for them.

Manjo also consider previous experiences they had when they communicated with Donjo members. The major field of experience is related to Manjo educational status. In their narration, the *co-researchers* mentioned illiteracy as the main reason for persistence of marginalization.

Manjo also preconceive the idea raised by Manjo elderlies, especially when the communicative practices are aggressive. This shows that they are also influenced by their family and society in selection of their communicative practices.

The other field of experience emanates from the ruling systems gone through their life over the past decades. Manjo people endorse the measures taken by Dergue and EPRDF ruling systems. Dergue regime through force and EPRDF through affirmative actions has brought changes in Manjo life. But, they all admit the change is not radical and still depends on the willingness of the one at power-Donjo members.

Manjo people consider the cost and reward of a given interaction with Manjo in advance. This is mainly because the communicative practice they implement affects not only themselves, but also Manjo people at large. Therefore, Manjo considers the consequence of their communicative practice beforehand.

Context defines Manjo communication. Manjo communication approach resembles the communication context. The study result shows Manjo people, based on the situational contexts, keep silent and be subtle or be aggressive in their communication with Donjo members. Based on the context Manjo people approach assertively, non –assertively or even aggressively. The communication approach affects the communicative practice they use. When they chose to approach aggressively they use attacking and disassociating as they communication strategy. On other days when they approach non-assertively to discuss with Donjo people, they keep silent and try to develop positive face. But, when they are in need of help they manipulate or over compensate Donjo members so that they approach Donjo vigorously.

**Co-cultural Orientation:** Manjo peoples' co-cultural orientation emanates from their co-cultural communication practice and preferred outcome. Based on this the research found that Manjo people are an aggressive-assimilators, aggressive-separatists, non-assertive-separatists, non-assertive assimilators, and an assertive-assimilators.

Manjo people show a behavior of aggressive-assimilator when they try to fit in the norms and mores of Donjo members. This orientation stems from the effort Manjo put to communicate aggressively. This behavior is the output of their struggle to fit in the dominant society by ridiculing-self in their interaction with Donjo members.

Manjo has also a co-cultural orientation of being separated using aggressive communications. This conclusion is reached, because Manjo have the habit of attacking Donjo while defending themselves. These behaviors mostly expressed through instigating harsh language and sometimes physical attacks.

Manjo people incline to censor themselves and keep silent in most the interaction with Donjo members. This is seen in their narration about they kept silent and be reserved in their communications. As all *co-researcher* have experienced it in their life time, non-assertive assimilation communication orientation is the most dominant in Manjo society. Besides, Manjo people be apt to put the need of Donjo members before their own. Even after using an aggressive communication, like attacking Donjo, Manjo shift to being silent and obedient as the traditional system favors the dominant group.

Some Manjo people tend to avoid any interaction with Donjo members. The avoidance is practiced in more subtle and unnoticed manner to Donjo members. The study found that Manjo people strategically distance themselves from the dominant society and avoid any interaction.

From this we can conclude that some Manjo members are non-assertive separatists, based on the context they deal with.

Whenever Manjo people try to win a battle with Donjo, they tend to manipulate, if not over-compensate, Donjo member. This infers the effort of Manjo people to adapt the norm and way of Donjo members, Manjo member sometimes assimilates assertively. This orientation is witnessed in their effort to gain self-satisfactory reply from Donjo members. This effort is believed by Manjo people to bring about a favor or reduce future discrimination acts by Donjo members.

**Communication Style:** the study shows that Manjo people communicate in-directly using different words that call for sympathy from the dominant group. Besides, Manjo prefer to talk in some other ways, while they have the option to tell it as it is. In addition, because of their fear and long rooted multi-level marginalization, Manjo people incline to be subtle and silent. From these behaviors, we can conclude that Manjo are a high-context people who prefer to use understated and indirect communication styles when they interact with Donjo members.

