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*Striking a Balance between Local Capacities for
Peace and External Intervention:*

The Case of the Manjo in Southern Ethiopia

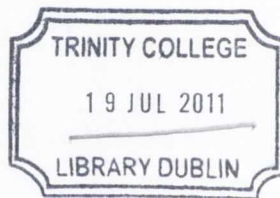
March 2011

Federica De Sisto

A dissertation submitted to the University of Dublin
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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THESIS
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SUMMARY

This thesis explores why culture should be considered a complementary tool to conflict transformation in the Kaffa society of Southern Ethiopia. The hypotheses upon which the thesis is based are that both local resources and external intervention alone have limited capacities to produce change in the highly polarized society of Kaffa, where the Manjo and the Kafecho groups have developed negative stereotypes of each other over the course of centuries. The collaboration between the locals' capacities to disengage from violence and external actors in conflict is suggested to be a promising, and so far unexplored, path to achieving the end of direct violence and changing the cultural elements that give reason to violence. Enemy images based on destructive narratives distort individuals' and groups' thinking by influencing negatively cognitive processes such as attention, memory and attribution. At the same time, the collaboration between local and external actors could help promote and sustain a counter culture of peace and peaceful coexistence.

Chapter 1 provides a detailed overview of each of the chapters in the thesis. Chapter 2 focuses on the methodology employed for the thesis. Chapter 3 explores and clarifies the theoretical concepts used for the thesis. Chapter 4 discusses the historical and cultural background of the Kaffa society that gives legitimacy to the discrimination of the Manjo group. It also provides details about a project promoted by an international NGO which seeks to curtail the marginalisation of the Manjo. Chapter 5 is an illustration of the findings of this research. The primary material collected and the opinions and views of research participants are extensively used in the chapter. Chapter 6 gives a critical analysis of what each chapter has to say in the light of the main purpose of the thesis. Based on such assessment recommendations are put forward for future considerations. Chapter 7 is a summary of all the chapters in the thesis. It aims to reinforce the argument of the thesis as supported by the case study.

Acknowledgements

The journey that has resulted in this PhD started in 2004 as a response to my first encounter with the Manjo group of Southern Ethiopia. Once my first contact with the Manjo was established, I felt the moral responsibility not to relegate that experience to the corner of unimportance in my life path. The enrolment in a PhD programme in Peace Studies was in fact driven by that encounter and feelings of powerlessness attached to it.

Since that time in Ethiopia, various people, some of them inadvertently, enriched my life and taught me much about the appreciation of differences and the excitement of discovery.

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Acronyms, notes on orthography, names, Ethiopian calendar, and glossary

ACRONYMS

AAE	ActionAid Ethiopia
AAU	Addis Ababa University
AI	Appreciative Inquiry
CBOs	Community based Organizations
CDR	Customary Dispute Resolution
EHRC	Ethiopian Human Rights Council
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FAO	United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDR	Informal Dispute Resolution
LCP	Local Capacities for Peace
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
RBA	Rights-Based Approach
SNNPRS	Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
SOSA	Sociology and Social Anthropology
ToR	Terms of Reference
ToT	Training of Trainers
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

NOTES ON ORTHOGRAPHY, NAMES AND ETHIOPIAN CALENDAR

Orthography

No attempt has been made to adhere to a systematic orthography of transliteration into English of terms originating in Ethiopian languages. Ethiopian terms and names are rendered in commonly used and recognised English forms. This includes the practice of adding English plural suffixes to words in Amharic.

Names

Ethiopians, do not have family surnames and as a result, the common practice, which is followed here, is to either write their full names (individual's name followed by his or her father's name) or to use only their first name. For Ethiopian authors and bibliographical listings the first and second names are inverted: author's father's name is followed by author's name.

Ethiopian Calendar

The Ethiopian Calendar consists of 365 days divided into thirteen months: twelve months of thirty days each plus one month of five days (six in leap years). The beginning of the Ethiopian New Year is 11 September. From 11 September to 31 December, the Ethiopian year runs seven years behind the Gregorian year; thereafter the difference is eight year. In this study Ethiopian dates and years have as closely as possible been translated into the Gregorian calendar.

ETHIOPIAN TERMS¹

<i>Aadii</i>	Disease probably caused by malnutrition
<i>Abba</i>	Lit. 'Father'. Ethiopian title of respect given to religious and highly regarded individuals
<i>Alamo</i>	Name given to a medium possessed by a spirit
<i>Asho</i> (Kaffi-noono)	Lit. 'Human being'. Alternative name to define the farming majority of Kaffa
<i>Birr</i>	Ethiopian Currency. One <i>birr</i> is equivalent to around 0.050 Euro
<i>Dabo</i>	Crop harvesting associations
<i>Derg</i>	The military committee formed in 1974. By extension the period of socialist regime in power from 1974 to 1991
<i>Donjo</i> (Kaffi-noono)	Lit. 'Master'. It is another name used to refer to the farming majority of Kaffa
<i>Eddir</i>	Traditional burial association
<i>Eko</i>	Guidance spirit of the traditional belief in Kaffa
<i>Ekub</i>	Traditional saving association

¹ Terms listed are Amharic unless otherwise specified.

<i>Enjera</i>	Yeast-risen flat bread spongy texture. It is traditionally made out of <i>teff</i> flour and is considered the staple food in Ethiopia
<i>Enset</i>	Popularly known as ‘false’ banana. A plant that resembles closely the banana plant. Extracts from its roots and stem provide the most widely-consumed food in Southern Ethiopia
<i>Ferenji</i>	Popular term to refer to foreigners. It is mostly used to identify people from outside the African continent
<i>Gejera</i>	Lit. ‘Machete’
<i>Gishi-yaro</i> (Kaffi-noono)	Lit. ‘People of low clans’. Used to define serfs at the time of the Kaffa Kingdom
<i>Gomoro</i>	Alternative name to define the Kafecho
<i>Gonde-yaro</i> (Kaffi-noono)	People of the bad clan. It refers to the Manjo hunters
<i>Gumare</i>	Hippopotamus
<i>Habesha</i>	Lit. ‘Inhabitants of Abyssinia’. Although the term Abyssinia strictly refers to the Northwestern Ethiopian provinces of Amhara and Tigray and central Eritrea, it was historically used as an alternative name for Ethiopia.
<i>Kabechino</i> (Kaffi-noono)	A group of elders playing a key role in mediation
<i>Kabecho</i> (Kaffi-noono)	Lit. ‘Aged person’
<i>Kebele</i>	Smallest unit of local government, best regarded as neighbourhoods
<i>Kocho</i>	Widely-consumed staple food obtainable from the stem and root of the enset plants
<i>Negus(a)</i>	Lit. ‘King’. It is used for a king and at times also a vassal ruler in pre-1974 Ethiopia. It is

subsequently used to translate the word "king" in Biblical and other literature

Negus(a) Negast

Lit. 'King of the Kings' (emperor). It is a title of Ethiopian rulers. The title alludes to the imperial dynasty's claim to be descendants of King Solomon and Queen of Sheba

Oge-yaro (Kaffi-noono)

Lit. 'People of high clans' notably owners of slaves and land during the Kaffa Kingdom

Sharrare-yaro (Kaffi-noono)

Lit. 'Clans lacking essential qualities'. Another name to refer to serfs during the Kaffa Kingdom

Showoch qebon (Kaffi-noono)

Lit. 'May I lie on the ground for you'. Greetings for high clan members at the time of the Kaffa Kingdom

Shunio (Kaffi-noono)

Lit. 'Reconciliation'

Tato (Kaffi-noono)

Meaning divine kinship. Peculiar characteristic of the organization of the kingdom of Kaffa

Teff

A type of grain, which is grown primarily as a cereal crop in Ethiopia and from which a staple bread is produced

Tejj

Honey mead

Woreda

Administrative division of Ethiopia equivalent to a district managed by a local government

List of ethnic groups mentioned in the thesis

Amhara	One of the main ethnic groups in Ethiopia living in the north central highlands in the Amhara Region
Chara	Ethnic group living in the north part of the Kaffa zone, in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Degala	Group of tanners living in the Dawro zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Fuga	Despised group living in various zones of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. They cannot be defined by their craft because they do different works in different areas (e.g. tanner-potters and woodworkers). They occupy the lowest social stratum in the society in which they live as a result of the accusation of eating the meat of animals not religiously slaughtered
Kafecho	Dominant farming majority living in the Kaffa zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Kemmo	Occupational group of blacksmiths found in Kaffa zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Manjo	Discriminated group of hunters. They are found in different zones of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State and also in Gambela and Oromia regions. They always occupy the lowest level of the social hierarchy
Manno	Occupational group of tanner-potters. They are found in the Kaffa zone and Dawro zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. The Manno are believed to eat the meat remaining on the hide when they skin an animal. Because of this, they are discriminated against by the surrounding dominant farming majorities
Meen	Ethnic group living in the foothill of Kaffa zone, in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Mejenger	Ethnic group living in the Sheka zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. They are also found in the Gambela and Oromia regions
Nao/Nayi	Semi-nomadic group living in the southern part of the Kaffa zone, in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Oromo	The largest ethnic group in Ethiopia. They are found in the south, western and central part of the country

Shamano	Occupational group of weavers living in the Kaffa zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Shekacho	Dominant farming majority living in the Sheka zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Sheko	Minority group living in the Sheka zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
Tigre	Tigre-speaking minority from the Tigray region of Northern Ethiopia at the border with Eritrea. The term Tigre is used in opposition to the Tigrigna-speaking majority of Tigray and is regarded as derogatory in some Tigray/Tigrayan circles.
Tumano	Occupational group of smiths who live in the Kambata zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The support of outsiders in conflict-prone societies is often important in addressing social change and the 1990s saw a growing awareness of the relationship between aid and conflict, which included a better understanding of the potential impact of external aid in terms of ameliorating or exacerbating conflict (Anderson, 1999). This is an issue which aid practitioners need to confront if they hope to tackle the big question of democratisation and prevention or resolution of violent conflicts, and deter their recurrence. This support is even more necessary when the society where conflict occurs is asymmetrical, that is to say, characterized by unequal access to many fields such as economic resources, political power, education, health care or legal standing. Such inequality could be considered a form of structural violence (Galtung, 1969).

Structural inequities that are longstanding usually seem ordinary and can lead to suffering and death as frequently as direct violence (Galtung 1969 and 1990) though the damage is slower, more subtle, more commonplace, and more difficult to repair. Cultural violence, the symbolic violence built into a culture, on the other hand, does not kill or hurt in the same way that direct violence or the violence built into the structure does, but it is used to legitimise either or both (Galtung, 1990). All three forms of violence are problematic in and of themselves, and they are also dangerous because each of them frequently leads to the other two.

Eventually, an effective intervention in asymmetrical conflicts must act to reduce or eliminate violence, in whatever form, from society. This involves profound social change and thus the initiation of processes and policies that result in modifications of structures and institutions so that they better respond to the needs and aspirations of the marginalised sectors of society. While direct and structural forms of violence, because of their immediate manifestation, are given constant consideration by academicians and practitioners, the cultural dimension receives

little attention. If nothing is done about this situation, the end result of an intervention aimed at transforming conflict may produce only a Pyrrhic victory or could even set in motion unexpected counter processes. How can we break the “vicious cycles” of violence? How can we sustain and deepen social change? How can cultural violence be addressed?

Culture is one of the basic theoretical terms in the social sciences and it also constitutes the central theme of the thesis. Although there is no standard definition of culture, most alternatives incorporate the ‘Boasian postulates’ in a working definition, wherein culture is defined as:

The system of shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviours, and artifacts that the members of society use to cope with their world and with one another, and that are transmitted from generation to generation through learning (Bates and Plog, 1990, p. 7).

This complex definition encompasses four different characteristics of culture:

1. Symbolic composition. A symbol is something that represents some piece of information by association. All cultural elements including material artefacts exhibit a symbolic character. Ceremonial objects and arts for instance, have symbolic meanings and are intentionally created to represent them.
2. Systematic patterning. Cultural elements as symbols assume their meanings in relationship to other symbols within a broader context. To interpret a symbol, therefore, it is important to investigate the relations between elements and the presence of principles able to connect symbols to form larger patterns and cultural wholes.
3. Learned transmission. Culture traits and broader cultural patterns such as language, technology, institutions, beliefs and values are transmitted across generations through learning.
4. Societal grounding. Culture can be abstracted from individuals' actions and attributed to the social groups to which they belong. Accordingly, anthropologists focus more on the common denominator of collective

identity and symbols and less on individual responsibility and creativity.

Those aspects of culture which constitute the symbolic sphere of our existence, exemplified by beliefs, values and ideas, language and art, can be used to justify or legitimize discriminating actions.

This research explores the importance of addressing the theme of cultural violence in the traditional Kaffa society of Southern Ethiopia, where the Manjo group is severely discriminated against by the surrounding farming majority Kafecho. The Manjo in fact, are among the most discriminated people of Ethiopia. They are seen as pagans and polygamists, extravagant, with a low sense of morality, untrustworthy and quick to anger (Yoshida, 2008). Their low status and negative image are rooted in legends transmitted orally from a generation to the next which constitute the very nub around which the social hierarchical organization of the Kaffa society is centred.

The groups in this category are stereotyped by the farmer neighbours as being lawless, uncivilised people associated with the wild bush rather than the domesticated village (Freeman, 2001, p. 309).

Cultural elements, manifested in long-lasting negative myths and stereotypes built around the notion of purity and pollution, foment, justify and encourage the discrimination of this group in the society.

Manja is a tribe or clan, culturally and historically different from the rest of the Kaffa. In the past they did something which was not accepted – perhaps eating dead animals. It is said that they used to be the leaders in this area, but now they are marginalized, in fact not really considered as human.¹ (In Vaughan, 2003, p. 277).

In a society where food is a ‘transmitter’ of social status, those who eat certain animals, are considered as polluted and placed at the bottom of the rigid social hierarchy.

¹ This is an extract from an interview by Sarah Vaughan taken in Bonga, the administrative centre of the Kaffa zone on June 29, 2002.

Although the Manjo lifestyle has changed in the last decade and they no longer hunt for a living, certain core ideas about them have remained unchanged and are simply incorporated into the new situation, keeping the discrimination alive today. Overall, attempts at progressive social change have met with little success, as these efforts seem to omit or pay little attention to the culture that sustains the violence.

Within this context, the research proposes to explore and attempt to understand:

- (i) The role and impact of local resources in conflict (local capacities for peace) in shaping the Manjo-Kafecho relations;
- (ii) The role and impact of a project aimed at alleviating the discrimination of the Manjo implemented by the international NGO ActionAid Ethiopia.

The thesis argues that, in the light of the various dynamics of conflict in Kaffa:

- Local resources for peace might not be able to achieve social change alone. These resources emerge from traditional culture which is believed to be the primary source of prejudices, and consequently have within themselves the seeds of social injustice (local systems and mechanisms to make peace, for instance, might not be adequately gender-sensitive and exhibit trends of unequal representation and participation). Moreover, when local actors' negative images of each other feed the conflict, they may be too polarized to discern ways out of the conundrum;
- External intervention alone might fail to achieve transformation in the society. While inspired by good intentions and universal values of justice and fairness, the methods for making peace usually adopted might lack local support and, in the end, are more likely to achieve results of limited duration;
- The collaboration between outsiders and insiders in a conflict seems to be the most promising path to alleviate the cultural dimension of violence. Elements of local culture are responsible for the creation of discriminatory behaviour and for its continuation across generations and centuries.

However, the culture is also the most promising hope for conflict transformation as local oral tradition more often than not also contains the seeds of peace. A constructive counter-narrative of shared values could be shaped from this oral tradition and promoted with the help of external actors, whose vision about the conflict has not been affected by long-term exposure to it.

The research does not claim that the use of local culture can solve all the problems between the Kafecho and the Manjo, nor that all the problems between these groups are cultural in nature. Rather, it argues that the collaboration between outsiders and insiders in conflict in the area of culture, can be a potential tool as yet unexplored but worth investigating, to help in the transformation of the conflict in Kaffa.

Chapter 2 outlines aims, objectives and research questions of the study and the means through which these research questions were answered. The research approach and methodology employed are also discussed. Data collection processes, techniques, instruments, location and schedules are presented as part of this chapter. The main ethical considerations and limitations arising from the conduct of this research are also outlined.

Chapter 3 provides the main theoretical framework of the thesis. It is divided into three sections. Section 3.1 looks at the limits of local actors and resources in conflict and why the collaboration with external actors is important. Section 3.2 explores the main limitations of external intervention in conflict and the need to combine it with local resources. Section 3.3 explores in more detail the ground for collaboration between these two types of resources. Taking the best from both of them, and combining the two approaches, could result in a strategy of conflict transformation where the recourse to local culture helps in establishing tighter links among adversaries.

Chapter 4 constitutes a background context for the research. The main features of the Manjo discrimination, its real and perceived causes, the history and evolution of marginalisation up to the present are discussed. A brief description of a project by the international NGO ActionAid Ethiopia aimed at alleviating the discrimination of this group is presented in the second part of the chapter.

Chapter 5 discusses the findings of the research as related to the three hypotheses explored in chapter 3. Section 5.1 looks at the role of local capacities for peace and local dispute resolution in the Kaffa society. Section 5.2 assesses the impact of the ActionAid Ethiopia programme on the livelihood of the Manjo. Section 5.3 incorporates destructive and constructive elements of the Kaffa culture which are believed to be relevant to the purpose of the research. The opinions and views of the interviewees are used extensively in this chapter.

Chapter 6 provides a critical analysis of what each chapter has to say in the light of the main purpose of the research. Based on the assessment, recommendations are also made for future considerations. The analysis supports the argument of the thesis on the need to combine external and internal ways of making peace and encourage the use of local culture as a unifying factor and as an institution for conflict resolution.

Chapter 7 represents the conclusion of the thesis where the main points discussed earlier are reiterated. Although more remains to be learned, this chapter points out that if the suggestions reported in the previous chapters were integrated into projects against the discrimination of the Manjo carried out by outside third-parties, the interventions of the latter would be more sustainable and would better support, encourage and strengthen the capacities of people to organize themselves and achieve changes.

CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES, LOCATION, DESIGN AND METHODS

Introduction

This chapter aims to give an overview of the objectives of the study and of the means through which the objectives are pursued. It presents an outline of the research location, approach and methodology employed. Data collection processes, techniques, instruments and schedules are also presented as part of the chapter. Sampling procedures of the participants are discussed. Finally, ethical issues and limitations arising from the conduct of the study are considered.

2.1 Objectives

This research is designed to:

1. Examine and show possible limits of local capacities for peace in the community in which the Manjo group live;
2. Assess the impact of the intervention of the NGO ActionAid Ethiopia (AAE) to alleviate the discrimination of the Manjo;
3. Explore the role of cultural elements in conflict creation and their potential for conflict transformation.

2.2 Location

The Manjo are a small discriminated group who are dispersed across the wider geographical areas in the Kaffa zone of southern Ethiopia and live among the cultivating majority Kafecho.

Selection of the districts in Kaffa zone for carrying out the research has been driven by a concern to assess the impact of AAE's project to alleviate the discrimination of the Manjo. For this reason field work was carried out primarily

in two districts: Gimbo *woreda*,¹ where the AAE project was on-going at the time of the research,² and Decha *woreda* where it ended in July 2006. In selecting Gimbo, I aimed at finding out how AAE carried out the activities, its strategy, goals and approach. Kaja Raba *kebele* in Gimbo *woreda*, was the site most visited, chosen because of its proximity to Bonga, the principal administrative and political centre of Kaffa zone. Being also an important trading centre, Bonga has attracted people from all over Ethiopia and for this reason the level of discrimination of the Manjo is believed to be lower than in other areas of Kaffa. Due to its proximity to the town, Kaja Raba can also be considered an urban environment (Van Halteren, 1996). This *kebele* is also home to a significant number of Manjo. The study focused on the Kaja Raba *kebele* village of Baho, about a thirty minute walk off the main road to Bonga. Decha *woreda*, on the other hand, was chosen to assess whether the AAE project, two years after its termination, had had long-term impacts on the population. If long term impacts were found, the study assessed the nature of the impact. In Decha *woreda* the research mainly focused on the rural *kebele* of Ermo, about six kilometres south of Chiri, the administrative centre of the district. Within this *kebele* the site most visited was the village of Copi Cocho. There are hardly any shops, government organizations or community-based services in Ermo *kebele*. To ensure optimum coverage, field work was not limited to the above mentioned areas; rather, intermittent visits were made to other sites in Kaffa, as part of an effort to obtain a comprehensive picture of the socio-cultural-political scene in the area.

2.3 The role of stakeholders

The help of stakeholders was revealed to be essential especially in setting up a first contact with the community. The Manjo in particular, after centuries of marginalisation, have internalised the sense of inferiority to such an extent that many of the elders were reluctant to concede interviews, feeling either that the

¹ *Woredas* are administrative divisions of Ethiopia (managed by a local government), equivalent to a district. They are typically collected together into zones and are divided into *kebeles* or neighbourhood associations, which are the smallest unit of local government in Ethiopia.

² The project in Gimbo *woreda* ended in December 2008.

discrimination of which they are victims is a deserved result of their past history, or that their situation will never change. The popularity of AAE and selected members of the Kaffa society helped to overcome the initial barrier of diffidence.

Yet, sometimes the link with the NGO showed itself to be disadvantageous, as research participants exaggerated their problem in an attempt to obtain economic help through the researcher from AAE. From the outset of the interviews the purely investigative nature of the study and the author's detachment from AAE was stressed. Despite this, many participants were initially found not to be honest in the evaluation of the organization. It was only after prolonged contact with the communities that respondents became confident and less suspicious, expressing their inner feelings openly during interviews.

2.4 The use of research assistants

Due to the author's insufficient knowledge of Kaffi-noono,³ the assistance of translators was essential during field work.

When a researcher needs the help of a translator to carry out the work, it is assumed that the interpreter must be neutral. However, as stated by Macpherson (2002), the interviewer can never be a depersonalised data collecting instrument purified of the bias. He argues that even the best approximation of a translation of a sentence into another language may be difficult in the heat of an unstructured interview (Macpherson, 2002).

More than simply interpreters, the translators were considered as 'research assistants'. Their experience in fact was invaluable for the research. However, they may have shown a tendency to control the interview, beyond the control of the researcher (Birbili, 2000). In these cases, it is important to take into account some

³ Kaffi-noono is the native and main language spoken in Kaffa. The language is also called Kaficho, Kafficho, Kefa, Keffa, Kaffa, Caffino, Manjo (Cerulli, 1951).

factors which influence the quality of the translation. Temple (1997) identified three main factors:

1. The interpreter's effect on the communicative process. For example, researchers who use translators need to acknowledge their dependence on that translator not just for words but to a certain extent for perspective. Furthermore, translators make decisions about, for example, how much detail to include, how to punctuate or where to note the tone in which a comment was made;
2. The interpreter's effect on the translation (English competence of the translator);
3. The interpreter's effect on the informant.

For this research two factors out of three have been identified as limitations:

- The interpreter's effect on the communicative process. I worked with four different research assistants (two for each research site) and in three out of four cases the research assistants were found to be persons used to explaining things and adding particulars rather than listening 'neutrally' and reporting only what has been said by the participants. Once, for instance, during an interview the participant was asked if he was familiar with any peace-making systems and was also asked to list them. While the participant mentioned only two systems and named them, in translating from Kaffi-noono into English the research assistant added explanations on how these systems worked;
- The interpreters' effect on the translation. As English language competencies of the research assistants were limited, it is probable that some important information was lost in translation.

To lessen the third factor mentioned by Temple (the interpreter's effect on the informant), the author resorted to the services of various interpreters. Having learned from a previous experience in researching the Manjo in 2004,⁴ two

⁴ From August to December 2004 I carried out research with the Manjo in the Sheka zone. Sheka

different translators were employed to engage in separate interviews with members of the Manjo and members of the dominant group in both research areas. In 2004 the interpreter coming from the agriculturalist majority refused to translate some of the questions to the Manjo. When he did, the Manjo seemed reluctant to speak out in front of him, most probably for fear of further exacerbation of their already-difficult relations with the dominant group. In this specific field visit, to allow the interviewees to express their thoughts and feelings, a Manjo translator was selected for interviews with the Manjo and two members of the Kafecho group for interviewing the Kafecho. In rural Decha *woreda* it was not possible to find a Manjo who spoke English; therefore, a translator not originally from Kaffa was selected. The four translators employed were members of the Kaffa society from its three diverse sub-groups: two Kafecho, one Manjo and one outsider Kaffa living in the zone for enough time to be considered as part of the society. They were selected under suggestion of the AAE staff who worked with them on previous occasions.

The following paragraphs present the methods of data collection used for the research in more detail, as well as the sample on which it is based. Ethical issues and limitations regarding these methods are also discussed.

2.5 Selection of methods

The design of the research and the methodology used for data collection depends on ideology and objectives. As Denzin and Lincoln (2003) point out, the particular class, gender, racial, and cultural perspective from which the researcher speaks, determine the way he or she is going to examine the topic chosen.

is a zone of Southern Ethiopia that borders with Kaffa zone. Among other groups, it is home of Manjo and Shekacho. The latter constitute the farming majority and strongly discriminate against the Manjo. My work consisted in exploring the relations between the Manjo and the Shekacho living in that area. It was carried out as part of an internship experience with an Italian NGO based in Ethiopia.

The sensitivity of the issue addressed also influences the choice of the methodological framework (Lee, 1993). Because this research involves working at the emotional level of individuals who have experienced some form of violence, the issue of sensitivity was particularly emphasised. Consequently, the research included a research method to deal with sensitivity as a legitimate variable instead of a limitation. For this reason, a qualitative methodology was selected and within it an ethnographic approach.

The ethnographic approach emerged as the most appropriate framework because of the author's personal belief that this method was more suitable for gathering data around the issue of social identity and ways in which the construction of the enemy image is carried out within the collective perception of a social group. For Ganiel (2005) the ethnographic approach more than other methodological frameworks allows researchers to access peoples' narratives, because it gives people the maximum freedom to express themselves. According to LeBaron (2003) once narratives are shared, elements of friction and bridges among members and groups emerge and they constitute the ground upon which changes in the group's social identity could be operated.

An additional reason for employing an ethnographic approach is that it focuses on how participants experience change. The focus on participants' perceptions is important in the following three ways:

1. Interpretation and understanding of changes that have happened can vary widely. The consideration of those who are directly experiencing changes which have taken place, is critical for the assessment of impact (Oakley, Pratt and Clayton 1998). In this case, the research aimed at assessing the impact of the AAE intervention on the Manjo-Kafecho relations;
2. Recognizing the dynamics of empowerment. Empowerment is a process which defines itself along the way. It deals with the improvement of people's internal strength and ability to change their relations with others. And once again, the only people who can assess changes in power

relations are those whose livelihoods are affected directly by the change (Oakley, 2001);

3. Assessing the contribution of the AAE's strategy. The exercise of linking changes observed to the intervention of AAE is accomplished primarily through the perception of the beneficiaries.

Based on these motivations, the author used ethnographic methods including semi-structured interviews and participant observation. This approach was integrated with a secondary literature review and field notes. The use of field notes, containing descriptions and ideas that exceeded the initial scope, helped corroborate or contradict the outcomes of interviews and participant observation and broaden the original lists of questions.

2.5.1 Primary data collection

The primary data corresponds to information which is compiled during and for the purposes of the research. The methods undertaken for this research were participant observation and semi-structured interviews.

Semi-structured interviews

Ganiel (2005) argues that 'open-ended' questions grant participants the freedom to explore issues that are more important for them. During this process researchers could come across new hypotheses to explore and ideas not included in the initial phase of the research. In addition to that, and in line with what was expressed by Punch (2009), the questions asked during field-work were broad. As Jones (1985, p. 46) puts it:

In order to understand other persons' construction of reality, we would do well to ask them...and to ask them in such a way that they can tell us in their terms (rather than imposed rigidly and *a priori* by ourselves) and in a depth which addresses the rich context that is the substance of their meanings.

The researcher was aware that the statements and questions did not have to be very detailed but rather needed to have the scope to capture most of the aspects of the preliminary information about the research problem. The questions also needed to gather sufficient data to answer the specified research questions as outlined in section 2.1.

Contrary to quantitative research, data gathered through semi-structured interviews are not generalisable to the larger population. This kind of interview is time-consuming and necessitates a small-size sample. However, Ganiel (2005) maintains that the advantage of open-ended questions is that they can better catch the complexity of human thoughts as they avoid the imposition of categories on participants. According to Ganiel (2005), this permits the researchers to go beyond over-simplified typologies as happens in large-scale quantitative research; the lack of a micro-level being a limitation of quantitative methods which may not pick up on thought processes.

As a result of the utilisation of this explorative approach, each interview lasted at least one hour, and some were longer. The presence of people other than the participant during individual interviews was avoided as much as possible to allow participants the maximum freedom to express themselves. All of the interviews were conducted in person, most took place at the participant's home, others at their workplace, three were held in cafés. They were taped and transcribed by the researcher, with only one of the participants declining having his narrative recorded.

Out of 63 interviews, 10 interviews were conducted in English, 2 in Amharic, the rest in Kaffi-noono, the native language of the overall majority of the participants. Some sections of the dissertation include excerpts and quotes from the interviews which were translated into English by the translator. The quotes of the participants may include informal terms, incorrect grammar and unusual sentence structure. These aspects of spoken language were not corrected at the time of writing as the

author wishes to ensure accuracy and maintain the integrity and authenticity of the original source.

Sample selection for interviews

According to Flick (2009), participation groups are formed on the basis of variables defined for the research and in which participants share similar background or characteristics in terms of the research topic. Based on the approach and objectives, the following criteria were elaborated for the definition of the sample:

- Small size: to acquire more detailed information;
- Variety of views: informants should be from different social groups;
- Representatives of the social setting (e.g. prominent members of Church and traditional institutions, as well as youth);
- Representatives of AAE intervention area (from different locations) and other NGOs and organizations working in Kaffa;
- Representatives of the various formal and non-formal institutions shaping the local context;
- Gender sensitivity.

In addition, the definition of the sample was based on two key ideas:

1. The sample should include informants from the Manjo as well as from the Kafecho group;
2. The sample should be stratified in order to record differences in views and social status within each group. As the sample should be rich in information, informants who were better at expressing themselves, reflecting and articulating their knowledge were selected (Johnson and Christensen, 2008). This argument affected the balance of the well-being and gender criteria as information in the end, was mainly collected where it was the most comprehensible for the research.

Initially, the research participants from the community were selected on the suggestions of assistants and advice from AAE staff. Occasionally, interviews were held with some people who were not selected as interviewees but who were interested or were believed to be of interest and importance to the objectives of the research. In order to select participants from local institutions, the author used a combination of 'snowball sampling method' and advice from research assistants.⁵

Overall, the process yielded 63 formal interviews. 44 participants were community members (of which 21 Manjo and 23 non-Manjo), 19 participants were listed as 'other actors'. This latter category included 4 NGO staff (three from AAE and one from Farm-Africa), 10 governmental officers or government appointed figures at different levels and 3 Church representatives (1 Orthodox, 1 Protestant and 1 Catholic). Two people working in the local branch of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) were also initially included as participants in an attempt to widen the overview of activities carried out in Kaffa in favour of the community. Their interview however, did not add extra value to the research as participants were unable to provide information on most of the questions asked.

An informal conversation was also held with the European Commission officer in charge of the EU programme which funded the project of AAE in Kaffa. Lack of time and the many commitments of the officer, did not allow a more formal and structured meeting to take place.

The number of 63 participants allowed the author to reach a 'saturation point' when new interviews seemed to yield little additional information.

For a detailed overview of the participants' demographic information, see Table 1, 2 and 3 at the end of the thesis. A full list of definitions of the acronyms, glossary

⁵ The 'snowball sampling method' consists in looking for participants for a study by soliciting names of potential participants from those already taking part in the study. According to Johnson and Christensen (2008, p. 239) "the sample can be viewed metaphorically as a snowball that is rolling down a hill, getting bigger and bigger".

and notes of usage of orthography for Ethiopian terms is provided at the beginning of the thesis.

Community members

The questions for members of the Kaffa society, both Manjo and non-Manjo, aimed at providing information about their social identity, the role of local resources in conflict, participants' evaluation of AAE intervention in Kaffa and perceived change happening in society.

Data were coded around themes (e.g. Punch, 2009; Johnson and Christensen, 2008, Ryan and Russell, 2003). The goal of the coding scheme is to allow a systematic review of the ideas contained in the interviews. “Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study” (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 56).

Responses from community members were categorized into broad themes identified as: ‘group identity’, ‘local capacities’, ‘ActionAid Ethiopia’ and ‘change’. The focus of the first theme was to investigate how the social identity of a group is constructed and the various avenues in which perceptions of self and the other become oppositional in conflict contexts. The second theme, ‘local capacities’ referred to the dual role of local resources in deepening divisions among groups and also in helping in the process of conflict resolution. The theme ‘local capacities’ was broken down into three sub-themes: ‘local systems to make peace’, ‘local narratives’ and ‘connectors other than local narratives and local systems to make peace’. The theme ‘local systems to make peace’ referred to local ways of administering justice within society members. The sub-theme ‘local narratives’ included stories told by participants as well as myths and metaphors related to intergroup relations. Local rituals were also included in this sub-category. The two faces of local narratives were analysed: they can in fact feed discrimination and violence but also constitute a hope for a positive shift towards mutual understanding and tolerance among members of society. The sub-theme

'connectors other than local narratives and local systems to make peace' referred to aspects of life (e.g. economic or political interdependence) which seemed to be connecting people in the midst of what divides them. These connectors were not however relevant in the context of local systems to make peace and local narratives. The theme 'ActionAid Ethiopia' gathered responses around the evaluation of the project of AAE to alleviate discrimination of the Manjo group. Responses were coded in more detail around three sub-themes: 'involvement', 'strengths' and 'weaknesses'. The first sub-theme aimed at providing details on the involvement of participants in the AAE's project; 'strengths' and 'weaknesses' referred to the perceived contribution and limitations of the AAE project in Kaffa. The theme 'change' referred to the perceived changes happening in society, and factors which contributed to the change. It also incorporated participants' suggestions on ways to overcome the discrimination.

Appendix 1 outlines the interview guide sample for community members.

Local government and external actors other than ActionAid Ethiopia

Under the label 'local government and external actors other than AAE' government representatives and officers at different levels, religious figures and other organizations working in the area were grouped. Questions aimed at exploring the relations between these actors and the Manjo, the position of these actors on discrimination, the relation between these actors and AAE, and the perceived change in Manjo's acceptance in mainstream society.

Data were coded around three broad themes: 'Stance', 'ActionAid Ethiopia' and 'change'. The theme 'stance' grouped questions around how the organization/institution considers the Manjo and what it does to lessen the discrimination of this group. Questions asked under the themes 'ActionAid Ethiopia' and 'change' were identical to the questions for community members. The sub-codes used were also the same.

Appendix 2 provides an outline of the interview guide sample for these actors. It is important to note, however, that not all the questions were posed to all the actors interviewed as some of them were not familiar with the issues asked.

ActionAid Ethiopia

The questions for ActionAid Ethiopia were designed to produce data around what the NGO does, its strategy, goals and approaches. Responses were coded around the themes of activities, participants, funding and challenges.

Appendix 3 outlines the interview guide sample for ActionAid Ethiopia.

Process of coding data

Responses from the interviews were manually coded. The narratives were compared within and between groups of the persons interviewed. This process contributed to build a complete picture of the day-to-day relations between Manjo and Kafecho and perceived factors affecting these relations.

The process of data coding was not as rigid as it may appear from this brief explanation. Responses sometimes followed into more than one theme and thus had to be coded under multiple categories. For instance, when community members talked about the formation of their group identity, they referred to local narratives and gave examples from everyday life to describe how the differentiation between them and the other groups is articulated. These kinds of responses were included in both the themes of local narratives and group identity.

2.5.2 Participant observation

As underlined by a conspicuous number of scholars (e.g. Atkinson and Delamont, 2008; Bernard, 2006; Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Brewer, 2000; Hammersley, 1998), the ethnographic approach allows involvement in participants' activities

and the study of people in their natural settings instead of under the experimental circumstances created by the researcher.

Participant observation allows for a more authentic understanding of people's thoughts, attitudes, beliefs and practices to the extent that "the observer seeks to become some kind of member of the observed group" (Robson, 2002, p. 314). As suggested by Barth (1993, p. 23), treating the social life that a researcher is surrounded by as the only reality and authority, enhances the chance "to learn from the only fully valid sources: people speaking and acting in a living society". A lot can be learnt from the people and their behaviours using this important anthropological methodology in field-work situations, asking questions as a naturalist, through field observation at marketplaces, in religious congregations and burial ceremonies, and by establishing a good rapport with the villagers,.

More specifically, in this research observation was mainly carried out:

- At Kafecho's houses;
- At Manjo's houses;
- At local drinking houses which accepted the Manjo;
- At the market;
- On the road;
- At schools;
- In religious congregations;
- During political meetings and workshops organized by AAE.

The use of field notes proved to be useful in capturing the atmosphere and situation of the moment and remembering it at the time of data analysis.

2.5.2 Secondary data review

The data gained through field research were integrated by the on-going literature review. The nature of documents used included previous studies by academic researchers mostly in the form of unpublished master's theses or doctoral

dissertations. The sources of information gathered were mostly from Addis Ababa University and ActionAid Ethiopia. Excluding those sources, little relevant information was available about the local context of the research. Despite the researcher's attempts to overcome language barriers by learning Kaffi-noono and Amharic,⁶ the knowledge of these languages, especially written skills, was not sufficient to collect relevant information from other sources (e.g. governmental reports).

2.6 The principle of triangulation

The aim of this research is to give importance to people's meanings and representation of reality. Objectivity is not sought. Nevertheless, validity, reliability and representativeness are necessary: a variety of strategies should therefore be employed in order to 'triangulate' the information. For Johnson and Christensen (2008, p. 451) "triangulation is the term given when the researcher seek convergence and corroboration of results from different methods studying the same phenomenon...Triangulation can substantially increase the credibility or trustworthiness of a research finding".

Sarantakos (2005, p. 145) identifies five major means of triangulation:

- Investigator triangulation, when multiple rather than single observers of the same object are used;
- Methodological triangulation, when different methods to look at the same things are employed;
- Sampling triangulation, when data are collected in different locations and from a range of persons;
- Time triangulation. This method entails the use of research at different times. Examples of time triangulation are longitudinal studies, such as panel studies and trend studies;
- Paradigm triangulation, when a number of paradigms are employed to

⁶ Amharic is the language spoken in North Central Ethiopia by the Amhara ethnic group, but it is also used nationwide and is the official working language of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

study the same phenomenon (e.g. positivist and interpretative). A qualitative study for instance, may be employed in a manner that produces quantifiable data, and after data collection the data is quantified, analysed and interpreted within a quantitative perspective.

For this specific research the following processes were undertaken:

- Investigator triangulation. Although I was the only person to carry out the research, my research assistants contributed to the interpretation of the information collected as explained earlier in section 2.4, ‘The use of research assistants’. At times staff from AAE and other stakeholders contributed to the process;
- Methodological triangulation. As detailed in sections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2, three different methods of data collection have been used: semi-structured interviews, participant observation and consultation of secondary data;
- Sampling triangulation. People from different social settings and different locations within the research area have been consulted. These were detailed earlier in section 2.5.1 under ‘Sample selection for interviews’;
- Paradigm triangulation. For this research 63 participants were interviewed. At times, to understand the main trend on evaluation of certain policies, a quantitative approach was used (e.g. within a certain group, the number of people who expressed a positive opinion of AAE during workshops was identified as a majority/minority in comparison to the people who expressed a different opinion).

2.7 Field schedule

The field-work was carried out in two phases: in the month of February 2008 and from April 8 to December 12, 2008. The first phase aimed at strengthening contacts with ActionAid Ethiopia and the Addis Ababa University (AAU) in preparation for the second phase of the field research. The process of collection and review of secondary data also started during this phase. The second part of the field-work consisted of the collection of primary data in Gimbo and Decha

woreda of Kaffa zone. Except for a week set aside for the selection of research sites, the first month (from mid April to mid May) was spent almost entirely in Addis Ababa, reviewing AAE literature and relevant documents on the Kaffa society and discriminated minorities at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at the AAU. The primary data on Gimbo *woreda* were collected from May 25, to August 10, 2008, while the field research in Decha *woreda* was carried out in September 3-December 5, 2008. The period spent in Addis Ababa between the two phases was used to elaborate/process the data collected and it also helped reacquiring the sense of perspective that might have been lost after some time in the field.

2.8 Research affiliation

The author was granted affiliation to the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology (SOSA) at the Addis Ababa University for the entire second phase of the field-work. The university enjoys a good reputation throughout the country for its impartiality and the quality of its research. The affiliation to the institute helped to gain the trust of local authorities in the Kaffa zone. The connection to the SOSA department also removed doubt and fear from participants that the present research was dealing with politics, an issue that especially local government officials initially would have been reluctant to talk about, particularly during the time of field-work, when sparks of tensions among the Manjo and the Kafecho had flared up again throughout all the study sites.

2.9 Ethical issues

For this research, the following ethical issues were relevant and therefore carefully considered.

2.9.1 Trust and confidentiality

Confidentiality and trust are crucial issues, especially when working with discriminated groups. As Sarantakos (2005) underlines, the researcher must ensure that information is not misused by other parties and that the confidentiality of the information is respected. He states that “when confidentiality is ensured, the researcher may keep names linked to data, but information made public will neither include the name of the respondent, nor make it possible for the information to be linked with a particular respondent” (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 21).

At the beginning of each interview participants were assured that all the information arising from the interviews would be properly handled, securely stored, appropriately coded and used for the study aims only. Secondly, all the research participants were invited to take part in the study on a voluntary basis.

Interviews records will not be transmitted to anybody. Letters of the alphabet (e.g. A, B, C) are used throughout the dissertation to identify participants and prevent any connection between quotes and participants. The letters in use do not correspond to the initial of participants. The importance of this procedure was confirmed by the comment of a Kafecho initially selected for an interview: “If I give the information to you, maybe the government or AAE will get this information and will discriminate against me for what I told. For this reason, I will not say anything” (Field notes. June 20, 2008).

In an attempt to reduce mistrust during interviews, a cover letter from the AAU was presented to local government officers (refer to Appendix 4). The title of the thesis as it appears in the cover letter does not correspond to the actual thesis title. The discrepancy is due to the fact that during field-work my thesis title was not finalised. Members of the academic staff of the SOSA department of the AAU suggested a simplified title which they believed would have allowed participants to better understand at least two of my research objectives.

The participants were made aware at the start of the purpose of the interview and agreed to take part. As mentioned in section 2.8 the connection to the AAU helped government officials to overcome doubt about the ‘political’ nature of the study. Additionally, to surmount mistrust, efforts were made to establish the rapport and personal contact before the interview so that the interview could be a friendly encounter for both parties. To help in this process, the interviews were held only after some time spent in the field. In Gimbo *woreda* the first formal interview with community members was held in June 10, more than two weeks after the researcher’s arrival in the area. In Decha *woreda* the first formal interview was carried out in September 25 while field work started in September 3. During the first weeks in both research sites the author dedicated time to participant observation and to build trust with community members. As a result of this, when the interview started, the majority of participants appeared to be comfortable with author’s presence.

2.9.2 Expectations

While researching sensitive issues, it is easy to bring about expectations in less fortunate categories of participants for an improvement in their situation. According to Sarantakos (2005, p. 20) “respondents should not only know that they are taking part in study, but also that they give their consent to it”. Thus, at the beginning of each interview the researcher systematically explained her status, and the topic and objectives of the research to the various respondents. This allowed the more effective management of the respondents’ expectations.

In particular two types of expectations were encountered from participants to this study:

- A contribution in money for research participation/token of appreciation for the contribution to research, as they are generally accustomed to receiving from other sources (e.g. for participation in surveys by NGOs, national or international organizations or for participation in workshops run by AAE or government);

- An immediate relief from discrimination. The Manjo, mainly the young and educated, saw in the author a medium through which their voice could be heard outside Kaffa and their discrimination could be alleviated. However, the explorative academic nature of the study was constantly pointed out as well as the non-affiliation of the researcher with any of the organizations carrying out projects in Kaffa (refer to section 2.3).

2.9.3 Sensitive issues and the rights to privacy

According to Sarantakos (2005) the researcher should avoid questions or issues that may cause physical, mental or legal harm (e.g. violation of rights to privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality) to participants. Mental harm in particular “entails cases where subjects are subjected, directly and/or indirectly, to procedures that cause discomfort, stress of some kind, anxiety, loss of self-esteem, or embarrassment” (Sarantakos, 2005, p. 19).

As the focus of this research is the discrimination of the Manjo, sensitive issues needed to be addressed. However, direct questions were avoided and the right to privacy constantly respected. Participants were also constantly reassured that they held the right to withdraw from the interview at any point in time, the right to ask further questions about any aspect of the study and to obtain a summary of the findings at the end of the study.

2.10. Limitations

During the field work the following limitations emerged:

2.10.1 Research resources

Practical constraints on time and resources have influenced the findings and represent the first identifiable limitation of this research. With more time and economic resources at disposal the study could have been extended to other sites,

more in depth analysis of the aspects of discrimination could have been explored (e.g. the role of the Church in Manjo-Kafecho relations) and different methods of data collection (quantitative and qualitative) used. Additionally, with more resources the data could have been collected at multiple time points and comparison made across time (longitudinal research). In this way it could be possible to measure the impact of AAE programmes with reasonable precision.

2.10.2 Researcher bias

Research bias is recognized as a major limitation, particularly in qualitative research. Robson (2002, p. 180) notes that “even with good faith and intentions, biased and selective accounts undoubtedly emerge”. Sarantakos (2005) observes that the cultural background of the researcher also limits his or her interpretation of the social setting observed: observers’ non-verbal communication, lack of knowledge, lack of familiarity with the observed group being some of the limitations. Despite all efforts to overcome these weak points, the cultural difference and the fact that the author was not familiar with the research area limited the ability to understand all the features of discrimination which affected the Manjo livelihood. The language barrier in particular was a limitation.

2.10.3 Respondents reaction to the research

The mutual perception of researcher and participants as well as the researcher’s identity has an impact on the process of data gathering (Sarantakos, 2005; Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; Silverman, 2000). As a foreign national, ethnic and linguistic outsider, I was unsure how the participants would react to me. During field-work contradictory reactions were encountered. Some of the interviewees were keen to explain themselves carefully to me, and my being foreigner helped in gathering data as it was associated with a higher degree of ‘impartiality’. Moreover, those interviewed expressed interest in my personal history and wanted to know more about my country of origin. When I opened up to them replying to their questions,

they slowly reciprocated this openness. Some participants, however, were more reluctant to talk. Two reasons have been identified:

- Because other researchers (with a similar cultural background to mine) before me came to ask them similar questions and the expectations of participants about an improvement in their social position were unmet;
- Biases toward foreigners and particularly women. This was particularly visible with elderly people. Some kept me at a distance for the months of investigation and were very suspicious when I asked them informal questions. It was only after daily and continuous contacts with elderly Manjo and Kafecho that some eventually started to open up. More time would have been needed to overcome the barrier of mistrust.

2.10.4 Complexity of the issue

One of the research objectives was the evaluation of the impact of the NGO ActionAid Ethiopia on the alleviation of discrimination of the Manjo. However, as stated by Dale (2000), impacts are normally generated through complex relations and processes. In other words, the attribution of changes to one factor rather than another is problematic. Programs and projects are part of a context which is in constant change, hence it can hardly be determined if the observed changes are the result of one particular strategy or of other factors which also affect the targeted community. For this research the issue of attribution of change was partially overcome by adopting an ethnographic approach. This approach is based on the perception of those who are experiencing the changes that have happened in society (refer to section 2.5).

2.10.5 Impact of the research

The research is designed to lend its voice to issues that impact both practitioners and academics and contribute to greater interaction between the two areas. However, as Robson (2002) argues, research born in an academic environment often stays within this environment and does not represent a major contribution to

the development of policies. Although this research would not have been possible without the logistical support of AAE, it is not an Action Research and the NGO could decide to ignore its findings and recommendations.⁷

2.11 Conclusion

This chapter attempted to provide an overview and justification of the ethnographic research methodology used. It outlined relevant and related ethical issues and main limitations. The research findings are based on this method of data collection. They are presented in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 and partially in Chapter 4, where background information to the case study is provided.

The following chapter presents the theoretical framework for research findings and analysis thereof.

⁷ Gilbert (2008) maintains that more than other research approaches, Action Research combines social science with social action, maximising the opportunity to learn from practice and promoting the transferability of new ideas. “Rather than gathering information from research *subjects* and generating findings which may or may not, be implemented subsequently, the focus is on changing practice as part of the research process” (Gilbert, 2008, p. 103).

CHAPTER 3. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the theoretical processes upon which the research findings are based. It will not only discuss the difficulties but also critique the underpinnings of both local capacities for peace and external intervention in protracted intergroup conflicts.

Conflict indicates divisions, and conflict resolution is a non-violent response to such divisions. When aid agencies enter conflict zones, they tend to focus on the violence: the terms of war – cruelty, threat, and rage – are seen as the most compelling reality (Ryan, 2007). While violence may be the most visible reality, it is not the only one. Societies at war nonetheless share a range of factors: there are people speaking a common language, sharing the same experiences, acting in the same way, having the same needs, and relying on the same institutions. This common ground is the most powerful connector between them. By focusing on divisions in the society, international aid agencies can miss opportunities for helping people to “rediscover and strengthen the aspects of their lives that connect them to each other” (Anderson, 1999, p. 24). Very often they use approaches to conflict which are not tailored to local communities and replace rather than enhance local capacities (Jeong, 2005; Lederach, 2005; Uvin, 1998). This approach alienates local support, the first ingredient for an effective and enduring peace. On the other hand, relying only on local resources is not always the most appropriate way to deal with conflict especially if it is characterized by unequal intergroup relations. Societies contain the seeds of peace but also constitute the deepest sources of discrimination and hence conflict.

The central idea underpinning this chapter is that the community, defined as a group of individuals with shared values, norms, and institutions, is crucial for conflict transformation and peacebuilding (Jeong, 2005; Smith, 1999; Lederach, 1997). The research aims to demonstrate that neither external peacemaking efforts nor local resources alone can achieve the eradication/reduction of discrimination in the Kaffa society. Their mutual collaboration could be more likely to lead to the peaceful adjustments required to stop violence and initiate positive changes.

3.1 Local capacities for peace

A growing number of scholars agree that local actors are an indispensable ingredient in a viable and sustainable peace process. If efforts to prevent, resolve and transform violent conflict are to be effective in the long term, they must be based on the strong participation of local civil society groups committed to building peace (Jeong, 2005 and 1995; Cockell, 2000). No societal transformation can occur if local actors are not interested in the peace process or if they do not pro-actively participate in it; only if the peace process belongs to the people will their willingness to make it work be greater (Anderson, 1999).

The concept of local participation is also the basic premise of ‘track-two’ diplomacy:¹ the expertise for dealing successfully with conflict and peace-making does not reside merely within governments but also with citizens, from a variety of backgrounds and with a variety of skills, who have something to offer and can make a difference (Diamond and McDonald, 1996). Cockell (2000, p. 23) suggests that "successful peacebuilding evolves from indigenous societal resources", meaning local institutions and actors, a belief found also in Galtung and LeBaron. The former (Galtung, 1996) affirms that peace is not a condition

¹ As originally conceived by Joe Montville, the terms ‘track two’ or ‘citizen’ diplomacy refer to unofficial contacts between people—usually ordinary citizens— which can later pave the way for official diplomacy, the so called ‘first track’ or ‘track one’ (Montville, 1991).

that endures if the protagonists of the conflict are not proactively engaged in its sustainability, while the latter (LeBaron, 2003, p. 275) maintains that “all attempts to address conflict need to fit the people and the context involved...Conflicts evolve and shift over time; at the centre remain relationships”. Lederach (2005) stresses the fact that relationships are at the heart of conflict transformation; they form the context in which violence happens and also generate the energy that enables people to transcend violence. Lisa Schirch (2005), in her case studies, describes ways in which communal acts among members of conflicting groups (e.g. eating a meal, dancing, fishing, and looking at a photograph) were central in transforming parties' understandings of themselves, their ‘enemies’, and their conflict.

Based on all these considerations, in the past ten years the term ‘local capacities for peace’ (LCP) has worked its way into the vocabulary of the humanitarian world in such a way that it rolls off the tongue of practitioners as though everyone who hears the phrase will automatically understand the meaning.

3.1.1 Definition of term

It is a tribute to Mary Anderson that this phrase coined in field-based research is now accepted as part of the basic vocabulary of humanitarian assistance. Anderson (1999) applies the term local capacities for peace to indigenous methods and institutions but also to whoever or whatever within a society can be identified as the connectors keeping people from conflict and violence: individuals in favour of peace, common experiences, language, symbols and occasions, systems and institutions, values, economic or political interdependence.

A business activity, for instance, can be a priority keeping people away from conflict. A man running a tea shop in a market in Sarajevo confirmed that that market continued during the war: he would sit up and sip tea with members of opposing factions in the daytime and take their money, but he would go out at night to shoot them (Anderson, 1999, p. 25). For the tea seller the business came

above all, even before the feelings of hatred and resentment that led him to participate in the war.

The same sharing of values can be fulfilled by religious beliefs. Anderson (1999, p. 27) mentions the case of two factions in a village in Afghanistan who were ready for a face-off. The mullah running into the street shouted that those who were going to die in that battle would not go to paradise. The battle never occurred. In this case, religious beliefs and fear of the unknown overcame any thirst of power and revenge.

Trusted tribal elders and traditional justice institutions can also be a way out of the conundrum. Yusuf and Le Mare (2005) argues that when Somalia became a failed state with the ascendancy of warlords, stability was restored in Somaliland by willing and credible elders who initiated a local council to represent their community interests.² They organized public conferences where speeches and even poetry were involved (Yusuf and Le Mare, 2005). They took the role of a court, interpreted evidence and helped the formulation of a consensus among the parties who requested their intervention. These traditional institutions are more affordable, accessible and less intimidating than formal courts (Verhelst, 1968). Widely accepted as an alternative way to resolve conflict, they also give legal force to claims or rights that formal laws fail to recognise (Pankhurst and Assefa, 2008; Verhelst, 1968). A key example is the upholding of 'overlapping rights' between registered and undocumented claims to land. In Ethiopia for instance, formal courts more often than not dismiss the claims of all but the registered titleholder, while traditional courts act upon laws and principles which most of the time are unwritten and even contradict those of the national jurisdictions (Pankhurst and Assefa, 2008).

² Elders are clan representatives or clan delegates whose influence may come from their age, wealth, wisdom, power of oratory, etc. (Ayittey, 1991; Suzuki and Knudtson, 1991). Drawing from the Oromo peacemaking systems in Ethiopia, Tusso (1998) states that generally elder people earn the right to be part of local institutions to make peace through mastery of local tradition and cultural norms, and the quality of leadership one provides to the local community and beyond.

Anderson (1999) stresses also the responsibility of aid workers in enhancing LCP: they can assist in bringing people together, as opposed to reinforcing the tensions and divisions within a society. In line with Anderson, Garred (2006, pp. 47-50) gives the example of two different communities in Myanmar/Burma separated by a stream. Ethnic and religious differences between them made it difficult to build a bridge across the large stream that rages during the rainy season. The Shan ethnic group which lives in Pan Lau village is Buddhist. Across the river is the village of Nant Baw Awe, surrounded by several smaller villages where the Akha ethnic group lives. The majority of the Akha people worship supernatural spirits, but in two villages, people have become Christians. Both Shans and Akhas are farmers. In terms of lifestyle, the Shan people are richer than the Akha. Most Shan people own farms in the lowlands. The Akha minority group is poor, living in the highlands where the land is less fertile. The Akhas feel that the Shans look down on them. Religious values differ strongly between Shan Buddhists, Akha Christians and Akha Animists. In 2002, the international NGO World Vision, which was working in that zone, identified the common need for a bridge as a connector for a peaceful change in relations between the communities. The Akha needed the bridge to travel to the major town of the district. The Shan people, on the other hand, needed it to do business with the Akha, buying their products but mainly selling them theirs. Akha children also had to go to Pa Lau village for post primary education. The bridge was also needed to provide sick people with access to the hospital during emergencies. For all of these reasons, both ethnic groups agreed on its construction. Once the joint decision was made, all the villagers volunteered for the work and, for the first time, learnt about each other. The Shan Buddhist, the Akha Animists, and the Akha Christians made ritual offerings to mark the laying of the foundations. The same was done on the occasion of the completion of the bridge. The staff from World Vision also participated in these events. A clear sign that a change had happened was that an Akha Animist leader, who used to dislike Christians, named his garden 'The Garden of Eden'. Three years later, in 2005, the communities had better relationships with each other. The Akha had a better income, because they were able to sell their products in town.

Some Shan also sold their products in Akha villages. Many Akha children used the bridge to attend primary school in the Shan village. The Shan Buddhists, the Akha Animists and the Akha Christians continue to attend each other's rituals and they often celebrate together.

World Vision played an important role in discovering the common need for a bridge and in building the basis of a new relationship between the Shan and the Akha people on this need. This collaborative effort built unity while making a lasting improvement to local infrastructure. Before the bridge, there was no previous cooperation between both communities on development issues.

So far, the three main constituents of LCP have been identified: relationships between local actors, beliefs and institutions, and 'external' aid that assists locals to find and stress the connections. But are these systems and institutions, values, and those individuals favouring peace, able to lead not just to a restored stability but also to a stability based on sustainable peace? Should external actors stress any hint of connection between rivals in conflict?

Local capacities for peace, suffer from some limitations. Generalizations on the efficacy of positive connectors and innate weaknesses affect local resources and reduce the potential of indigenous methods of conflict resolution.

3.1.2 Generalization on connectors: interpersonal and intergroup impact

Local capacities for peace are founded on the belief that enhancing positive connectors among members of different groups will improve relations between them;³ hence it will bring peace in the society (Anderson, 1999). Nowadays this view appears widely accepted and applicable to every kind of conflict. Still some doubts arise: is the relation/contact between individuals belonging to different

³ The adjective 'positive' refers to the connectors in society that tend to reduce tension and/or bring people together. It is used in contraposition to 'negative' connectors or 'dividers' that are the factors that cause tension and can be a reason for intergroup violence (Anderson, 1999).

warring groups sufficient to revise negative attitudes to each other? Should LCP enhance any hint of favourable connections between rival groups? And if not, what are the connectors that should be stressed in LCP to obtain better outcomes?

Economic interdependence similar to the marketplace in Sarajevo where individuals belonging to rival communities sell or buy products from one another every day, is without doubt a positive connector in conflict and seems to be a good starting point for linking people together. But the seller in the teashop clearly stated that his attitude toward the buyers was still the same: at night, when the shop closed, the buyers became the 'enemy' again.

Further, it appears especially tricky to generalize from what people do when acting as individuals to what people do when acting as group members, in particular when the groups are different in terms of power, status, wealth, religion and so on (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). In these latter conditions, feelings, thoughts and behaviours may be altogether different, as they are determined by social group memberships and not by interpersonal characteristics (Foster and Finchilescu, 1986).

The word identity has emerged as a dominant concept to understand dynamics of intergroup conflicts and explain behaviours (Byrne, 2001; Rothman and Olson, 2001; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). A conspicuous body of work is dedicated to enhancing our understanding of intergroup conflict by understanding the human behaviour in collective, in its potential for social change and capacity for war (Cosser, 1956; LeVine and Campbell, 1972; Sherif, 1988; Simmel, 1964).

3.1.3 Interpersonal and intergroup context

The man in the teashop in Sarajevo acted as an individual looking after his business during daytime, while at night behaving as a member of one of the warring groups. In the first case, as Foster and Finchilescu (1986) put it, the interaction is determined by individual characteristics and personal relationships

between participants: hence this is a case of interpersonal behaviour. Still, when the circumstances of a conflict call into questions one's self image, the conflict itself shifts in a way that may include the perceptions of the self and the others, and the emotional response of the parties (Cook-Huffman, 2009). Hence, by contrast, in the second case, light is shed on intergroup behaviour, as a group or its members interact with another group in the quality of group representatives or group members. In this second case the social identity prevails. One important component of individual identity is, in fact, social identity that Gross Stein (2005, p. 191) defines as: "The part of an individual's self-concept that derives from knowledge of his or her membership in a social group or groups, together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership".

Hogg and Abrams (1993) suggest that through identification with a group, individuals satisfy their need for the reduction of uncertainty, for status or positive self-identity. The fulfilment of these needs requires a social comparison of the 'ingroup' with the 'outgroup', a differentiation between 'we' and 'them', 'insiders' and 'outsiders' (Gross Stein, 2005). This differentiation becomes stronger than affinities between individuals from conflicting groups (Ryan, 2007; Gross Stein, 2005; Foster and Finchilescu, 1986; Doob and Foltz, 1974).

Foster and Finchilescu (1986) stress that, even under the most favourable conditions, established interpersonal relations alone - as in business situations, are unlikely to produce the positive structural and cultural changes able to achieve and sustain peace. Some of the most favourable conditions to which they refer, which Ryan (1995) recalls in a later study on ethnic groups interaction, are:

- Equal status between members of different groups;
- Positive social environment;
- Intimate and not casual contact;
- Pleasant or rewarding contact;
- Common goals higher in importance than the individual goals of each of the groups.

Even under these conditions when the contact is based only on interpersonal relations it is improbable that it will produce a change in intergroup behaviour because:

- Attitude change is often limited to the specific situation which produces it. For example, in Minard's (1952) study of miners in West Virginia, underground Black and White miners were found to work harmoniously in mixed teams. However, above ground this collaboration did not produce any change in willingness to engage in other types of association (e.g. living in the same neighbourhood or eating at the same table in a café);
- The positive change towards a member of a different group is unlikely to include other members of that group not actually present in the contact situation. The consensus on this point from numerous programmes of research is quite high. However, there are also exceptions to this general trend. Some studies on bi-racial housing projects in the US found that half of the White housewives in a 'building integrated' project had more favourable attitudes towards Black people in the project and towards Black people in general. In contrast, hardly any in the 'area segregated' project, reported some type of regular intimate contact with black neighbours and a fairly close relationship with at least one of them (Scott, 1973). But even in this last positive case:
- Individuals who change their mind may have to face the pressure of conforming to negative images of the other side (re-entry problem). The question that arises is whether the individual is going to transform the institution they are a part of or whether the institution is going to basically eliminate the transformed individual (Kelman, 1953). This issue has been raised with regard to participants who participate in a workshop and then re-enter the conflict situation which had been temporarily left behind. There will be an inevitable disconnection between the reality reconstructed in the workshop and the unreconstructed reality to which they return. It has been observed that at the end of every workshop, there is normally a

tendency for participants to become uneasy at the prospect of 'returning' home. This feeling may be due to the fact that they are carrying back some innovative and hence threatening ideas (Mitchell and Banks, 1996). Once home, if their behaviour towards the 'other side' has changed, it may be seen as fraternizing with 'the enemy', which may put them at personal risk. They may be treated with suspicion by their own community and run the risk of being ostracized or intimidated. If they finally give up and conform to group pressure, the inter-personal contact with the outgroup will have no practical value (Ryan, 1995).

This concept is clearly illustrated in a study conducted by Doob and Foltz (1974) in a workshop with a group from Belfast. The workshop was held in 1972 by a team of American social scientists in Stirling, Scotland. The participants were 56 Protestant and Catholic grass-root leaders living in Belfast. Along with providing a wider knowledge on how groups and organizations function, the workshop was aimed at giving participants a greater competence in their own behaviour within groups and organizations. Nine months later, 40 of them were interviewed to assess the effect of that experience. Results showed that the workshop continued to affect all participants as they remembered vividly what happened in Stirling and pointed to significant changes within themselves. However, once they returned home, negative newspaper coverage, warnings, intimidation and assassination squads increased participants' fears and discouraged any possible attempt for cooperation across sectarian lines. The follow-up interviews revealed that none of the ambitious plans discussed safely at the workshop was implemented in detail back home, either because participants were frustrated for practical reasons or because they were subject to strong environmental pressure (such as the assassination of 'line crossers') from members of their own side.

On the whole, when conflicts are embedded in and are expressions of existing social, political, economic and cultural structures, they involve every dimension

of society and the lives of the people who are part of them. In these cases, it appears that in order to achieve a positive change in attitudes, connectors based on intergroup contacts are more effective than connectors based on interpersonal relations. The case of the Akha and Shan people in Myanmar/Burma can serve as an example. The whole Akha community, Animist and Catholic, and all members of the Shan clan participated in building the bridge across the river. They also built a new relationship, as all villagers from both sides of the river, including elders, got to know their neighbours and were finally able to overcome the stereotyped images they had of each other. The construction of the bridge was a superordinate goal.

As defined by Muzafer Sherif (1958) in his study, super-ordinate goals are goals achieved by the contribution and co-operation of two or more people working together, with individual goals that are normally in opposition to each other. Sherif (1958) provides the example of two conflicting groups of boys brought together at a holiday camp through the use of communal goals, such as solving the problems of a breakdown of the water supply and the breakdown of a food delivery truck. These actions broke down barriers, encouraged the two groups to see each other as just people and not as part of that other group that they disliked, and helped overcome differences between them. The final outcome was friendship formation across group boundaries.

3.1.4 The stress on social identity

As long as individuals are interacting as individuals there are few possibilities for any change in attitude to take place throughout the group or for one person to show positive attitudes towards an individual or other members of the other group. The most that can be expected, if the contact remains on an interpersonal basis, is that a few personal relationships will change but the intergroup situation will remain the same.

Foster and Finchilescu (1986, p. 119) argue that when a society is deeply divided, “*social identity* penetrates the personal sphere to such an extent that interpersonal contact *per se*, even under the most favourable conditions, is not likely to alter substantially established social relations”. Turner (1982), who first proposed the distinction between personal and social identity, describes the latter as a depersonalization of the individual in the group: what affects the group as a whole also has implications for the individual’s behaviour. Considering how the role of identity is becoming increasingly important to the understanding of ethnic conflict resolution, Byrne (2001, p. 330) stresses how a long-term peacebuilding process, along with structural inequalities, necessitates addressing group identity issues: intergroup activities and interaction help “broaden the identity pie and create a shared identity”.

It is argued in the current research that when an intergroup conflict stems from different cultural beliefs and values, improved intergroup relations are more likely to have spill-over effects in other areas of relations if they are based on the social identity shared by all group rather than sub-cultural identities (e.g. political and religious identity). Contrary to the latter, in fact, cultural group identity is shared by all members of the same groups independently from their religious, political or other types of sub-group affiliations. Unless the interaction can be described as intergroup and the identity involved is the social one, any stress on connectors based on interpersonal contact will leave divisive intergroup relations unchanged (Foster and Finchilescu, 1986). This point will be examined further in the next section.

3.1.5 Zone III of reality

Transformative possibilities for identity reconstruction lie in the fact that the boundaries of identity are less fixed and can be rearranged with the emergence of new meanings and perceptions...Identity is a flexible political resource, adaptable to changing circumstances and new crises (Jeong, 1999, p. 71).

Assuming that identity can change, what are the factors that influence meanings and perceptions and how can these factors be influenced? Based on extensive clinical (psychological) work with babies and young children, D. W. Winnicott (1971) arrives at the conclusion that an intermediate area of experience exists between internal and external reality; this has always been a recurrent preoccupation of philosophers and poets. This is the area of playing and cultural experience as they are “things that we do value in a special way: these link the past, the present, and the future; *they take time and space*” (Winnicott, 1971, p. 109). Sometimes play is purely exploratory and amusing, pure fun. But at other times, it offers children opportunities to bring to the surface conflictual issues from the inner world and reconstruct them in the outer world. In the same way, culture provides a space for internal conflict resolution and personal growth.⁴ Boudreau (2009, p. 140) points out that “human conflict is, in its first instance, a uniquely local phenomenon both in time and in space” and the human capacity to act, the so called human agencies, is “embedded in unique ecological, geographical, and cultural conditions”. Playing can be one way.

Reality turns out to be made of three different worlds. Lumsden (1999) based on Winnicott’s work, calls them:

- ‘Zone one’, the outside world. This is the social, economic and material world which represents tangible issues. Zone one is the world of nature and material goods but also the context for individual and group behaviour, as it is the place where individuals act to satisfy their basic needs (Burton, 1990). It is because of the limitations of this world that social conflicts are born, in many cases leading to war (e.g. resource-based conflict - war for the land or access to water). Dealing with ‘zone one’ is also an essential factor in restoring peace. Economics, political science, law and many different technological areas all contribute to a sustainable ‘outer world’ that is clearly a prerequisite for building a world society. The challenge here is to reconstruct a social, economic and political world able to guarantee the participation of all social

⁴A definition of the word ‘culture’ is provided in section 3.1.6.

groups to the newborn system (Jeong, 1999);

- ‘Zone two’, the inner, psychological world that is the result of life experiences, different for each individual but to some extent shared within a given community. Zone two is centred on the self and emphasis is put on individuals’ perception of social reality, their motivations, hopes and fears. These feelings and experiences are reflected in the decision we make at a given time. An important challenge in building a world society is how to deal with the psychological stresses of war/conflict on the survivors. In societies with massive trauma, rebuilding the ‘self’ is a fundamental prerequisite for constructing a sustainable, peaceful society (Volkan, 1997). This task concerns rebuilding a safe surrounding environment in which emotion can be re-owned. Moreover, it is important to undertake an ‘excavation’ process to remove more hidden issues.

However, looking at everyday lives, individuals probably find that they spend most of their time neither in behaviour nor in contemplation, but somewhere else. What are people doing, or better, where are they while reading a book, playing sports, participating in a concert or an intimate ceremony? For Winnicott (1971) and later Lumsden (1999), all these actions take place in:

- ‘Zone three’, a bridge between the outside social world and the psychological private sphere. The area is outside the individuals but still has something to do with the psychological world. It permits individual rage, fears, fantasy: “to be externalised, shared, and ideally transformed into constructive initiative” (Lumsden, 1999, p. 143). However, this transitional space “is also the zone where new thinking, healing, and the invention of new cultural elements can take place; it is a place for looking forward as well as backward” (Lumsden, 1999, p. 144). Actions taking place in this zone inspire and connect people across differences. They are windows into a worldview – it is a whole story of interconnected ideas, feelings, identities and meanings. In this zone, normal rules and states of consciousness are temporarily kept outside and symbolic acts can be performed. ‘Zone three’ permits creative experimentation both

with media and social relationships (e.g. in the theatre, church and stadium). This is a space within culture where individuals and groups from different parts of the barricades gather and forget their rage and incomprehension for a moment: they are all human beings with the same fears and common important goals. In this transitional zone of reality, personal and group identities can be shaped and energy driven towards either good or bad intentions. This energy can feed into tolerance and fairness and inclusive problem-solving approaches and/or nourish inequality and ethnocentric theories. It can contribute to building peace and a global citizenship through the promotion of qualities like openness to the others, respect for differences and diversity, and recognition of our common humanity (Boulding, 1990). But it can also provide space for nurturing activities as diverse as rounds of massacres in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia. Some examples of the potential of the actions taking place in this zone of reality will help comprehension of the importance of focusing on it to connect people in conflict. But first of all, a definition of culture is needed.

3.1.6 Culture: definition of term

For Geertz (1973) culture is an organized collection of symbolic systems through which people shape the patterns of their behaviours and give meanings to their social life. In line with Geertz's definition, LeBaron (2003, p. 10) defines cultures as:

Systems of shared understandings and symbols that connect people to each other, providing them with unwritten messages about how to express themselves and how to make meanings of their lives. Culture gathers people into belonging, tied by shared identities, histories, starting points, and currencies.

Race, ethnicity, age, nationality, sexual orientation, language, religion, gender, form part of the variety of shared identities around which a particular group construct the meaning of culture. According to the anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1976), cultures change over time and influence interpretation of the past, starting

points and values. It is therefore inescapable that cultural systems also influence conflicts (Avruch, 1998).

3.1.7 Towards a culture of peace

Cultural expressions are important arenas for training in democratic participation and conflict transformation. They include arts-based initiatives such as community theatre production and mural projects in Northern Ireland (Gould, 2009), peace concerts on the dividing line in Cyprus (Ungerleider, 2007) or Bosnia Herzegovina (Zelizer, 2003) and poetry groups in the Middle East (Zale, 2007). These activities constitute a continued vital process of social learning and they could help overcome the dichotomy between inclusiveness and exclusiveness formulated in antagonistic terms.

In the 'Moral Imagination: the Art and Soul of Building Peace' Lederach (2005, p. 157-158) recalls the bombing of the town of Omagh in Northern Ireland on August 15, 1998.⁵ Because of misleading warnings about the bomb, people were evacuated into its path. As a result, 29 people and 2 unborn children died; more than 400 were injured. The entire world was shocked and the return to the cycle of violence seemed imminent. In an extraordinary outpouring of solidarity, hundreds and hundreds of flowers and wreaths were brought to the site where the bomb exploded. As days and weeks passed, the flowers started to wilt and there was the problem of what to do with them. Because of their symbolic significance, people were reluctant to remove them. The singer Carole Kane came out with the idea of making papers out of the flower petals and the raw materials of the wreaths. Ordinary people in Omagh, both Catholics and Protestants, seeking a way to respond to the bomb attack, became the artists who crafted these papers. While working with their hands, they talked about where they had been when the bomb exploded and what their experience of the conflict was. The healing journey

⁵ The Omagh bombing was a car bomb attack carried out by the 'Real Irish Republican Army', a splinter group of former members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army opposed to the Belfast agreement that represented a major political development in the peace process in Northern Ireland.

known as the 'Petal of Hope' had begun. On March 10, 1999 a private exhibition of the paper pieces produced, was open for the families who had lost their dear ones in the bombing. Remembering that day, Kane used these very touching words:

On the night of the private viewing there was a quietness about the exhibition space. It felt like a sanctuary...this wasn't like an ordinary opening, where I'd be concerned about people liking the images and buying the work. None of the normal things mattered...I spoke to Stanley McCombe about his picture as the lady who had made this piece had requested it would be given in memory of Stanley's wife. This was the picture of a dove, which was given from a Roman Catholic person to a Protestant person. This summed up what all my work was about and Stanley was touched by this gesture (Lederach, 2005, p. 158).

Working with one's hands became an expression of art that inspired, connected and spoke to people's hearts across differences. Touching and making something while talking, synchronizing hearts and minds became the healing tool for the inhabitants of the town of Omagh in Northern Ireland. These actions accomplish what most politics have been unable to attain: they guide individuals and groups in rediscovering the sense that 'we are', after all, a human community.

This same concept receives further emphasis in the case of child soldiers in Sierra Leone, where the tradition of artistic expression has survived colonialism, economic hardships and even the civil war in the 1990s. In response to the effects of war on children, a number of grass-root society organizations have emerged in Sierra Leone. One of the most famous is Peacelinks, a nonprofit organization founded by two Sierra Leonean teenagers after returning from an international children's conference in the United States. Their aim is to utilize art to help other young people overcome their war trauma, learn new skills and lessen the stigma attached to them because they are ex-combatants. Kanyako (2005) writes that in 1994, when the war ended, more than one hundred ex-child combatants joined Peacelinks. Their real life experiences provided material for songs, dances, paintings and drawings, for which the organization is well known inside and outside the country. Through words, songs and images of children who had

experienced the war, Peacelinks was able to have an impact on the life of these children who then started travelling the road of recovery and acceptance. Furthermore, songs, both in English and native languages, were recorded and became hits in Sierra Leone. Through the arts, Peacelinks was able to create symbols of national consciousness that reinforced peace, love, and national unity; songs, dancing, painting and drawing have opened up the long and painful path of re-integration for these many thousands of Sierra Leonean ex-combatant children.

Another example of the power of art is drawn by Lederach (2005, p. 255). He recounts the end of the war over borders that had exploded between the countries of Burkina Faso and Mali in the 1980s. In an attempt to bring peace and following a number of failed mediation efforts, the President of Guinea, Ahmed Sekou Toure, persuaded the presidents of the two countries to attend a meeting at his palace. He put on a spectacular performance by a popular singer Kanja Kouyate, for the host and visiting presidents. During the performance Kanja Kouyate called for the presidents at war to make peace. Through poetry, song and dance he challenged them, evoking their ancestors and appealing to their human goodness as leaders to guide their people out of conflict. The performance was emotional and the two presidents shed tears and embraced publicly. Moreover, they promised before the public, witnessed by their ancestors, not to return to war. In the following months they signed a peace agreement that has not been violated since.

In this case, songs, poetry and dances were extremely versatile media of communication. They gave space and acknowledgement to something far beyond entertainment; touched the very soul of the two presidents and left an imprint on them. The human factor played a big role on the reconciliation process; the two presidents were in an emotional state while listening to the performance and appeared interconnected and sympathizing with each other's feelings. It may not be possible to explain or describe in ordinary language people's reaction to cultural inputs (Winnicott, 1971). It can only be felt. It is an experience which

baffles analytical explanation and which is able to produce a positive change in social identity (Lumsden, 1999 and 1997).

3.1.8 Towards a culture of war

Cultural expressions can also be used to foment hatred and resentments. Senehi (1996) maintains that the more individuals participate in the society in which they live, the more they will cling to stereotyped symbols expressing collective notions about the past and the future of the group. The more stereotypes there are in a culture, the easier it is to form public opinion. The more an individual participates in that culture, the more susceptible he/she becomes to the manipulation of these symbols. Hence, the conflict becomes encoded in the identities of each group and is non-negotiable. "Misperceptions result in a lack of trust and in a deep-seated hostility that frames the conflict in a zero-sum intractable game between adversaries with unequal power" (Byrne, 2002, p. 138). Narratives "may intensify social cleavages when they privilege some culture while silencing others; when they generate or reproduce prejudicial and enemy images of other groups; and when they mask inequalities and injustice, inflame negative emotions, and misrepresent society" (Senehi, 2009, p. 203).

Words, but also pictures, songs, parades, and many similar devices can be utilized to confuse, misinform, lie, raise fear and manipulate the opinions of the people. Whoever controls these media has the power to turn lies into truth and truth into lies without being contradicted, because they also have the power to silence any competing voices (Strobel, 2005). Media can be used to fan the flames of conflict, particularly ethnic conflicts, and even long before most outsiders become aware of the seriousness of the crises (Uvin, 1998). A pre-crisis zone can be turned into a bloody one with the help of indigenous unsophisticated media tools such as small radio transmitters and propagandistic state-controlled television stations (Strobel, 2005).

In the 1990s in Serbia, there were two things on the radio: one was war and the

other was turbo-folk music (Prodger, 2005).⁶ Manasek (2005) argues that the state sponsorship of the nationalist turbo-folk music eliminated cultural alternatives to Milosevic's nationalistic cultural policies and isolated the young, idealistic, and urbanized potential opposition to the regime. He maintains that turbo-folk helped to reposition traditional values as part of the nationalistic agenda, but also to legitimate an emerging class of paramilitary war criminals and gangsters. The ties between turbo-folk and organized crime reached their peak with the marriage in 1995 of the most popular turbo-folk singer 'Ceca' to Zeliko 'Arkan' Raznatovic, a notorious paramilitary leader and crime boss. Their wedding was a national event followed by an incredible number of Serbians (Higginbotham, 2004). According to Prodger (2005) the use of turbo-folk helped Milosevic to win the mind of the Serbs, especially youth, and eliminate real or potential obstacles to his thirst of power: ethnic groups were vilified, ancient grievances recalled, and moderate voices marginalised. Eventually, the stress on traditional values contributed a great deal to reunifying all Serbs across social differences (Zelizer, 2003; Zagar, 1994; Magas, 1992).

Radio Mille Collines in Rwanda is another example of the propagandistic role of media in inciting people to mass violence. The radio controlled by the Hutu government, contributed to igniting the genocide in Rwanda of an estimated eight hundred thousand Tutsi and moderate Hutu. Strobel (2005, p. 679) reports the words of a representative broadcast: "[They] cruelly kill mankind...they kill by dissecting Hutus...by extracting various organs from the bodies of Hutus.... [the Tutsi] eat men". Everyone has seen the consequences of the genocide. But what if the manipulation of culture started centuries ago?