## **Implication**

This study revealed the lived experience of Manjo from co-cultural communication perspective. The study found that as a co-cultural group member, Manjo people enact their own communicative practices and which are subject to influential factors. From the narration of the *co-researchers*, the effect of the marginalization is still persisting. Yet, much needs to be done from all stakeholders, especially from Donjo and Manjo people.

Based on this study, two things must be radically changed to create a better co-cultural communication between Manjo and Donjo people.

First the marginalization should be lifted from Manjo people. The main cause for the continuation of the marginalization is the attitude of Donjo people towards the people of Manjo. As the study revealed, Dergue regime had used forceful measures to fight the marginalization. Unfortunately, such measure didn't brought change to the life of Manjo, but more exclusion. The affirmative action measures taken by the current government, Manjo people claim, didn't bring a change to their life as the projects are done by Donjo members. Thus, to resolve such problems and improve the co-cultural relation of the two groups, an attitude change should be brought. To bring this attitude change the Manjo people must think that they are not a lesser person and the Donjo group members should accept Manjo people as the same, equal and human. This task needs legislating policies, running sustainable awareness creation projects and affirmative activities.

The second point is related to Manjo people field of experience. This study revealed that Manjo people are still illiterate. In their narration the *co-researchers* depicted the main reason for the persistence of the marginalization is their being illiterate. Even if there are very few Manjo members who graduated from high school and colleges, most of them didn't attended formal education. Therefore, the stakeholders, mainly the Manjo and Donjo people together with the government should work towards the betterment of Manjo field of experience, above all towards education. If the new generation is raised in schools, rather than in woods helping parents, the co-cultural relation will be changed for good.

If this two issues are addressed for good, Manjo people will be able to empower their ability in using different communication practices such us Educating Others, Increasing Visibility, Exemplifying Strengths While Embracing Stereotypes and other strategies which can make them equal and beneficial as the dominant group does.

## Implications for Future Studies

This study, being of an exploratory and interpretive in nature, raised a number of opportunities for future research, both in terms of bench mark and concept validation. Yet, more research will in fact be necessary to refine and further elaborate the novel findings of this research.

First, while the study generated a number of new and useful thematic categories, given the in-depth interview with purposely selected 10 Manjo *co-researchers*, very little can be said of the nature of information work of the larger population Manjo people. The study could thus be extended in search of statistical, rather than analytical and descriptive as depicted in this study.

Second, this study used solely the stories of Manjo *co-researchers* for presenting their co-cultural communication lived experience. This was mainly because the theoretical framework and the research methodology support such inquiries. But, the study can be extended by further investigating the interaction from both Manjo and Donjo side in longitudinal and comparative ways.

Finally, as discussed in chapter one, limitations of the study, while Manjo people live in different part of south west Ethiopia, this study bounded itself to the lived experience of Manjo people in Sheka zone, Masha *Woreda*. Further research can thus shed light on the dynamics of the lived experience Manjo people residing in other places.



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ተሾመ ኃይሉ፣ አበራ ገዢቱ፣ ጀመረ አምቦ፣ አምቦቹ ሻዎ፣ አምባው ጨራቱ እና ቴዎድሮስ ደይኖ። (1994 እንደ ኢትዮጵያውያን አቆጣጠር) ፤ የሸካ አክባቢ አስተዳደር ከየት ወደ የት። የሸካ ዞን ምክርቤት፤ ያኔታተመ፤ ማሻ።

አውግቶው ወርቅአገኛሁ፣ (1992 እንደ ኢትዮጵያውያን አቆጣጠር) ፣ የሸካቶ ማህበረሰብ ትውፊት። ያኔተተመ።

ወንድምስሻው አየኮ፣ (2005 እንደ ኢትዮጵያውያን አቆጣጠር) ፣ የኢትዮጵያ አርቶዳክስ ተዋህዶ ቤተክርስቲያን አሻራ በሸካቶ ብሄር። የኢትዮጵያ ቤተክርስቲያን ጥናት መፅሔት፤ የኢአተቤ/ያን የማህበረ ቅዱሳን ምርምር ማሰከ። (ገፅ፡ 23 - 24)



## Appendices

### Appendix 1 Unstructured Interview Questions

The interview question presented here are formulated to bring the *Capta* to answer the research question.