3.1.9 The trans-generational transmission of trauma

Lumsden (1997) warns that traumatic memories of past conflict are seldom forgotten. Descendants of those present at that time carry meanings of past

⁶ Turbo-folk' is a national Serbian folk music that used Serbian folk as the basis adding influences from rock and roll, soul, house and electronic dance music (Manasek 2005; Prodger, 2005).

generations into their current perceptions. Volkan (1996), using Freudian principles, coined the term trans-generational transmission of trauma to underline how unresolved trauma of the past, transmitted from one generation to the next, develops the potential for fuelling future conflicts. The past ideas inform and shape the present culture; time collapses and the past becomes the present (Volkan, 1996).

Initial research on the trans-generational transmission of trauma conducted with Holocaust survivors and their children and grandchildren, has shown how the legacy of Holocaust trauma has been passed on to descendants of Holocaust victims (Volkan, 2000). Victims choose trauma that is passed down to their children, keeping it alive for generations (Volkan, 1996).

A chosen trauma is a shared mental representation of an event in a large group's history in which the group suffered a catastrophic loss, humiliation, and helplessness at the hands of enemies (Volkan 2006, 1999a and 1997). Scott (2000) maintains that transmission occurs mostly unconsciously. She bases this assertion on the assumption that parents would not consciously load their children with the burdens of their ancestors' past, as this would be considered cruel. Thus, in their interaction with the child, the traumatized individuals unsuccessfully attempt to control or direct the transmitted self-representation in the child (Volkan, 1996). Inevitably, it becomes the child's responsibility to do "the work of mourning pertaining to the losses suffered by the older person and also to reverse the unpleasant feelings and remove the sense of helplessness" (Volkan, 1996, p.111). According to Volkan (1996), when the child grows up, he or she may externalize the original traumatized self-representation consisting of guilt, shame, helplessness, and humiliation into the developing self-representation in the third generation. In this way, the transmission cycle is perpetuated. The identities and meanings of past generations are carried on as individuals continue to explain others in negative ways to themselves and members of their group. Thus, a negative foundation for relationship is built, as well as resistance to change, unless

something different happens to interrupt the patterns (Volkan, 1997 and 1996). These ideas lead to the importance of the innate weaknesses of many cultures in the world, particularly traditional asymmetrical societies.

3.1.10 Innate weakness of local capacities for peace

In situations when discrimination comes from society and the prejudices against an outgroup constitute a key element of a group's identity, the prejudices can be transmitted. Every time society members are born and grow in an environment where it is natural to draw a distinction between 'us' and 'them', the potential of local capacities for peace is mostly limited to preventing direct violence from flaring up or stopping it temporarily. This is particularly visible in traditional conflict resolution practices.

Every society, among other connectors, has systems for handling disagreements and tensions without violence (e.g. the widespread trust in the wisdom of elderly people acting as judges in Somaliland). However:

- These systems are mostly designed to deal with relatively small numbers of cases of minor wrongdoing -theft, disputes between neighbours and everyday disagreements (Kimani, 2007);
- Court procedure can result in violation of international human rights standards as underlined by the commentary on Rwanda's *gacaca* courts.⁷ Amnesty International (2002), for example, found a number of ways in which the *gacaca* courts contravene these international standards. They include the unwillingness of the courts to adhere to the principle of the presumption of

⁷ Gabisirege and Babalola (2001) define the *gacaca* courts as methods of transitional justice evolving from the Rwandan traditional cultural communal law and designed to achieve truth, justice and reconciliation in the afterward of the genocide. They emphasise that the idea behind the *gacaca* courts is to let local courts relieve the burden of larger courts providing reconciliation and justice, allowing survivors and victims' family to confront the accused. The village as a whole is part of the reconciliation process as villagers are allowed to speak for or against the defendant who either confesses the crimes or proclaims his/her innocence.

innocence, reports of confession under torture, and the lack of prohibition against double jeopardy, meaning persons already acquitted under a national court could still be tried under the *gacaca* courts (Amnesty International, 2002). The contradiction here goes back to the fundamental tension within human rights practice between “the desire to maintain cultural diversity and the efforts to promote equality and rights universally. These two sets of goals are in conflict: applying a universalistic framework obscures local particularities, but yielding to local situations impedes applying universal categories” (Engle Merry, 2006, p.131). Moreover, most important for this research, is that:

- Differences in gender, social status, wealth, and family circumstances can affect people's experience of local justice. While not all decisions go against the interests of women, for instance, embedded ideas about authority within the family can lead to this bias (Engle Merry, 2006). Pankhurst and Assefa (2008) maintain that in many Ethiopian societies, in land relations, men are regarded as having the main authority to negotiate and finance the purchase of land. And even where women who have exercised such authority try to establish their land rights, embedded ideas are used to discredit their claims altogether. There are few or no avenues to check discrimination or abuse. Attempts to systematically collect and organise customary law, have led to 'customary rules' becoming more rigid, as reflected in judicial decisions that perpetuate inequalities justified as cultural traits (Pankhurst and Assefa, 2008).

The inability of many connectors for local capacities for peace to deal with the social causes of conflicts is also shown in other situations: political or economic interdependence, or common beliefs in a possible punishment after death. These actions are not really positive, but are refrains from negative actions. In other words, they do not promote peace because they are unable to address the roots of conflict, but can stop people from committing violence. The resentment and hatred between the two different clans in the Afghan village did not disappear as a result of the mullah's words. These feelings might not have fed into a direct use of

force but the possibility of a war was still in the air, latent in the system, able to emerge again as soon as new issues arise. An issue considered unimportant in other contexts can become most important when the relation is very tense. As a consequence, keeping direct violence away from society, as local capacities for peace do, is not enough if the deep causes of conflict are left untouched.

Along with direct violence, effective local capacities for peace should be able to deal with the violence that is built into the structure -structural violence- and the culture that can be used to legitimise violence in its direct or structural forms - cultural violence (Galtung, 1996). At the end of the 1960s, Johan Galtung (1969) first introduced the distinction between personal and structural violence and supplemented this idea during the early 1990s with the concept of cultural violence (Galtung, 1990 and 1996). Direct violence is horrific, but its brutality usually gets people's attention: they notice it, and often respond to it. Structural violence, however, is almost always invisible, embedded in social structures, normalized by stable institutions and supported by culture. Cultural violence is used to describe ideologies, convictions, traditions and systems of legitimation with whose help direct or structural violence is made possible, justified and *de facto* legitimated. For Galtung, direct, structural and cultural violence constitute the three corners of a violence triangle. Violence can start at any corner of the triangle and is easily transmitted to others. A system that "generates repression for some members of a society while other members enjoy opulence and unbridled power inflicts covert violence with the ability to destroy life as much as overt violence, except that it does it in more subtle ways" (Kimani, 2007, p. 72).

Galtung (1996) points out that positive peace can be reached only when overt and covert aspects of violence are addressed. Positive peace is not just the absence of direct violence between individuals, groups, and government (negative peace). It also involves the elimination of structural discrimination, encouragement and appreciation of diversity through dialogue and cultural exchange. It denotes the presence of social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power

and resources, equal protection and impartial enforcement of law (Jeong, 2005; Galtung, 1996).

Conclusively, if the source of discrimination is the society itself, local resources alone are unlikely to change the social structure, as they themselves stem from local culture. Hence, the help of a third party mediator could be beneficial to break a stand-still situation.

3.2 International aid agencies in conflict areas

Aid has *always* claimed to serve a role in the regulation of conflict but has achieved limited success in doing so, it will be important to understand why, if its effectiveness has to be enhanced (Macrae, 2001, p. 8).

It is a common assumption that international actors could hold the power and moral authority to bring about the peaceful change that communities have failed to deliver (Macrae, 2001). This exogenous influence in conflict resolution generally comes from countries where democracy seems not to be an issue. Further, it is usually highlighted that the culture of human rights emerged from these same countries and was then exported all over the world. In addition, 'modern' methods and techniques of negotiation,⁸ mediation, arbitration, and conciliation were developed primarily in the cultural setting of the Global North.⁹ On the other side, people living in countries torn by war have rarely experienced the serendipity and sense of security and protection that allow progress in any field (Escobar, 1995).

But is this assumption sufficient to endow international actors with 'superior' techniques for dealing with peaceful change? And if so, why in so many cases -

⁸ The adjective 'modern' in this context is used to emphasise the differences between western methods of conflict resolution and local or traditional ways of making peace.

⁹ The term 'Global North' applies to countries that, according to the United Nations Development Programme Report 2005, have a human development Index above .8. It comprises fifty-seven countries in the world mostly located in the Northern hemisphere. The Global South refers to countries with an income per capita below \$9,000 per year and a Human Development Indices below .8, most of which are located in the Southern Hemisphere, Latin America, South and Southern Asia, Africa, Middle East and Pacific Region (United Nations Development Programme, 2005).

Rwanda above all, is their ability to engage in conflict situations doubted? The persistence of violent conflicts indicates that modern international methods are also defective in facing the challenges (Zartman, 2000).

In the great majority of the cases, the aid system is inspired by good intentions; these are however, not a guarantee for good results (Anderson, 1999; Uvin, 1998). By focusing in particular on the role of development and humanitarian aid agencies,¹⁰ this section aims to demonstrate that it would be wrong to think that international intervention in ethnic conflict is always destructive and that all the issues involved in playing a role in such conflicts can be foreseen. Nonetheless, strategic problems, donors' conditionality and structural weaknesses limit the potential of aid work and reduce its efficiency in preventing and resolving conflicts.

3.2.1 Strategic constraints

Undeniably, life is easier if people have the sense to see things our way. In reality, however, no two persons look at the world in exactly the same way. Differences in social, political and cultural contexts shape our being and understanding and determine the way we meet needs and respond to conflict (Avruch, 1998; Lederach 1997; Anderson, 1983).

A considerable number of scholars agree that what works well in one particular setting can be only partially effective or totally ineffective in another (e.g. Jeong 2005; Uvin, 1998; Lederach, 1997). In this regard, Uvin (1998) notes that aid agencies have often been accused of using fixed techniques of intervention, which, however fitting in a western setting, are not tailored for local needs in

¹⁰ Aid agencies are organizations aimed at distributing aid. As Bercovitz (1996) suggests, they can be intergovernmental (e.g. International Organization for Migration or the United Nation Development Project), governmental (e.g. USAID, United States Agency for International Development) or non-governmental (e.g. Oxfam or ActionAid). According to Norberg (2000), the kind of aid distributed falls into two categories: humanitarian and developmental (whose goal is to help countries to achieve poverty reduction). Nowadays a growing number of agencies carry out both kinds of activities, whilst others specialise.

other parts of the world.¹¹ Examining the type of confederal, consociational peace settlement institutionalized by the Dayton agreement in former Yugoslavia, Bose (2007) argues that such a framework works in moderately divided societies, such as Switzerland or Belgium, where there is an overarching national identity and no recent history of violent conflict, but not in deeply divided societies like Bosnia or Northern Ireland.

The term ‘strategic constraints’ is used in the current research to refer to some of the weaknesses encountered in the work of international aid agencies in terms of the way their interventions are designed. A strategy is, in fact, an expression of an approach to action and the method used to address a problem that has been identified (Oakley, 2001). In regard to strategic constraints, three of the main criticisms posed will now be reviewed.

Short term exit-oriented intervention

Aid agencies are dogged by the claim of preferring short-term, exit-oriented interventions that do little to help overcome obstacles to change, especially when the society is deeply divided (Wake, 2002; Uvin, 1998). Jeong (2005) argues that in Kosovo and Bosnia Herzegovina, notwithstanding the Dayton agreement which was mostly reached by the intervention of America, the continued intolerance of other groups is a good indicator of the potential for renewed violence.¹² Along the same line, Uvin (1998) notices that in the case of Rwanda it was the pressure of the international community for a quick peaceful and democratic settlement in Arusha that pushed part of the elite, dissatisfied with the outcomes, to seek

¹¹ Uvin (1998) connects these considerations to the field of development but does not specify what is meant by it. Development aid is a broad category whose bounds are not clear. I do believe that it also includes conflict resolution and peace building initiatives, constituting the premises for any further interventions aimed at improving people’s life.

¹² The Dayton agreement is the peace agreement reached at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base near Dayton, Ohio in November 1995, and brokered by the U.S. leadership. This agreement, formally signed in Paris on December 14, 1995, ended the 1992-1995 conflict in former Yugoslavia, particularly Bosnia-Herzegovina (“Dayton Agreement”, 2007). The current political divisions and structure of government of Bosnia and Herzegovina were generally agreed upon as part of the Dayton agreement.

alternative extremist solutions. In the end, the negotiation process was perceived by locals as the result of the external pressure rather than internal realignments of power and interests.

Alienation of local support

Imposing outside priorities on the direction, form, or speed of internal political change is likely to lead to negligence of local institutional environments and sociocultural traditions (Jeong, 2005, p. 121).

Referring to the situation that led to the genocide in Rwanda, Uvin (1998) notes that by attempting to reach really positive results in a relatively short time, using strategies that do not fit the context, an increase in the popularity of western intervention to westerners' eyes may be achieved, but surely alienates locals' affections. According to him, it is not very surprising that in Burundi the farmers use the same word *leta* (meaning the 'state' in Kirundi) for identifying both the government and the aid system (Uvin, 1998, pp. 227-228). They are both considered equally far from the farmers' concerns and lives and where the former is not welcomed for some reasons the latter also receives poor treatment.

Ignatieff (2003, p. 333), argues that there is a "perverse potential logic by which the international interveners come in to adjudicate disputes and then take away local responsibility for resolving disputes". In postwar Bosnia, the major criticism of the international role was the sharply expanded powers enjoyed by the Office of High Representative, which included the right "to formulate and impose legislation on deadlocked or incompetent institutions...and close down media considered offensive to other ethnonational communities and/or the international community" (Bose, 2007, p.144). The strong power exercised by the Office of High Representative was also evident in cases where individuals were dismissed from office for allegedly obstructing the implementation of the peace agreement (Knauss and Martin, 2003). Such episodes have fed the debate on whether the peacebuilding operation in Bosnia, led by the international community, "has become a colonial-style civilizing mission that practices liberal imperialism in the

guise of liberal internationalism” (Bose, 2007, p. 144). In the end Bosnia’s international hierarchy was “immune from accountability to Bosnians” (Bose, 2007, p. 144).

The focus on connection

Drawn by her experience as ten-year United Nation High Commissioner, Ms Sadako Ogata argues:

Ideally, by engaging in parallel activities and acknowledging these undertakings, members of conflicting groups can build a greater sense of security and a modicum of respect for others. Through the gradual recognition of increasing economic opportunity and human security, members of different groups can come to accept one another as participants in the society and interdependent actors. They can begin to imagine themselves living together in peace (Ogata, 2003, p. xiii).

In dealing with conflict, violence becomes a focal point. Anderson (1999) notes that when external actors enter conflict zones and see the violence, they naturally focus on it because its manifestations are immediate and powerful. She also argues that members of conflicting factions often undertake parallel or even joint activities, although they may indeed still mistrust each other (Anderson, 1999). On this same note, Byrne and Keashly (2000) point to the importance of focusing on what still ‘connects’ individuals and groups positively in the midst of what divides them. Through examples from the divided city of Nicosia, where a bi-communal group of Greek and Turkish Cypriots representing the two communities, carry out city maintenance,¹³ Byrne and Keashly (2000) recall how super-ordinate goals,¹⁴ are important components in the process of community building (see also section 3.1.3). Thus, if we build a foundation of connections, we will be able to deal with what divides us much more effectively (Anderson,

¹³ The initiative is the result of peace-building efforts internal to the island. Informal sessions to bring together influential Greek and Turkish Cypriots to be involved in interactive problem-solving discussions and the development of bi-communal projects in education, inspired by this case, have been facilitated by Canadian and American academics (Byrne and Keashly, 2000).

¹⁴ Byrne and Keashly (2000) define a superordinate goal as a goal shared by groups in conflict and that cannot be achieved without the participation of all parties.

1999). This idea is the very nub of the Chapter 3 and will be treated more extensively in the course of the narration.

3.2.2 Donors' conditionality

Some years ago, I wanted to have some significant experience abroad, so I found myself on a plane to Ethiopia excited by the idea of working for a popular international NGO for human rights. It did not matter that it was an unpaid internship. What I did not know yet on that plane, nor did I expect, was that I was going to be considered, at my first work experience, the human rights expert of that NGO branch in Addis Ababa. Until that point in time, the organization had run only development programmes on agriculture and when I joined them, it did not have human rights advisers on board. The reason for an enlargement of its focus was very practical; the NGO worried about the lack of money in its sector of specialization and wanted to direct some of its programmes towards better financed areas of development.

Referring to the NGO world in particular, Aall (2005, p. 379) points out that:

Managing commitment in the face of financial uncertainty adds to the complexity of establishing effective partnerships among official and nonofficial third party intervention in a conflict situation.

Funding and the lack of it, undoubtedly affects long-term commitment in conflict areas, and not only; more and more often, the lack of money for the NGO is likely to slant grantees project proposals “towards what they think the funding source is looking for” (Diamond and McDonald, 1996, p. 112). Conflict management, conflict transformation and resolution and peacebuilding are processes an increasing number of organizations, governmental as well as non-governmental, are using (Orjuela, 2005). For Ropers (2001) this is particularly noticeable in long-term post-conflict reconstruction phases, where a large number of NGOs are at work and a marketplace situation develops, with a demand and supply of conflict-management services.

Because of the economic situation, the market is less oriented to the needs in conflict areas (however defined) but more on the interests and the assessment of the Western donors. This has the consequences that activities get primarily promoted that abide by the rules of the donors for distribution. This may mean short-term education in conflict resolution, which can be evaluated easily by the number of trained multipliers (Ropers, 2001, p. 525).

Moreover, an extraordinary amount of staff time goes to keeping projects funded; as a result, the time and capacity of these actors to actually perform the necessary services are greatly diminished (Diamond and McDonald, 1996). At the same time, the attitude of changing focus for survival, particularly common among medium-small organizations especially in the Global South, accounts for a further reduction of aid potential and, even worse, it increases the risks of unintended outcomes (Galama and Van Tongeren, 2002; Ropers, 2001). As very clearly expressed by Galama and Van Tongeren (2002, p. 30):

Local agencies engaged in competition for funding may be drawn into attempting actions which seem unlikely to succeed based on their own understanding of the situation, both because they want the funding and because they hope the donor may know something they don't know.

Similarly, many scholars note that a significant difference exists between the perceived goals of donors, practitioners and target communities when it comes to the evaluation of a project (Gürkaynak, Dayton and Paffenholz, 2009; Anderson and Olson, 2003; Hoffman, 2001; Ropers, 2001). On the one hand, donors' evaluation agenda is generally based on the establishment of predetermined and verifiable indicators of change. Diamond and McDonald (1996, p.111) assert that:

The rigidity of bureaucratic structures makes flexibility and innovation difficult. In addition, bureaucracies prefer tradition and are not eager to change....The world is changing, however, so foundations are finding themselves bound by old priorities and procedures that do not necessarily make sense given the current global scene. Although many are now reconstructing their programmes and reexamining trends and priorities, that process can take so long that they are always a little out of date and behind the curve.

Funders are also usually looking for an efficient, timely, coherent, sustainable and quick outcome, “a measurable result within a specific time frame and a tangible, durable product” (Diamond and McDonald, 1996, p. 112). Finally, the inevitable culture bias and worldview of the funders are bound to have an effect on their funding priorities (Diamond and McDonald, 1996). From the other side, stakeholders involved in the activities may consider the quantitative measures of the initiative’s success used by the funders as secondary to other more immediate needs -such as essential service delivery, and assistance to refugees and displaced people (Ropers, 2001).

3.2.3 Innate weakness: legitimacy, capacity and desirability of external intervention

Putting the accent on the external nature of the aid system, leads to an open discussion about the legitimacy/capacity/desirability of external interventions in conflict areas. Can actors coming from outside the conflict area intervene in what are considered ‘domestic’ issues? The debate is ongoing and a variety of considerations have been made on this issue. Peter Uvin (1998) for instance, mostly relying on his study of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, assumes that the policies and institutions that led to structural violence cannot be separated from international aid, and vice versa. Because domestic politics are inseparable from external aid, foreign aid is constitutive of domestic processes (Uvin, 1998). If this reflection is true for external aid in general, it is also true for the more specific conflict resolution interventions.

While the researcher agrees with Uvin’s point in terms of unexpected outcomes of an external intervention in conflict, this consideration does not say anything about whom or what initially legitimates the intervention. The researcher does believe that it is the gap between expectations (from local governments) and performance that creates the possibility for an international involvement. As noticed by Jeong (2005, p. 39):

The incapacity of a government to ensure civilian security invites international assistance in the establishment of professional police and jurisdictional systems...Institutional reform in the security sector along with the protection of citizens is an essential component of creating an environment conducive to a sustainable process of democratization and development.

In other words, if and when the population's security needs encompassing both military and civilian security (preservation of the identity and equal possibility in accessing political, economical and social power), are not fulfilled through local and then national channels, the involvement of a third party becomes desirable.

Developing the issue of legitimacy is not the aim of this research. Rather, it wishes to analyse in more detail the ways for rendering third party involvement as un-intrusive as possible and as desirable to locals as possible, once it has been considered desirable. If local people see aid as desirable and not invasive, then the discussions about its reason to exist will at least be lessened, if not entirely eradicated. Acknowledging cultural differences can help in this process.

In 'Preparing for Peace' Lederach (1995, p. 120) argues that culture should not be understood by conflict resolvers as "a challenge to be mastered and overcome through technical recipes", instead it provides the logic by which people reason. "Culture is rooted in social knowledge and represents a vast resource, a rich seedbed for producing a multitude of approaches and models in dealing with conflict. If approached as a seedbed, culture can be excited, probed, and fed" (Lederach, 1995, p.120). Kevin Avruch (1998) examines how culture has been used and also ignored in different conflict resolution techniques. Eventually he comes to a point where he concedes that humans do reason very much in the same ways "associatively, and in linked, prioritized, valorized and networked schemas about the world" (Avruch, 1998, p. 94). However, he adds that the schemes people reason with, are cultural and they are linked, "prioritized, valorized, networked by - and distributed among - individuals across many different sorts of social groups and institutions" (Avruch, 1998, p.90). Avruch claims that ignoring cultural differences will create failure. The local traditions are not only of

historical significance, their methods, insight and skills can be of great value to all the actors who are dealing with conflict (Senehi, 2009; Rice, 2005; Schirch, 2005; Salans, 2004; Boulding, 2000; Tuso, 1998; Mason, 1996).

The most important lesson learned from this section is found in Kevin Clements' words: "We need to understand that *we* don't solve anyone's problems, and that as external actors, all we can really do is identify and work together with those who are working for peace" (in Wake, 2002, p. 79). Accordingly, the best practice lies in the collaboration between local capacities for peace and external intervention. Their combined efforts seem to be the most effective way to eradicate the root of violence from society. In doing so, the philosophies and cultural values behind local practices and rituals can be re-interpreted and constitute the basis for a more effective process of conflict transformation. The help of third party mediators could facilitate this process. These actors in fact are more likely to have a view on the conflict which is not affected by a long exposure to a highly polarized environment conducive to mistrust and negative mirror image. They could therefore be more able to discern elements of commonality among conflicting groups.

3.3 The role of local culture in transforming conflict

Drawing conclusions from the experience of a medical doctor in South Africa, who was able to gain the trust of her clients by reassuring them about the possibility of following both their traditional routes to healing and the complementary Western medical practices, LeBaron calls for combined *modus operandi* in conflict transformation.

The Navajo Nation's Peacemaker process is a good example of the blending of cultural tradition with the dominant society (Pinto, 2000); it makes it possible for Navajos to preserve a part of their cultural heritage, while also cooperating with the dominant, mainstream society (Zion, 1985). The process is taken directly from the traditional methods of dispute resolution used throughout the history of the

Navajo people, while embedded in the more mainstream American-style court system currently being used by the Judicial Branch of the Navajo Nation (Pinto, 2000; Yazzie, 1996).

As in the Navajo Nation's Peacemakers process, rather than trying to force compliance and rejecting traditional beliefs, practitioners should find a way of working inclusively with them. Through their willingness to learn about and legitimise local traditional knowledge, practitioners can engage themselves in ways that address psychological, spiritual, emotional, and physical needs (Lederach, 2005). This process defines the full engagement with the world to which Rice (2005) refers when examining North America Aboriginal culture. The author argues that native people in North America have ways through which "the ancient spirits and powers of the cosmos speak and help people in times of great suffering" (Rice, 2005, p.43). As Rice (2005, p. 66) puts it:

The archetypes or ancestral spirits of Aboriginal people are retained in the Aboriginal mind through story, ceremony, and song. Over the years of learning, they become manifested over and over in the Aboriginal way of life where they are in turn passed on, unlike western culture where these facets of culture have been lost. Whether it is because they become embedded in the unconscious or, as Jung believed, that they are the archetypes of that particular culture and inherited from the ancestors, or even the ancestors themselves, the fact remains that they play an active role in the psychic life of an Aboriginal person.

Hence, community's cultural heritage is at the basis of this new approach.¹⁵ When the conflict involves collision of identities and ways of making meanings, and

¹⁵ Although the word cultural heritage is generally associated with archives, works of art, places of worship and monuments, it also exists in less tangible forms: language, music and dance, festivities, rituals and traditional craftsmanship. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines the term as movable and immovable, tangible and intangible objects of artistic, architectural, historical, archaeological, ethnographic, paleontological and geological importance (Unesco, 2008). Intangible cultural heritage in particular refers to oral traditions, customs, performing arts, rituals, and the forth.

Cultural heritage is important to the identity of a society. In times of need, songs, writings and works of art can be a beacon of hope and comfort. They make a shared past visible and thus strengthen inter-cultural ties. As a result they have a great potential to affect change due to their participatory and interactive nature (LeBaron, 2003).

stems from firmly embedded cultural stereotypes, the general artistic expressions previously mentioned (e.g. song, poetry and dances) are not sufficient to revise negative attitudes towards each other. If cultural or worldview differences separate people, it is more difficult to reach a quick fix (Jeong, 2005). And when these cultural or worldview differences have played out over time shaping ‘the others’ as enemies, they, in turn, drive that group behaviour. Embedded negative images foster closed minds and reinforce resistance to change (Anderson, 1983).

3.3.1 Changing attitude

Every time that the social identity of a group is built on the deep rooted idea of the predominance of one group over the other/s and that this idea seems to find ground for justification in the local culture, the process of attitude change may require a more complete ideological reorientation with respect to the examples mentioned in the earlier sections (refer to section 3.1.7). It is not just the aspect of mutual tolerance that has to be considered and tackled through a reminder of common values, but in the first place, the eradication of the idea of superiority/inferiority.

Since one of the main elements in building the collective identity of a people is a common history, we are more likely to modify the social identity by using the medium of the oral tradition (Senehi, 2009; Schirch, 2005; Zelizer, 2003). This term is referred in particular to stories, myths, rituals and metaphors that in many traditional societies are synonymous with songs, chants, music, or epic poetry along with musical accompaniment on a certain instrument (LeBaron, 2003). In contrast with the artistic expressions previously cited, contextualized stories, myths, rituals and metaphors refer to the local realities and recall people and facts affecting that particular social realm (Schirch, 2005).

In asymmetrical societies built on old historical, social, economic and political injustices, oral tradition is the main source of discrimination but also the most encouraging hope for its end (Senehi, 1996). Jeong (1999) notices that conflict

transformation needs to be based on the creation of more inclusive discourse practice in narrative terms. In 'Conflict Resolution, Dynamics, Process and Structure', he states:

The distinction between identities can be made loose by promoting the reference point of identity which stresses a sense of common destiny rather than antagonism. The nature of identity conflict resolution may depend on the way new values and norms are generated to form shared understanding across communities (Jeong, 1999, p. 74).

Exploring transformative possibilities in changing adversarial relationships may start from an understanding of the process of group identification in a particular conflict. By looking at how these oral expressions are used by groups, we can learn efficiently and in depth about group members' identities - who groups see themselves to be, what matters to them and how they make meaning (Schirch, 2005; Mason, 1996). When we do this with each party to a conflict, places of connection and divergence may become clearer, leading to a better understanding of the conflict in context and of ways to transform it (Jeong, 1999).

Stories, myths, rituals and metaphors can play an important role in the process of identity construction and re-construction (LeBaron, 2003). The use of these symbolic elements and acts transposes the individuals in 'zone three' of reality. Winnicott (1971) believes that it is in this transitional space, first discovered with the play of children, that culture evolves. By forming linkages between inner and outer worlds, stories and myths, metaphors and rituals help to find and explore shared meanings within and between individuals and communities. According to Lumsden (1999) it is shared meanings that constitute the heart of group identity and culture as well as peaceful interpersonal and intergroup relations.

The use of these cultural elements does not have to replace other tools for conflict transformation. Rather, it is a supplement to traditional 'front-door' approaches to conflict that deal with issues in direct, rational, and linear modes (Schirch, 2005). According to LeBaron (2003) this creative approach work at the personal, interpersonal, and intergroup levels. On a personal basis it helps uncover limited

assumptions and discern internal divisions. At the interpersonal level it addresses conflict in relationships, helping soften differences and heal divisions. At the intergroup level, this practice helps groups develop more constructive collective partnerships in the midst of negative images and painful histories.

These components of oral heritage shall now be examined in more details.

3.3.2 Stories

Throughout time and across cultures, people have gathered in circles to share their collective wisdom, energies and strengths - binding them and guiding them into the future. All this happens through stories that are narrated to others and that people tell themselves.

A story is anything that tells or recounts what happened to individuals or people that they know (Mason, 1996). Humans have always used stories to explain themselves to others for many different purposes: social change, mediation, diplomacy, cross-cultural relationships building, among other reasons (Cruikshank, 1998). Stories reflect life, personal cultural background and the way we elaborate identity issues and construct meaning around our experiences (Senehi, 1996). They “contain people in context” (LeBaron, 2003, p. 276). They may be tales or relate to personal experiences or groups history, but they are never pure fact or fiction, they always have meaning. Through stories individuals implicitly locate themselves and the others in this world (Mason, 1996).

Stories take people everywhere: backwards, forwards or right in the present time, transporting them to many places and situations, showing them the world from a certain angle. When stories are told, choices are made – in how characters are portrayed, motivations explained, and closure achieved; meanings are made explicit and values communicated (LeBaron, 2003).

Story co-creation

Traditionally, history has been constructed from above, composed by the victorious, orchestrated by the powerful, played and performed for the population. There is another history, rooted in people's perception of how the world around them continues to unfold and of their place in that process (Selbin, 2010, p. 9).

When one is engaged in conflict, it can be difficult to see a way out, as perspective is diminished and emotions run high (Jeong, 2005). When the story recalls ancient hatred and refers to the other side as the source of all problems, outsiders can help reshaping this perception. Because they are not part of the conflict their perspective is not affected by ancient prejudices and they are more open to different cultural ways of seeing (Volkan, 1998).

Through the practice of story co-creation, outsiders can encourage emotional intimacy among the parties in conflict and facilitate a shift in conflict dynamics (Rousseau, Lacroix, Singh, Gauthier, and Benoit, 2005). This process begins with the sharing of stories and involves acknowledging the existence of a reality other than the one known and building more expansive stories from this awareness (LeBaron, 2003). Each storyteller tailors the story and shows the pictures in his or her mind and passes them to the listeners' minds to be interpreted (McKay and Dudley, 1996). A good story designs 'emotional bridges' because it puts the minds of the storyteller and the audience at the same emotional level, facilitating understanding, empathy and the creation of meaning (Senehi, 2009). The whole process helps to understand the past, live the present and plan a shared future.

Rousseau et al. (2005) report the example of a transcultural child psychiatry team in Canada that work with multiethnic schools to develop and implement creative expression workshop programmes for immigrant and refugee children. The workshops run during regular school daytime and have been designed to be transitional spaces that allow the children to build bridges between the past and the present, their culture of origin and the host society, home and school, and their internal and external worlds. Among other types of workshops, is the 'Playback Drama Theatre'. This is a type of improvisational theatre that aims to foster

personal and social transformation in the refugee children through sharing a theatre experience within a ritual space. In this specific case, the goal was to facilitate the adjustment of newly arrived teens and help them work through their traumatic experiences in order to prevent difficulties, both behavioural and emotional, that may be exacerbated by the migration context. Within a safe and respectful atmosphere, a play director coordinates the story reported by teenagers, while actors and musicians gather information in order to play the story back to the teller and the group. The stories are transformed and replayed through alternative scenarios developed by the participants. The idea is to alter the situation to empower the storyteller and the others, either by changing the meaning, or building a relationship, or creating an opening or dialogue with others that was missing from the original story. This part of the workshop becomes a collective effort for co-creating a story or situation where teens look for alternatives to their first reactions and strategies.

The co-creation of story is a way of humanizing conflict, and in the process, celebrating what it means to be a human being (Senehi, 2009). Story co-creation can be seen as one of the ways to re-imagine the mediation to which Folger and Bush (1994) refer. The two authors propose a new type of mediation within a relational framework, where emotions and painful histories are essential features of the conflict transformation process. This framework not only focuses on the connection between people, but also favours reflection on the parties' experiences, as human beings (Folger and Bush, 1994). And by implication, mediators, as human beings, are encouraged to trust the parties in terms of their ability to move through the problems. Conflict is thus reframed as a contribution to the development of interaction, rather than a feature of life that needs 'management'.

As LeBaron (2003) suggests, co-creating stories works at:

- The personal level. Telling and casting stories several times with the assistance of a coach can help in figuring out their limiting assumptions and open possibilities to change;

- The interpersonal level. Parties can listen to each others' stories and examine them from the other party's perspective, eventually trying to find a shared story where the most important elements of each cultural background are included;
- The intergroup level. Stories each group tells and retells about itself and the other group can be shared as windows into worldviews. They can form the basis of a new story about past events that affect both groups and about visions for the future.

3.3.3 Myths

A myth is a traditional story that cultural groups tell about themselves and others (Malinowski, 1926). It may describe the origins of the world and/or of a people (creation myths) or beliefs about certain places and people - e.g. the heroic characteristics ascribed to Christopher Columbus. A myth is an attempt to explain mysteries, supernatural events, and cultural traditions (Malinowski, 1926). Sometimes sacred in nature, a myth can involve gods or other creatures.

In traditional societies, myths justify and sanctify all indigenous people's rites and customs, and are considered themselves a source of life (Hocart, 1952). The myth is regarded as a sacred story, and hence a 'true history', because it always deals with realities. The connection between myth and history facilitates the transmutation of the latter into the former and, through that, it changes the existing historical consciousness in society (LeBaron, 2003). The anthropologist

Bronislaw Malinowski (1926, p. 23) explained myth as follows:

Studied alive, myth is ...a narrative resurrection of a primeval reality, told in satisfaction of deep religious wants, moral cravings, social submissions, assertions, and even practical requirements. Myth fulfils in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances and codifies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. Myth is thus a vital ingredient of human civilization; it isn't an idle tale, but a hard-worked active force; it is not an intellectual explanation or an artistic

imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom.

Additionally, he maintains that:

These stories live not by an idle interest, not as fictitious or even true narratives; but are to the natives a statement of primeval, greater, and more relevant reality, by which the present life, facts and activities of mankind are determined, the knowledge of which supplies man with the motive for ritual and moral actions, as well as with indications as to how to perform them (Malinowski, 1926, p. 39).

Considering the importance of myths, their revision can play a role in shaping people's feelings and mutual relationships. Practitioners could play a crucial but delicate role in promoting coexistence after conflict. They can give input to exploring and revising myths as an important part of inviting multiple voices into the way history is told (Smith, 1999; Volkan, 1997). This will happen by excluding from history those myths that deny the possibility of multiple voices being heard and by stressing the ones in favour of justice and commonality. The process will help re-imagine history and envision a new future that does not perpetrate controversial myths connected to threatened identities. The project undertaken by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Burundi is an example (Anderson, 1999, p. 105-118). In Burundi, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) decided to explain the international humanitarian principles on which it is based through the words of local people. To this purpose, ICRC brought together Burundians belonging to different ethnic groups and social classes, and over some months they were able to find in their culture sayings and myths shared across society. They made a play out of them, which was then performed 'on the road'.

LeBaron (2003) states that myths, like stories, influence changes at:

- The personal level. Family myths help to understand individual identity and ways of making meanings. Exploring them can reveal points of choice, ways identities are shaped, and cultural influences previously obscured. It can also shed light on values and things that family members want to celebrate;
- The interpersonal level. Myths about relationships and roles can be uncovered

as they reflect cultural understandings. As an example, LeBaron stresses how myths about past sacrifices (e.g. the myth spoken by parents who tell their children “When I was your age...”) open conversations into past experiences and changes in cultural conditions and expectations;

- The intergroup level. Myths about cultural groups can be explored for what they reveal and hide. LeBaron mentions “men don’t cry” and “women are sensitive” as two classical examples of the many kinds of assumptions embedded in myths (gender myths in this case) and found in many cultures, which that can be challenged to stimulate changes.

3.3.4 Rituals

In a classic definition, Turner (1969) describes rituals as the social phenomenon of shared experiences entrenched in human interaction and cultural performances. Generally speaking, a ritual is an action that has symbolic meaning (Gusfield and Michalowicz, 1984). For centuries, people have used ritual communication when words alone were not sufficient. Rituals provide containers for feelings and answer the need to get together on special occasions (e.g. marriages, funerals, ordinations). A ritual may be private, like taking a good luck charm to an exam, or public (socially shared) like saluting the flag. Many rituals contain:

- Ceremony (e.g. kissing a child goodnight every night);
- Religious devotion (prayer, expressions of faith, etc.);
- Arts (music, visual arts, dance).

Rituals, like stories and myths, can be constructive and destructive. In terms of the constructive, Schirch (2005) notes that rituals can be used to socialize people and can confirm cultural values that help in the support of peace. Volkan (1997) suggests that they can also serve to heighten cultural anxiety around particular chosen traumas. Likewise, ritual’s role in the transformation of worldview, identity, and relationships, can assist the change process in both directions. Peacebuilding rituals can help neutralise or overcome destructive rituals that fan the flames of hatred (Schirch, 2005). Constructive rituals help recognise the

connection among us, while acknowledging that through our lives we experience change in relationships, roles and identities (LeBaron, 2003). Rituals are powerful, ancient and constantly re-invented. In them we experience a safe transition from the known to the unknown, from one identity to another, from one way of understanding a situation or relationship to another: from enemies to friends, combatants to citizens, and marginalized to equals; all of this happens in safety. The sense of security is due to the fact that rituals are times outside ordinary time, when normal patterns of communication are suspended (LeBaron, 2003 and 2002).

Hocart (1952) stresses how rituals are dependent on myths. It is the myth that tells how a ritual originated. Knowing myths enables officiants to perform the ritual correctly (Hocart, 1952). For Tuso (1998) societies develop rituals to establish patterns of social behaviour able to reinforce their personal worldview. In a similar manner, in the introduction to Hocart's book 'The Life-giving Myth' Lord Raglan (1952, p. 6) notices that myth, ritual and social organizations are interconnected:

Social organization originated to perform rituals and it is also dependent on myths "which purports to tell how the kinship, classes, castes, clans and so on came to be instituted, and thereby explains and justifies the part which they play in the life of community.

The assistance of outsiders could facilitate the revision of negative myths for all the same reasons already discussed in relation to stories and myths. This revision can have a ripple effect on rituals and, as a consequence, on social organization. LeBaron (2003) underlines how rituals help change at:

- The personal level. They are spaces where people are not afraid to show their feelings and it helps the personal transition (for instance from oppressed to enfranchised individuals) during the broadening process of transition in conflict;
- The interpersonal level. They provide a safety net where people from conflicting parties get together despite differences. Large scale events such as

the 9/11 terrorist attacks draw circles of connections around those who once might have felt distant or separate;

- The intergroup level. Identity change brings together different groups. Stepping out of usual roles and relationships, a culture of common ground comes into existence, along with the culture of each group. LeBaron notes how in many conflicts, including those over abortion, participants in dialogue report experiencing dialogue as a ritual, to the extent that it involves talking together in ways that allow emotional expressions.

3.3.5 Metaphors

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a metaphor as follows:

A figure of speech in which a name or descriptive word or phrase is transferred to an object or action different from, but analogous to, that to which it is literally applicable; an instance of this, a metaphorical expression.