1. Tell me about yourself (*the researcher explained there was no need to tell their name*).
2. What do you do for living?
3. Can you tell me your daily routine activities?
4. Do you contact the Donjo member daily? If not what is the frequency of meeting them?
5. What do you do when you meet a donjo member? (how do you greet them, talk to them)
6. What is your perception of Donjo people?
  - 6.1. Why do you think that?
  - 6.2. What do you think the impact of that experience on you?
  - 6.3. Do you blame Donjo people for being in such life experiences?
    - 6.3.1. WHY?
  - 6.4. What do you feel when someone calls you Manjo?
7. What are the communication strategy you use to influence a Donjo member?
  - 7.1. Have you ever been in a more hurtful, aggressive communication? (here Mark Orbes 26 communication strategies used by *co-researcher* experimented on Manjo *co-researcher*)
  - 7.2. Would you tell me more about that?
  - 7.3. Can you narrate some incidents, please?
  - 7.4. What do you think the impact of that experience on you?
8. What do you do if your communication/request/questions are rejected by the Donjo member?
  - 8.1. What do you feel when you request is accepted by Donjo member?
  - 8.2. What was your response, can tell me some incidents, please?

8.3. What do you think the impact of that experience on you? (Did it changed your perception of Donjo?)

Based on Mark Orbes, Influential factors faced by co-cultural group member the following research question are formatted.

9. What communication behavior do you think will lead you to the effective communication with donjo member? (the researcher might give some incidents mentioned by the *co-researcher* when talking about the daily routine or communication strategies)

9.1. When does your communication become smooth/hard?

9.2. What is the tome of your communication with Donjo?

10. Have you ever been in disagreement with Donjo member?

10.1. What was the incident

10.2. How do you settle it?

10.3. Have ever won a disagreement in your favor?

10.4. Please tell me some incidents.

11. What do you do to manage the influence that comes from Donjo member?

11.1. Have you eliminated your difference with a Donjo member and tried to fit in with them?

(Do you agree with their idea and forget your and conform with them?)

11.2. Do you ignore them and hold on to your idea?

11.3. Have you ever challenged the Donjo member about their view of you?

11.4. Or do you have your own communication method in such cases?

11.5. Can you give me some incidents

12. What do you think of your capability to influence the Donjo member, who marginalized you for years, perception of you?

13. Have you got any reasonable opportunity to stand for your motive or desire?

14. In what situation do you find yourself comfortable to talk to Donjo member?

14.1. What made you uncomfortable?

- 14.2. Can you mention some situation please?
- 14.3. What places do you often interact with Donjo?
- 14.4. Do you think this places make you feel better about yourself or made you realize that you are a marginalized group member?
  - 14.4.1. Why?
  - 14.4.2. tell me some incidents
- 15. Do you anticipate the outcome of your communication when you interact with donjo member?
  - 15.1. What communication processes do you use? Those favorable ones or those logical and time taking ones?
  - 15.2. What is the impact of those communication?
  - 15.3. If favorable, do you feel satisfied?
  - 15.4. If unfavorable what do you feel?
- 16. Have ever felt lowliness?
  - 16.1. Can you mention the incident?
  - 16.2. Does that come to you often?
- 17. Do you feel marginalized in your society?
  - 17.1. If yes, what made you feel that way?
  - 17.2. If no, how come you feel that way?

## Appendix 2 Transcribed Quotations *Shekinono* Version

The superscripted numbers over the English version used in the presentation are synchronized with the bulletin numbers here under.

1. Ando gin, non kerro gijachete. Mach no betto. Godoyis no betto andi bulli.
2. Bono emibetton mayo no qayiqata, donjonoshi non nagibetonoshine. (Interview)
3. ‘Donjo non maye madde tommo non shegache. Ei beyachone. Dinabaros/ Mach no betto.’ (Interview)
4. ‘nowo shekachonili. Gin [excels his breath] Shekinono dittebetonoli. No qeyo gin barrone. Eko alonone. Eke maddos matanone.
5. ‘tamare kerro ta yokiqina, Manjo tamarachewone ketiki tan kerro wotihette. Manjo Donjo eki tunegata koko’s chudewone. Donjon tapewone hetikina ta yokiyete.
6. ENGLISH INTERVIEW
7. no giddo gittebegata bulina no gitteyo tao’s desh bettone tane kero gen non shegachete. Ekine Pic’o tao’n gitteyi Donje mechene tane non shegachewonoshine arros. (Interview)
8. ‘Tan shiteyo baddone. Hanigizona alone wondi buli tan shitachewonoshine.’
9. ‘Daffo begata, non chegachete.....Donjo eki mit’one bono shunewo.’
10. ‘Donjo non garros chegachewone. Effo no terribeto buli no qellona kititto no arigataniye. Non bedachewonoshine.’
11. ‘Donjo no gene amo buli kemetawonoshina. Bono kemigatta Eyo oye Gejjona mitt’o mit’one. majiyebate moyon no gene kemetachewonoshine.’

12. SHANNO: Manjo ekine Pic'o netetachewone. No mechewo giddo git'ibegata bulina bi git'eyo desh beti ta'oniye. Mayo eki matachonone. Donjo kerro no terigata qondona niye nos ukiyewo. Hani buliena bare qondos geditin kejinosiye nos uffeyewo.
13. Donjo kero no hamigatta Deshiye no kotaka buno esseyo. Mayo mat'os no mabetto. No wac'oo barone. Kisho yeshetachonone.
14. andi bulli on kerro gijachete. Mach no betto. Barre qichona nos mayo emiyewo. Godoyis no betto andi bulina. Bono emibetti mayon no qaligatta, Donjonoshi non nagibetonoshine.
15. non kerro gijachewonoshine. Donje kerros giyetachewone.
16. Donjo bise kammon dojiye tane Manjo tetas yetetachewone. No tommo Michiqina no gannon yetetachewone. Hani girra nowo ditetachonone. Gin bono qebittana ditetonoli.
17. Ottos no chegiyegata, ottos no hamigatta no ditto wagata ditetachonone. Ebose eko be yero kesiqi detetachinene hetie.
18. ta'o tas badone. Ta echetena Donjo nona tata giyanashi nes showo emetachewone hetiyete.
19. ENGLISH INTERVIEW
20. wondi amobuli echachonone. Kobuli godo shegachenone. Gashe boshu bul shegachonone. Kotebe dech kotebe non bono geteyo.
21. No beyyo arijiyetanone diqi dinnibarro adde mahone. Manjo Donjo eki pessos net'etachonone.'
22. Wondi Donjon diggo echibegata, erasho tunegata 'Adde Addarate~Moggos Qebane' hetiyon. Bimechen 'Shebe Showos qeban' hetiyon.
23. Andi gize gunatach gin, gizo wonetanone. Ando dio no echibegata 'ne mane wutibe' 'ta qitibane' hetibetonone.