Metaphors are literal images that structure human thought processes (Hayakawa, 1978). They are embedded in languages, framing the way we see conflict without explicit acknowledgement (Hocker and Wilmot, 1993). Using metaphors is powerful because they always have physical referents. They connect people and ideas (LeBaron, 2003). A metaphor is a puzzle whose pieces reconstruct a pathway into feelings, thoughts and cultural frames, powerful in shaping perceptions, habits, actions, and relationships (Hayakawa, 1978). To explain this concept, LeBaron (2003, p. 215) draws examples from the metaphors used to describe South Africa and Palestine. South Africa is also known as ‘the rainbow country’ since the end of Apartheid in the early 1990s. This metaphor communicates colours, moods, sensations and meanings and gives a positive image of South Africa. The image of the rainbow captures the many coloured people who comprise South Africa. Rainbows are beautiful also because their colours do not constitute a melting pot but each is well defined and still harmonized with the others. At the same time the rainbow expresses the idea of transience. It comes and goes, appears and disappears. It needs special weather

conditions to manifest itself. For South Africa it means that much work is needed to reveal permanently the rainbow potential of the country. It comes out only in special occasions. By identifying the rainbow with the country the idea is to communicate the value of maintaining and celebrating diversity within a system that is described as just and fair.

In contrast with this peaceful metaphor for South Africa is the metaphor used for defining Palestine. The expression 'the mountains cannot be shaken down by the wind' has been used by Palestinians since the end of 1960s / beginning of 1970s. It recalls the Palestinian dream of independence that is as strong as a mountain. Applying these metaphors to the conflict with Israel, strengthened Palestinian resistance against the policies that affect their persistence and unity as wind affects the mountains.

The aforementioned metaphors transmit different feelings and sensations. Describing experiences of an intergroup conflict as 'fighting a losing battle', a use of metaphors emerges that directs thinking about conflict in a particular way. Metaphors relate to views about situations, personal experiences and the outside world. Precisely because they are linked to personal experiences, they tend to be remembered better and to have a stronger impact than more abstract communication. LeBaron (2003) points out that questions are generated through dialogue about metaphors. They are useful tools for third parties both as windows into participants' worldviews and as non-threatening ways to direct attention to change. They open the possibility of combining new and old kinds of associations and creating brighter paths for future relationships.

LeBaron (2003, p. 141-151) uses an example from New Zealand, where two Maori tribal groups who call themselves Iwi, were negotiating land claim settlements with the government, referred to as the Crown. The Iwi representation was composed of fifteen experienced elders, all males. Representing the Crown were six officials, of whom four were young females. Also, the team was led by a woman in her late thirties; this was her first assignment in this position. The series

of preparatory meetings in which the parties came to know each other took place on a *marae* belonging to one of the Iwi. The *marae* is a meeting area for the Maori. It is the basis of traditional community life where official functions like celebrations, weddings, christenings, tribal reunions and funerals take place. Towards the end of the first meeting, an Iwi representative stood up, visibly furious about the inclusion of young women in the Crown team. He said, clearly referring to the women in the Crown delegation: "I don't mind being told what to do by a cat, but I won't be told what to do by a kitten". A Crown elder, meeting the image proposed by the kitten metaphor, replied: "The glass elver grows up to have a big sting in their tails". The reference to the baby eels that develop into big adults recalled the potential of the young women in the Crown delegation: they were not as innocent and powerless as the Iwi might have thought. Another Iwi member argued that age and gender were not as important as the return of the ancestral land. He used the local proverb: "The land is permanent, man disappears". As negotiations continued, a shift took place. It did not happen all at once. It happened when the two men who had spoken out against the women were elected as negotiators for the official process. Women, on their side, continued into negotiations as representatives of the Crown. Neither side had choices about who was on the other side: the minister delegated her representatives and the Iwi elected theirs. As they negotiated the terms of the agreement, a constructive working relationship evolved. The young women and the Iwi representatives came to work together and developed trust. Each side invited the other to contribute with rituals and steps that its members found meaningful. Prayers and traditional greetings were also important symbolic rituals for the Iwi. Both Maori and English were spoken at the table and references to history by the Iwi were frequent. When it came to the point of signing an official agreement, one of the Iwi, initially most opposed to the women, told the minister: "Your officials are wonderful ambassadors for the Crown. Their professionalism is only matched by their beauty". In the follow-up meetings he continued showing his admiration for the women. The female Crown representatives perceived this behaviour as a kind of face-saving indirect apology. This example demonstrates

how metaphors can be re-interpreted in an attempt to restructure the cultural context.

As one of the strategies outlined by Smith (1999) for non-indigenous scholars to become more 'culturally sensitive' in their research, there is the 'making of peace', whereas the researcher attempts to connect the indigenous community with the research (or academic) community. The process of re-interpretation of metaphors falls into this last category and can be considered part of the broader process of reframing a conflict.¹⁶ It becomes the mediator's or third party's job to restate what each party has said in a way that causes less resistance or hostility (LeBaron, 2003). Parties can engage in reframing on their own, but it can be extremely helpful to have a third party (mediator or facilitator) to guide the process. Re-interpreting metaphors is a useful exercise to earn trust and respect as metaphors are an essential link to capture the rich lessons arising from cultural conflict. The story of the two Maori tribes and the Crown also helps to understand that not every conflict has to be addressed with face-to-face discussions.

A variety of mechanisms for facilitating communications, involvement and input to decisions, exists across cultural contexts. Sharing metaphors, abstaining from confrontation especially in high context cultures (Hall, 1990),¹⁷ and acknowledging history helped smooth the tension of the conflict, contributing to a positive change in the relationship between the Iwi and the Crown in the New Zealand example.

¹⁶ Mayer (2000, p. 132) explains that: "Framing refers to the way a conflict is described or a proposal is worded; reframing is the process of changing the way a thought is presented so that it maintains its fundamental meaning but is more likely to support resolution efforts".

¹⁷ The general terms 'high context' and 'low context' popularized by Edward Hall (1990) are used to describe broad-brush cultural differences between societies. As Hall explains (1990), high context refers to societies or groups where people have close connections over a long period of time. He argues that many aspects of cultural behaviour are not made explicit because most members know what to do and what to think from years of interaction with each other. Low context refers to societies where people tend to have many connections but of shorter duration or for some specific reason (Hall, 1990). In these societies, cultural behaviour and beliefs may need to be spelled out explicitly so that those coming into the cultural environment know how to behave.

LeBaron (2003) suggests that metaphors help change at:

- The personal level. They help each individual to figure out how to construct understandings of oneself and how each person can act. Changing metaphors reveals more avenues of action;
- The interpersonal level. They provide ways to convey meanings about events and situations to others. Once a metaphor is made explicit, new metaphors can be developed that more closely mirror shared experiences;
- The intergroup level. Metaphors assist the group to reveal its worldview. Through listening to each other, metaphors help groups to move forward, once group metaphors have been revealed. This practice is also known as the 'metaphor journey'.

In conclusion, if a conflict stems from culture, solving the conflict involves coming back to culture. Cultural components forge personal and social identity and contribute to peace-prone or conflict-prone attitudes. Stories, myths, rituals and metaphors become means to undermine the adversaries. In traditional asymmetrical societies, these cogs of local culture are responsible for the creation of discriminatory behaviour and for its continuation across generations and centuries. If the culture is the source of conflict, then local actors are immersed in it and their worldview has been built upon social injustices. For this reason, local capacities for peace may be able to settle everyday disputes but are unlikely to achieve social change alone.

Moreover, local actors engaged in conflict might find it difficult to see a way out, as perceptions become very polarized and emotions run high. Third party mediators can then help enhance a process of conflict transformation by discerning those commonalities between groups that local actors might find difficult to see in the midst of divisions. By listening to group stories they can help in co-creating new shared stories between adversaries. Exploring myths, rituals and metaphors, third parties mediators could understand different positions in conflict and then find the least intrusive way to change individuals' and groups'

worldview and construct shared meanings. If it is true, as Hocart (1952) maintains, that rituals are dependent on myths, and that myths, rituals and social organization are interconnected, then revising myths can lead to new rituals and thus to a new social organization where room can be found for so far unheard voices.

3.4 Conclusion

This literature review was critically analysed to support and elucidate the findings that were drawn through the primary resources in the thesis. Driven by examples observed in the field, it aimed at demonstrating the need for an emerging approach to conflict transformation based on the central role of cultural elements.

The chapter showed that when the conflict is long lasting and embedded in a deeply negative mirror image, the efficacy of local capacities for peace is reduced by the fact that not all the connectors are likely to influence intergroup behaviour and thus inspire peace. Connectors based on intergroup relations have more chances of producing an attitude change in the whole group than connectors based on interpersonal relations. Albeit romantic, when the conflict stems from very rooted cultural stereotypes, the idea that peace of mind in a single person will bring peace to the whole community seems unlikely to realize/materialize. These types of conflicts are intimately bound with people's identities. Because our identities are essential to our sense of efficacy, order and belonging, we resist resolutions of conflicts that might compromise or change them. Evidence shows that individuals who change their mind by virtue of interpersonal contact with one or more members of the rival community tend to be re-absorbed by their own community. Not many people are willing to take the risk of being accused of fraternization with the 'enemy' and thus ostracized. In other words, when the discrimination stems from culture, using the same culture to eradicate the discrimination appears incongruent. If the roots of conflict are cultural, local capacities are more likely to stop direct violence than to change the culture from which it stems and the structure from which it is supported. Also, local actors

immersed in protracted intergroup conflict nourished by mutual prejudices and stereotypes can find it difficult to envisage solutions to the conflict as emotions run high and perspectives are diminished. The help of outsiders can thus reveal beneficial to start a process of conflict transformation.

Likewise, the international aid system also has some limitations. It has often been accused of using techniques of conflict resolution that do not really fit with the conflict, of focusing on violence instead of peace; of preferring short-term intervention and immediate results; of promoting - through funding policies - competition between aid agencies instead of cooperation; and above all, of having no right to intervene in conflicts that are not theirs. To avoid a recurrence of violence, a successful external intervention in conflict requires addressing contemporaneously its direct, structural and cultural form. The mere addressing of immediate symptoms and conditions of war, the use and effects of force and weapons would be a useless effort if culture and social structure were left untouched.

Thus, while neither local capacities nor external intervention provide blueprints for guaranteed success, they nevertheless reveal alternative paths or new ways of taking further steps in situations that at times seem utterly hopeless. Avoidance and denial of the need to search for common ground among people of different backgrounds cannot work indefinitely. Instead, such attitudes deepen divisions and allow the supporters of violent solutions to gain more power. Therefore, the task for people who espouse the notion of peacebuilding is to vigilantly explore possibilities for constructive conflict transformation in society.

One strategy for bridging the gap is through the understanding and then revision of the myths, stories, rituals and metaphors upon which individuals and groups build their identity, and which are used to justify discriminating behaviours. In a sense, this chapter attempted to understand and outline a response to cultural violence, deep cause of divisions and injustice that constitute the barrier for social

groups to renegotiate shared meanings. Since the established meanings given by the parties in conflict are not shared, and can only be meshed with great difficulties, we have to find a space where the very roots of cultural stereotypes can be modified and creative alternatives explored. Moreover since ‘meanings’ are both affective and cognitive, space is also needed for the sharing of emotions, anger, fears and joy. This space is found in the ‘zone three’ of reality, the intermediate area between the inner and the outside world, where meanings are composed and feelings shared. This is a safe area where individuals are able to express themselves and where healing and the invention of new cultural elements take place. Bridging conflict is more like an art. It is about engaging issues of belonging, connecting, and healing, moving out of static pictures and into the wider world, where cultures change and identities are constantly evolving.

Building on this theoretical framework, in the discussion of the Manjo in southern Ethiopia, two important dynamics should be taken into account. Firstly, the asymmetrical relations and differentiation between the Manjo and the surrounding majority Kafecho is featured in the history of Kaffa. Secondly, the discrimination of the Manjo is nourished daily by negative narratives in the forms of destructive myths, stories, rituals and metaphors. Further to this discussion, Chapter 4 will critically examine (i) the historical and cultural background used to justify Kafecho’s power and domination in Kaffa and (ii) the main components of the intervention by the international NGO ActionAid Ethiopia, aimed at alleviating the discrimination of the Manjo.

CHAPTER 4. A BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Throughout Ethiopia there are numbers of marginalized minority groups who are defined by occupation or notional occupation (e.g. smiths, potters, tanners and weavers). The dominant farming population articulates social and cultural exclusion of these groups of craft workers by giving them different labels and treating their occupation as polluted and polluting.

After providing a definition of discrimination, this chapter seeks to describe and document the ways in which a particular occupational group in southwestern Ethiopia, the Manjo, is persistently ostracised and excluded from mainstream social life. Changes in their social-economic-political position throughout centuries and across regimes will be investigated. Attention will also be focused on the role of religion in shaping intergroup relations between the Manjo and the dominant group.

Finally, the chapter intends to examine different components of the project carried out by the international NGO ActionAid Ethiopia (AAE) to integrate the Manjo into the mainstream society.

4.1 Discrimination based on work and descent and the issue of power

Fallers (1973) argues that social stratification is the intrinsic nature of all societies. It involves the presence of a structure of strata whereby persons are hierarchically grouped according to some criteria of ranking and are expected to behave in specific ways towards equals, superiors and inferiors (Fallers, 1973). These categories are also often associated with the performance of different tasks

in the division of labour in the society and, at times, with unequal access to goods and services.

Historically social and political stratification of societies in southern Ethiopia resulted from the division of individuals into hierarchically ranked groups mutually superior and subordinated, privileged and unprivileged according to criteria of descent and work (Pankhurst, 2001). In this part of the country members of occupational groups are known for being potters (e.g. the Manno), tanners (e.g. the Degala), smiths (e.g. the Tumano), weavers (e.g. the Shamano), woodworkers (the Fuga) and hunters (the Manjo).

Initially referred to as ‘caste-based and similar forms of discrimination’, this type of discrimination ‘based on work and descent’ is a relatively new category in the classification of discrimination varieties. The term was first used by the United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights in 2000, in an attempt to widen the understanding of racial discrimination (United Nations Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights, 2000). Recently, discrimination based on work and descent has been defined as:

Any distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on inherited status such as caste, including present or ancestral occupation, family, community or social origin, name, birth place, place of residence, dialect and accent that has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, or any other field of public life. This type of discrimination is typically associated with the notion of purity and pollution and practices of untouchability, and is deeply rooted in societies and cultures where this discrimination is practiced (United Nations Human Rights Council, 2009, p. 8).

In the course of this chapter the concept of ‘discrimination based on work and descent’ will be used as a basis for the understanding of the phenomenon of discrimination which affects groups of artisans and hunters in southwestern Ethiopia and particularly for this research, the Manjo group.

The following paragraphs expand on the understanding of ‘discrimination based on work and descent’ by looking beyond its manifestation. The intent is to explain the mechanisms that lie behind the phenomenon. The dynamics which brought about and maintained such forms of discrimination can in fact be further understood by referring to the concepts of oppression and social exclusion.

4.1.1 Definition of oppression

In the ‘Pedagogy of the Oppressed’ Freire (1974) defines oppression as the expression of unequal power relations embedded in society. For Freire, socially embedded norms operate at a deeply psychological level to reinforce power relations. Hence, the ‘oppressed’ internalise a sense of powerlessness and a feeling of inferiority which shapes their underestimation of themselves (Hughes, Wheeler and Eyben, 2005).

Starting from this definition, Freire’s approach initiated a whole analysis of the ways to address oppression, known as ‘empowerment’. Empowerment consists of three levels:

- Individual empowerment. It corresponds to the process of ‘conscientisation’ through which the oppressed realise that their relative lack of access to resources arises from discriminatory practices (Longwe, 2002). In other words, individual empowerment means to break from the sense of inferiority, acknowledge one’s own strengths, intelligence, skills and knowledge (Rowlands, 1997);
- Collective empowerment. It relates to the affiliation of a person in a group and more specifically refers to how people relate to each other, organize themselves, develop strengths to deal with oppression and challenge the existing structures upon which discrimination is based (Checkoway, 1995; Freire, 1974);
- Community change. Empowerment is the process through which discriminated people acquire increased ‘consciousness’ of their own

situation, gain access to knowledge and skills and become able to change their situation towards sustainable solutions (Borren, 2003). Empowerment means then a change in relationships between oppressed and dominant groups. This notion of empowerment also means challenging the structures which maintain the status quo (Pigg, 2002). Therefore, as pointed out in Chapter 3, for community change to happen both structural and cultural forms of violence need to be tackled (Galtung, 1996).

4.1.2 The notion of social exclusion

The notion of social exclusion focuses on the mechanisms which maintain the structures of power (Bastin, 2005). According to Kabeer (2000), inequality can take different forms depending on cultural and economic factors. She explains that cultural injustice, in particular, is primarily associated with despised identities. While discriminated groups are often among the poorest communities, economic injustice however cannot be considered as the root cause of their social exclusion (Kabeer, 2000). Cultural issues need to be tackled for change to take place.

Social closure, institutional bias and unruly practices are three factors contributing to social exclusion.

- Social closure. Kabeer (200, p. 92) describes it as the process through which “social collectivities seek to maximise rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligible”. She explains that social closure is a relatively deliberate strategy which is based on social attributes such as race, language or religion. In other words, social closure corresponds to what Galtung (1990 and 1969) defines as structural violence: the violence based on the systematic ways in which social structure and institutions harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs;
- Institutional bias. It corresponds to the socially embedded and internalised

norms that define what is, and is not, acceptable and ‘normal’. According to Kabeer (2000, p. 91) “institutionalised bias corresponds to a predominant set of values, beliefs, rituals and institutional procedures that operates systematically and consistently to the benefit of certain persons and groups at the expense of others”;

- Unruly practices. It refers to the core of unofficial norms that shape the social world and determine people’s ability to access what they are officially entitled to (Kabeer, 2000). In other words, it corresponds to the gap between the stated rules and their actual implementation in practice. Both institutional bias and unruly practices fall into Galtung’s idea of cultural violence as it is defined in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

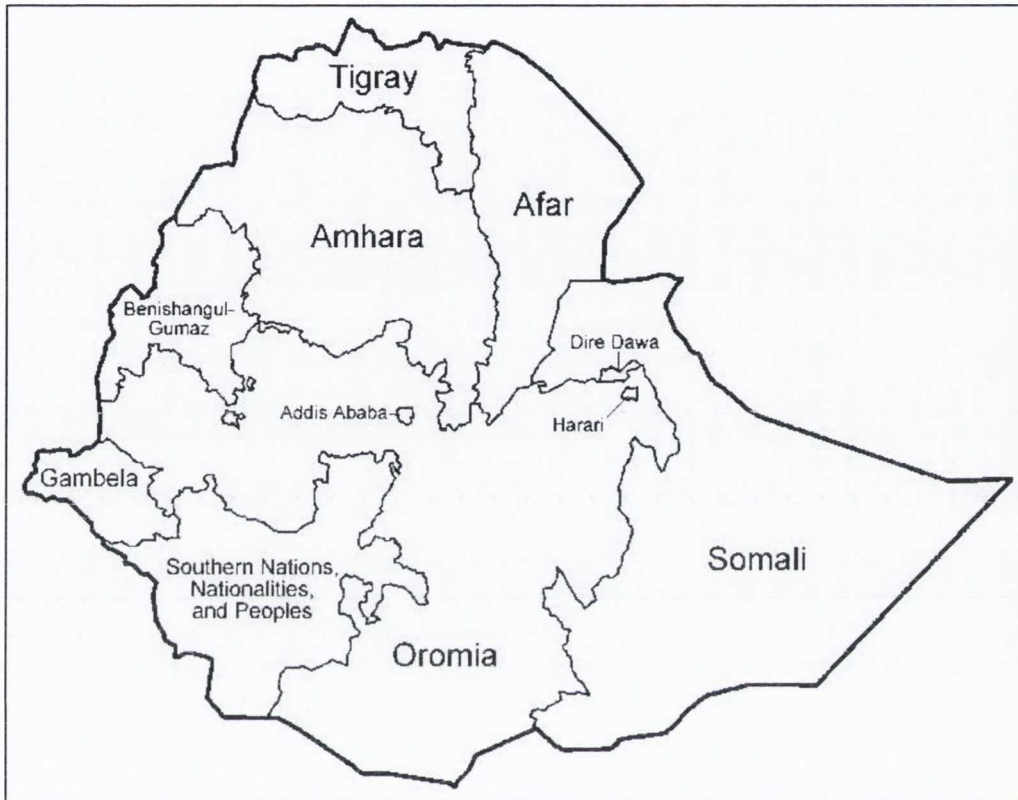
Although the notions of oppression and exclusion linked to the discrimination based on descent and group are mostly connected to the caste system in an Asian context, the same features of discrimination can be found among groups of craftworkers in Ethiopia and generally in Africa. These groups can in fact be considered similar to the untouchable low-caste groups in India (Hambly, 1930; Seligman, 1930; Cerulli, 1922;). In the Ethiopian context, the concept of ‘caste’ has been used widely (Levine, 1974; Conti-Rossini, 1937; Cerulli, 1922 and 1930), particularly to describe the social system in the south and southwestern part of the country where the marginalisation of certain groups is more institutionalized than in the rest of the country (Pankhurst, 2001).

4.2 Location of the research

Situated in northeastern Africa, or the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia is a land-locked country which shares its borders with Sudan in the west, Eritrea in the north, Somalia and Djibouti in the east and Kenya in the south (“Ethiopia”, 2007). It is characterised by great ethnic and cultural diversity. Since 1995, Ethiopia has been a federal state divided into nine regions and two city-states, with borders delineated along ethno-linguistic lines. The regions are as follow: Afar, Amhara, Benishangul, Gambela, Harari, Oromia, Somali, the Southern Nations

Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS), and Tigray. The two city-states are Addis Ababa (the capital city) and Dire Dawa (see map 4.1).

Map 4.1: Administrative division of the Federal Republic of Ethiopia



Adapted from Wikimedia (2010)

Each region is divided into several 'zones' and a number of '*woredas*' or districts. Each *woreda* is divided into several '*kebeles*' or peasant associations.

4.2.1 Kaffa zone

Kaffa, where this research has been conducted, is one of the 13 zones of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS), often referred to as the Southern Regions. With 56 ethnic groups, the region is home to the most diverse and inter-mixed of Ethiopia's ethnic populations. In addition to a mixture of relatively 'local' or 'indigenous' ethnic groups, the area has a significant population of more recent immigrants.

MAP 4.2: Administrative division of the Kaffa zone



Adapted from Kaffa zone finance and economic development department

Located about 450 kilometres from the capital city of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, the Kaffa zone is divided into ten *woredas*, namely: Gesha, Chena, Gimbo, Menjio, Tello, Cheta, Bitá, Gewata, Saylem and Decha (see map 4.2). Its administrative centre is Bonga, a multiethnic town of about ten thousand inhabitants. The Kaffa territory is predominantly mountainous, with altitudes ranging from 800m to 2500m. The agro-ecological condition of Kaffa zone is suitable for the growing of different kinds of crops including spices, coffee and tea (ActionAid Ethiopia,

2005b). Land in Kaffa is valuable and the possibility of extensive coffee and tea productions has attracted foreign and national investors to the area, contributing to the erosion of forest spaces (Tekle, 2005).

According to the 2007 census, Kaffa has a population of 858,600 people,¹ mostly rural (96%) and heavily dependant on traditional agriculture, which nonetheless remains only at subsistence level. The vast majority of the inhabitants of Kaffa are the Kafecho. Other groups in the area are the Dawro (who have established themselves among mideastern areas of Kaffa), the Nao (a semi-nomadic group living in the southern Kaffa), the Chara (who live north of the Omo River, in eastern Kaffa) and the Meen (who live in southern Kaffa). Kaffa is also home to a more recent wave of immigrants, such as Amhara,² Oromo,³ and Tigre,⁴ brought in the zone at the time of the resettlement programme of the Derg regime (Petros, 2003 and 2001).⁵ Kaffi-noono, the Kafecho language, is the most widely spoken language of Kaffa (Cerulli, 1951).

According to research conducted before the Derg era, Kaffa society had a social hierarchy similar to the caste system (Kochito, 1979; Levine, 1974). At the top of the hierarchy were the Kafecho, followed by groups defined and discriminated in terms of their occupation such as blacksmiths (Kemmo), weavers (Shamano), tanner-potters (Manno) and hunters (Manjo).

¹ Data provided by the Kaffa zone Information and Culture department.

² Amhara people come from the Amhara region, in the north central highlands (see map 4.1).

³ The Oromo people represent the largest national group in Ethiopia accounting for nearly one third of the total population of the country ("Oromo", 2009). They occupied all of southern Ethiopia, with some settling also in Kenya along the Tana River; the group is also found in the central and western part of Ethiopia, including the southern parts of the Amhara region and in the northern Tigre region.

⁴ The Tigre come from the Tigray region of northern Ethiopia near Eritrea (see map 4.1).

⁵ Derg in Geez (the ancient Ethiopian language) means 'committee' or 'council' and it is the short name of the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces, Police, and Territorial Army, a communist military junta that came to power in Ethiopia from 1974 until 1987 after the emperor Haile Selassie was overthrown (Zewde, 2001). In the mid-1980s this military government embarked on forced resettlement and villagisation as part of a national programme to combat drought and famine (Clapham, 1988). Resettlement involved the relocation on a permanent basis of people from the north drought-prone areas to the green south and southwestern part of the country (Ofcansky and LaVerle, 1991).

4.3 Origins of marginalised occupational minorities in Ethiopia

A survey of literature of marginalised occupational groups in southern Ethiopia reveals that, so far, the search for a comprehensive model that could be used to explain the 'formation' of occupational groups has remained difficult. A number of scholars argue that these occupational groups are the remnants of the aboriginal population of the area conquered and 'submerged' by invading populations (e.g. Straube, 1963; Cerulli, 1954). A second theory suggests that marginalised groups may have come from the north of Ethiopia along with the invaders (e.g. Harbeland, 1965). Both theories have been rightly criticized for the undercurrents suggesting that anything innovative must have come from the north of Ethiopia (Pankhurst, 2001). Because of this shortcoming, researchers from the 1970s onwards proposed a different model (e.g. Amborn, 1990; Todd, 1978). This third explanation describes the specialization of marginalised minorities entirely in terms of internal dynamics of these societies and driven primarily by economic factors - the need for a division of labour, rather than cultural reasons. Pankhurst (2001) maintains that in understanding the origins of marginalisations, we can expect to find several explanations. He writes that massive population movements have characterised southwest Ethiopia in the past several hundred years (Pankhurst, 2001). Migrations and conquests have been usually accompanied by political changes that contributed to changes in the ritual and economic significance of the craft items produced by the minorities. To some extent, this could explain different degrees of marginalisation and different changing trends that have been experienced by various groups (Pankhurst, 2001).

Despite divergent views on the origins of these groups it seems reasonable to think that the negative narratives, to which groups refer to justify the discrimination, have been created by the dominant group to give legitimization to their power and to formalize the exclusion of the others. This point will be discussed extensively in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. The next section provides an overview of the Manjo group and their discrimination.

4.4 The Manjo

The Manjo, also known as Manja or Menja, live as a marginalized group of former hunters within the Kafecho farming group in the Kaffa zone. They are also found in the neighbouring zones of Sheka, Bench Maji, Dawro, Konta special *woreda* of SNNPRS, and according to Yoshida (2009) also in some parts of Oromia and Gambela regional states. Tekle (2005) notes that no effort has been made to conduct their population census. Even the national census programme that is conducted within every decade does not provide an accurate estimate. The only source of data/information is an unorganized counting found at the *kebele* level for estimation (Tekle, 2005). The difficulties in assessing these data are due to the fact that in the governmental records the Manjo are not listed as a distinctive ethnic group, but as caste within the Kafecho. According to a recent study by Yoshida (2009), their number in Kaffa varies from 10,000 to 12,000 people. By percentage this amounts to 1.1%- 1.4% of the total population of Kaffa zone. This figure contrasts with the 2007 estimate provided by the Kaffa zone council, according to which the Manjo and the rest of the occupational minorities are believed to account for 5-10% and 1% respectively of the total population of Kaffa (Yoshida, 2009).

Despite the fact that the Manjo are not officially recognised as a distinctive ethnic group, but rather referred to as a caste within the Kafecho, in everyday life they are treated as a separate group; terms ‘Kafecho’ and ‘Manjo’ are mostly used dichotomously.

Judging by their physical appearance, the Manjo are described as significantly different from the Kafecho: low in height, with strongly curled hair, with low and wide noses, prominent lips, and very dark skin colour (Yoshida, 2008). On a psychological level they are considered by the large majority of the people of Kaffa as inferior to the Kafecho and in some cases even not human at all (Tekle, 2005; Petros 2003).

The two main reasons given for the Manjo ‘sub-humanity’ are:

- *Eating habits.* The alleged eating-habit of the Manjo is the most central aspect upon which their discrimination is based (Tekle 2005; Petros, 2003 and 2001). The Manjo is a group of former hunters who used to live in the forest mainly on hunted meat, notably porcupine, Colobus monkey and wild pig.⁶ They are also believed to eat the meat of unslaughtered animals (Yoshida, 2008). In Kaffa zone, and Ethiopia in general, people who eat or touch certain meat or the dead bodies of unclean animals are to be regarded as unclean themselves and banned from society. Overall, the Manjo's social position is severely constrained by the imposed tradition of deeply dividing stratification based on birth-ascribed occupational status conceptions of pollution and purity.
- *Behaviour.* The Manjo are believed to dislike education and to prefer their children to work at a very early age instead of sending them to school (Guanche, 2007). Yoshida (2008) notes that this group is also seen as pagan and polygamist, extravagant, with a low sense of morality. The other widely diffused accusation is their unhygienic character: the Manjo are accused of not washing their body and to give off an unpleasant smell, sometime caused by skin diseases (Yoshida, 2009). Additionally, some Kafecho also mention that the Manjo have a limited intellectual capacity that does not enable them to surmount full administrative and political competency (Tekle, 2005).

4.4.1 Changes in Manjo lifestyle

In recent years, the Manjo diet has changed drastically. Conversion to Christianity, rapid deforestation,⁷ the dwindling of wild animals, and the official banning of hunting by the government are all factors that contributed to a change in their lifestyle (Yoshida, 2008; Petros, 2003).

⁶ The name 'Colobus' derives from the Greek word for 'mutilated,' because unlike other monkeys, Colobus monkeys do not have thumbs. They have black fur, long white mantle, whiskers and beard around the face and a bushy white tail (African Wildlife foundation, 2009).

⁷ The economy of Kaffa is nowadays driven mostly by tea and coffee production. Land is being rapidly depleted as a result of clearing for agricultural expansion by local farmers and large scale for coffee and tea plantations. Access to the forest has therefore become contentious (Tekle, 2005).

The increased contact with non-Kaffa people may also have played a role in it by exposing the Manjo to more equal patterns of intergroup relations. Pankhurst and Freeman (2001) note that during the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, young members of occupational groups were conscripted into the army.

Although this was an example of extreme marginalisation and lack of rights, the exposure to the outside world brought about by involvement in the army gave those who returned greater confidence and self assurance, leading them to resist their social exclusion in more aggressive and creative ways. (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001, p. 336).

Nowadays, even if some Manjo still carry out hunting, they must travel a long distance to find areas with abundant populations to hunt big games (Yoshida, 2008). Members of this group mostly buy meat at local markets (Yoshida, 2008; Tekle, 2005).

Manjo women stopped producing earthenware as they used to do in the past. The reasons seem to be decreasing demand for earthenware and belief that the practice of earthenware making was one of the causes of their discrimination (Yoshida, 2008).

Today the poorest among the Manjo survive collecting firewood and burning charcoal for sale (Tekle, 2005). The large majority combines these activities with farming, although agriculture and animal husbandry are still done on a small scale compared to Kafecho farmers (Tekle, 2005). Apiculture is another source of cash income and the Manjo are well known for being skilled and knowledgeable in this field (Van Halteren, 1996).

Despite changes in lifestyle, the unjust and prejudicial treatment to which the Manjo are subjected is still manifested in many aspects of community life.

4.4.2 Dimensions of marginalisation

According to Pankhurst (2001), occupational minorities in southern Ethiopia are spatially segregated, economically disadvantaged, politically disempowered, socially excluded and culturally subordinated. These at times overlapping dimensions of discrimination which fully apply to the Manjo group, are starkly visible in the community life of the Kaffa people (Petros, 2001).

Spatial dimension

The spatial dimension of marginalisation is expressed in physical distance between the two groups. “Why can dogs enter Kafecho’s houses and we [Manjo] are not allowed in? And despite dogs, we are well-mannered” (A. Personal Interview. October 5, 2008). The following examples will clarify this concept:

- A frequently experienced and well-accepted socio-cultural tradition in Kaffa zone, and Ethiopia in general, is the practice of hospitality. Guests, including strangers, are invited into local houses and offered at least a coffee. Staying overnight in rural Kaffa houses is a long-lasting symbol of hospitality from which the Manjo are almost always excluded for fear of polluting their hosts (Tekle, 2005);
- The spatial dimension of marginalization is also manifested in settlement patterns (Pankhurst, 2001). Still today, the Manjo do not reside directly in town. Their residential position also reflects their position in the social hierarchy, where they occupy the lowest and most marginal place (Tekle, 2005; Petros, 2003);
- At school, non-Manjo students try to avoid sharing the same desks with Manjo. This treatment contributes to the high dropout rate characterizing the Manjo community (Guanche, 2007);⁸

⁸ Guanche (2007) examines the social-cultural factors influencing participation of Manjo children in primary education in ten schools in Bita, Decha and Gimbo *woredas* of Kaffa zone. Manjo students, teachers, educational administrators, principals and some Manjo adults who have a primary school degree, participated to the research. In order of decreasing importance, the main factors hindering Manjo students education were found to be: feeling of isolation from non-Manjo students and teachers; inadequate fostering on Manjo students’ education by Manjo’s parents,

- Spatially, the marginalization is also expressed in segregation in marketplaces where the Manjo are found at the outskirts, in rocky, uncomfortable places that are sometimes difficult to spot (Petros, 2003).

Economic dimension

“Selling products in the market is such a difficult task for us!” (B. Personal Interview, October 5, 2008). The Kaffa zone is well known for its potential in agriculture and natural resources production. Most of the Kafecho are sedentary agriculturalists who cultivate grains, root crops, *enset*,⁹ cereals and vegetables (including maize, beans and *teff*¹⁰), coffee, spice and honey (used to make a local traditional drink called *tejj*). The livestock includes goats, sheep, cows, oxen and sometimes chicken (AAE, 2004). Nowadays, the Manjo economy is very similar to the Kafecho’s, although in a much restricted form, due to their limited access to resources (Tekle, 2005).

In addition to this limitation, different work specializations contribute further to the exclusion of the Manjo. In fact, there are economic activities which are pursued mostly and only by the Manjo, and there are economic activities from which this group is excluded. The Manjo provide firewood and charcoal both to households and markets. Manjo women travel many hours on bare foot carrying heavy loads to bring charcoal to the nearest towns (Tekle, 2005). The non-Manjo population regards selling firewood and charcoal as low status work and do not allow the Manjo to go beyond the fence of their house (Tekle, 2005). On the other

teachers and non-Manjo students; lack of parental appreciation and parental attention; distance from home to school; excessive involvement in family work; early marriage; lack of educated Manjo people as an example. The study also revealed an extremely low participation of female Manjo students in primary education. Guanche (2007) refers to these data as potential indicators of gender discrimination within the community.

⁹ *Enset* is a plant that resembles closely the banana plant, for this reason is also known as false banana. Extracts from its stem and root provide a widely-consumed staple food commonly called *Kocho*.

¹⁰ *Teff* is a type of grain, minute in size, and rich in nutritional value. It is grown primarily as a cereal crop in Ethiopia. It is ground into flour, fermented for some days then made into *enjera*, the staple local food. The grain can be also found in India and Australia (Arguedas Gamboa and Van Ekris, 2008).

hand, the Manjo do not own businesses such as shops, hotels, restaurants (Tekle, 2005; Van Halteren, 1996).

Political dimension

A Manjo from Decha *woreda* commented: “We are ruled by Kafecho and this explains all” (C. Personal Interview. November 16, 2008). In the past, craftworkers were generally excluded from the dominant traditional political organization of the group within which they lived. Historically the Manjo were excluded from village-level institutions, such as service cooperatives. More recently, in situations where they are permitted to participate, they are unlikely to obtain leadership positions (Tekle, 2005).

Social dimension

They [the Kafecho] do not want to enter our houses, do not want to eat our food, do not want to drink coffee with us. We [the Manjo] must not enter their houses or eat their food or drink their coffee (D. Personal Interview. July 30, 2008).

The social marginalization of occupational groups is characterized by segregation and non-reciprocal relations (Pankhurst, 2001). Tekle (2005) and Petros (2003) note that members of this group are often not welcome at farmers’ social events. Mourning for instance is a strong tradition that determines the existing and future relations between people. Community members show their social relations by attending burial ceremonies and going to houses for solace. Manjo may attend wakes of non Manjo but this cannot be reciprocated (Tekle, 2005). The Manjo are neither allowed to touch or carry coffins of Kafecho and Kafecho do not carry coffins of Manjo (Tekle, 2005; Van Halteren 1996).

Additionally, rule against intermarriage is the most pervasive and enduring form of marginalization. Members of the Manjo group are strictly forbidden to marry members of the dominant society and any hint of sexual involvement between them is seen as polluting and dangerous (Tekle 2005; Van Halteren, 1996).

Cultural dimension

An elderly Kafecho while explaining why the Manjo were discriminated by his group used the following words: “The Manjo ate bad things in the past. They are unclean and polluted. They must stay away from me because otherwise they contaminate me” (Field notes. August 5, 2008).

Cultural dimension of marginalisation is expressed in negative stereotypes, polluting works, and mythological justifications of the low status of the Manjo. Tekle (2005) claims that these attitudes inherent in the local culture form the basis upon which discrimination of the Manjo has been built and perpetuated.

The research findings, to which the next chapter is dedicated, support the existence of all the above mentioned forms of discrimination.

4.5 Between politics and religion: history and evolution of Manjo discrimination

The current discrimination of the Manjo is the result of decades and centuries of policies of marginalisation and physical and moral abuse of the group by other groups. This section intends to provide a brief overview of the history of the Manjo in Kaffa under different governments and examine the role played by religious institutions in shaping intergroup relations. The outline will help understand the change and transformation that have taken place in the traditional social hierarchy of Kaffa.

4.5.1 The Manjo at the time of the Kaffa kingdom (ca 1390-1897)

Although the exact time when the discrimination started in Kaffa is unknown, all literature and oral legends agree on its old history (e.g. Lange, 1982; Kochito, 1979; Orent, 1969; Huntingford, 1931). Different variations of the Kaffa oral

tradition refer to the Manjo as indigenous to the region. Petros (2001) looking at the oral history of Kaffa, suggests that the Manjo were among the original inhabitants of the area. At that time, the Manjo had a kingdom of their own, ruled by a 'great king', Manjo-Tato (Lange, 1982). Later all the groups were apparently displaced by an immigrant royal clan of the Minjo, from which the Kafecho descend, except for the Manjo who are still found in the area. The Manjo kingdom was incorporated into the new kingdom (Orent, 1969; Levine, 1974; Kochito, 1979). Minjo kings came soon to be regarded as the owners of the land in virtue of their royal lineage. The kings distributed the land to the clans and the society was soon organized hierarchically (Petros, 2003).

Lange (1982), on the basis of oral tradition,¹¹ reconstructs the social stratification at the time of the kingdom dividing the society (including the Manjo) into landowning and landless classes. These classes were again divided into clans. The royal clan, called Minjo and the *oge-yaro* (people of high clans) attached to the court of the kingdom, were at the apex of society and enjoyed high privileges. They were the only property owners and holders of political titles, whereas the other groups were not entitled to citizenship rights (Petros 2003; Lange, 1982). Serfs, occupational groups and slaves were all part of the *gishi-yaro* or *sharrare-yaro*, meaning 'people of low clans' or 'clans lacking essential qualities' (Petros, 2003). Petros (2001) recounts that the occupational groups included smiths, weavers, tanner-potters and Manjo. According to Lange (1982), unlike slaves, occupational groups could not be sold, did not work in the house or fields of patrons and were respected, as they supplied the king with the fruits of their skills (such as cotton clothes, shields, gold ornaments). Although the system was largely dissolved by the governments who came after, the general pattern is still relevant today (Petros, 2003).