24. Ta mabeton muchegata qolaqa dachiwo. Bonno emo kajigata wetahoye.
25. Doe Donjo mago teriqa takisho offee hetaqa qolahoye. Arre bek bono imiga mahoye, badaata chick hetaqa wetahoye.
26. Ando bono shiqeyiwo gira nowo bonoshi eki beyachon. Eki kotetachon. Bonoshi teriots tearchon.
27. garros teranone. Donjo chegita bulina ta terachewotane. Arro no hamigatta ashomo non beachewonoshine. Eshigina, terachetane
28. Garros terachone. Effos shegachone. Aro no terigata non qeliyete. Hani girra bono ba hamachone. Bono dittebei ta'o shegchone.
29. Donjo beqelina bi betto. Tawo ta qeonaniye ta betto. Beqeo shegache. Ida matahce ida beyache.
30. Sheki tao's no begata amo buli berachone. Eshi gara ekike abo bonoshi digo echetachone. Digo echetachonone. Nono bono moyo echitagata wochachonone. Ta yerona mitone ta dittyeo.
31. Andi ta hamigata bonoshi eki michiqa ditehoye. Bonoshiwo Akakene deli waqaniya. Kotebe hetiqi tas mayo emiyete. Gijjo buli emiyete. Bonosi kamona diteqa ta yetebeti moyon qolaqa dachibetane.
32. Hatiyetta getache. Aregone kelidona getaqana ta yetebeti moyon damoye. Gijjoo ta echibegata, ta shuno doji shunita metto tas qochiyis gedoye.
33. ta eereto yet'igata ta gijon yechika ere to deqoye. Ta gurretona hamaqaniye tas bono emeyo.

34. ta yetebeti myon ta dachibetoo qolaqaniye. tayeteti moyo begata wajji karron gedayine.  
Are bek gepe tato amone hetiki ta echahe. ‘Tamoyon wajibane hetaqa waqiniye’ dello  
ta yeshena....giro ta yeshena tanugushocho’ hetaqa qoliyo.
35. Donjo ta gendon deqiqina tan tuqi. Kajaqa wotahoye. Ta hajjon deqiqi tas tegeyo genno  
muchaho. Yeris emaq wetaho. Andi bedo tas wechanone. <sup>[35]</sup>
36. Donjo be yetigata non yettiye tane. Amo buli wocho wochachonone. Dergo  
waqina...hanin bullo essiye. Non tatihe.
37. Gijjo nos tunoyis yetetachewone. Non tuqiyete. Nowo aksiseye hitiki echetachonone.  
Chik hetiki no betto.
38. bonoshi dittebegata, amo buli echetache. Yeris emaqa kejoye. Chick hetaqaniye ta  
beyond ta beyewo.
- 39.** Hagor ika donjo ne nao ta Dinichon mahaete hetikina, masharo chegiti tegatena ta  
Gatton damiye. Ta teggo aritache. Ta gijjon deqiyete. Mangist erashos getetane. Shoe  
geno kebiqi be gijjo wochibe gettena bare tego ta bettone hetie Donjo. Teggo aritanone  
ta tunitini, hanomo ta gettiye. Ta gijjo muc’etani ela chik heteqaniye ta beto. Firde kero  
hammatane ts gijjo badone. Higo mit’o qicheye tane Shekaco andi bedo watanone.  
Aritanonosina heitiqina no gijjo mabetone. Mi’o begata bulina tas wochewonoshine.  
Tawo higo shewiwoo.
40. Otto no chegiyegata, ottos no hamigatta, no ditto wagata ditetachonone. Nowo chik  
hitoyon. No kerro wetahone.
41. yet’o tunegata yetiyon. Arebek wodiyomo shetachonone.
42. bonoshi tan tuqigata yetebetane. Donjo bulabo non moyo yetihe. Nagabetete. Nowo  
karabetonone.

43. wondi no shetibetto gira karetaconone. Donjo getitos teriyon. Gettiteon teqabaliwon.  
Tunebe hetii wotahone.
44. Gabiyo goodo Donjo eki no denebotonone. Bono hac'ibeto gira bonoshi gettiton  
teqabaliqi no qic'on kemiqi wetahon. Donjo no ba watachewone. None hamik'I bono  
eki detwo.
45. Hanno bono bebe hetgata beyoye. Ebo tunebe hitigata tunehoye. Ekiko nagiyete. Tawo  
wochachotane. Bono showon soc'iwon. Bono goddon gittiyon. Haninaniye no betto.
46. Wondi wata maddon maddibe hetiyete. Maddo maddon no kayigata showose yokiyete.  
No gaffo watiqi bare ta'os teriyon. Arro keero hagiqi beyon.
47. Shappa ashi yero hetena no tomo michibetonoshine. Ashi yerro noli gin, bonoshi  
qebachewonoshi gira, chik hetiqini no betto.
48. Hani beqi wedachonone. Eshi gira eka abo kessaqa teretona hetatane. Donjo nos do'o  
debachewone. Hanis beyo fakatane. Eshi gira bare ta'o ta hammeyo.
49. Donjo beqeli bei beto. Tawo bonoshi ba shegache. Digo echo gutina bono kerro terache.  
Donjo eki ditetache. Ta dittebeto tayerona niye. Te qeli ashe tane.
50. *Tamaro gishi aribetane. Awudine (4) kiflo bedo temaritane. Are bek ta yero ta gecheda.  
Eki tamarachenone Donjo hetena kajaqa kero wetaho. Tawo shetawo temaro hamo.  
Eshi shetose kesiqina ta affo dogiye. Ta tamaro dogiye.*
51. Janoyiwoba chot'omo no betto. Dinbaros no betto. Ko buli non qebachewone. Dergo  
waqina hanin esiye. Non tatiye. Ta buli dergoba Shengo ma'c giyiqana ditetane. Non  
wodito dergone.
52. Dergo waqi non kero gijieye. Donjo kerro giyit eki no matto dergobaniye.



53. Sheki tao's no begata amo buli berachonone. Ehadigo waqin getitoli, gin amo buli tegabaro badone. Sheki showos wodo nons badone andi bulina.
54. Ando shiqiyebetonoli. Mengisto c'ic'ibetone. Gin Donjo nos wetatachewone.
55. Andi ta aribeti Donjo kerro ta hamigata tan kerros gijiyete. Gijjo imiyete. Ta daligata mayo emiyete. Are bek bonnoshi eki dubiqa kasiqa wotahoye.
56. Yero tamchn aribetonone. Donjo emigata embi emano gatta kaye hetekanye ta kesabetto. Tamchona emewonosine hetaka mahamatane. Gibanona ta hamabetane. Tibe tunegata eetane. Bono bayigata yerinn galataka wotahoye.
57. Donjo bi machon bishachewone non ditebegata. Marrona gubeno hachiye. Bi hacho barrone. Hanigira qabiye Donjo mac'on aribetonone. No arito gira no kellona asbiyon tane amo buli kechetachonone.
58. teggos terachotane. Tan bono qachewon aribetane. Donjowo nos masharetachewone. Shulito Manjon masharetachewone. Hani gira ta kamona ta terewo.
59. ENGLISH INTERVIEW
60. Shape yerro tali, Amo buli echetache. Bonoshi hetiton eshi hetiki teqebelo gutina. Amo buli bono iki karetahe.
61. Donjo yerro meto tuneto gira amo buli kechetachonone. Bonno nagibegata teggo terachotane. Kejji teriqi no kerro kotahone. Donjo non karagata wochachonone.
62. donjo tan nagigata, nagoye. Yetigata yetoye. Wondiyomo qoniqa werotos kotiqi yeto badone. Andi ta mabiron aribetane. Eshi gina kos buli wetatocheo tane.
63. No mebatos amobuli kac'abetonone gin bono yerro metto gira teggo nos emiyetachewone. Eshigina chik hitiqi ta betto. Ta yerro shapon aribetal, andi bedo siqiyebetali. Akisiye bono eki ta karewo?