¹¹ The main limitation of an exclusively oral account is the fact that it makes historical reconstruction not fully reliable and biased (Lange for instance seems to have spoken mainly to men of high status from the respected clans).

Overall, ownership of the means of production, notably land and labour (slaves), determined the strict hierarchical socio-political division of the society. Along with this, descent was also a key social identification. To be born to a high clan ultimately led to access to economic resources that paved the way for acquisition of political power. Many people in Kaffa and also many historians unanimously accept that this era is the starting point for amplified Manjo segregation (Lange, 1982, Beckingham and Huntingford, 1954; Orent, 1969). At that time, in fact, the king who was the first to marginalise the Manjo, was also the master receiver of the guidance spirit of the natural belief called *eko* and he might have been the one influencing the behaviour of the current leaders of traditional beliefs (Van Halteren, 1996). The latter are the strongest supporters of the caste structure along with the Orthodox Church (Yoshida, 2009; Van Halteren, 1996).

4.5.2 The *eko*

From unknown time the vast majority of people of Kaffa believe in the possession spirit known as *eko* which comes to a person after his/her father's death. Once the person is chosen by an *eko*, he/she becomes an *alamo* (one who can communicate with ancestral spirits) and the spirit will appear through the person until death. In ordinary life, before a spirit possesses the *alamos*, they lead a life like anyone else in the community. But when possessed they become a changed personality and do not exercise their own actions anymore but those of the spirit (Petros, 2003). People would consult the *alamo* for many reasons, usually related to marriage arrangements, health and general well-being.

This possession cult of *eko* has a strong connection with food taboos and the discrimination of the Manjo (Petros, 2003; Van Halteren, 1996). The *alamo*, for instance, is expected to observe various food restrictions: refrain from eating sheep, chicken and cabbages and from eating in the presence of other people, exceptions are however made for fellow *alamos*. *Alamos* are always against the Manjo because of the alleged eating habits of the latter, and the Manjo consider the *alamo* a major factor in perpetuating segregation and discriminatory practices

against them. No Manjo for instance can enter the house of a Kafecho *alamo*, they have to sit outside the fence during consultation. Furthermore, one way of bringing the wrath of *eko* upon a person, is to allow Manjo into their house or to eat with them. The *alamo* makes sure that any violation of this role would be punished. At present the behaviour of the *alamo* has not changed when compared with the past (Yoshida, 2009).

4.5.3 Social stratification in Kaffa in the period 1897-1974

After three previous failed attempts, in 1897 Menelik II finally succeeded in conquering the Kaffa kingdom.¹² Petros (1996) writes that under the reign of Menelik, the traditional ruling class of Kaffa was not expropriated or displaced but submitted to new political officers. Nothing really changed for the Manjo during the reign of Menelik and his successors: they remained at the mercy of their feudal lords, still discriminated and treated the same way as before the conquest (Van Halteren, 1996).

For Tesfaye (2005), still in 1930, when Haile Selassie became emperor of Ethiopia, the social dynamics in Kaffa remained unchanged.¹³ He maintains that some transformations were brought by the Italian occupation from 1936 -1941. For Abdussamad (1999), although attempts to put an end to slavery began prior to 1936, the institution was officially abolished by order of the Italian occupying forces. Osman (1984) in his unpublished master thesis on the history of Bonga town, also notices that Italian construction projects, needing the services of craftsmen, helped raise the status of discriminated occupational groups in the eyes

¹² Emperor Menelik II was *Negus(a)* (King) of Shewa, a historical region of Ethiopia, between 1866 and 1889. He became *Negus(a) Negast* (Emperor) of Ethiopia from 1889 to his death. During his reign the territorial expansion of Ethiopia was completed and the modern empire-state was created by 1898. After his death, his oldest daughter became Empress of Ethiopia on the 27 September 1916. However, she would have to have her cousin, Ras Tafari Makonnen (later Haile Selassie), as regent and heir to the throne ("Menelik II", 2010).

¹³ Haile Selassie was Ethiopia's regent from 1916-1930 and Ethiopia's Emperor from 1930-1974. In exile in Britain during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia 1936-1942, he was restored to the throne by the Allies and ruled until he was deposed by the military coup of the Derg ("Haile Selassie I", 2010).

of the dominant society. However, these short-term initiatives (the Italian occupation lasted five years) failed to produce considerable change in local attitudes towards the Manjo. In the period immediately following the Italian evacuation, the traditional outlook and practices vigorously reasserted themselves (Tesfaye, 2005).

When Haile Selassie was restored to power by the Allies, he included the abolition of slavery in the new constitution. This was an attempt to do away with feudalism by limiting the power of local nobility. Although slavery was effectively abandoned, it soon became clear that the few political officers from other parts of Ethiopia, who were ruling Kaffa and were not traditionally biased against the Manjo, were lacking sufficient strength and will to curb any discrimination directed against low status groups (Van Halteren, 1996). On the other hand, local political officers were not likely to undertake (let alone succeed) any such task (Tesfaye, 2005; Van Halteren, 1996).

4.5.4 The Manjo under the Derg (1974- 1991)

In 1974, Emperor Haile Selassie was detained and overthrown by a military regime known as Derg. The military junta led by Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, ruled Ethiopia from 1974 to 1991. According to Pankhurst and Freeman (2001), Derg's policies aimed at breaking down traditional hierarchies and beliefs and transforming the country into a modern state with equal rights for all its citizens. For this reason they enforced radical interventions in favour of ethnic minorities and sought to integrate them into mainstream society.

For the first time, with the new land reform the Manjo were entitled to land ownership.¹⁴ In practice they often received less land than their farming

¹⁴ Van Halteren (1996) maintains that the nationalisation of land by the Derg, dissolution of all forms of tenancy, and redistribution of the land, effectively eradicated feudalism from Ethiopia. Every farmer who needed land was given up to ten hectares of land and was allowed only to farm the land himself. Farmers were organized in Peasant Associations, the women in Women Associations, the children in Children Associations and so on (Van Halteren, 1996).

neighbours but even limited access to land ensured them some degree of independence and some additional source of income (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001).

Another policy of the Derg was the villagisation programme,¹⁵ the Kafecho and the Manjo were forced to live together and therefore socio-cultural barriers were artificially broken. Van Halteren (1996) writes that the Manjo, who were always located around Kafecho villages, now became next-door neighbours of the Kafecho, much to the dislike of the latter.

It was the socialist idea of equality that further enhanced the position of the Manjo by the vast set of rules and regulations, meant to socially integrate all peoples of Ethiopia, including its minority groups. Like the Kafecho, the Manjo too were encouraged to be allowed to enter schools...and other social institutions. Discriminatory practices were punished and therefore superficially disappeared (Van Halteren, 1996, p. 12).

Petros (2003) confirms that anyone who behaved toward them in a patronizing manner or used derogatory language in referring to them faced imprisonment or a fine. The Manjo were also allowed to enter bars, restaurants, government buildings and churches from which they were previously banned. They started to sit together with farmers in public meetings and gatherings. Farmers began to carry the corpses of Manjo, which they had never done before.

On a political level, the social hierarchy was broken and old power relations replaced by a new local order controlled by these new pro-Derg actors. Petros (2003) writes that the chairmen of peasant associations became the main actors at local level. They were elected from within the farmers and were responsible in guaranteeing the application of Marxist ideology on the ground. Their duty included making sure that old prejudices against the Manjo were avoided. Craft-

¹⁵ The 'villagisation' programme promoted by the Derg aimed at resettling farmers and craftworkers in cooperative villages (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001). According to Young (1997) the establishment of larger villages was conducive to improved services, increased agricultural production and higher living standard. Young (1997) maintains that the resettlement was also design to weaken opposition to the Derg.

workers and Manjo, who were members of the lowest strata in the traditional hierarchy, were included in the new social order (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001). They were elected to judiciary and militia committees and for the first time served in the national army.

After the land reform in 1975 the Manjo gradually shifted to agriculture and gave up hunting under official pressure against it exercised by the government and the Orthodox Church (Yoshida, 2009; Van Halteren, 1996). While the outcomes of the land entitlement are to a certain extent still maintained nowadays, in general the measures taken by the Derg in favour of the Manjo did not achieve the intended results and were reversed after its downfall. The actions and behaviour introduced by the Marxist regime only influenced the life of discriminated minorities without bringing a fundamental change.

Reasons for the failure of these interventions are most likely due to the fact that they addressed the symptoms of the discrimination without a clear understanding of its underlying causes. As Petros (2003, p. 65-66) notes:

“People still think about human relationships as structured by ideas of a hierarchy of ritually ranked occupational groups. This is because people have not been able to get rid of what is packed into their mind for generations”.

Along this line, he maintains that the Derg aimed at changing the attitude of the dominant group by force. Whatever the Kafecho felt inside, they could not say anything and could not challenge the new order because of the apprehension they had for the revolutionary cadres. Overall, the Marxist ideology led by the state and implemented by its actors at macro and micro levels, instead of abolishing social inequality, created a new form of inequality and concentration of power adverse the previous elite.

Besides, the food taboos imposed by the natural belief that was banned during the Derg, instead of diminishing, were somehow strengthened and found a stronger

basis for justification in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church supported by the regime (Tesfaye, 2005; Van Halteren, 1996). When the Derg was ousted from office by the current government, the Manjo were left without any political protection from the angry Kafecho who associated them with the regime (Yoshida, 2009). The worshipping of the *eko* survived the Derg and is still practiced nowadays besides Christianity and Islam (Tekle, 2005; Petros, 2003).

4.5.5 The Ethiopian Orthodox Church and social hierarchy

The Ethiopian Orthodox Church belongs to a group known collectively as the Oriental Orthodox Churches.¹⁶ They are under many aspects analogous to the Greek or other Orthodox Churches, but diverge in that the Oriental group does not accept the dogmas of Chalcedon in A.D. 451,¹⁷ that of the Fourth Ecumenical Council. For this reason, these Churches were declared heretics and condemned at that Council (Eadie, 1997).

The Ethiopian Church has maintained a strong adherence to many more Jewish practices than most other Christian Churches (Yesehaq, 1988). Ethiopian Christian males are circumcised, devout Ethiopian Christians keep Sabbath (as well as Sunday), and in the churches of the Ethiopians the Ark of the Lord features largely (Yesehaq, 1988).¹⁸

Lange (1982) reports that Orthodox Christianity was introduced in Kaffa early in the seventeenth century. However, the Manjo largely remained followers of the *eko* until the Derg period (Petros, 2001). According to Yoshida (2009) *alamos* were persecuted during the Derg and their houses burned down. During that time,

¹⁶ Other Churches in this grouping are the Egyptian Coptic, Syrian, Armenian, Eritrean and Indian Malankara (World Council of Churches, 2010).

¹⁷ In the Council of Chalcedon the idea that Jesus had only one nature was repudiated. The Council caused an irreparable big schism within the Church. The non-Chalcedonians were banned and called "Monophysites", meaning that they believe in one single nature of Jesus Christ (Schaefer, 1908).

¹⁸ Menelik is believed to have brought the Ark of Covenant in Ethiopia from Israel. Orthodox Christians in Ethiopia maintains that the Ark still exists and is kept safe in an Ethiopian monastery.

the Manjo were forced to convert to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church to pursue the government's dream for a unified and culturally homogenous Ethiopia (Petros, 2003).

Although Orthodoxy has no official view on the status of marginalised occupational minorities, it seems that in most cases the Orthodox Church has reinforced their discrimination (Yoshida, 2009; Petros, 2003; Pankhurst and Freeman 2001). It, in fact, stresses the issue of not eating 'unclean' meat. According to Biblical food taboos from the Old Testament, certain animals are to be regarded as unclean, and should therefore not be eaten or dead bodies thereof touched. An animal should be religiously slaughtered, otherwise it should be considered as unclean. Anything that comes into contact with the bodies of unclean or not religiously slaughtered animals is also unclean.

The following passage from the Leviticus (11:1-8) emphasises this point:

The Lord said to Moses and Aaron: "Say to the Israelites: 'Of all the animals that live on land, these are the ones you may eat: You may eat any animal that has a split hoof completely divided and that chews the cud. There are some that only chew the cud or only have a split hoof, but you must not eat them. The camel, though it chews the cud, does not have a split hoof; it is ceremonially unclean for you. The coney, though it chews the cud, does not have a split hoof; it is unclean for you. The rabbit, though it chews the cud, does not have a split hoof; it is unclean for you. And the pig, though it has a split hoof completely divided, does not chew the cud; it is unclean for you. You must not eat their meat or touch their carcasses; they are unclean for you'".

Pankhurst and Freeman (2001) argue that even in areas where the influence of the Orthodox Church is relatively weak, there are farmers disgusted by what some minorities eat. This is to show that taboos against eating wild animals pre-date the Orthodox Church and are deeply entrenched cultural values. According to the authors, these taboos:

Link with a general symbolic interrelated frameworks of wild: domesticated :: nature: culture :: chaos:order, that is apparent throughout much of southern Ethiopia. By not following these cultural norms, those

minorities who eat wild animals place themselves in 'nature', beyond the realms of social order and 'culture' (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001, p. 344).

Hence, apparently the Orthodox Church simply accentuated local food taboos against wild animals. Pankhurst and Freeman (2001, p. 345) explain that the Orthodox Church:

Not only widens the range of prohibitions to include all hunted wild animals, thus impacting severely on former hunting groups such as the Fuga and the Manjo,¹⁹ but also forbids the consumption of permitted animals that have died naturally or have been slaughtered in some unusual manner.

However, even when the Manjo adhere to dietary rules, farmers continue to accuse them of breaking food taboos. The Kafecho even when convinced that the Manjo have given up the banned food habit, may remind them that their ancestors ate bad and unclean food (Tekle, 2005). The next chapter will build on this point by briefly examining the relations between the Manjo and Kafecho within this religious context.

4.5.6 Catholicism, Protestantism and social hierarchy

Contrary to the Orthodox belief held in conservative Orthodox societies, Catholicism and Protestantism officially reject the idea of separating creatures into clean and unclean, as per the New Testament.²⁰ In the Acts (10: 9-16) is written:

About noon the next day, as they were on their journey and approaching the city, Peter went up on the roof to pray. He became hungry and wanted something to eat; and while it was being prepared, he fell into a trance. He saw the heaven opened and something like a large sheet coming down,

¹⁹ The Fuga are a despised and marginalised group found in different zones of the SNNPRS. They cannot be defined by their craft, since they do different work in different areas (e.g. in some areas they are tanner-potters while in others woodworkers). Like the Manjo, they occupy the lowest social stratum in the society in which they live. They are accused of eating the meat of animals not religiously slaughtered.

²⁰ Catholic missions began their activities near Bonga in the mid of the nineteenth century (Lange, 1982; Orent, 1969). The first Protestant missionary came to Kaffa in 1950/1951 (Yoshida, 2009).

being lowered to the ground by its four corners. In it were all kinds of four-footed creatures and reptiles and birds of the air. Then he heard a voice saying, “Get up, Peter; kill and eat”. But Peter said, “By no means, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is profane or unclean.” The voice said to him again, a second time, “What God has made clean, you must not call profane”.

The preachers of Protestant and Catholic Churches apparently condemn social discrimination of the Manjo and call for equal relations between the Manjo and the Kafecho (Pankhurst and Freeman, 2001). Elderly Manjo recalled that this behaviour of the priests promoted the spread of Protestant beliefs among the Manjo (Yoshida, 2009).

Protestant Churches more than the Catholic Church have attracted many Manjo through proselytisation. According to Pankhurst and Freeman (2001) they actively preach equality and do their best to promote inclusion of marginalised minorities. Members of these minority groups were able to attend church, occupy spaces, pray and study with farmers, thereby breaking down traditional barriers.

Discussion on the relation between the Manjo and the Kafecho within church premises is referred to the next chapter.

4.5.7 The Manjo under the Ethiopian federalism: from 1991 to nowadays

With the overthrow of the military rule, Ethiopia, by virtue of the 1994 constitution, established a federal system creating largely ethnic-based territorial units and maintaining the principle of the unconditional right of nations, nationalities, and peoples to self-determination including secession.

Article 39 of the new Ethiopian Constitution defines the ‘Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ as a group of people:

- (a) who share wholly or mostly a common culture or similar customs, a mutually intelligible language, a belief in a common or related identity, and a common psychological make-up; and (b) who inhabit an identifiable, predominantly contiguous territory.

Article 46 states that each of these Nations, Nationalities and Peoples “shall be delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the people concerned”. Article 47 guarantees every nation, nationality, and people within the States the right to establish, at any time, their own regional state on the condition that they follow the required procedures. The right to participate in political activities is also guaranteed in the constitution.

Based on this stipulation, affirmative action measures are carried out in the interests of minority groups. In the last decade, members of minority groups have been given priority in education and employment by the government at the regional, zonal and *woreda* levels. As a result, some have finished their education and obtained jobs in the local administration. The Manjo, in this regard, are treated as a minority and as such enjoy the benefits of affirmative action (Yoshida, 2008).

On the other hand, the Manjo are not officially recognised as a minority. Since the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) came to power and ethnic federalism became the central policy of the federal government, the Manjo have become even more marginalized. Ethnicity is, in fact, defined along linguistic lines and the Manjo, speaking the language of dominant group, are not considered an independent ethnic group entitled to receive economic and political resources. The Manjo, who hoped that the new government could bring about positive social change in their lives, are, on the contrary, victims of policies of assimilation.

As a result of the state’s ambiguity, this group does not only feel disadvantaged through non-recognition, but, even more, was de-facto excluded from political power and from administration in public matters (Tekle, 2005).

Manjo’s claim to self-determination

In 1997, two educated Manjo petitioned the local government requesting equal rights to those enjoyed by other nations, nationalities, and people. Yoshida (2008) reports that the two Manjo visited all *woredas* in Kaffa and Sheka zones to investigate the customs and habits of the Manjo and collect oral histories. The data were compiled in a handwritten report in Amharic and attached to the petition, whose main points are the following:

- Despite government appeals to equal rights for all, they were still discriminated against and did not earn employment as administrative officials, teachers, and police officers;
- The government was unwilling to listen to their request;
- They were the indigenous inhabitants of Kaffa and had their own culture, customs and habits, and language distinct from the language of Kaffa zone and of Sheka zone (Skeki-noono);²¹
- They request the recognition as a people, the establishment of a special *woreda* and the formation of a political party of their own.

The petition was supported by the Manjo living in Bita *woreda* of the Kaffa zone and Yeki *woreda* of the Sheka zone. Funds were raised for the two *woredas* to take actions at the zonal level, followed by regional and federal levels. Nonetheless, local, regional, and federal government dismissed Manjo's request on the grounds that their population was too small and did not include many educated individuals, and that their culture was not different from that of the majority (they currently speak the same language).

²¹ In his analysis of 'Manjo language sample' Cerulli (1951) argues that Manjo language is distinct from the language spoken by the Kafecho and has traces of pre-Kafecho speech. On the other hand, the ethnologist Eike Haberland (1978) writes that Manjo language is a slang, distinguished from the Kafecho language by a vocabulary difference of a few hundred words. Cecchi (1886) maintains that at the end of the nineteenth century the Manjo were bilingual, before giving way to the dominance of Kaffi-noono. According to Tesfaye (2005, p. 20) this switch "should not be perceived as one of instantaneous displacement or replacement. Rather it should be conceived as a result of a long process of linguistic interaction". Tesfaye also argues that many non-Manjo in Kaffa insist on identifying the Manjo with their peculiar pronunciation; they are believed to stress words and produce "groany vocal sounds" (Tsfaye, 2005, p. 20). Further linguistic research is required to verify this theory. Nowadays, however, both Manjo and Kafecho speak the same language.

Failed attempts at progressive social change may well have increased the frustration of this marginalized community by raising expectations unmet by the government ambiguity. Such frustration seems to have been a problematic feature of Manjo agitation in 2002, particularly in Bita *woreda* of the Kaffa zone and in Yeki *woreda* of the neighbouring Sheka zone. The petition was presented a second time in 2007 but again was dismissed by the regional government in April 2008.

Kafecho-Manjo antagonism: The 2002 Attack

The Manja have started to do terrible things – everyone knows it. Obuaymed, king of the Shoto tribe around Bita Gena *woreda*, Washaro *kebele*, was known for oppressing the Manja. So a few months ago they ambushed and killed him, and then ate him. When the police caught them, they still had his flesh in a sack (in Vaughan, 2003, p. 276).²²

In March 2002 members of two different ethnic groups living in the bordering Sheka zone, the Sheko and the Mejenger,²³ left their peasant associations with spears, machete (*gejera*), and some modern arms. They surrounded the Yeki *woreda* council in Tepi, claiming that the victory in the local election of November 2001 had allegedly been stolen from them by the local government party. The Manjo joined the Sheko-Mejenger in their claims when asked to do so, despite being marginalised by both groups. Several days after the outbreak of violence in Tepi, tensions which had been simmering between the Kafecho and the Manjo, erupted into violence, particularly in the northwest parts of Kaffa zone. What happened is difficult to ascertain but as a result of the violence, government officials reported 128 deaths, more than 2,000 homes burned to the ground, and 5,800 persons displaced (Ethiopian Human Rights Council, 2003). According to information that had reached the Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRCO), the destruction caused by this conflict was much more serious than that presented in

²² This is an extract from an interview by Sarah Vaughan taken in Tepi, the administrative centre of the Sheka zone on June 30, 2002.

²³ The Sheko is a minority group living in the Sheka zone of the SNNPRS. The Mejenger is an ethnic group living mainly in the Gambela regional state, but they are also found in the Oromia regional State and the SNNPRS.

the governmental report even though there were no data to support the claim (Ethiopian Human Rights Council, 2003).

In the aftermath of the attack, the areas where the incident took place became unusually quiet. At first glance, the relationship between the Manjo and the surrounding majority Kafecho and Shekacho, respectively in the Kaffa and the Sheka zones, seemed amicable. They started greeting each other on the road and the Manjo were allowed into some hotels and restaurants. But this relationship was merely a cover for an uneasy tension. Yoshida (2008) notes that the Kafecho-Manjo relations throughout the Sheka and the Kaffa zone were indeed extremely tense, with around 150 Manjo held in prison in Bonga with accusations ranging from murder to abduction and sexual harassment of Kafecho women. Two years after the outbreak of violence, when I was in the Sheka zone for the first time, the Manjo were still not seen in town and Kafecho women travelled only with male escorts out of settlements. The Kafecho's fear of future attacks from the Manjo and the Manjo's fear of revenge from the Kafecho made the tension between the two groups tangible even to an outsider. Most of the people, including government officials, explained the attack as a result of the rejection of Manjo's petition for self determination. From that time, the federal government decided to hold public hearings and conferences in Kaffa and Sheka zone, with the aim of reaching a common understanding on the social background of the incident. Meetings with local communities in the area were initially held once every six months. However this scanty governmental activity failed to resolve anything and both Manjo and Kafecho complained that it had been in vain (Yoshida, 2008).

Current governmental policy

In Ethiopia, still today there are no specific interventions to deal with protection of occupational groups. Nor are there formulated policies in this regard.

The regional and federal government position on social discrimination is that the issue should be treated with more awareness and occupational minorities should

be given special attention as much as possible. How to achieve this aim is not specified and no activities are suggested or put forward.

At the zone level, although the protection of occupational minorities is not mentioned in the Kaffa zone plan list, there is an understanding with the current leadership to give support for members of the social minorities in any area where they meet minimum requirements, including in employment. Apparently, the most explicit attempt by the current government of the Kaffa zone is to target social minorities in the skill upgrading training program that was carried out at the 'Adult Vocational Training Program Centers' (Ali, 2006). Here, skills trainings were given to members of minority groups together with awareness creation sessions. However, Ali (2006) recounts that these sessions were not adequately organized and were soon dismissed.

At a more local level, woreda and kebele officers in Kaffa, carry out awareness raising activities in partnership with the NGO ActionAid Ethiopia. The next chapter will examine the attitude of local government officials towards discrimination beyond the face value of what they say or do.

Strong arguments by academics depict the fact that there is vivid evidence that the position of the socially discriminated minorities has worsened since the EPDRF's seizure of power (Vaughan, 2003; Pausewang and Zewde, 2002). This seems to be one of the unintended consequences of cultural revivalism following the current government's claim of respect for all cultures, which was misappropriated by farming majorities to reactivate indigenous discrimination.

However, in the case of the Manjo, their political and social organisation appear to be more assertive than might have been expected of a peripheral group, and there is evidence that this reflects the complexities of their group profile. The next chapter investigates further the change that occurred within the Manjo and the perceived reasons behind the change.

The next section provides details on the international NGO ActionAid Ethiopia that in 2005 initiated a programme aimed at alleviating the discrimination of the Manjo.

4.6 ActionAid Ethiopia and the discrimination against the Manjo

ActionAid Ethiopia (AAE) is part of the ActionAid International, a non-governmental development organization. Organizations in this category aim at contributing to development without wanting to generate profit for owners of the organization from the work they do (Dale, 2000).

ActionAid currently operates in more than 30 countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It has been operating in Ethiopia since 1989. The NGO aims to eradicate poverty by addressing its root causes and emphasising participation of all relevant stakeholders at all levels (AAE, 2005a and 2009). In the global strategy paper, the organization envisages achieving this goal through a rights-based approach (RBA). The end to poverty “can be achieved by working alongside and supporting poor people to take action, claim their rights and fight the injustices they face on a daily basis” (ActionAid, 2005a, p. 2).

4.6.1 Rights-based approach

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) defines a rights-based approach as “a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights” (United Nations Development Programme, 2004, p. 4). According to Ramcharan (2004, p. 42):

The objectives of a rights-based (RBA) approach are to address the discrimination, powerlessness and weaknesses in systems of accountability that lie at the root of poverty and other development problems by applying

the standards and related principles and values of human rights throughout development policies, activities and programming cycles.

The principles of accountability, participations and empowerment have been adopted as integral part of the RBA (Kirkemann Boesen and Martin, 2007). These principles facilitate the process of putting rights into practice.

Empowerment, in particular, has been identified as a core dimension against discrimination. In the RBA, empowerment is defined as “the expansion in people’s ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them” (Kabeer, 2001, p. 19). According to this definition, the RBA explicitly contextualizes the rights-based approach within an actor-oriented approach, an understanding of human rights needs and priorities informed by first-hand experience of the actors involved (Nyamu-Musendi, 2005).

4.6.2 ActionAid Ethiopia in Kaffa zone

ActionAid Ethiopia (AAE) arrived in Kaffa in 2005. Funded by the European Commission it started an eighteen-month project (January 2005-June 2006) to address the marginalisation of the Manjo in Decha and Bita *woredas*. The same project was carried out over a two-year period (December 2006-December 2008) in Gimbo and Chena *woredas*.

In the second project proposal submitted by the NGO to the European Commission in 2006, the general objectives of the project were as follows: “To initiate the process of mitigating and eradicating social discrimination and create an enabling environment for genuine social equality” (AAE, 2006a, p.2). The same objectives were found in the previous proposal.

Regrettably, in both project proposals the specific objectives and strategies used by the NGO to achieve this goal were not documented under clearly defined categories. To be able to proceed to an assessment of the project I have tried to reorganize objectives and activities more thoroughly, as shown below.

The specific objectives of the programme can be summarized as:

- Development of government accountability towards the Manjo;
- Reduction of discrimination from the dominant group;
- Empowerment of the Manjo.

The strategies used to reach these objectives were as follows: popular education/awareness raising, advocacy, capacity building, and promotion of good governance. NGO activities were not carried out strictly within the boundaries of the categories defined; they frequently overlapped across a number of strategies.

Popular education/awareness raising and advocacy

Popular education can be associated with the idea of conscientisation that Freire (1974) suggests as the starting point to people's empowerment and change. Popular education aims to build people's confidence and competences that enable them to participate in actions to change society.

With regards to advocacy, Checkoway (1995) defines it as the process of representing groups' interests in legislative, administrative or other institutional areas. Advocacy also aims at raising awareness of the public around a particular social issue and the rights of some groups of people (Dale, 2000).

Within the framework of both popular education and advocacy strategies AAE (2005b and 2007b) carried out workshops at *woreda* and *kebele* levels which aimed at:

- Promoting human rights and minority rights, as guaranteed in the Ethiopian Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;
- Advocating of Manjo's rights and interests with the government and the wider public;
- Involving members of the minority group in activities undertaken in their favour.

Capacity building

The capacity building strategy assumes that organising can make people more aware of their own power and alter the relations of power in the community (Checkoway, 1995).

AAE tried to build the capacity of the Manjo and to enable them to take greater control over their lives (AAE, 2009). Selected community members were trained in constitutional rights with the aim of promoting dialogue in their community around roots of discrimination and ways to alleviate it.

Promotion of good governance

Dale (2000) observes that cooperation with the government also leads to sensitise government staff and to the provision of support to government institutions in order to improve their policies and their performance as public organisations. In other words, promotion of good governance corresponds to the support of government downward accountability. AAE's objective was to foster local government's commitment in addressing the marginalisation of the Manjo and to promote Manjo's participation in government institutions.

The perceived impact of the project is analysed in the next chapter.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the Manjo group, one of the occupational minorities throughout Ethiopia defined and often discriminated against on the basis of their craftwork. The chapter aimed at providing details on the relation between this group and the surrounding Kafecho majority in the Kaffa zone of southern Ethiopia.

The historical process that brought the current social hierarchy in Kaffa was also analysed and reference was made to the relation of the Manjo with the main Churches in Kaffa.

The chapter also looked at the current situation of the Manjo and the unsuccessful claim for self-determination which resulted in their uprising. It described the circumstances and the changes brought about by the incident that paved the way for growing awareness around the discrimination to which this group is subjected. From the narration, the importance of challenging the cultural roots of discrimination also emerged. The lack of focus on beliefs appeared in fact to be the cause of the failure of the main attempt to alleviate the discrimination carried on by the Derg. Chapter 5 will investigate the relevance of local narratives in the process of conflict escalation and conflict transformation in the Kaffa zone and will examine the potential of local capacities peace according to Mary Anderson's definition.

The last section of this chapter has been dedicated to the project promoted by the NGO ActionAid Ethiopia to reduce the discrimination of the Manjo in the Kaffa zone. The specific activities carried out by AAE and their perceived impact on participants will also be analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

Galtung (1990) argues that the achievement of peace in a society is a more complex process than the mere absence of direct violence (negative peace). The concept of peace involves the elimination of the root causes of war, violence, and injustice, the preservation and defence of human rights, the elimination of structural discrimination, the development of more just and equitable systems, the encouragement and appreciation of diversity through community dialogue and cultural exchange, and the conscious effort to build a society which reflects these commitments (Galtung 1990 and 1969).

Efforts to achieve the positive peace to which Galtung refers, require the elimination of the different forms of violence from a society (Galtung, 1996 and 1990). While attempts to stop events that kill or harm members of a society is certainly a key issue, breaking down the structures of exploitation, marginalisation and fragmentation of people and groups is equally important (Galtung, 1990). Such an effort would be useless if the belief/value system that vindicates the direct and structural violence is not challenged.

Building on the theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3, this chapter attempts to evaluate whether local capacities for peace in Kaffa are able to challenge the system of values that sustain the cultural dimension of violence; if not, what the main limitations are to this challenge. The perceived contribution towards this goal of the project by the NGO ActionAid Ethiopia is also examined, together with its benefits and main flaws.

Ultimately, this thesis aims to demonstrate that the collaboration between outsiders and insiders is more likely to produce successful outcomes in terms of improving the relationship between the Manjo and the Kafecho. This

collaboration is more likely to be successful if it takes place in the context of the local culture.

The assumption that local culture is the most powerful divider as well as the most influential connector among actors in conflict is at the basis of this research. Because identities are not fixed (Korostelina, 2007), this thesis argues that changes in the cultural components of Kaffa could influence possible changes of social identities in the future. Cultural components in fact forge personal and social identities and contribute to peace-prone or conflict-prone attitudes of both individuals and groups.

The last section of this chapter is therefore dedicated to the exploration of the elements in the society of Kaffa which feed the cultural dimension of discrimination. As Anderson (1990) argues, understanding what divides people is critical to understanding how interventions can feed into or lessen tensions. In addition, exploring what connects people despite conflict, helps understand how interventions reinforce or undermine those factors that can mitigate conflict or become positive forces for conflict transformation in society (Anderson, 1990). Consequently, the counter constructive cultural elements which could nourish hopes for positive change in the Kaffa society are also explored. The search for positive cultural elements will help in the process of creating an umbrella identity of the people of Kaffa, Manjo and Kafecho alike, which will enable them to overcome the differences between the now-separated Kafecho social identity and Manjo social identity.

The research findings presented in this chapter highlight, according to the research objectives, these three main issues:

- The role of local capacities for peace in shaping the Manjo-Kafecho relations. Attention is paid here to connectors or alleged connectors other than local culture;
- Assessment of the perceived contribution of AAE with regard to the

reduction of discrimination against the Manjo;

- The role of culture in perpetrating discrimination but also its potential as a main connector which combines external and internal attempts to alleviate discrimination.

5.1 Local capacities for peace

As defined in Chapter 3, local capacities for peace refer to local institutions, values, economic and political interdependence, all of which contribute to keeping society away from conflict and violence.

This section reviews some of these mechanisms in the context of the Kaffa realm. Section 5.1.1 in particular explores the main connectors, other than local ways of making peace, that exist in the Kaffa context. The next section 5.1.2, focuses specifically on local conflict resolution systems currently operating in the research areas. The connector represented by the local culture is explored in section 5.3 of the chapter.

5.1.1 Connectors other than local systems to make peace

Situations where Manjo and Kafecho interact with each other are a constant feature of daily life in Kaffa. The two groups have been found buying and selling products from each other, attending the same church or political meetings or going together to workshops organised by the government and ActionAid Ethiopia, to mention but a few occasions for interaction. The research findings showed that some of these opportunities for interaction fall into the category of dividers instead of connectors, as they divide people further and serve as sources of tension.

Economic interdependence

Business connections among the Manjo and the Kafecho are quite common in the areas where the research was conducted (refer to section 4.4.2 in Chapter 4).

During field-work it was observed that the Manjo would buy products from the Kafecho and the Kafecho would similarly buy from the Manjo, although in a restricted form. The terms and forms of the exchange are nevertheless dictated by social closure mechanisms. When Manjo women for instance, sell charcoal to Kafecho they have to stay outside the fence of Kafecho's houses, and are not allowed to go beyond the gate.

Numerous episodes recounted by Manjo women show how discrimination is still starkly manifested during exchanges in marketplaces. B, a young Manjo in the Copi Cocho village of Decha *woreda*, said the following:

If a non-Manjo woman buys products like cabbage, eggs or maize from us and Kafecho feel she is not aware that we are the owners, she will be told to pull back and not buy the goods she is up to (B. Personal Interview. October 5, 2008).

Even though there is a slight improvement in the Bonga market, due to the presence of many travellers unaware of the stigma attached to the group, generally the Manjo sell vegetables and honey for a lower price than Kafecho's. This is the reason why they say that they prefer to trade among themselves and see this as being their only win-win strategy.

The Manjo have the facility to buy goods from markets and shops but they face some difficulties. In open markets, Manjo women have limited freedom to touch and check the quality of products they wish to buy.¹ After buying the item, if it has a defect, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for them to return or to change it. Likewise, if a non-Manjo and a Manjo are queuing to be served in a shop, the Manjo will be served as second even if he/she arrives first.

In other situations, when the Manjo want to enter a local drinking house, the chances are that they will not be allowed in. The restaurant's owners (mostly of

¹ Manjo women shoulder a complex role and responsibility and bear more intensified and more overt discrimination than Manjo men. Selling and purchasing food, for instance, falls on their shoulders as one of their many household responsibilities. They bear psychological discrimination during delivery, vaccination, mother and child care service from outside the Manjo community (Tekle, 2005).

Kafecho origin) tell the Manjo that the food is sold out, which suggests that they are uninvited guests. If they are allowed to enter, then they most likely will have to consume drink in a special room far from the sight of the Kafecho. Glasses used to serve the Manjo are normally thrown away after use or kept separately from the glasses used to serve the other customers. Overall, during business interactions the Manjo are still seen as polluters and inferior and only as second rate as business partners.

Political and religious interdependence

Churches are renowned for being safe places where people from different social or ethnic backgrounds come together in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and brotherhood, forgetting for some time differences between them. In Kaffa, in terms of the Manjo group, this is not always true.

Conversations with research participants and actual observation showed that the Manjo are increasingly absent from the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. The latter tends to see this group as polluted and not equal, notably because of food taboos. A government official from Decha *woreda* commented:

Discrimination remains high within traditional beliefs and Orthodox Church. The latter in particular says to be willing to integrate the Manjo but in practice did not change its mind about the Manjo and does not accept them (E. Personal Interview. October 1, 2008).

Apparently the Manjo who converted to Orthodox Christianity hardly improved their level of acceptance in society. Despite their conversion, they are prevented from being buried in the same cemetery with the Kafecho farmers and still encounter a clear sentiment of rejection, even by the clergy themselves. The clergy does not give the required services upon the death of a Manjo like they would do for a Kafecho. Participants from the community mentioned that the Orthodox priests are very conservative in maintaining the traditional belief that regards the Manjo of low status and unclean.

The responsibility of Orthodox priests in keeping discrimination alive is also shown in the way they administer justice when asked to arbitrate between a Manjo and a Kafecho. Section 5.1.2 under the heading 'Religious leaders and institutions', provides details on this system of local justice.

Government officers, churchmen, and even the Manjo group themselves, believe that Catholics but mostly Protestants, are less strict towards them. According to the Manjo interviewed, the members of the dominant group who have some kind of good relationships with them today are mainly Protestants. A growing number of Manjo have in fact joined the Protestant Churches in search of equality, and they claim that Protestant farmers treat them significantly better than Orthodox farmers and also Catholic farmers. In line with Yoshida (2009), research finding suggested that conversion to Protestant Churches is a strategic method exerted by the Manjo aimed at improving coexistence with the Kafecho in the Kaffa society. However, Kafecho farmers still feel unease at eating with the Manjo in Protestant churches.

Even if Protestant priests are believed to be more flexible towards the Manjo, the discrimination of the group is nonetheless visible within these Churches. A Manjo from Gimbo said:

I have not decided yet which church I want to attend because the Protestants pretend that they live in the name of God, but when I sit beside them in church, they move to another bench (F. Personal Interview. July 18, 2008).

It is mostly outside the church premises that Kafecho's behaviours differ from their behaviour in church. Protestant Kafecho commented that they would shake hands and interact with members of the Manjo group going to their same church while attending religious functions. But, in everyday life these Kafecho would use the same treatment towards the Manjo reserved for this group by the rest of the Kafecho. An extract from an interview with a prominent Manjo elder in the Baho village of Gimbo *woreda*, emphasised the responsibility of clergymen:

I am originally from Decha *woreda*. When I lived in Decha, I used to go to the Protestant church in Chiri every Sunday. The priests in church told me that if I behave according to the values and principles written in the Bible, I could be treated in the same way as Kafecho. So I did but nothing changed. Now I live in Baho but things with the Church are the same than in Chiri. A few Kafecho in my own church would still refuse to shake hands with me and other Manjo in the church. But most of the times the Kafecho, would shake hands with me in church but would not do it outside the church (H. Personal Interview. July 9, 2008).

In a few cases, it has also been found that among Protestants the bond of brotherhood established by the Church lasted outside the church premises. A young Kafecho housewife from Baho, commented:

The Manjo living there [pointing at a house 200 metres away] come to my church. I know they are good Protestants who live according to the Bible. For this reason I trust them and open my house to them. The other Manjo I do not know. They do not come to my church. So, how can I trust them? (G. Personal Interview. June 29, 2008).

Many Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant farmers continued to express scepticism about the sincerity of the faith of individuals from the Manjo group and accused them of secretly eating unclean food. Additionally, for believers of all these religions, intermarriage remains unthinkable.

The research findings demonstrated that in Kaffa, the overall pattern of separation and exclusion in churches is writ large, and equality seems far from being promoted. In some places in Kaffa, Catholic and Protestant missionaries have built separate churches for the Manjo. I myself visited a Protestant church in the Baho village of Gimbo *woreda* built merely for the Manjo and attended only by members of this group.

Furthermore, the research findings showed that food taboos indoctrinated as religious values seem to have become 'acculturated' and an integral part of the feeding culture of people trespassing religious affiliation. Nowadays, the

accusation of food taboos expressed by all religious followers indicates that it has become a uniform cultural trait rather than just religious.

As for political meetings and workshops organized by AAE, the Kafecho professed not to have problems in participating in meetings together with the Manjo. When such meetings did, however, take place, they lamented feeling psychologically compelled to sit next to the Manjo. As a general pattern it could be said that in almost all situations where there is a chance of sitting together, the Manjo and the Kafecho form two different seating arrangements, thus avoiding sitting side-by-side.

Among all the connectors to which Anderson (1999) refers, and which are mentioned in section 3.3.1 of Chapter 3, this research pays particular attention to local systems to make peace that are widely used in Kaffa. The next section explores these systems.

5.1.2 Local systems to make peace

In the preface of their book: “Ethiopia at a Justice Crossroads: the Challenge of Customary Dispute Resolution”, Pankhurst and Assefa (2008) maintains that, despite the fact that in urban areas the influence of formal justice systems is felt strongly, in Ethiopia justice is still mostly delivered through local systems and mechanisms. This applies to the Kaffa zone, where different mechanisms of local justice working together or concurrent with formal courts are found. This section starts by providing an explanation of the choice of the term ‘local systems to make peace’ used throughout the chapter to identify the systems which individuals use to make peace amongst themselves. As there are no institutions able to promote peace or prevent conflict at inter-ethnic level between the Manjo and the Kafecho, this research looks at systems to settle individual disputes which members of both groups generally use. The lack of an inter-ethnic dispute resolution system between the Manjo and the Kafecho might be due to the fact that the Manjo have

always been considered as a caste within the Kafecho. For this reason intra-ethnic peace-making systems are used.

Terminology

The term 'Local systems to make peace' has been employed in this research to refer to local systems and mechanisms used in Kaffa to make peace among members of society. The term has been judged more preferable than the more widespread definition of 'Customary dispute resolution' (CDR), 'Informal dispute resolution' (IDR), 'Alternative dispute resolution' (ADR), and 'Traditional dispute resolution' (TDR), for the reasons mentioned below.

Alternative Dispute Resolution. The term 'Alternative dispute resolution' (ADR) has the merit of highlighting an alternative to the state established legal system, which is suggested to be prevalent and dominant. However, Pankhurst and Assefa (2008) note that in some regions of Ethiopia alternative dispute resolution systems may be considered the 'primary' justice system. They are "fairly strong in contrast to the state justice system and they have important roles to play which may be thought to go beyond offering 'alternative' justice" (Pankhurst and Assefa, 2008, p. v). This still seems to be the case in Kaffa zone.

Informal Dispute Resolution. The term 'Informal dispute resolution' (IDR) emphasises the flexible and informal nature of these dispute resolution institutions. It also makes these systems distinguishable from the formal, state organized systems. The definition underlines the fact that these systems are not formally recognized, tend to be different according to the groups and places, do not use written records and are often lacking in a clear hierarchical organization (Pankhurst and Assefa, 2008). However, this definition does not correspond to the reality of Ethiopia where "some of the institutions have highly elaborate rules, many have gradually become more formal, and some collaborate at least informally with the legal and state authorities, and in a few states receive some recognition or even support" (Pankhurst and Assefa, p. v). Additionally, the

adjective 'informal', tends to give a negative connotation to these institutions as it sheds light on their lack of formality and undermines the importance that they hold for the people who make use of them (Pankhurst and Assefa, 2008).

Traditional Dispute Resolution. This term seems to highlight well the cultural nature of these institutions but yet, it may create the impression that these systems are rigid and unchanging.

Customary Dispute Resolution. According to Assefa and Pankhurst, the definition 'Customary dispute resolution' (CDR), more than the previous terms emphasises the cultural nature of the institutions under consideration which operate on the basis of local customary or cultural norms and rules. It also has the advantage of being already in use in the Ethiopian context in contrast with the formal legal system (Pankhurst and Assefa, 2008). Nonetheless, the term has a major disadvantage. Like all the other terms mentioned above, it raises the question of whether legal terms, used in the European and North-American jurisprudential theory, are acceptable and should be used to describe institutions outside the western setting (e.g. Bohannan, 1969; Gluckman, 1969).

Drawn from Geertz's definition (1983) of law as local knowledge (in terms of place, class, but also in terms of a set of notion about the relation between fact and norm),² the term 'local systems to make peace' is employed throughout this thesis to identify institutions and mechanisms of local justice used in Kaffa. During field-work, participants seemed to understand this term better than any other, in the sense that it succeeded in transmitting to participants the sense of what was being asked.

Local systems to make peace in the Ethiopian legal framework

² In order to understand social institutions and the cultural principles surrounding them and giving them meaning, Geertz (1983) suggests 'orienting notions' instead of foundational ones. In 'Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretative Anthropology' he states: "We are faced with defining ourselves neither by distancing others as counterpoles nor by drawing them close as facsimiles, but by locating ourselves among them" (Geertz, 1983, p. 186).

Where disputants consent to be ruled under traditional or religious law and courts, the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution gives recognition of these jurisdictions in civil and personal matters. Article 34 of the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution, Paragraph 5 states:

This Constitution shall not preclude the adjudication of disputes relating to the personal and family laws in accordance with religious and customary laws, with the consent of the parties to dispute. Particulars shall be determined by law.

Article 78, Paragraph 5 states that:

Pursuant to Sub-Article 5 of Article 34 the House of Peoples' Representatives and State Councils can establish or give official recognition to religious and customary courts. Religious and customary courts that had state recognition and functioned prior to the adoption of the Constitution shall be organized on the basis of recognition accorded to them by this Constitution.

The next paragraphs investigate the position of the Manjo within the framework of the local peace-making mechanisms and systems in use in Kaffa.

Local systems to make peace in Kaffa zone

Pankhurst and Assefa (2008) argue that local systems to make peace in Ethiopia are organized under the three main principles of:

- Territory. The persons chosen for administering justice are known to the litigants and live in the same village or area;
- Kinship. Mediators are often selected among kin of the disputants. In many societies kinship and territory are involved as complementary principles;
- Spiritual authority. This is a pervasive principle of social organization in local systems to make peace. Even when spiritual authority is not a principal component of the system there are elements of it often present. In particular, Pankhurst and Assefa refer to blessing and cursing at the

opening and conclusion of each session,³ and oath taking.⁴

These principles are common features of the three main and overlapping forms of local justice in use in Kaffa zone:

- 1) Elders' moot;
- 2) Religious leaders especially leaders of the traditional belief;
- 3) Self-help associations, notably funerals, which can become involved in dispute settlements amongst members.

For the purpose of this chapter all these local systems will be analysed. While particular attention will be paid to elder moots and the role of religious leaders, which are the most widely used systems to solve disputes between Manjo and Kafecho, mention will also be made to the other system.

Kabechino: mechanisms, characteristics and rules

Before the government brought its systems for settling disputes, decisions over issues in Kaffa were made exclusively by local courts. The use of these local systems is said to have a long history of successfully resolving disputes, including

³ According to Pankhurst and Assefa (2008) blessing and cursing are usually not conceptually separated. Cursing is intimately linked to blessing as its negative formulation. Religious leaders normally blew spittle in the direction of those to be blessed while wishing fertility to the people, banishing diseases, drought and conflict. Cursing is considered more powerful than blessing and may also be used when litigants do not comply with decisions or swear falsely. Streker and Lydall (2006) argue that blessing is used not only during ceremony but also in daily life, while cursing is performed primarily in the context of dispute settlements.

⁴ Pankhurst and Assefa (2008) argue that oath taking is an important element in many local systems to make peace in Ethiopia, even if the contexts and phases may vary from system to system and the actors involved may also be different. The same authors list five different actors who may be involved in oath taking: the accused if there is no proof; the witnesses to state that they will tell the truth; the elders to assure that they will be fair; both disputants to make sure that they will abide by the decision; all the people involved in the process in turn to say that they are not guilty (Pankhurst and Assefa, 2008). In Kaffa, all these actors solemnly swear in front of the village in the name of their ancestors. The supernatural is invoked to witness, as the speakers call upon it to affect something hurtful.

those which could be described as civil, criminal, commercial and individual disputes.

The process of making peace is known as *shunio*, which in Kaffi-noono means 'reconciliation'. In the zone, and more specifically for this research, in Decha and Gimbo *woreda*, the most common form of peace-making system used indistinctively by both groups, is the *kabechino*, a group of elders playing a key role in mediation. The term comes from *kabecho* that in Kaffi-noono denotes an aged person. The word is also inherently linked with patriarchal notions, as it refers to male elders. Some research participants, however, pointed out that in practice the notion of elderly is not necessarily linked to age. Elders tend to be those who have experience in life, are respected, who are not selfish and are well known for being peace lovers.

The number of elders in a *kabechino* varies according to the importance of the issues. The maximum number is seven plus the secretary who takes notes during the session and writes the final decision. Once cases are referred to the elders, they fix the place and time for meetings. Deliberation is through consultation with the contenders. Normally the session is held in the morning and under a big tree. The process of dispute settlements takes place by first hearing the cases of the involved parties individually, then jointly in a public session. This gives the elders the opportunity to concentrate on points of disagreement between parties and assist in fact finding and reconciliation. The role of witnesses is kept to a minimum because the disputants are forewarned to speak the truth and are trusted to do so, in most cases for fear of the harsh social consequences (threat of expulsion). Once the outcome decision is announced, disputants are asked to bring one dish with green grass and water and to put their fingers on it in order to seal the peace and as a sign of settlement. After that, they embrace and kiss each other and the elders embrace and kiss the disputants.

A point worth mentioning is that the service of arbitration by elders is provided free of charge. The lack of payment is a proof that such elders are interested in the peaceful settlement of the problem and there is no scope for corruption. Although there is no payment for the service, the disputants have to entertain the decision makers with food and drink when the dispute is settled.

The Manjo and the Kafecho have a separate *kabechinos*. The involvement of the Manjo in the same *kabechino* of the Kafecho seems to be a controversial issue. The youngest participants from both groups denied the existence of a common *kabechino*. Among them the Kafecho said that it would be against social norms for a Manjo to participate in a Kafecho *kabechino* and that they will never accept decisions made by a Manjo. The majority of participants, however, not only admitted the existence of a *kabechino* ad-hoc-established to settle individual disputes between a Manjo and a Kafecho, but also recounted to have been directly involved with this.

When a dispute arises among a member of our group and a member of the Kafecho's, the community elects elders from both sides to be part of the *kabechino*. When the final decision is made by the *kabechino*, it is on the Manjo elders to persuade the Manjo disputant to accept the verdict and on the Kafecho's to do the same with the other side. I know because when this type of *kabechino* gathers I am often invited to be a member. I am well known in the area and appreciated from my brothers Manjo but also from the *Gomoro* (H. Personal Interview. July 9, 2008).⁵

According to some research participants, Manjo elders are equal in status and decision power to the Kafecho's and there is no difference in the way justice is administrated for the Manjo and the Kafecho. However, it has been pointed out by a few interviewees that during a *kabechino* session the Manjo elders have to sit far from the Kafecho's, outside the shade granted by the tree.

If they [Kafecho elders] sit here [pointing at a place under the shade of a tree] we sit there [pointing at a place distant at least five metres from the

⁵ *Gomoro* is another term to identify the Kafecho. Yoshida (2008) argues that the word *Gomoro* may derive from the fact that the Kafecho used to eat the meat of hippopotamus (*gumare* in Amharic) in the Gojeb River (Orent, 1969).

Kafecho's outside the tree shade], but in the end we hold the same decision-making power than them (H. Personal Interview. July 9, 2008).

It is also important to notice that often the lower position of the Manjo is taken for granted in the Kaffa society. The fact that apparently the Manjo sit far from the Kafecho during *kabechino* sessions, did not come up immediately from the interviews but only after a precise question on the matter; a clear indication that discrimination is so deeply embedded in the society as to be perceived as 'normal'.

Another indication of how certain features of discrimination have been internalised by members of the society and are entrenched in the culture, is the restorative rituals signalling the reaching of an agreement between contenders. After the final decision is pronounced, for reconciliation to be achieved a ceremony must be held. This often involves an animal sacrifice, blessing and sometimes cursing. The judges, the contenders and all community members are invited to take part in the feast which symbolically stresses the end of enmity. However, when a dispute is settled between a Manjo and a Kafecho, the two contenders do not kiss or embrace each other, nor share food and drinks. They eat separately and in different venues, the spatial distance between them reflecting once again the lower social status of the Manjo.

Religious institutions and leaders

The role of religious leaders in conflict resolution, notably Orthodox priests and *alamos*, is a key element in the process of making peace in Kaffa.

Orthodox Priests

In Orthodox areas of Kaffa, priests are solicited to resolve conflicts. An offender may seek forgiveness from God by kneeling in front of the passing Ark of Covenant during religious ceremonies, or by going into a church and ringing the bell at odd hours to call for reconciliation and ask the clergy to intervene.

Interviews revealed that apparently the Orthodox priests are harsh on the Manjo. The Manjo participants, who experienced justice administered by them, lamented an unfair and discriminating treatment. A common concern among the Manjo was made explicit by F:

Before being Orthodox believers, the Orthodox in Kaffa believe in *eko*. The Orthodox priests here are the kings of superstition (F. Personal Interview. July 18, 2008).

Asked about the Orthodox priests' behaviour toward the Manjo, an Orthodox Kafecho farmer and *eddir* leader in Ermo *kebele* replied the following:

The priests tell the Manjo in church to clean their clothes and not to eat dead animals. Once the Manjo do that, they will be equal to us. But not now, it will happen in the future. Until that time, also the priests will not eat their food [laugh] and will discriminate them (I. Personal Interview. October 23, 2008).

This story was confirmed by the Orthodox clergyman to whom I spoke. A feature common to all interviews with Manjo, young and elderly, is that members of this group are becoming more and more distant from the Orthodox Church as a consequence of the prejudicial treatment received, and they now prefer to refer to formal justice institutions.

An NGO officer from FARM-Africa explained the lack of serious commitment from Orthodox priests to do anything to prevent discrimination against the Manjo, as the result of the Church's fear of disappointing the majority (Kafecho) of believers and raising internal conflicts that would be difficult to manage.⁶ To confirm this trend, it is noticeable that the followers of the natural belief to which I spoke also professed to be Orthodox (a few of them Protestant or Catholic), including their spiritual leaders.⁷ The link between the natural belief and the

⁶ FARM-Africa (2009) is a registered charity with an office in the UK, a regional office in Nairobi and a country office in Addis Ababa. In Kaffa zone FARM-Africa helps rural community members, including the Manjo, to develop ways to manage their natural resources. At the time of my field-work in Kaffa the FARM-Africa project temporary stopped due to lack of funding.

⁷ None of the participants admitted to being a follower of *eko* when formally interviewed in their environment. Only when I saw two of them queuing for a consultation with an *alamo* did they

formal Churches in Kaffa confirms how rooted certain ideas are and how difficult it can be to change a deeply embedded feature of the social identity of the Kafecho group.

Spirit-based dispute resolution

Leaders of the natural beliefs play a key role in dispute resolution in Kaffa. People come to them not just from close by but from other areas within the zone and beyond with their grievances. It is believed that through the threat of invoking the spirits they can make those who are guilty come and confess and accept reconciliation.

As in other areas of Kaffa zone, also in Decha and Gimbo *woredas*, there are *alamos*. The *alamo* can be either Manjo or Kafecho. Considering the lowest rank of the Manjo in the social hierarchy, their possession spirits are conceived as low spirits. Nonetheless, Kafecho rely on advice by Manjo *alamos* and they recount that they are fairly treated. The Kafecho *alamo* is especially strict on his separation from the Manjo. As a supportive institution to the Kaffa hierarchical system, he perpetuates the existing social boundaries between the Manjo on one hand, and the Kafecho on the other.

I made a total of three visits to a Kafecho *alamo* living in Sheka, a remote village in Decha *woreda* situated on top of a mountain inaccessible by any means but by foot or horse. The *alamo* received people twice a week. Those who came for consultation brought their offering; nobody is in fact granted consultation without an offer (not only money but also products of the land). After being served the traditional coffee and bread by the young *alamo* assistant, all the people waiting for a consultation were led into a small dark room. Ten minutes later the *alamo*

admit to professing the natural belief along with being Catholic/Orthodox/Protestant (identifiable by the cross and other religious ornaments worn). There seems to be a sense of shame associated with being a follower of the natural belief, shame that disappears when many believers of this religion gather. In this last case, the followers spontaneously reveal how widespread is the natural belief not only in the research area but in Kaffa as a whole.

showed up. Firstly, he made an announcement in front of his followers: “The Manjo are unclean, just like the food that they eat. For me they are not human beings. I have to keep myself far from them if I want to maintain my purity” (field notes, June 9, 2008).

This figure of the *alamo* has played a significant role in projecting an image of social structure and supporting the power of the Kafecho elite, by enforcing the idea of pollution and purity based on food habits. No Manjo is to enter the house of the Kafecho *alamo* and consultation happens from outside the fence of his house. An elderly Kafecho from Gimbo, mentioned the following episode:

When a Manjo comes to consult with the Kafecho *alamo* he has to remain outside the fence that delimits the *alamo*'s house. Once I remember an old Manjo begging for a consultation. The *alamo* assistant took the eggs that the Manjo brought as a payment for the consultation but left the latter outside the fence for several hours. In the end, when all the other people left, the *alamo* told his servant to ask the Manjo to leave and come back another day, as he was tired and did not have time to meet with him (L. Personal Interview. July 12, 2008).

The *alamo* of the Manjo also faces discrimination as he is not allowed to enter the house of a Kafecho *alamo*; instead he is required to sit outside during consultation. The distribution of justice is influenced by these beliefs and reflects the inequality.

Self-help associations

In Kaffa zone, many traditional institutions regulate the life of the community. They have a great importance in people's livelihood, including Manjo. The traditional institutions most mentioned by community are: burial (*eddir*), saving organizations (*ekub*), crop harvesting (*dabo*). They can play an important role in dispute resolution among members.

The most important of the informal institutions is the *eddir*, a funeral association. The *eddir* ensures a payout in cash and in kind at the time of a funeral for a

deceased member of the family and of the group (Dercon, Bold, De Weerd J., and Pankhurst, 2004). Generally, a tent and goods are lent to the member's family in mourning time. This traditional funeral association is strictly organized with leaders democratically elected. The *eddir* members live in a geographically defined area, and every month or every two weeks contribute a certain amount of money to offset the expenses of burial cost (Van Halteren, 1996). Table 5.1 summarizes the main features of *eddirs* in Ethiopia.

The *eddir* is also called a self-help association, because its function often exceeds burials. It is consulted through its leaders to solve disputes. The disputants refer the matter of dispute to the *eddir* leaders, the leaders will enquire into it, and later discuss with the whole *eddir* or some delegates, and will pass judgement.

The Manjo and the Kafecho have two different *eddirs*. While the Kafecho *eddir* cuts across religious, wealth and ethnic boundaries, the Manjo are not welcomed in a Kafecho *eddir*. The interview with a Manjo living in Decha *woreda*, confirmed this point:

Years ago we wished that the Kafecho would have considered having a mixed *eddir*. Now we have stopped hoping. Sometimes, when a matter arises, members of the Kafecho *eddir* call for the most prominent members of our [Manjo] *eddir* to report on a certain fact. They [members of the Kafecho *eddir*] however, would never accept an invite to our *eddir* (C. Personal interview. November 16, 2008)

Table 5.1 Elements in funeral groups in Ethiopia

Membership	Founding members plus by application; payment of a membership fee; some groups particular membership restrictions (women, religion)
Insurance schedule	If funeral, payment schedule conditional on relationship of deceased to member
Form of Payout	In cash plus in kind (food plus use of capital goods) plus labour
Rules and regulations	Written rules, and book-keeping. Fines for non- or late payment or no show (in the case of labour contributions)
Governance structure	Elected Committee
Spread	Large number of groups per community, with individuals that are members of several groups

Adapted from Dercon, Bold, De Weerd, and Pankhurst (2004)

Participants from both groups assured that the Manjo can consult a Kafecho *eddir* when a matter arises among them or between member/s of their group and member/s of the Kafecho group. However, none of the interviewed had this kind of first-hand experience of justice administration.

While Chapter 6 will discuss the implication of these research findings for the purpose of the thesis, the next section is dedicated to the assessment of the perceived contribution of the international NGO ActionAid Ethiopia with regard to the reduction of discrimination against the Manjos.

5.2 ActionAid Ethiopia

Besides the issue of local capacities for peace, the objective of this research is to consider the role that external actors have played in alleviating the discrimination of the Manjo in the Kaffa society. In this regard, the contribution of the international NGO ActionAid Ethiopia (AAE) has been analyzed. In assessing the impact of the AAE strategy this research wants to evaluate how, and to what extent, the NGO project for the alleviation of the social discrimination of the Manjo has introduced changes in the living conditions of the intervention beneficiaries.

As mentioned in section 4.6.2 of Chapter 4, during field-work I found difficulty categorizing and fully understanding the objectives, strategy of empowerment and activities carried out by the NGO. The deskwork on AAE documentation and interviews with the NGO staff did not provide a clear comprehensive picture of the activities carried out. I tried to reorganize their strategy and activities under three main objectives:

- The development of government accountability towards the minority;
- The reduction of discrimination from the dominant group;
- The empowerment of the Manjo.

Another limitation mentioned in section 2.10.4 of Chapter 2, is represented by the difficulty in understanding which factor contributed the most to the reduction of discrimination against the Manjo. Chapter 4, for instance, showed that even before the arrival of AAE in the area, the Manjo had started to be more conscious of their rights and had begun to fight for political representation outside (participating in the 2002 conflict in Tepi) and within the legal framework granted by the Ethiopian Constitution (petitioning the government). While the framework used for the analysis of AAE intervention is based on the perception of beneficiaries (refer to section 2.5 in Chapter 2), it is important to take into account the role of a wide range of factors in diminishing the discrimination of the Manjo group (such as recent governmental affirmative actions in favour of this group or the Manjo

conversion to the more tolerant Catholicism and Protestantism). The perception of beneficiaries was crossed with their actual behaviour, as noticed during participant observation and confirmed by field notes. The resultant of this process was further crossed with the perception of the research assistants and other stakeholders involved in different levels and ways with the project and/or with the Manjo group. This further step was taken to ensure maximum reliability of the result and correspondence to actual situation.

5.2.1 Development of government accountability toward the minority

One of the three specific objectives of AAE programme was the development of government accountability towards the Manjo. The main activity carried out by AAE under this title appeared to be the training of government officials. Participants were trained for a maximum of two days by AAE staff in concepts, principles, and the importance of human rights in general and minorities' rights in particular, as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Ethiopian Constitution, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

Participants to the trainings were:

- Civil servants at *woreda* and *kebele* level (e.g. school teachers/principals, police officers, health workers);
- Political leaders at *woreda* and *kebele* level (e.g. cabinet members, chief administrators, social courts judges and registrars).

A total of 27 cabinet members politically appointed and 30 government officers from Gimbo *woreda* were given the training, while in Decha they were respectively 7 and 26.

As AAE staff referred to on different occasions, the training of government officials was on the top of the NGO agenda. The government was in fact considered by AAE as a guarantor for the long-term sustainability of the project.

It was also consulted for the selection of participants in workshops, as an officer from AAE said:

We go to the *kebele*, sit down with the *kebele* administrators and show them our criteria to select people for workshops.⁸ Government officials know very well the people they work for. They know who, among community members, is more open to the Manjo and who is not. According to our needs, they recommend the persons most qualified to take part to the training. (M. Personal Interview. July 10, 2008).

Government participants from Decha and Gimbo *woredas*, voluntarily mentioned the attitude change that occurred among them and the increase in the role and responsibility they had to play.

Today, thanks to the training provided by ActionAid, I have a different understanding and attitude towards the Manjo with respect to the past (N. Personal Interview. October 9, 2008)

ActionAid is helping creating awareness on the discrimination of the Manjo among government officials in Gimbo. We in turn go to the community and teach their members (O. Personal Interview. August 7, 2008).

In particular, the awareness gained of the need for accountability was mentioned during interviews.

It is important that we learn to treat the Manjo fairly. As representatives of the state in this *woreda* [Decha] we must give a good example to the community (P. Personal Interview. November 3, 2008).

Especially from discussions with council cabinet members at Kaffa zone level, it emerged that AAE's awareness raising initiatives were an input that came at the right time as a support – a good fit-in to the government agenda. Mostly due to the several episodes of violence between the Kafecho and the Manjo occurring in Kaffa when this research was conducted, the need for a new 'conscientisation' became clear from the words of a high government official at zonal level:

⁸ According to AAE staff in order to be selected for the trainings, participants must be influential in their respective communities and be able to read and write. However, on occasion of workshops organized by the NGO which I attended, it resulted that the second criteria was not strictly fulfilled.

Right now all over Kaffa we are witnessing small and sporadic episodes of violence involving Manjo and Kafecho. The regional government is tackling the issue and with the support of ActionAid, its intervention is going to be even more effective. As government officials we are grateful to ActionAid for working in partnership with us in such a delicate situation. This work is already bringing positive results. We hope that more fruits will come in the future (Q. Personal interview. June 15, 2008).

Nonetheless, while many good words were used to describe the work of AAE, these words did not always seem to reflect what happened in reality. Sometimes the body language of the persons interviewed, or the body language of the people around the participants at the time of the interview (when it took place in public spaces), partly contradicted their declared good intentions. Smiles or suffocated laughs from people assisting at the interviews along with perceived uneasiness of the interviewee while making certain statements, proved in some cases to be a lie-detector, confirmed by interviews with other participants, direct observation and feedback from the research assistant. Once for instance, I had an informal conversation with a prominent government official of the Gimbo *woreda* in the presence of AAE staff. The official emphasised the commitment of the government in that *woreda* to tackling the discrimination against the Manjo. When I remained alone with the local AAE officer, he warned me not to trust what that government official just said, because he was one of the fiercest opponents to the change. At other times, the same members of the community highlighted the ‘laziness’ of their administrators. Mixed feelings were perceived among the Manjo in relation to the government ambiguity. Although the government together with AAE was seen as their protector, a growing number of Manjo, especially younger generations, stressed its lack of commitment to applying affirmative action in their favour. At other times, the most traditionalist Kafecho referred to the ‘discriminating’ behaviour of their administrators towards members of the Manjo group, to justify their same discriminating behaviour.

AAE staff pointed out several times that the overwhelming majority of government officials at *kebele*, *woreda* and zonal levels were Kafecho. Therefore,

they were not keen to correct the power imbalance in the Kaffa society. Having recognized the limited capacity of a two-year programme to challenge the behaviour of government officials towards the Manjo, the NGO staff attributed this weakness of the programme to the funding that proved insufficient for the goals set.

A different challenge to the AAE project was the pressure to supply a donor with measurable result. AAE staff spent a significant amount of their time writing detailed quarterly reports during the first months of my permanence in Kaffa. Email correspondence showed that reports submitted to AAE donors were sent back for lack of detailed information (e.g. on the total number of people trained in the previous four months). This particular issue was also raised during an informal conversation I had with the officer of the European Commission in charge of the human rights initiatives that funded the AAE project. It is thus important to look at potential constraints of the donor-beneficiary relationship. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.

5.2.2 Reduction of discrimination from the dominant group

During interviews, the Manjo acknowledged that levels of discrimination against them started decreasing slowly prior to the arrival of AAE in the area. Among elderly Manjo, prohibition of hunting and erosion of forest land were the two most cited factors which brought about changes in the lifestyle of the group, promoting their transition from hunters to farmers. Younger generations mentioned the pressure of formal Churches and the government to assimilate the Manjo with the majority, as the main factors contributing to the reduction of discrimination. By locating the discrimination against the Manjo in their eating habits and their lack of personal hygiene, clergymen and government officials pushed the group to give up their custom.

However, participants indicated AAE as the actor that contributed the most and in the shortest amount of time to the reduction of the discrimination against the

Manjo in the past years. Many stressed this point by comparing their situation with neighbouring areas like Sheka zone, where AAE did not intervene. They described these other areas as places where the dominant group still physically attacks the Manjo, where the Manjo do not go to markets and Manjo children do not attend school. According to governmental officers, in Decha and Gimbo *woredas* Manjo students attend school regularly and sit together with other children. These same officers identified in AAE the promoter of the change, through the many activities carried out by the NGO.

Activities for the reduction of discrimination included:

- Awareness creation for local community through exchange of visits, workshops and sign posts;
- Networking groups to create cohesion and linkage between the Manjo and the Kafecho;
- Scout groups and taskforce groups to monitor the discrimination.

Awareness creation

Awareness creation activities were undertaken through:

- Exchange of visits;
- Organizations of workshops;
- Sign posts.

Exchange of visits

The exchange of visits was carried out only in the second phase of the project in Gimbo *woreda*. Inter-*woreda* community visits were organized with the objective of showing the Manjo and the Kafecho coming from more conservative communities, the progress achieved by AAE in the integration of the Manjo in other areas of the zone. The aim was to engage participants in discussion fora as a way to break the resistance against the integration of the Manjo in mainstream society. Chena *woreda* was the destination for more than thirty visits from

selected participants from Gimbo *woreda* on different occasions.⁹ This *woreda* was one of the previous project areas and, according to AAE staff, the one where the project proved to be more successful. Visitors were *woreda* officers, leaders of religious and traditional institutions, representatives for women and Manjo, businessmen and elders. The visits were meant to inspire participants with courage to replicate what they saw in their community, to become role models and play advocacy role in their respective areas.

As an observer, I was allowed to take part in a three-day exchange visit in Wachana town of Chena *woreda*. Around 20 people (5 of whom were Manjo) were brought there from Gimbo *woreda*. They were businessmen, teachers, representatives of local traditional institutions and religious institutions. In particular, the Manjo selected were respected characters in their community. Visitors were taken on tours by AAE officers to local Orthodox and Protestant churches where Manjo and Kafecho worship together; went to eat to local restaurants where Manjo were admitted; talked to local government officials and to the Manjo working in government offices. The visit included a talk with a Manjo leader of the traditional belief and his Kafecho wife, the only case known in Kaffa of intermarriage among Kafecho and Manjo.

Malleto, a Manjo *alamo*, was able to marry his Kafecho wife only after a court decision ruled on the matter. As he recounted, the girl was very young at the time and needed permission from her parents to get married. Malleto's parents in law exercised a fierce opposition to the wedding, as did the whole Kafecho community and surprisingly, also the Manjo community at first. The latter was initially concerned about the consequences that such an act would have had on the society in terms of exacerbation of their relations with the Kafecho. The couple married in 2007 and since then the wife has been ostracised by her community and considered/treated as a Manjo. The same treatment was reserved to her family who was out-casted by the Kafecho community. Malleto was considered as a role

⁹ The AAE programme to alleviate the discrimination of the Manjo was run in Chena between January 2005 and June 2006.

model for the Manjo by the staff of AAE and for this reason was frequently called to participate in workshops.

At the end of the workshop, on the way back to Gimbo *woreda*, when the staff of AAE asked the participants about their impression of the visit, the majority of the Manjo showed enthusiasm about what they experience, while the Kafecho were silent. Most of them kept avoiding contact with the Manjo and AAE staff during the whole trip. From discussion held that same day, it emerged that the reaction of the Kafecho was driven by two opposite feelings. The majority was sceptical about what it saw and did not intend to replicate the intergroup pattern of relations just experienced, in their home community. A few Kafecho underlined the difficulties in replicating the behaviour they saw in Wacha in their community, and pointed at some obstacles which can be summarized in:

- Difficulties in rejecting all at once the culture they grew up in;
- Fear of becoming out-casts from their own community if they did not conform anymore to the mainstream idea about the Manjo. One Kafecho in particular commented: “My family will laugh at me if I treat the Manjo as I treat the rest of my community. They will think that I am crazy and will ban me until I recover” (Field notes. June 18, 2008).

As a result of these potential barriers to a change in attitudes towards the Manjo, only two out of the seven businessmen who participated in the visit exchange in Chena *woreda* started admitting the Manjo in their hotels in the following weeks. The Manjo though, complained that they still were served from broken pottery or different plates/glasses and, in some cases, also in a different room.

Organization of workshops

The awareness raising was mostly conducted through general workshops and more focused workshops aimed at training potential trainers for the community.

- *General workshops.* A total of 2,899 people from different categories of both communities under study (among which 444 were women and 269

were Manjo) were trained following activities undertaken with the scope of reducing the discrimination against the Manjo. The general workshops lasted from two to five days and were attended by Manjo and Kafecho representatives of all sectors of the society including religious leaders of the formal Churches of Kaffa and leaders of traditional institutions (such as *eddir* leaders and *alamos*). The workshops aimed at providing participants with basic knowledge on human rights and minority rights in particular, through referring to the Ethiopian Constitution and the International Declaration on Human Rights. At the end of every workshop and training, a coffee ceremony was held and a few selected Manjo were asked to serve tea, coffee and bread to the Kafecho. According to AAE staff, the serving of tea and coffee was meant to play a kick-starter role in alleviating discrimination. Sharing the same utensils (cup and glasses), the two groups could get to know each other and demystify some of the myths around which the discrimination of the Manjo had been built. The ceremony served also as a tool to monitor the level of attitude change within participants. As stated in AAE final report (2009, p. 7):

Many workshop participants who were expected to play an advocacy role, failed to shake hands and share the same utensils with Manjo during workshops. This helped to spot and conduct targeted lobby to influence them before letting them deployed for further action.

- The training of trainers (ToT). This specific programme aimed at training selected people who would go back to their respective community to 'educate' their neighbours on the importance of respecting the human rights of each individual and enhancing tolerance among different social groups (AAE, 2009). Together with government representatives at various levels (five in Gimbo and nine in Decha), under the ToT programme were also trained prominent traditional community leaders (e.g. religious leaders from all the religions of Kaffa and *eddirs* leaders) and representatives for women, youth, and Manjo. Once trained, they were able to assist AAE staff in delivering subsequent workshops.

While the Manjo participants showed their interest in the workshops, almost all the Kafecho (with few exceptions) pointed out at the favouritism given to the Manjo and at the pressure exercised towards their group to integrate the Manjo. A young Kafecho farmer from the village of Baho in Gimbo *woreda* described the coffee ceremony at the end of AAE in these terms:

We [Kafecho] go to the workshops organized by AAE and are taught about human rights. At the end of the workshop there is a small banquet. The staff of AAE asks the Manjo to serve us. They give us bread and pour us some tea. And we will eat from their hands. We cannot refuse. If we do so, we go to prison (R. Personal Interview. July 9, 2008).

A participant from the majority said:

The world is going in reverse: we are the discriminated ones now. If something happens between one of us and a Manjo, no doubt that it is going to be our fault. Everyone now sides with the Manjo: AAE, the government and whoever comes to ask questions about the Manjo. We can't say a word against them otherwise we'll go to prison (L. Personal Interview. July 12, 2008).

This point was reiterated by *Abba S.*¹⁰ an Orthodox clergyman interviewed in Bonga:

They [AAE] targeted the Manjo and the Kafecho to teach them. But they are too harsh on the Kafecho..... The ones among us who dare to say that they do not like the Manjo will be pointed out as the bad people for the entire length of the workshop and even after (Abba S. Personal Interview. June 30, 2008).

Orthodox priests in Kaffa are said to preach equality of all human beings more openly than in the past. Yet, the evidence suggests otherwise. This final extract of the interview also underlines how the group identity of the clergyman prevailed on his religious identity and, therefore, how difficult is to eradicate ideas that are deeply rooted in the way people make meanings and think of themselves. *Abba S.*, interviewed in his capacity of clergyman, unconsciously made a switch in

¹⁰ The Amharic word *Abba* is generally translated into English as "My Father". Ethiopian title of respect given to religious and highly regarded individuals.

identities during the interview process. In the first part of the interview, and extract thereof, he spoke as a *super partes* man of Church and his considerations could be taken as an acknowledgment of a certain situation. The passage: “They targeted the Manjo and the Kafecho to teach **them**. They are too harsh on the **Kafecho**” stresses this point. In the continuation of the interview his social identity prevailed on his religious identity as he referred to himself as a member of the Kafecho group. This is underlined by the pronoun used: “The ones among **us** who dare to say...”.

The interview was held in Bonga, the town where discrimination against the Manjo is believed to be mitigated by the presence of many foreigners whose relation with the Manjo is not imposed by birth-ascribed patterns. It is reasonable to think that an even stronger identification of churchmen with their Kafecho group takes place in rural areas where contacts with outsiders are very poor.

Sign Post

A total of sixteen sign posts with the logos of AAE and the European Union were erected in prominent public places in the both *woredas* and Bonga town. In addition to portraying the logos, extracts from the constitutional articles were posted on them to enhance the awareness of people on the constitutional rights of women and Manjo and equality of all human beings. The sign posts were, however, revealed to be ineffective in the local context of Kaffa marked by a high rate of illiteracy.¹¹

Networking groups

This activity was mainly carried out through the establishment of minorities' clubs, mixed associations aiming at enhancing social integration through

¹¹ According to an estimation of the Kaffa zone Information and Culture department, around fifty-five percent of the people of Kaffa are not able to read and write.

'conscientisation' (AAE, 2006 and 2009). The following different clubs were established by the project in Decha and Gimbo *woredas*:

- Education club: improving the enrolment rate by influencing families to send their children to school, and ensure minorities rights for education by monitoring relationships between minority students and teachers;
- Health and HIV/AIDS club: discussions were held with minorities regarding food habits and their relation with health issues. Polygamy, the utilisation of health facilities and personal hygiene were also discussed;
- Gender and human rights club: the focus was on women within minorities and their severe rights denials;
- Culture and socialisation club: debates were held around food habits and their relation with discrimination. The objective was also to teach Manjo children the value of their culture and their equal position with everyone on earth.

In Decha *woreda* around 500 people (170 clubs) from the Manjo and the non-Manjo community took part in the minority clubs while in Gimbo about 300, divided into 140 clubs.

Research highlighted a discrepancy in the evaluation of this activity based on the participants' location. In Decha *woreda* former members of minorities clubs complained about the non-continuity of the activities after the end of the project. A young Manjo student from Copi Cocho in Decha *woreda* commented:

It is a pity that the project ended because I think we were not yet ready to continue without the backing of AAE. In fact, a few months after the end of the project, we also decided to finish our activities. We are inexperienced; we needed them to guide us (T. Personal Interview. September 26, 2008).

The same destiny was faced by all the other minority groups established in Decha *woreda*, as confirmed by interviews with government officials and former participants. A government officer in Decha lamented:

When AAE social discrimination project was on, they gave material support to clubs. But when the staff left, members of the minority groups asked to the government to whom they were accountable, and how they would get materials. After the staff project left, the *woreda* clubs were not able not organise themselves, because no one was responsible to organise the clubs. They did not have an office, a place to keep the documents, and they did not have meeting place. Also, there was not budget to pay participant per diems. AAE used to organize everything (N. Personal Interview. October 9, 2008).

On the other hand, in Gimbo, the participants in networking groups who were interviewed (both Manjo and Kafecho), expressed appreciation for the project and for their acquired new responsibility within their respective communities. Due to the fact that my field work ended before the end of the project in Gimbo, I was not able to assess whether the clubs in Gimbo continued to work after AAE left the area or stopped their activities, as happened in Decha *woreda*.

Yet, two Manjo participants in Gimbo expressed their disappointment with the clubs:

- One reported that the behaviour of the Kafecho towards the Manjo was different outside the group space. The Kafecho were nice and understanding within the group but outside it, they treated them as the other Kafecho did;
- The other showed carelessness towards participation in the group due to his scepticism about the expected positive outcome of the project in terms of ameliorating the Manjo situation.

Scouts groups and taskforces to monitor the discrimination

AAE established social equality taskforces at community and government level. Members of these groups included *kebele* leaders, chairpersons of social courts, representatives for women, leaders of traditional institutions, elderly people, Manjo representatives, religious leaders, leaders of traditional institutions and youth representatives. They mainly had to monitor violations of the rights of the

Manjo and report them to the taskforce group established at *woreda* level. The latter had to apply measures to correct the imbalance in society.

More than 700 community members took part in the social equality taskforce groups in Gimbo and around 600 in Decha *woreda*. As with networking groups, also in this case the response of participants varies according to the research area. In Gimbo *woreda*, members of the Social Equality Networking Taskforce welcomed with enthusiasm their acquired role and higher prestige in their community. They were keen to show the efficacy of their work by enumerating the many reports written for the government and for AAE.

In Decha *woreda* though, interviews with previous members of taskforce groups evidenced a lack of sustainability of the project after its end in June 2006. A Manjo in Deckia *kebele* of Decha *woreda* complained about what Kafecho used to tell him: “Your supporter, AAE, has left. At the time we stayed in silence but there is nobody to support you now. Things are going to be the way it used to be before AAE”. (Field notes. July 2, 2008).

The role of scout group was articulated in a terms of reference (ToR) to help participants ease their job. In particular participants had to:

- Mobilize the community and provide basic information on human rights, women and girls rights, the rights of the child, personal hygiene and environmental sanitation, and the prevention aspect of HIV/AIDS;
- Monitor human rights violations committed by local offenders on the Manjo and report the incident to the *kebele* level 'Social Inclusion Taskforces' for corrective measures. They were also expected to work in collaboration with all the trained people in the *kebeles*.

The number of scouts from each *kebele* was two: one Manjo and one Kafecho representative. There were two to three groups in each *kebele* based on their population size and their geographical dispersion. The scout members were given

a pocket size Amharic version of Ethiopian Constitutional documents, in order to create common understanding of values of the constitution and its significance in their day-to-day life. Finally, the EU funded project prepared and provided neck ribbon and identity cards for youth scouts to wear whilst mobilizing the community towards protection of human right and minorities' discrimination.

As in the case of taskforce groups, also this time a difference is found between Decha and Gimbo *woreda*. In Decha, many members of the scout groups that were established during the project, associated the end of the AAE activities with the end of their work. They explained this behaviour as a lack of interest from the government and AAE in keeping the activities going. Almost all the former members of the scout groups that I interviewed complained about being left alone with no guidance after the programme ended.

In Gimbo, on the other hand, the scout groups were still in activity when I visited the area and their contribution to the alleviation of social discrimination was acknowledged by AAE, government officers, and various beneficiaries from the community. I left Kaffa zone in December 2008. I am not aware if after the end of the project, the activities of the scout groups in Gimbo continued or followed the same pattern as those in Decha.

5.2.3 Empowerment of the Manjo

In section 4.6.1 of Chapter 4, empowerment has been defined as a process aimed at enhancing the capacity of both individuals and groups to make choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. Central to this process are actions which build both individual and collective assets.

According to the AAE documentation and formal and informal meetings with AAE staff, the empowerment of the Manjo was reached through advocacy of Manjo's rights with the government and the community members and education of Manjo about their rights.

From AAE's final report from Decha and Gimbo *woredas* it appears that a significant number of Manjo were brought to cover positions in the local political structure, including *kebele* level cabinet members, council members, and social court judges. (ActionAid Ethiopia, 2009, 2006b, and 2005b). Accordingly, 322 Manjo in Gimbo *woreda* were elected to the *kebele* level councils during the duration of AAE project against the previous figure of forty-two (forty men and two women) out of 2143 council members. In Decha *woreda* the number of Manjo occupying posts at *kebele* level was 290, although the previous figures are not available for comparison. Additionally, since AAE arrived in Gimbo, a total of 24 Manjo households acquired 200—300 square meters of plotted land in local towns for building residential houses. This was described by AAE staff and local government officials as a new development in the history of Manjo. AAE contributed financially to the house construction by providing the Manjo with corrugated iron sheets (to help them withstand the burden of escalating price of slates). An AAE staff commented on the achievements in this way:

We want the Manjo to be aware of their rights. We teach them about their rights and that they should not be afraid to ask for what is theirs. We would encourage them to ask for land from the government. Recently some Manjo asked and obtained land in town [Ufa] and are now building their own houses. This is going to be a historic moment because, for the first time the Manjo will be allowed to live in a town (U. Personal Interview. June 22, 2008)

At the end of my field-work in December 2008, the 11 Manjo households who started constructing their house in Ufa had to temporarily stop. The reasons given were financial difficulties and fear of reprisals from the neighbouring Kafecho.

In general, for the Manjo interviewed, their empowerment is the result of AAE intervention. One Manjo participant from Gimbo commented that:

ActionAid taught us that we have to discuss our issue and protect our rights. If somebody attacks us, they taught us that we have to apply to the government to get support and fair decision (V. Personal Interview. July 18, 2008).

By and large, it appears that AAE helped in overcoming barriers to the individual empowerment of members of this group. The sense of inferiority and the beliefs that the Manjo deserve their low position in the social hierarchy have evolved from the past. As interviews with Manjo showed, members of this group do not stay silent now in front of an act of discrimination. They would go to the government to complain or to AAE. The Manjo appeared to have developed more confidence to apply to government and defend themselves, particularly when it comes to obvious cases of rights abuses. The story of Malleto, the Manjo *alamo* who married his Kafecho girlfriend is an example. Malleto's family in law denied him permission to marry the girl who was sixteen years old at the time. He then brought them to court and won the case. Malleto, mentioned how AAE and the government backed his decision to bring his in laws to court. He referred to AAE and the government as "his two fathers" (Field notes. June 20, 2008).

The process of collective empowerment of the Manjo, which refers to how people organized themselves to deal with oppression, is also becoming obvious in Kaffa. As government officials and participants from both groups pointed out, when an abuse or alleged abuse against a Manjo is committed, the Manjo community tends to support the presumed victim of the injustice.

Some Manjo I met in the Deckia village of Decha *woreda*, recalled an event that had one day taken place at a market. A group of Manjo was beaten by a number of Kafecho and several members of each group had to be brought to the local clinic. One Manjo was taken to the hospital in Jimma, the biggest town in the area found in the Oromia region, around a four-hour drive from Decha. The day after the incident a large number of Manjo gathered outside the *woreda* offices claiming justice for their companion. Armed with *gejeras* (machetes) the Manjo asked the government to find and punish the Kafecho culprits. Reassured of the government intention to investigate the matter, they left.

What really happened that day in Deckia is difficult to establish. The Kafecho justified the aggression saying that one drunken Manjo was harassing a young Kafecho girl. The Kafecho who witnessed the scene attempted to help the young girl. Then suddenly, many Manjo came in defence of their companion but were outnumbered by the Kafecho. On the other hand, the Manjo protested that none in their group ever tried to harass any Kafecho girl and that they were unfairly beaten because of their alleged inferior status in the society. Kafecho's resentment against the attention given to the Manjo group by the government and AAE was quoted by Manjo as the reason for the aggression against them. The exact sequence of events cannot be established, yet, what this demonstrated was the capacity of the Manjo to organize themselves and defend their rights.

In the interview conducted in Bonga, a respected Manjo who identified himself as a promoter of Manjo's self-determination stressed the importance of the AAE project. He emphasised the role played by the NGO in increasing awareness among the Manjo about their rights and mobilizing a growing number of members of the minority to take actions against the discrimination.

5.2.4 Prospective solutions

Contrary to recent research findings stressing that education is discouraged by and among members of the Manjo (Guance, 2007), it is believed by the Manjo participants that educational programmes can potentially become one of the most effective tools in addressing marginalisation of this group. For the overwhelming majority of the Manjo interviewed, the discrimination could be lessened through empowerment carried out by means of granting wider access to formal and informal education. Financial assistance from the government could further improve access to school education. In addition to that, alternative and additional education mechanisms, such as workshops, would also increase the awareness of human rights abuses among members of the Manjo. This way they could potentially obtain leadership positions at *woreda* and zonal level and become more influential in the social realm of Kaffa.

Interviews with AAE staff showed that the NGO regarded the discrimination as a matter of lack of access to economic resources and to political power. AAE as well as government officials and representatives of the formal Churches in Kaffa envisaged a solution to the discrimination of the Manjo in terms of improvement of the economic conditions of the group and increasing representation in the local administration. The economic dimension was considered particularly important. If the Manjo were able to improve their lifestyle, to dress in clean clothes and live in houses with iron roofs then the image projected to the Kafecho would have been different as well as the attitude of the latter towards members of this discriminated groups. In other words, making themselves undistinguishable from the Kafecho, looking like Kafecho and behaving like Kafecho, were considered by these actors as the key for the acceptance of the Manjo into the mainstream society. This implies giving up the habit of 'bad' eating as well.

For the majority of participants from the community, the weakness of the AAE intervention was the belief that its staff held, that marginalisation was the result of poverty of the Manjo. Several Manjo maintained that the discrimination against them did not stop with the improvement of their lifestyle. A Kafecho *eddir* leader commented:

Manjo have land like poor Kafecho. However, we do not marginalise poor Kafecho, we marginalise only Manjo. The Manjo can live in town with us, but they will be still treated differently (I. Personal Interview. October 23, 2008).

According to the religious leaders interviewed, AAE did not fully understand the case of marginalisation between the Manjo and the Kafecho. The sentence "people from outside do not understand our problem [the Manjo-Kafecho dynamics]" was recurrent during formal and informal discussions with Kaffa people.

For the Kafecho in the end, there was no solution to the Manjo discrimination as it is a matter of culture. The view that the culture cannot be changed was shared by almost all participants. Linked to this last point the next section expands on the role of culture in shaping the Manjo-Kafecho relation in Kaffa.

5.3 The Role of culture in the Kaffa society

This section aims to develop awareness about local narratives and their actual and potential influence on cross-cultural relations between the Kafecho and the Manjo.

The first part of this section is an attempt to comprehend the origins and triggers of the discrimination of the Manjo. It focuses on negative present and past narratives told across time and generations. These narratives are believed to constitute the main justification upon which the discrimination of the Manjo has been based. A brief exploration of the negative cogs of local culture is referred to in order to help understand which elements of the social identity of each group can be constructive and which elements could be ‘removed’ from a process of identity reconstruction.

The second part of the section is an attempt to collect constructive narratives shared by Manjo and Kafecho. The hope is that these elements could be used by third-party mediators in the process of creating a Kaffa social identity shared by both groups.

Cultural elements in the form of stories, myths, metaphors and rituals were collected during field research in Kaffa. This section pays attention only to the ones considered the most significant for the purpose of the study.

5.3.1 Negative elements in the culture

Allport defined prejudices as an “antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he/she is a member of that group” (Allport, 1954, p. 9). This negative attitude influences the perception of the ‘other’ and the assessment of their behaviour (Korostelina, 2007). Prejudices are based on negative stereotypes attributed to a social group (Augoustinos, Ahrens, and Innes 1994). The following paragraph intends to provide an account of the old myths and some of the most common stereotypes upon which the discrimination of the Manjo group is based.

Creation myths: grounding the discrimination

Myths are stories shared by a group that are a part of that group's cultural identity (Malinowski, 1926). In the Kaffa society these ancient stories play a key role in shaping the social identity of the people and are considered by all community members, including younger generations, as the ground upon which the discrimination of the Manjo lies. The redundancy of variants of creation myths told by elderly people implies a strong wish to use them as an ideological justification for the low status of the Manjo.

Among the Kafecho tradition of the Manjo origin and identity, one of the most widely spread is the one told me by an elderly Kafecho living in Baho village.

An unmarried girl secretly had sexual intercourse with a dog. When she became pregnant was banned from the village from her parents. Eventually she gave birth to a baby boy by a riverside. Upon maturing, her son hunted wild pigs, monkeys and baboons in the forest and with their meats fed himself and his mother. After some time, they left the valley and went to live in a village. The boy did not change his eating habits; he kept hunting and eating the meats of wild animals. The people saw it and did not like his behaviour. They told him and his mother to stay away from their houses and chased them into the forest, where they lived for the rest of their life. This is how the Manjo were created (W. Personal interview, July 24, 2008).

Common is also the myth of the Manjo's banishment to the forest as a result of their greed. There are many versions of this myth, the most popular being the one recalled by a Manjo elder during an *eddir* meeting in Copi Cocho:

The first king was Manjo. The Manjo king had ninety-nine wives. He was a good king, honest, compassionate and respected by his people. One day he saw the beautiful wife of his servant and wanted to make her his hundredth wife. To do that, he killed his servant and for this reason was cursed by God and chased to the forest where he hunted and ate monkeys and wild pigs to survive. Consequently his status was lowered by God and the Manjo became the lowest clan in Kaffa. (Field notes. September 16, 2008).

Another variant of the creation myth was offered by a Kafecho *alamo* in the Sheka village of Decha *woreda*:

Two brothers (in some versions seven), were travelling along the Baro River. They became very hungry as they ran out of food. One of the brothers then went to the forest and ate bad things during the trip, such as monkeys and worms. The other one waited to get to the closest village before eating. Since then, the first brother has been ostracised (X. Personal Interview. June 13, 2008).

Kederash also recounted a different version of the creation myth, saying that he was not sure which of the two was 'more true'. This other version sees the division between the Manjo and the Kafecho as a decision made by the supernatural.

When the earth was created two different people came out of a black hole. One carried a hoe on one shoulder, the other one a net. The first person gave origin to the Kafecho who are farmers. The latter to the Manjo, as the net is used for hunting (Kederash. Personal Interview. June 13, 2008).

Two variants of the creation myth provide a different explanation of the discrimination. A Kafecho from Decha *woreda*, recounted the peaceful and smooth transfer of power from Manjo to Kafecho clans. In this variant is stressed the fact that the Kafecho never fought for the position of supremacy but it was given to them.

When human beings were created, there were three groups in Kaffa: the Matto, the Minjo and the Manjo. The Manjo were the strongest group and cruelly ruled Kaffa. Full of themselves, they decided to build a state for themselves and left the area. At that time, the other two clans, the Minjo and the Matto, intermarried and gave birth to a new strong and numerous clan from which we [the Kafecho] descend. The new people neglected the Manjo for revenge against the treatment they ancestors were given by this clan. Starting from that time, the Manjo are not welcome to our house. The reason is found on the life they conducted when they left the area. They became different from all the other groups as they ate wild animals and from that time do not care about their personal hygiene (Y. Personal Interview. November 18, 2008)

In a second variant the Manjo, original inhabitants of Kaffa, are believed to have been the first rulers of the area prior to the coming of immigrant clans. It is often assumed that after their defeat and consequent submission to the immigrants who had relatively better technology and stronger political structure, this group might have been drawn in the forest and started eating and hunting wild animals in order to survive. Historians like Huntingford (1955) consider this last version close to what actually happened. Language and attitudes reflect the negative myths and reinforce stereotypes.

Destructive Stories

LeBaron (2003) argues that storytelling is an ancient universal activity that conveys the cultural logic of participants in a way that much communication about conflict may not. Through the use of words, stories communicate images (visual, auditory, tactile, etc.) which communicate feelings (LeBaron, 2003 and 2002). According to the words and images evocated, feelings could be redirected towards peaceful ends or could foment the mutual negative image of actors in conflict.

Only a few negative stories were collected from the Kafecho side regarding the Manjo and all related to superstition or episodes of violence. Contact with a Manjo was primarily associated with contraction of diseases and bad luck. The stories related to the alleged aggressive attitude of the Manjo and mostly

recounted the most recent episode of violence already mentioned in section 5.2.3. An extract from an interview with L highlights this other focal theme of Kafecho's stories:

One day in the market in Deckia [Decha *woreda*] a drunken Manjo harassed a young lady [Kafecho]. The Kafecho who witnessed the scene went to help the young girl. Then suddenly, many Manjo came in defence of their brother. They were all drunk and ferocious and had spears. Luckily, many more of us [Kafecho] were in the market. We outnumbered them [the Manjo] and gave them a lesson difficult to forget (L. Personal Interview. July 12, 2008)

The Manjo had many stories to tell and all related to the discriminating treatment received from the Kafecho. Their stories recalled scenes from marketplaces, where their products are sold at a price lower than Kafecho's. Other episodes were from the after-church ceremony where at times the Manjo are forbidden to eat and drink with the Kafecho. Also stories from schools from told, where apparently Manjo children are bullied by non-Manjo children and teachers.

The most powerful story, for the effect it had on the listeners, was the one recalled by a young Manjo. It was told during the three day workshop organized by AAE in which I took part. On the last day, a few selected Manjo were ready to distribute coffee and bread to the participants. Suddenly, a man stood up and asked permission to speak. The man was a student from a nearby village. With permission, he started:

This morning I woke up early to be able to be here on time. I did not have anything to eat at home and I had a long walk ahead of me. When I reached the town of Wacha I was starving and decided to enter a local restaurant. After all, I had some *birr* to spend.¹² At first, the restaurant owner said that she was running out of food. I knew that it was not true because other customers entered just a second before me and they were invited to take a seat. Since food was not available, I asked for a simple cup of tea. The owner replied that she was running out of spices to make tea. I was hungry, desperate and frustrated. I told the lady that I did have money to pay, otherwise I would not have entered. She said that I am a

¹² Unit of currency in Ethiopia.

Manjo and for this reason I am not welcome in her restaurant, even if I can afford to pay. This [referring to the food and drink distributed at the end of the workshop] is the first time in the whole day that I eat (Field notes. June 21, 2008).

Negative Rituals

LeBaron (2003) maintains that rituals are able to liberate participants from everyday patterns of interaction and for this reason they could be symbolic tools for conflict transformation. She states that when a ritual happens, identity and cultural meanings are addressed and can also be shaped (LeBaron, 2003). In Kaffa, rituals cover a prime role in the practice of discriminating the Manjo. The field-work found the same rituals that were previously identified by other scholars (e.g. Petros, 2003). See section 4.4 in Chapter 4, for further reference.

It has been found that during weddings and funerals, which are two of the most common and important rituals in the life of the two groups, the discrimination of the Manjo is clearly manifested. The Manjo are not allowed to marry the Kafecho and when they can participate in wedding feasts they normally have to keep far from the other guests and usually eat from broken pottery. At funerals, the Manjo are not permitted to carry the coffin when a Kafecho dies. In everyday life the Manjo are not permitted to shake hands with the Kafecho and during meals or during the traditional coffee ceremony special utensils are used for them.

Reinforcing discrimination through verbal expressions and metaphors

The Kafecho generally use derogatory terms and metaphors to depict their superiority to the Manjo. These short paragraphs highlight the point.

A well-off Manjo recounted that when a Manjo meets a Kafecho in the street he/she has to greet the Kafecho with the expression '*showoch qebon*' meaning 'may I lie on the ground for you'. While many Kafecho denied this story, or referred to it as something that happened in the past but not nowadays, both

Manjo and Kafecho confirm the perceived sub-humanity of the first. In the area, the Kafecho are still known as *donjo* (master) or *asho* (human being) in contraposition to the Manjo *gonde-yaro* (people of the bad clan), who are considered as subhuman and at the same level as animals.

Expressions like ‘stinker like a Manjo’, ‘black as a Manjo’, or ‘donkey like a Manjo’ are also offenses used by the Kafecho to insult people who respectively lack personal hygiene, are dark-skinned or who are believed to be stupid. For a disorganized and short lasting dance some Kafecho used the expression ‘like the dance of Manjo’.

The Manjo also use derogatory terms and negative metaphors to refer to the Kafecho. The dominant group is associated with foreign investors coming to Kaffa to exploit its resources. As foreign (from outside Kaffa and from outside Ethiopia) businessmen start extensive tea and coffee plantation in the area allegedly taking land away from the Kaffa people with support of the government, in the same way the Manjo say that a long time ago their land was stolen from them by the Kafecho.

5.3.2 Bridging conflict through the search for commonalities in local culture

Korostelina (2007) observes that perceptions are selected and consequently, people do not notice when facts are not in concurrence with their stereotypes. What people normally search, are actions confirming pre-made ideas. The non-focus on certain facts or ideas does not mean, however, that counter facts do not happen or counter-narratives do not exist. Despite the preponderant presence in the culture of Kaffa of elements feeding divisions among the Kafecho and the Manjo, still there is space for interaction among the two groups. Digging into personal stories and oral traditions, positive cultural components have indeed been found. These elements could contribute to bringing about the shift from divisions to commonalities and to reorient the mutual perceptions from negative to positive.

Positive myths

Unpacking the assumptions embedded within myths is a powerful way to re-imagine history (LeBaron, 2003). At the same time bringing to the surface positive myths so far hidden can bring a major contribution to the process of envisioning a new future for the Manjo-Kafecho relation.

Some positive myths were found during interviews with elders from both groups. These myths mostly refer to the time when Kaffa was ruled by a king and the Manjo served as gatekeepers of the kingdom, and guards of the supernaturally frightening royal grave sites. A Kafecho from Decha *woreda*, told the following myth:

The king wanted to test the honesty of the Manjo guarding the gates of the kingdom so he travelled to the area undercover. The Manjo detected his presence by the smell brought to them by the wind. They were particularly concerned about his health and their care about him was tangible by the words used to refer to the king. The king, having heard their conversation, went close to them and said: "May your tribe reproduce because you are honest and are worthy of my trust" (Z. Personal Interview. October 14, 2008).

A Kafecho from Gimbo *woreda*, recounted this other myth:

There was only one group in the Kaffa kingdom who was allowed to guard the graves of the kings in the forest. This group was the Manjo. They had supernatural power and freely moved inside the forest in harmony with nature and spirits. All the other inhabitants of the kingdom were not allow approaching the royal graves and were also not brave enough to dare trespassing the cultivated land to enter into the forest (K. Personal Interview. July 3, 2008).

A Manjo from Decha *woreda*, mentioned one more myth:

The Manjo provided the king with all sorts of goods found in the hazardous and unsafe forest. They were well considered by the king despite their low status. Their bravery was particularly appreciated for their skilful techniques to kill elephants for their tusks. All what they got from the forest was brought to the king, they never took advantage for themselves (C. Personal interview. November 16, 2008).

Overall, the Manjo are depicted as brave, loyal, trustworthy, generous and somehow feared because of their connection with the supernatural.

Constructive Stories

While destructive stories perpetuate a negative image of each other, constructive stories nourish positive feelings of mutual tolerance and brotherhood. Listening to positive stories helps in the process of opening up possibilities for bridging conflict.

Most of the constructive stories collected during field-work emphasise the honesty and trustworthiness of the Manjo. Like the one below recalled by a Kafecho.

One day I sold three cows in the market for a very good price. On the way home I had a bad feeling and looked into my pockets to be sure to have with me the money earned. With my great disappointment I realized that the cash wasn't there. I was desperate and started crying. Then a Manjo came out of the blue and gave me the money I had lost. He said that he was sitting outside his house when he saw me passing by and something falling off my pockets. After I walked away he went to see what it was and seeing the money run after me to bring them back (J. Personal Interview. October 20, 2008)

The Manjo's hard-working attitude, physical strength and loyalty were also among the most cited qualities attributed to this group by the Kafecho.

There was a time during the harvest when I barely could sleep. The crop was so abundant that I had to ask for help. None of my Kafecho neighbours came to help me. They were jealous of my good luck. The Manjo instead did not hesitate to come in my succour. They are hard-working and loyal (L. Personal Interview. July 12, 2008)

The group is also known for being good at keeping secrets, as the extract from an interview with a Kafecho housewife, shows:

I know from facts that if I tell a secret to a Manjo, the secret is safe. They are not the kind of persons who like going around gossiping: they will

keep the secret until they die or until they are told differently (G. Personal Interview. June 29, 2008)

Positive stories were also collected from the Manjo's side. These stories show the human side of the Kafecho:

It is not true that the Manjo and the Kafecho cannot be friends. I tell you a secret: I do have a Kafecho friend. She invites me to her place for coffee sometime and we talk about our sons and our lives. I tell her my worries and she tells me hers, we share tears of happiness and tears of sadness (B. Personal Interview. October 5, 2008)

Once I was coming home after a bad day at school. I am normally a happy person and people who know me noticed my awful mood. A Kafecho whom I knew by face was concerned about me and asked what happened. I did not reply, I just said I did not have a good day. Then he tried hard to get me back into a good mood. He made jokes and strange faces. I laughed (T. Personal Interview. September 26, 2008)

On the whole, this small sample of stories shows the existence of a world of interconnectedness that can create the basis of a new shared story that honours important elements and values of each set of cultural understanding (e.g. empathy, friendship, loyalty, honesty).

Positive Rituals

During field-work four positive rituals were identified.

One had to do with breastfeeding practice. Kafecho children are breastfed often by Manjo women whose milk, among other qualities, is believed to bring health, physical strength and a long-life to the new born. The breast milk of a Manjo woman is also considered as curative for a disease called *aadii* (probably caused by malnutrition).

The second ritual is related to greetings. Meeting a Manjo as the first person in the morning is notably a sign of good luck for the day, while meeting a Manno is

believed to be a sign of bad luck. Many Kafecho believe it, as undermined by the excerpt of an interview with Yohannes from Baho:

If I meet a Manno as soon as I get out of my house early in the morning,¹³ I am sure the day is not going to be good. But if instead of a Manno, I meet a Manjo, I am going to have a lucky day (R. Personal Interview. July 9, 2008).

Furthermore, when there is a sacrifice to the nature spirit, the Manjo would be called upon to clear up the path into the forest and chop wood.

Taking part in the life of the Manjo and the Kafecho I came across another ritual. During harvest time, the Manjo and the Kafecho have a farming support system calls *dabo*. In this way they help each other collecting the crop. During *dabo*, Kafecho farmers sing a song entitled “Kafecho-none”, that can be translated into English as “we are the people of Kaffa”. The same song is sung also by the Manjo in the same occasion although not together with the Kafecho. When AAE brought members of the Manjo and the Kafecho together for a workshop, I asked the NGO staff to play this song, which I heard singing and of which I bought a tape.¹⁴ Symbolically and literally in the words of the song, the message was sung:

We are wonderful people
Who can fight the hyenas, and kill elephants with our spears
We have the ability to plough the fields until the seeds turn into fruits
We struggle with hyenas until they die
With their tails we sweep the floor
With their row meat we feed our boys
We are the people of Kaffa
Wonderful men

After an initial surprise some elderly Kafecho and Manjo, started tentatively to sing the song together. I repeated the experiment two more times, once during a *kebele* meeting in Ermo, Decha *woreda* and the other time after the mess in a Protestant church in Baho, Gimbo *woreda*. In both occasions Manjo and Kafecho

¹³ The Manno are a discriminated group of tanner-potters (refer to section 4.1 and 4.2 in Chapter 4).

¹⁴ The song was recently remade by a famous Kafecho singer and for this reason was available for sale in the local market.

were present. A positive reaction was observed particularly after the Sunday function in church. Probably inspired by an atmosphere already conducive to good feelings and mutual tolerance and understanding, many Manjo and Kafecho sung the song together. The discussion on the implication of these findings for the objective of the research is referred to Chapter 6.

5.4 Conclusion

The Chapter has been divided into three parts each of which addressed a specific research objective.

Section 5.1 aimed at evaluating the impact of local capacities for peace in the Kaffa society. Attention has been paid to some of the connectors to which Mary Anderson (1990) refers as bridges keeping people away from conflict and violence. Economic interdependence and same religious affiliation, being the two most cited connections between the Manjo and the Kafecho, have been briefly analyzed. The research findings showed that these connectors are not strong enough to be able to play a key role in a conflict transformation process. Although they foster interactions between the Manjo and the Kafecho, a certain degree of exclusion in this inclusion process is manifested. Episodes of interaction show the mutual interdependence of the two groups (for instance in marketplaces). Nevertheless, there are ideas about their relationships, their conceptions of one another, the understandings, and expectations that guide their behaviour. These ideas make social differentiation in Kaffa stronger than any connectors mentioned above, including local ways to make peace. Findings, in fact, revealed that these systems reproduce discrimination as they stem from local culture.

Section 5.2 of the chapter has been dedicated to the analysis of the perceived contribution of AAE in the alleviation of the discrimination of the Manjo. It included a review of AAE strategies and activities regarding discrimination and their impact on the Kafecho-Manjo relations, according to the participants who

took part in the NGO activities. Research findings disclosed some of the limitations of the intervention by the NGO, such as the lack of focus on the cultural roots of violence and lack of ownership of their activities by local actors.

The limitations of both local capacities for peace and AAE intervention, and their incapability to alleviate discrimination in Kaffa, leads to the need to find a new combined and more effective strategy of intervention where the weaknesses of external actors could be compensated by the advantages of internal resources, and vice versa. Building on the theoretical framework of Chapter 3, the common ground for this combined effort has been identified in the local culture.

The focus on local culture is dictated by the fact that it influences individual and group identities and feeds the ideas that the two groups have of each other. To understand the life of people who are in this process of interaction it is essential to comprehend what influences their ideas, their individual and group identity and subsequently their actions (Korostelina, 2007). The exploration and understanding of the local culture and its destructive elements that sustain the discrimination of the Manjo, becomes a compulsory step to take in the process of enhancing understanding of the local reality and dynamics and trying to tackle the cultural dimension of violence. At the same time, the search for constructive cultural elements shared by both groups will enhance the combined effort of external and internal actors to bridge the conflict in Kaffa through the creation of a unifying social identity. This new identity would be based on commonalities and shared values and goals. Section 5.3 has then been dedicated to the exploration of culture. The implication of these findings for the process of conflict transformation will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6. ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

The previous chapters have discussed various theoretical concepts associated with the socio-political dynamic of the Manjo-Kafecho relations in the Kaffa zone of Southern Ethiopia and with the impact of the external intervention represented by ActionAid Ethiopia's project in the area. It has highlighted how both local capacities for peace and external intervention in conflict situation have weaknesses and how these systems could benefit from a mutual collaboration.

Based on these earlier discussions, this chapter applies the theoretical framework depicted in chapter 3 to the Kaffa society. The chapter also suggests ways to respond to the cultural dimension of violence which fuels different forms of discrimination against the Manjo and sporadic episodes of aggression from and towards this group. It constitutes a space for looking at so far unexplored tools to alleviate the protracted violence of centuries between the two groups. Such a discussion scrutinizes the current initiative of AAE which favour the Manjo and challenges the inequalities existing between the conflicting parties. It also aims to enable the two groups to critique themselves, thereby developing a mechanism of co-existence. It is hoped that the chapter may develop not only a form of cultural debate but suggest initiatives so that sustainable solutions can begin.

Building on the previous chapters, it tries to shed light on the challenges and the impact on the Manjo-Kafecho relations of:

- Local capacities for peace (with stress on local systems of making peace);
- Non-governmental external intervention of ActionAid Ethiopia;
- The local culture of Kaffa.

The section on the local culture of Kaffa represents a bridge between the two previous sections. This is because the argument of the thesis is built around the rationale that the local culture of Kaffa is the nub around which the discrimination of the Manjo has developed but also the common ground upon which the cooperation between local capacities for peace and external intervention could take place.

When conflict is deeply embedded in identities the contribution of external actors could help in breaking this deadlock situation. LeBaron (2003, p. 116) argues that for external actors it is worth “watching to see whether misperceptions, misinterpretations, or wrong assumptions can be addressed”. “Listening, summarizing, questioning, restating, and reframing” (LeBaron, 2003, p. 116) what each party has to say in a way that causes less harm, become essential skills for outsiders. In this process the collaboration with local actors is important because “third parties are only effective as the relationships that link them to people in conflict” (LeBaron, 2003, p. 272).

6.1 Local capacities for peace

More societies avoid warfare than engage in it. More would-be leaders fail to arouse people to violence than succeed in doing so. More people strive to correct their societies’ systems of marginalization and injustice through nonwar means than through warfare. People tend at least as much to avoid and avert violence as they do seek and pursue it. Even in today’s troubled world, peace is more widespread than war (Anderson, 1999, p. 24).

According to Anderson (1999), even in ruthless conflicts, the people who do not fight outnumber those who take part actively in warfare. Drawing from examples in different parts of the world, she points out that in conflicting societies many aspects of daily life continue to connect rather than divide people. All these elements constitute local capacities for peace and they exist prior to war and often avert open violence. “They are the existing – and potential - building blocks of

systems of political and economic interaction that can ensure stable, peaceful, and just futures for societies once in conflict” (Anderson, 1999, p. 24).

Generally speaking, local capacities for peace refer to indigenous methods and institutions but also to whoever or whatever within a society can be identified as the connectors keeping people from conflict and violence (Anderson, 1999). Anderson identifies five categories of peace capacities, sometimes overlapping: attitude and actions, shared values and interests, common experiences, symbol and occasions, and systems and institutions. In this chapter, to simplify the process of data analysis, the connectors are divided into two categories: systems and institutions, and local culture. The first category includes elements linked to common systems and institutions, while under the second group all those connectors related to the local oral tradition of Kaffa (shared values, shared experiences, symbols and occasions) are gathered.

In this following sections the role of local systems and local peace-making mechanisms are discussed, while the argument on the role of cultural elements is moved to section 6.3 of the chapter.

6.1.1. Connectors other than local systems to make peace

Mary Anderson (1999) identifies markets and infrastructures as examples of systems and institutions able to connect people across the lines of division. Both elements supposedly provide connection and continuity even when people are divided in conflict. Markets represent places where members of conflicting groups meet and interact, maintaining relationships they value. Electrical, water and communication systems such as roads, can also connect conflicting groups who jointly depend on them and let them remain even in the midst of hostilities.

Findings revealed that in the research areas selling and buying products from each other constitutes a daily opportunity of interaction between the Manjo and the Kafecho. Participation in the same political meetings, in workshops organized by AAE and especially attendance at the same church represent further opportunities for aggregation.

In Kaffa, these systems and institutions, more often than not, seem to act as dividers rather than connectors. More than local capacities for peace, they often nourish local capacities for war as they promote or reflect long-standing tensions in society (Anderson, 1999). In marketplaces, political or religious venues or AAE workshops, the difference between the Manjo and the Kafecho is tangible. The Kafecho keep their physical contact with the Manjo to a minimum. In market areas the Manjo occupy the most uncomfortable places, generally rocky and difficult to access, and the goods they produce are sold for a lower price than average market price. Avoidance of sitting side by side with the Manjo is also customary in any social occasion. Exceptions to this rule are made for political meetings and workshops organized by AAE. On such occasions, the Kafecho lamented that they were morally obliged by governmental officers and the NGO staff to sit close to the Manjo.

In general, in all the above cited situations, the social identity of the Kafecho which stems from a long lasting tradition of differentiation from the Manjo, prevails against personal identities dictated by individual interests (such as economic interdependence).

In the best scenario, the same religious affiliation was able to produce an impact on Manjo and Kafecho individuals or on sub-groups benefitting from the relation (e.g. members of the same church). Some Manjo and Kafecho who attended the same church were reported to shake hands and to refer to each other as equals. Apparently, though, outside the church premises, this change in attitude did not

correlate with a willingness to engage in a broader or deeper level of interaction. In the most favourable scenario, the Manjo members of the same church as the Kafecho, were greeted by the latter outside the church's premises. This behaviour was extended only to the Manjo subgroup of same-church believers and not to the whole Manjo group.

In a certain sense, what seems to limit this category of Kafecho is their religious identity. Their religious affiliation (and whose roots are found in the local culture) is that of a sub-group identity, and fails to influence the broader social identity shared by all the Kafecho independently. Exemplary is the case of the Kafecho Orthodox priest who was interviewed in his capacity as clergyman, but during the interview he identified himself with the Kafecho group therefore making explicit the superiority of his social group identity over his religious identity.

A similar case is reported for the Kafecho who re-entered their environment after participating in workshops against social discrimination organized by AAE. In both situations, what seems to apply is the re-entry problem, which has been highlighted by a conspicuous number of scholars (Mitchell and Banks, 1996; Doob and Foltz, 1974; Kelman, 1974). The Kafecho who identified personal change in their perception of the Manjo as a consequence of participation in AAE's activities or religious functions, failed to influence the broader community. These Kafecho were preoccupied with bringing revolutionary ideas into their reality of belonging and did not want to risk being viewed as people who became too friendly with the other side. High, in fact, is the pressure exercised by the community and unbearable could be the shame and fear of being outcast (the reason most likely residing in the importance of the community for the people of Kaffa). As interviews and primary observation have shown during field-work, a Manjo or a Kafecho without relations is nothing. Kafecho and Manjo altogether think that they are who they are through others. This does not just mean family or friends; it extends to the group, shared personhood and values. The worst

punishment for them is represented by expulsion. To be excluded is worse than death. The case of Malleto, the Manjo who married a young Kafecho, acts as a warning. Ever since the marriage, the young bride has been treated as a Manjo and rejected from relatives, friends, and the whole Kafecho group. Her family, despite their fierce opposition to the wedding, was also banned from social life, and her father, who used to be a prominent elder of the local *eddir*, fell into disgrace. The side-effect of this communalism, which ensures that no one is left alone, is that it makes the society deeply conservative. Maintaining the community is the ultimate goal, important but divisive truths cannot be discussed for fear of creating a rift, so decisions are left unmade and the asymmetry in the society kept alive.

In the end, the re-entry problem remains the central unresolved problem for grassroots dialogue. The challenge for people in favour of peace is to reach out to their home communities at the grassroots level and persuade the many, rather than count on the clout of a few. This requires building a social movement for peace to connect all the individuals working toward the alleviation of Manjo discrimination. Further research is needed on ways to overcome the re-entry problem.

This thesis suggests that a way to bring together a large number of individuals for this cause could be through the use of constructive cultural elements. The point will receive further attention in section 6.3 of the chapter.

6.1.2 Local systems to make peace

Of all the systems and institutions mentioned by Mary Anderson (1999) as potential peace bridgers, this research pays particular attention to local systems to make peace.

In Kaffa no specific inter-ethnic conflict resolution mechanisms exist to make peace between the Kafecho and the Manjo; however, members of both groups rely on some local systems to solve their controversies. The lack of interethnic systems between the two groups may be due to the fact that the Manjo are seen as a subgroup within the main surrounding group and for this reason intra-ethnic rather than inter-ethnic systems may apply. The Manjo in fact are known only by their occupational term of hunters (or former hunters) and this leads one to think that they were and are marginalised because of their craft, and not because of who they are (meaning a different ethnic group).

During field-work, three main local systems to make peace were identified: the *kabechino*, belief-based systems and self-help associations. The first term refers to a group of elders defined by age, experience and love for peace. The elders function as a court with broad and flexible powers to interpret evidence, impose judgements, and manage the process of reconciliation. Statements are followed by open deliberation which may integrate listening to witnesses, holding private consultations, and considering solutions. The elders use their judgment and position of moral ascendancy to find an acceptable solution. Decisions may be based on consensus within the elders' or chiefs' council and may be rendered on the spot. Resolution may involve forgiveness and mutual formal release of the problem, and, if necessary, the arrangement of restitution.

Religious-based systems refer to the justice administered by formal religious leaders (mainly Orthodox) and leaders of the traditional *eko* belief. Contenders bring the case in front of the religious leader who reaches a decision after having heard what the parties have to say.

Under the third category of local dispute resolution systems are self help associations. Among them, this research looked at the role of the *eddirs*, that Pankhurst and Damen (2000, p. 36) define as “indigenous voluntary associations

established primarily to provide mutual aid in burial matters but also to address other community concerns”. When a dispute arises, the contenders call on the *eddir* leaders for justice. The leaders will pass judgments after an enquiry into the matter and following discussion with other members of the *eddir*.

Strengths of local peacemaking systems

During field work the following strengths of the local peacemaking systems were found:

- They are credited with legitimacy by the community. The Kafecho and the Manjo define themselves as members of their respective group. As also stated by Assefa and Pankhurst with reference to the strengths of these systems in the Ethiopian context (2008), legitimacy rests with the leaders of their group, not with the state authorities. People do not obey the rules of the state, but the rules of their group and respect them for fear of being ostracized from the community;
- Local systems to make peace are characterized by their slowness which is an indicator of a ‘process-oriented’ system. Menkhaus (2000, p. 198) describes the difference between local systems and western approaches to conflict resolution in the following term:

Traditional conflict management mechanisms tend to be process-oriented, not product-oriented; that is, they focus on *managing* rather than resolving conflict. In this sense, they are somewhat more realistic than standard international diplomacy, with its emphasis on peace treaties that definitely end a conflict. International peacemakers seeking rapid, tangible, and fixed results in negotiations are almost certain to be disappointed by traditional conflict management.

- Local systems to make peace do not only focus on material issues, but also on the spiritual world, feelings and non-verbal communication. At the heart of these systems in Kaffa, in fact, there is the restoration of communal harmony and relationships. Putting one’s hand in a bowl with

green grass at the end of a *kabechino* reconciliation session, is of utmost importance for the mental and spiritual re-integration of contenders into the community.

Overall, the strengths of local dispute resolution systems can be measured in their grasp of local actors and stress at the symbolic level; their importance for the process of conflict transformation has been highlighted by a large number of scholars (e.g. Assefa and Pankhurst, 2008; Jeong, 2005 LeBaron, 2003; Cockell, 2000; Lederach, 1995). Lederach (1995) argues that bridging conflict includes not only resolving practical issues but also healing relationships. LeBaron (2003) maintains that strategies aimed purely at improving communication are meant to fail as they do not address the reason for miscommunication such as different conceptions of identity and negative image of each other. Symbolic tools, on the other hand, penetrate the boundaries of worldviews, touching unconscious parts of the self and giving people the possibility of discovering another ‘other’ apart from the negative enemy image (LeBaron, 2003). While the importance of symbolic meanings of communication will be addressed in the course of the chapter, the next section provides an overview of the main weaknesses encountered in connection with local systems to make peace in the research area.

Weaknesses of local systems to make peace

Embedded ideas and negative stereotypes about the ‘others’ permeate the society and justify a patron/client relation between the Kafecho and the Manjo to such an extent that all society institutions, including local systems to make peace, reflect the asymmetry.

The research findings identified two major limitations of these systems with regard to the Manjo’s treatment:

- Inequality. Whether based on religious leaders (*alamos*), elderly wisdom

(*kabechino*) or funeral associations (*eddirs*) the laws and procedures which apply during judgement have their basis in the idea of Kafecho superiority. Members of the Manjo group are considered inferior and in some cases not human, and for this reason they are treated as such. During consultative sessions with leaders of traditional local belief, the Manjo are not permitted to enter the property of the *alamos* and have to wait outside the fence, sometimes for an entire day or even longer, before being given permission to expose their case. In the same way, it is recounted by some Manjo chosen as elders in mixed *kabechinos*, that during public sessions they sit outside the shade of the tree where their Kafecho peers stay, their position reflecting the inferiority in the social scale. And once a verdict is pronounced, the Manjo and the Kafecho celebrate the regained peace among their own group, each of which makes their own food and coffee and eats and drinks in separate venues. Findings also revealed that these forms of highly ritualised and thus controlled discrimination of the Manjo are not perceived as violation of the rules, but as integral to the societal order and as an indispensable element of conflict resolution. Psychological violence against the Manjo becomes thus a ‘normal’ feature of daily life in Kaffa;

- Exclusion. Some of the local dispute resolution systems identified in the research area exclude the participation of the minority. The Manjo for instance, apparently can rely on the justice administered by Kafecho’s *eddirs*, but are forbidden to become members of this institution.

Conclusively, in Kaffa local capacities for peace based on local institutions and economic interdependence only work in the framework of the status quo or the restoration of the old order. They are difficult to apply with regard to conflicts against the community, conflicts that challenge the framework of values and relations of the traditional order. The peace that local resources in Kaffa seem to bring has the connotations of a ceasefire, in the sense that it only refers to the

absence of direct violence (Galtung, 1996). However, it is not able to produce positive peace filled with constructive content such as the creation of social systems that serve the needs of the whole population, the restoration of relationships, and the constructive resolution of conflict. To reach this aim, the cultural framework upon which meanings are made and identities constructed has to be challenged. This is more likely to happen through a combined effort of people who are insiders and outsiders to the conflict. As the discrimination stems from culture and is fostered by local institutions, using the same institutions to eradicate or alleviate it appears to be incongruent, unless a counter constructive culture takes over.

Common positive values need to be rediscovered in the tradition of Kaffa and the help of an outsider third party mediator can help in the process. The next section is therefore dedicated to the relevance of the NGO ActionAid Ethiopia intervention in favour of the integration of the Manjo in the mainstream society.

6.2 ActionAid Ethiopia

Overall, the research findings revealed that AAE's intervention has been able to initiate a discourse about rights in the Kaffa zone but did not deeply challenge discrimination. Building on the theoretical framework of chapter 3, the limitations of the programme have been grouped under three broad categories: strategic constraints, donors' conditionality and innate weaknesses. In this section the three main limits are examined and recommendations are made. These recommendations are thought to represent opportunities to strengthen a programme against the discrimination which is already established, bearing in mind the complexity of the issue.

6.2.1 Strategic constraints

The strategic constraints refer to the limitation represented by the plan of action designed by AAE to achieve the goal of alleviating the discrimination against the Manjo. Three main limitations linked to the nature of the NGO intervention were:

- Length of the intervention;
- Lack or not enough stress on the need for local support;
- Focus on divisions rather than connections among conflicting groups.

Length of the intervention

The project run by ActionAid Ethiopia in the Kaffa zone appeared to be relatively short in relation to its proposed goal: the alleviation of discrimination of the Manjo. It, indeed, was only for eighteen months in Decha *woreda* (from January 2005 to June 2006) and twenty-four months in Gimbo *woreda* (December 2006-December 2008). Even in the most favourable scenario, a two-year project would not be sufficient to significantly initiate a process of eradication of century-lasting discrimination. More time is needed and perhaps a less demonstrative intervention. AAE's project was based on a multiplicity of activities, which gave the impression of a proficient and successful engagement of the NGO in the area. However, the organization had a variety of scattered activities that sometimes overlapped and that were often not clear in their aims. Carrying out many and confusing activities, in a short time-span, does not naturally allow for participants to reflect on what has been said, adopt the concepts and make them their own. The research findings demonstrated that the Kafecho's compliance to a more tolerant behaviour towards the Manjo is, in most cases, the result of an imposition from above (government and AAE) rather than the expression of a real change in attitude. During the first month of my field research, the Kafecho would show an unusual openness towards the Manjo in my presence. When a relation of trust between the researcher and the research participants was built, more Kafecho were able to show their real inner feelings and growing anger for the situation. Even in cases where AAE activities are relevant, adequate time should be given

for people to reflect on them. The lack of ownership observed in the research sites highlights this point.

Lack of support from locals

When a positive attitude change was registered in participants as a result of an AAE workshop, the research findings showed a limited capacity to transfer the change from the workshop to a context outside it. Participants faced pressure to abandon their newfound moderation once they returned to their society ('the re-entry problem') thus exposing a common limitation of both effective local capacities for peace and AAE programme. Refer to Section 6.1.1 for further reference.

In Decha, a lack of capacity was also found on the part of the community to articulate, implement and continue the project after its formal end. AAE supported its awareness-raising activities mainly by working in close partnership with the local government. The fact that in Decha the supervision of clubs and networking groups responsible for advocacy and awareness-raising was abandoned as soon as AAE left the area, would suggest limited government accountability toward the Manjo. The research findings demonstrated that the social and economic improvement in the Manjo situation is still barely accepted by the majority of Kafecho. This is shown by the case of the Manjo in Gimbo *woreda* who had to abandon the construction of their house in town partially due to fear of reprisal by their Kafecho neighbours. The decision-making power of the Manjo is also absent although many Manjo started being employed at different levels in the government. Further, the Manjo's ability to defend their rights is dependent on AAE and governmental support. On this note, Malleto, the Manjo *alamo* who married a Kafecho wife, defined these two actors as his 'two fathers' acknowledging their role in protecting the rights of the Manjo (field notes. June 20, 2008).

Focus on divisions

Many scholars argue that in situations of conflict, whether latent or expressed, actors involved in its resolution tend to consider more what divides people rather than what still connects them positively (Byrne and Keashly, 2000; Anderson, 1999). The research findings about the AAE project in Kaffa confirmed this trend. When discussions concerning Manjo-Kafecho relations were held by ActionAid staff with members of the Kaffa society, in the vast majority of instances the stress was put on the on-going discrimination and on the need to apply the provisions on equality of human beings contained in the Federal Constitution of Ethiopia. This point is confirmed by the food ceremony held at the end of every workshop. The Manjo were asked to distribute food and tea to the Kafecho. The focus of attention was again on the divisive food taboos and the need to eradicate them. A large number of Kafecho acknowledged that they felt morally obliged by the NGO to accept food from the Manjo's hands or to sit close to the Manjo. They did not want to be characterised as 'bad sheep' during workshops and feared to be reported to the government in case they did not comply with the inclusive behaviour they were expected to show. These complaints revealed that the group is not ready yet to accept the empowered Manjo. While reluctance to change is expected by the dominant majority especially in an initial phase, an approach perceived by the group as too harsh could deepen intergroup divisions and raise mutual resentment. The imbalance between empowered Manjo and unempowered Kafecho can potentially prove damaging. If this imbalance is not addressed in the near future, the AAE intervention will inadvertently contribute to the deterioration of intergroup tensions.

This last point builds on another main weakness of the AAE project: its inability to challenge cultural violence.

Relevance of AAE strategy to address visible and invisible forms of discrimination

The research findings suggested that AAE strategy mostly focused on addressing the visible aspects of discrimination. In this regard, the positive contribution of AAE essentially lied in advocating Manjo' interests and rights with the government and wider public, and raising awareness among the Manjo about their rights.

Thanks to AAE advocacy work at government level a growing number of Manjo obtained positions in local administrations in both *woredas* under study (refer to section 5.2.3 in Chapter 5). Furthermore, awareness raising activities among the Manjo allowed members of this group to acquire more confidence in themselves and when backed by AAE, to ask the government for their rights. As a result of that, for instance, some Manjo in Gimbo *woreda* were entitled to own land in town to build their own houses. AAE intervention has also enhanced the process of collective empowerment of the group by increasing awareness among the Manjo of their human rights deprivation. These Manjo have become more willing to support or actively join the movement for Manjo self determination. However, while a process of individual and collective empowerment of the Manjo is slowly taking place in the research sites, this gained capacity for action is not accompanied by a proficient work on the majority to lessen their resistance to change. By acknowledging for instance the constrained nature of the new pattern of intergroup relations established in workshops, participants Kafecho have recognized that the cultural roots of discrimination driving their prejudices against the Manjo and dictating their actions have not been challenged. By and large, AAE appeared not to be able to challenge the 'cultural' discourse of the community behind discriminatory practices.

Recommendations

The following recommendations on the strategy used by AAE are thought to represent opportunities to strengthen a project against discrimination which is already established, bearing in mind the complexity of the issue treated.

- **Designing a long-term programme.** This first recommendation might appear obvious and repetitive but it is fundamental to recall. It cannot be assumed that an eighteen-month or twenty-four month programme would be sufficient to considerably initiate change regarding discrimination. The effort might need to run for a longer time. Darby (2001, p. 11) underlines that an indefinite undefined period of time is essential for a positive change to happen in a society:

The term “peace process” recognizes that the cycle of activities necessary to produce a just and lasting agreement stretches both back-ward and forward from the actual period of negotiations, and that the steps involved are not linear but often occur simultaneously and at different speeds....It is equally difficult to define the final phase of a peace process, but it clearly extends beyond the actual signing of a peace accord.

Peace can only be built over a long period of time; it is not a goal with a clear-cut ending in time, not the mere result of an agreement. Darby (2001) uses an example from Angola and points out that it is not uncommon for a peace process to be overturned by violence even after an accord has been agreed to and is being implemented. Lederach (2005), on the other hand, notices that the best way to assess the outcome of a peace process is to look at people in conflict: they are quite pessimistic about a peace accord until the positive change is reflected in their daily life. Hence, peace comes to be a process in itself related to the transformation of society (O’Brien, 2005; Lederach, 1997);

- **Sustainability.** The peace process should be sustainable as well as dynamic. The most desirable result for external aid is to leave behind local actors who are able and motivated to continue the intervention. This goal will be best secured if the protagonists of the conflict, the Manjo and the Kafecho living in the Kaffa zone, especially the most enlightened, are also engaged in its transformation and resolution. If they own the process, they will work harder to ensure more viable and enduring outcomes (Galama

and Van Tongeren, 2002; Galtung, 1996). The symbolic tools represented by myths, rituals, stories and metaphors can be used to augment the capacities of external actors to build trust across cultural boundaries and boost their credibility with the Manjo and the Kafecho;

- **Monitoring the ownership of activities.** The success of an intervention, as mentioned above, is determined by the ability to leave behind local actors able to continue the work initiated by the NGO. This seems not to have been the case of AAE intervention. Therefore, AAE should try to undertake measures in its programme which monitor and assess the ownership of activities initiated;
- **Prescriptive and elicitive approach.** Overall, the research findings indicate that the strategy of AAE to approach the community through 'rights' led them to focus on formal institutions, policies and processes which were revealed to be effective in addressing the more overt forms of discrimination and formally correct the imbalance in society. Even when the focus shifted to beliefs, the approach remained within the legal national and international framework of human rights protection. During workshops, in fact, universal principles of human rights were always recalled. Sometimes, pamphlets were handed out to participants with reminders to the Ethiopian Constitution, and a blackboard was used to highlight key concepts. However, only a few times were these concepts transposed into the local situations using local examples and speaking the language that local people would have better understood. The use of written materials also proved to be ineffective in the presence of illiterate participants. A discourse about 'rights' would then appear more theoretical than practical, having limited practical meaning for the community. On the whole, it seems that a rights-based approach to development posed boundaries to AAE's ability to discern the dynamics of discrimination and to take measures to tackle underlying issues. When discrimination is based

on a discourse which helps to sustain the notion that the Manjo are polluted and unclean by birth, rights debates are somehow powerless.

This research suggests that along with the formal prescriptive approach to conflict transformation, AAE should consider the use of an elicitive approach. This kind of approach emphasises cultural knowledge as a key resource in the development of models appropriate to specific settings (Lederach, 1995). The two approaches should complement each other as both, from different bases, can create dynamics to empower people. The prescriptive model suggests a universality of techniques as it uses knowledge and experience applied to a particular cultural context and moves it to another (Lederach, 1995). In the Kaffa society this approach is crucial to deal with formal institutions and bring equality into the system (e.g. enforcing laws in protection of the minority groups, enhancing Manjo's participation in formal local institutions and Manjo's attendance of schools and hospitals). On the other hand, the elicitive approach could respect and build from the Kaffa-specific cultural context, could foster participatory design and construct models specific for that setting.

It places emphasis on participants' designing, discovering together, and naming the conflict resolution model that emerges. This approach understands its role in a longer time frame and sees the use of culture as a resource rather than as the short-term transfer of technique or adaption of models to a cultural setting (Lederach, 1995, p. 68).

An example will facilitate the argument for the need for a combined approach. Many elders from the Manjo and Kafecho community compared the current time of the AAE's project with the time of the Derg. In the early days of the 1974 Revolution, the minority enjoyed a short period of favour and were even elected to leadership positions with the backing of the Marxist government (Tesfaye, 2005; Petros, 2003). They also gained a limited access to land for the first time and, under the 'villagisation' programme, lived together with the Kafecho. The latter were forced to

accept the situation (Van Halteren, 1996). When the military regime was overthrown though, after the forceful mixing, the Manjo returned to live in the forest on the edge of farmer settlements. They lost most of their rights acquired in these years although they still kept some (e.g. the right to own land). Overall, the Derg left behind some improvements in the Manjo lifestyle, gained at the price of an increasing resentment against the group. The Kafecho in fact, considered these improvements an erosion of their own power and rights. In the same way, some of the achievements reached by AAE through lobbying the government (e.g. employment of a growing number of Manjo in the public sphere) risked being reverted at the end of the project as they were not backed by the community. The use of an elicitive approach would probably better tackle the problem of engagement of local community and increase the probability of sustainability of AAE activities;

- **Focus on commonalities.** The main focus of AAE was the eradication of the food taboos. In doing so, the NGO used a direct approach, letting the Manjo serve food and drink to the Kafecho as a way to show the latter the inconsistency of their beliefs and fear of dying. This research suggests that finding similarities and building a foundation of connection (putting emphasis on shared traditions for instance) will help in creating a relation of trust which will facilitate the process of dealing with divisions (Anderson, 1999). Section 6.3 will investigate this point more thoroughly;
- **Promotion of tolerance towards cultural diversity.** The research findings demonstrated that the focus of AAE on equal rights for the Manjo was based on homogenizing the minority to the Kafecho. The Manjo on many occasions were asked to give up their food habit and to follow hygienic rules (to wash themselves and dress as the Kafecho) as a prerequisite for their acceptance. The Kafecho in turn were told to accept the new 'clean' Manjo. This approach was also followed by the government and the formal Churches of Kaffa. It does not seem, however,

to allow for the understanding and tolerance of cultural differences. On the contrary, it implicitly recognizes in a culture the right to prevail over the other. Manjo and Kafecho culture have many similarities but also fundamental differences. While similarities should be stressed, tolerance toward cultural differences also needs to be enhanced. AAE's ultimate goal, to alleviate the discrimination of the Manjo, is being reached at the risk of undermining one culture at the expense of the other. The challenge for AAE and similar organizations working in the field of human rights and minority protection is to work for an acceptance of the discriminated minorities within the framework of culture protection. In other words, promoting tolerance and mutual understanding among groups does not imply a renunciation of the minority's culture.

References to these broad categories are clearly arbitrary; however, many scholars agree on the necessity of a comprehensive strategic conflict intervention approach (e.g. Aall, 2005; Jeong, 2005; Darby, 2001; Byrne and Keashly, 2000; Lederach, 1997). Peacebuilding should be seen as a continuous, long and inclusive process. The effectiveness and sustainability of external interventions depend on their ability to work in partnership with local capacities (Jeong, 2005; Anderson, 1999).

6.2.2 Donors' conditionality

Macrae (2001, p. 170) states that external aid ability in conflict management/resolution is highly compromised because aid "remains an instrument of foreign policy, and therefore must conform to the analysis and priorities of individual donor governments, and multilateral organizations that play a political role, such as the United Nations". Along this line, many scholars note that donors' evaluation agenda is generally based on the establishment of predetermined and verifiable indicators of change (Gürkaynak, Dayton and Paffenholz, 2009; Anderson and Olson, 2003; Hoffman, 2001; Ropers, 2001).

Funders are also usually looking for an efficient, time-lining, coherent, sustainable, quick and measurable result.

Email correspondence between the AAE country director and the Human Rights project manager of the Delegation of the European Commission to Ethiopia, donor of the project, confirmed the above mentioned imbalance. The tone of the emails showed the strong position held by the representative of the European Commission versus the deferential attitude of the AAE representative. The latter was asked many times to rewrite their reports according to the guidelines provided, inserting the exact number of the Kaffa people trained and specifying their group of belonging and position in the society (e.g. government officials, teachers, businessmen, traditional leaders and clergymen).

Trying to draw feasible solutions to the limitations represented by donors' conditionality includes making a distinction between AAE, the beneficiary, the European Union and the donor. In particular, the European Union should:

- **Be more open to lessons learned and willing to allow mistakes.** I often felt apprehensiveness by AAE staff about the possible negative consequences of reporting on unsuccessful or less successful interventions. With fierce competition for scarce resources, an honest discussion of a disappointing outcome can have serious unwanted consequences for the community the NGO programme aims at helping (Galama and Van Tongeren, 2002). Learning from failures is just as important as learning from successes;
- **Be more concerned with how projects are evaluated,** especially those involving 'soft processes' of dialogue or conflict resolution. There are different interpretations of what should be considered success because of the lack of clear agreement on time frame and criteria (Jeong, 2005). The benefits of conflict resolution processes in Kaffa may take many years to come to fruition (Diamond and McDonald, 1996). Hence, in the case of

AAE project, whose final outcome is related to a positive change in the social identity of the Kaffa people, quantitative evaluating tools reveal themselves to be inefficient. The number of people trained does not necessarily imply a change in attitude in all of them as many factors influence discrimination and its alleviation. Rather, there is a need for rich longitudinal datasets that follow individuals over time and hence permit monitoring of cumulative discrimination and efficiency of measures used to alleviate it. This research suggests that further research is needed to develop focused, cost-effective agendas for research, data collection and evaluation. Diamond and McDonald (1996) maintains that some sectors do not have an internal culture or a history of evaluating their own activities; others might be exploring the use of more creative evaluation modes where the evaluation process itself is part of the intervention. Still others are making use of both qualitative and quantitative methods to demonstrate effectiveness. For Jeong (2005), points of reference for success can be found in commonly accepted goals and objectives.

From both sides, it is necessary:

- **To foster mutual dialogue**, to sit together and discuss what goes well and what goes wrong or badly wrong in the funding practice; what some practices facilitate and what impedes the collaboration needed for creating a network of effective actions. Lack of communication and fair confrontation strengthen the position of donors, whose understanding of the dynamics of conflict and interventions will remain partial and, from the donor's side, correct. There seems to be no evidence that conditionality is generating effective incentives for the faster implementation of reforms in the project by AAE but it is undermining the quality of dialogue, generating unnecessarily high transaction costs and diverting attention away from the fundamental issues. In fact, conditionality has led to a dialogue that is 'superficial' and 'confrontational', weakening the potential

for more strategic and constructive dialogue that would be an indication of a more genuine partnership;

- **To pay more attention to local needs** and collaborate more genuinely with the people locked in conflict. In the end, locals must be the protagonists of their history. This is one of the main frustrations and tensions, as local Kafecho and Manjo felt impelled to make their particular wisdom heard by the decision makers. Deeper analysis of the socio-political-cultural context in which the intervention operates, information about the needs of the people on the ground and new ideas for its resolution, may not be heard by those who make decisions and thus do not get transmitted into viable policies (Diamond and McDonald, 1996);
- **To promote expertise in the field.** Funding-driven projects generate unprepared aid staff and initiatives that do not lead to the hoped-for outcomes. The more AAE and its funders are concerned about their own status and the status of their organizations, the less likely they are to be effective. Reality shows that it is not unusual that their understanding of the situation is partial or wrong, especially when funding is the driving force for the intervention (Wake, 2002). Training NGO's staff involved in the project is fundamental although sometimes lacking. The AAE project manager, before becoming the programme major of the Kaffa project, had been a health officer for more than ten years and had no previous experience in working on human rights issues and no training on conflict resolution/transformation skills. More time and financial resources should be put on this key aspect.

In a field that is quickly becoming competitive rather than co-operative, NGOs like AAE have a major chance to transform the potential for peace in protracted conflict. Limited funding and the desire to survive can convert agricultural organizations into human rights agencies. Aid staff with insufficient skills in the field of work they are assigned to, and who lack in-depth analyses of cultural and

social understanding of peace and conflict are the unwanted results. Paying attention to all of the aforementioned issues can contribute to changes in priorities in donors' policies - where it is needed - and guarantee a more accurate correspondence of aid efforts to locals' need. In the case of AAE's project it seems that the aid system used a top-down approach, where the European Commission assumed a control function, whilst AAE became donor-driven and, to certain extent, distant from the people they claim to represent.

6.2.3 Innate weakness: legitimacy, capacity and desirability of external intervention

“You are a *ferenji*,¹ what do you know about our daily suffering? How can you help us?” While working in southern Ethiopia, I was asked this delicate question many times. At the same time I was also questioning members of the Manjo group. Everyone who questioned me on the matter had immediately figured out the fundamental weakness of an intervention from outside: aid is external whereas the processes that cause imbalances of power and discrimination are internal (Uvin, 1998). How can outsiders solve issues that are not theirs? Therefore, what could I, a *ferenji*, tell the Manjo people in Ethiopia? It seemed I could only reassure them of my good intentions.

There is no clear answer to their question, no well-defined already-packaged solutions for this innate weakness of external interventions. I believe that the legitimacy of an intervention by external actors depends on its desirability. AAE's intervention, for instance, was wanted and backed by the government (refer to Chapter 5, section 5.2.1).

Government attempts to challenge the imbalance which characterises the Manjo-Kafecho relations stemmed from two main considerations. On the one hand, there

¹ The word *ferenji* stands for “foreigner”, with particular reference to white people.

is the government fear that the Manjo's frustration could spill-over again into violent conflicts (refer to Chapter 4, section 4.5.7). On the other hand, there is a growing understanding of the need to find an alternative path to solve the unsettled situation in Kaffa. In fact, government attempts to calm the situation were unsuccessful. Many from inside and outside the Kaffa zone agreed that a more radical approach, than any advanced under ethnic federalism, was required to resolve the situation.

The desirability of the intervention should also be closely related to the inability to solve the conflict through internal means. Research findings showed that in Kaffa, local capacities for peace were unable to challenge the inequalities on which Manjo-Kafecho relations are premised.

However, for Kaffa people to see aid as desirable and to make it sustainable, the intervention should not be perceived as invasive. The use of creative tools incorporating elements of local culture could help in this task.

6.3 The role of culture in the Kaffa society

Given the limitations of both local capacities for peace and AAE intervention, this section argues for a closer collaboration between these two actors based on the local cultures of Kaffa.

According to Korostelina (2007) local culture is a key component of social identity, which is a powerful determinant of intergroup differentiation, prejudice, and discrimination. Culture is an essential part of intergroup dynamics because it is complexly intertwined with who people see themselves to be and how they perceive and engage the other. In this sense, local culture is a key resource for changing social relations in Kaffa as:

- Dealing with local culture means tackling the perceived root of conflict. Through continuous reminders of traditional myths, past and present stories and stereotypes, the discrimination in Kaffa has been kept alive for centuries and generations;

- It unconditionally affects all members of the two groups. In this sense it can constitute a solution to the re-entry problem or ameliorate it by assuring those community members whose attitude towards the other groups changed, that their new more moderate feelings are generally 'in the air'.

The other connectors mentioned above (refer to section 6.1.1) are able to impact at best only single individuals or subgroups (e.g. Kafecho and Manjo members of the same church).

Local culture is also much more powerful than national traditional cultural elements. In fact, the Kafecho and the Manjo define themselves as members of a sub-national, pre-state societal identity and do not identify themselves with the rules of the state. They do not claim to be *Habesha* (Ethiopians), but rather to be *Kaffa* (from Kaffa) and, in the second instance, Manjo or Kafecho.

By partnering collaboratively and genuinely with those involved in conflict, acknowledging the experience and capacity to make meanings of local actors, using themselves as a bridge rather than as "distant deus ex-machina, descending from on high to bring instant resolutions to conflicts" (LeBaron, 2003, p. 284), external actors could increase their chances to be effective.

It is important for interveners to observe and evaluate processes when engaging in conversation with people in conflict. They should also humbly keep in mind their partial understanding of the cultural context in which they operate (LeBaron, 2002 and 2003). Sensitivity is a key element for interveners stepping into cultural situations they are not familiar with.

Practitioners may not be able to offer all the scaffolding needed to make the transition from mutually excluding and conflicting to more tolerant and compatible identities. They can certainly suggest possibilities. One way to do this is through receiving local narratives and working with them, while maintaining the parties' need for security, belonging and positive self-image. It is certainly a long process that may take years, most likely decades, and may or may not happen.

This study argues that the myths, stories and metaphors collected during field-work, along with the rituals existing in the culture of Kaffa, could contribute to more meaningful processes of conflict transformation and deeper relationships among conflicting parties. They could in fact become a promising hope to start a process of renegotiation of shared identity among the Manjo and the Kafecho. Working with these elements can have a cascade impact on the social identity of the people of Kaffa in the direction of achieving tolerance, commonality, and peaceful coexistence. Through practical examples, section 3.3 in Chapter 3, showed that the use of these tools, carefully handled by third party mediators, could help in the process (LeBaron, 2003; Smith, 1999; Hall, 1990).

This alternative way of knowing is not meant to substitute existing conflict resolution practices but to complement them and embrace the challenge of personal, interpersonal and intergroup transformation of the Manjo and the Kafecho. Trying to transform conflict means to uphold and pursue both personal and systemic change. It involves the task of changing the structure in oppressive systems, re-establishing symmetry in the society by sharing resources fairly. It also involves the other task, hitherto neglected, of dealing with grief, trauma and deep feelings of bitterness and anger (Lederach, 1995). A common identity "would be based on the reconciliation of past grievances, with an emphasis on the future mutual development and peaceful coexistence" (Korostelina, 2007, p. 238).

The potential benefit of using these tools to build new constructive intergroup patterns of relations is evidenced by the fact that they have currency in the third zone of reality. This is a level not accessible through rational analysis, where meanings are made and expressions are symbolic. Zone three of reality is a safe area where individuals are able to express themselves and where healing happens (Lumsden, 1999). Lumsden (1999, p. 145) describes this zone as a “bridge between the reconstruction of society and the rebuilding of shattered selves...the real world must allow the creation of spaces where new ideas can be explored”. In this zone, myths, stories, rituals and metaphors act, and individuals can find spaces where, together with others, they can free their emotions and rebuild a sense of self and community.

6.3.1 Myths

Myths are collective and symbolic tales that provide windows into worldviews. They highlight relationships and belief systems (LeBaron, 2003). As LeBaron argues (2003), the process of exploring negative myths helps in revealing values, belief systems and ways of being which are entrenched in the social identity of groups in conflict. “As these values and perceptual filters are uncovered, choice points can be examined and ways forward that respect divergent views of the past devised” (LeBaron, 2003, p. 280).

The assumptions and values that the Kafecho hold about the Manjo become evident through the redundancy of variants of creation myths whose dominant theme is harsh condemnation of the Manjo. Myths are retold in each new generation so that the lessons, morals and cultural beliefs attached to them are constantly passed on. They are most commonly passed down by parents or grandparents and by the elderly in the community to children through oral retelling of stories. Exploring myths becomes useful in Kaffa, as cultural stories developed around long-unquestioned beliefs and an aura of truth has grown

around them. The discrimination against the Manjo appears, then, to be ordained by the supernatural or, as a result of Manjo's failures (e.g. the Manjo king wanting to marry the wife of his servant, or the Manjo man getting hungry during a trip and going hunting in the forest instead of waiting to reach a farming area).

Along with negative myths, however, a constructive counter-narrative has been identified in the discussed research areas. Ancient stories, that are little known, portray the Manjo as loyal, trustworthy and generous servants of the king of Kaffa. They depict members of this group as gate keepers of the entrance of the then Kaffa kingdom or spies for the king. Connections are also made between the Manjo and the supernatural. In the kingdom, only members of these groups were allowed to circulate freely in the forest, seen as a frightening place inhabited by powerful spirits.

This constructive counter-narrative of Kaffa could constitute the basis for a new pattern of intergroup relations between the Manjo and the Kafecho.

6.3.2 Stories

Lederach (1995) considers stories as parts of cultural webs, essential elements to gain access to personal systems of understandings which are important to address conflicts in different cultural settings. LeBaron (2003) suggests that stories have properties to build connections between people in conflict through their capacity to make people feel closer and more in tune with each other.

For LeBaron (2002), the first step in the direction of creating a cultural framework between parties, able to convey mutual positive feelings, is to listen to stories and look for meanings. Only then, will there be a "foundation from which to begin to create new stories that speak to more than one cultural way of knowing and being" (LeBaron, p. 245).

Moving sensitively from the cultural picture of one group to the picture of the other group, external actors can find elements of commonality. Hearing contrasting stories can prove to be a turning point for the parties, and a way to start working more productively together. As they develop recognition and a deepening sense of each group's worldview, mutual acknowledgment and understanding can also be established among the groups. LeBaron (2003 and 2002) argues that this acquired sense of the other, opens up the possibility of dialogue, ultimately leading to co-creation of new shared pictures.

In light of the arguments presented above, the research findings suggest two ways to start a dialogue between parties: destructive stories and constructive stories.

Destructive stories

The use of destructive stories could be a way to initiate a dialogue between the parties. Storytelling in this regard helps people in conflict to make sense of their trauma. It also helps reconstruct people's stories in ways that allow for forward movement and stepping out of the pit of hatred and revenge (Schirch, 2005).

For the Manjo who stood up during the AAE's workshop (refer to Chapter 5, section 5.3.1 'Destructive Stories'), telling his story was liberating and beneficial in dealing with hidden emotions in a way that was non-violent. Letting the other Manjo and the Kafecho know how he felt about being refused food and drink in a local restaurant helped him to deal with his trauma. A new pattern of relations was established during the time that the Manjo told his story. With the silence from the audience during his storytelling, he felt heard and his feelings were acknowledged in a way that left his dignity intact. After the story was told, again there was a comfortable silence. The silence was naturally created and not imposed. It was a sign of respect towards the storyteller and an appreciation of his feelings and pain.

The story communicated positive feelings to many workshop participants; empathy first of all, defined by Worthington (2000) as a key determinant in the process of forgiveness.² The story especially conveyed the feelings of the other Manjo who had faced similar experiences. The Manjo in the workshop nodded with understanding many times when the story was told; they felt understood and listened to by the Kafecho. Some Kafecho were also emotional and felt sorry about what happened. A few Kafecho at the end of the workshop acknowledged that it was beneficial to them to listen to the other narrative, as they had never really done so before.

The presence of ActionAid Ethiopia staff contributed to the creation of an environment where the Manjo felt safe to tell his story and to show his inner feelings. Clearly, the story represented a way to communicate indirectly among workshop participants that saved face and avoided direct confrontation.

The story also functioned as a starting point for dialogue between the two groups. It generated a debate over cultural norms and their 'rightness'. The debate could have been a starting point of a story co-creation but the workshop had to come to an end.³ Different views emerged from the brief debate following the story. Some participants supported tradition and defended the behaviour of the Kafecho's restaurant owner. Others were more sympathetic with the Manjo. In the end, the

² Consensus still needs to be reached over the definition of forgiveness, as descriptions vary in scope and complexity. The three main definitions most used in literature are by Enright and Coyle (1998), Worthington (1998), and McCullough (2000). For Enright and Coyle (1998, p. 140) forgiveness is "a willingness to abandon one's right to resentment, negative judgment and indifferent behavior toward one who unjustly hurt us, while fostering the undeserved qualities of compassion, generosity and even love toward him or her". Worthington (1998, p. 108) defines forgiveness as: "a motivation to reduce avoidance of and withdrawal from a person who has hurt us, as well as the anger, desire for revenge, and urge to retaliate against that person. Forgiveness also increases the pursuit of conciliation toward that person if moral norms can be re-established that are as good as, or even better than, they were before the hurt". In 2000, McCullough (2000, p. 44) defines forgiveness as "a prosocial change in the motivations to avoid or to seek revenge against a transgressor". Macaskill (2005) notes that the idea of giving up revenge and negative emotions is a common denominator all these three definitions and it is included also in most other definitions, although details on how it occurs may vary among definitions.

³ AAE staff regretted that the discussion had to end soon. The staff in fact had a meeting in Bonga the day after and in order to be on time for it had to leave Wacha as soon as possible that same day.

story told by the Manjo became a platform of confrontation between the two different sides of the Kaffa society. More skilful mediators would probably have been needed to reach the point of story co-creation.

In addition, time plays a critical role. Trying to solve problems quickly is not helpful in conflict transformation (Diamond, 1996). More time would have been needed in order to arrive at a collaborative outcome. Parties should not be forced to change their stories; they will do that when they feel ready. They should feel safe and their identities not threatened. It is also important that the parties agree for their stories to be shared with a broad audience. Both processes may take a long time. "Before then, all of the urging or suggesting in the world will only make them cling to the stories with more resolve" (LeBaron, 2002, p. 237).

Constructive stories: Appreciative inquiry

Developing a dialogue from divisive stories is only one way to start a process of story co-creation. Another way could be through the use of appreciative inquiry (LeBaron, 2002).⁴ This tool suggests focusing attention on sharing and clarifying what is positive. The process might, nonetheless, seem of little importance in the midst of conflict. As noted earlier in the chapter (refer to section 6.2.1), many external actors in conflict tend to use an approach based on a quick fix that makes of the 'problem' the central point of discussion. "Yet centering our attention in appreciation and the positive helps us connect with parts of our stories that sustain and energize us" (LeBaron, 2002, p. 247).

⁴ Cooperrider and Whitney (2005), in their book "Appreciative Inquiry: A Positive Revolution in Change" describe appreciative inquiry (AI) as "the cooperative, coevolutionary search for the best in people, their organizations, and the world around them" (Cooperrider and Whitney, 2005, p. 8). According to the authors AI is a tool that can serve as the basis for transformation and change within any organization. They define positive change as "Any form of organization change, redesign, or planning that begins with a comprehensive inquiry, analysis, dialogue of an organization's positive core, that involves multiple stakeholders, and then links this knowledge to the organization's strategic change agenda and priorities" (Cooperrider and Whitney, 2005, p. 12).

Research findings demonstrated the existence of many personal constructive stories having Kafecho and Manjo as peer protagonists. The stories emphasised the value of honesty, courage, loyalty and trust-worthiness of the Manjo. They recalled how the Manjo and the Kafecho helped each other during hard times, for instance when a Manjo assisted his neighbour during harvesting or when a Kafecho tried to make a sad Manjo student laugh. They also showed the unacknowledged friendship existing between members of the two groups, as recounted by a Manjo woman interviewed.

A new unifying and inclusive identity of the Kaffa society could be created through the sharing of constructive narratives and positive values of each identity. In this way, social change could take place, slowly but steadily, as new non-invasive ideas infiltrate the local culture (LeBaron, 2003). With the right timing, this counter-narrative could be used as a means to reach to a wide public.

6.3.3 Rituals

Turner (1969) provides a definition of rituals as social phenomenon made of shared experiences firmly embedded in human interactions and cultural performances. LeBaron (2002, p. 282) argues that:

Rituals are central to a relational approach to conflict transformation because they extend our capacities to connect deeply with others. As we engage with each other in ways that matter deeply, the relationships of those in conflict and the conflict itself necessarily shift.

Marriage, funeral, ordination, processions and observances of occasions are all rituals that in some way address identity and cultural meanings. In Kaffa during these occasions the Manjo and the Kafecho keep a considerable distance from each other. For instance, these groups do not intermarry and the Manjo are banned from carrying the coffin of a Kafecho during funerals. Tradition also prevents the

Manjo from eating with the Kafecho or taking part in their traditional coffee ceremony.

Nevertheless, findings also proved the existence of alternative rituals where the sharing of food among the Kafecho and the Manjo is not only permitted but supported and fostered. New-born Kafecho are brought to Manjo women to be breastfed, as Manjo's breastmilk is believed to help babies grow strong, healthy and courageous. The Manjo have also a role to play in religious ceremonies held in the forest. During these practices, talking to Manjo is no longer viewed with suspicion or met with outright condemnation, but rather becomes comfortable and natural. Meanings and deep connections are then made; new patterns of interaction with the Manjo are established outside the limited assumptions expressed by the Kafecho.

Improvised rituals could also be created during workshops to meet the exact needs of the two groups, as part of an attempt to also use an alternative, elicitive approach to conflict that is based on the use of local knowledge (refer to section 6.2.1). An example of an improvised ritual is the shared song which I heard the first time by chance sung by a group of Kafecho and later on by a group of Manjo. Asking my research assistant about its meaning, I unexpectedly found the song to be a potential link among the groups. The song whose title is '*Kafecho none/we are the people of Kaffa*', describes the nature of the land over which the song has passed. Certain phrases, certain combinations of musical notes depict the action of the ancestors. This song which linked music with history, identity, and landscape provided the positive, beautiful and unifying image that community members in Kaffa need to hold on to. In that moment, the song became a powerful connector between participants. It called upon a collective social identity that unites the two groups into one. Through it, the Kafecho and the Manjo acquired a sense of 'regional' identity, as it made the listeners recall common origins of the people of Kaffa. Hunting and farming, the two most antagonistic activities in Kaffa, are

converted through the words of the song, from conflicting into complementing. The people of Kaffa, the Manjo and the Kafecho are described as able to hunt wild animals like hyenas but also to cultivate the land successfully. Apparently, the unique features of each group's identity disappears to the benefit of a higher identity represented by being the proud inhabitants of the same land.

The song was played in three different occasions during which tentative attempts were made to sing it together by members of the Manjo and the Kafecho.

A beloved piece of music, then, becomes a window onto a worldview because it connects people to places, time, history, and identity. It speaks to people's souls while exciting their senses as well. This improvised ritual, together with the other elements discussed so far, could also contribute in the shift from conflicting to mutual inclusive identities.

Hocart (1952) stresses the interdependence between myths, rituals and social organisations. He