64. *Donjo getiton eshi etaqa ta betto. Eki manjo gondigata bulon bono eki yeteyewo. Hani kina Donjo sherona beyone. Donjo getitona beyone.*
65. hagor ta showon qeqiyena tas showo imbote hetawa echewoye. Donjo no tomo chepaniyashi. No eki tatanashi nesh showo badone emiyetachewone hitiyete. Amo buli kareyetatane. Ta qelonaniye ta beto.
66. Hanni showos mit'o no betto. Are gina ko buli eki karatachotane.
67. Amo bulii fakko nos badone. Bula abo echebetonone. Erasho buli getena t'ello fokiyeki no betto.
68. Donjo eki kariyetatane. Ta gijjon bono de'ena tegabetane. Genoch getetane. Yach yach hetibeqi andi bedo kochanone. Uche natto tunetone. Ditto ta showito gira bono tegonaniye ta betto.
69. kariyaqa aritatane. Chik etaka ta betto tane kariyeatatene. Amo buli tunegata Donjo ik karetaache. Donjo bi yetegata non yetiye tane no meliso buli wechachonone.
70. Donjo aribeqi no yetibetone. Hanomi karro tunetena nowo karabetinone. No malison mengistos git'ibetonone.
- Donjo showon shotiye. Daroo no gediton tep'i tep'i dinbaro yokiye. Tukiyete. Teggo no terigata, bi yerros yepiqi donjo gallo guti. Manjo ditto eberone, qebeyo badone. Ta haqon deqiiq, kitato giyiye.
71. bono eki karaqana tego teritali. Gin ko buli tas masheratache. Chik hetawa ta betto.
72. Donjo showon shotiye. Daroo no gediton tep'i tep'i dinbaro yokiye. Tukiyete. Teggo no terigata, bi yerros yepiqi donjo gallo guti. Manjo ditto eberone, qebeyo badone. Ta haqon deqiiq, kitato giyiye.

73. Amo bulli Donjon echetache. Chick hetaqa ta qebeyo. Are bekiye, bonno echeata ta ditteyo. Bonno yerro meto tuneto gira chick hetoye, ta shapon aribetane.
74. ENGLISH INTERVIEW
75. Ottos no hamigata, amo buli ditetachoone. No shetibeto gira chik hetiqi wetahon.
76. Bono wochon qebitinye no dittewo. Bono ditto wereto barro tunetto girra chick hetokne. Chik hetikiniye no betto.
77. no qellon dech gediqiniye no ereto no dachibeto. No qellon bono afos gishiqiniye no betto. Ottos no hamigata, amo buli ditetachoone. No shetibeto gira chik hetiqi wetahon.
78. Andi gin no hamigatta ‘ta qebbane, mano wutibe’ hetaqa ta moyon Donjos Gittiyo..... No tommo bono gedditon yeris emiqi no betto....Donjo hachon no aribetto gira teqriqi no mache ditton ditetachonone.
79. Donjo goddo no hami getigatta, no gulibete shapo girra, ne manachi neli abisiqa hanin dittene hetiwoshi gira ta hamigata bono tan echemo tunaqa kotahoye. Are bek ditto tajameriw.
80. Wondi buli diggo no echewo bi Ashikeron tane, Donjo gitetachonone. Arowo bi ashikeron nos wocho wochiyewo.
81. wajoyis karrona kerro gedoye. Are bek Donjo tas emiye. Bonosi kesiqi ‘amo yetane Manjachine’ bono hetto bedo qotoye.
82. Are be qelidona ta ditteyowo. Qelidona ta yetebeti moyon tas bonoshi emeyos echaho. Bonoshiw ‘ye akakne’ hetiqi michiqi tas emiyete.
83. Ta ditteyo Donjo eki tunegata bono keero hamaqa ta net’ena gibi bono hetigata giyiwo. Are bek diggo echeke. Ta moyon gittiyo. Bono hetikton teqabaliqa wotaho.

## **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and all sources of materials used for this study have been appropriately acknowledged.

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Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

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Place of submission: Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia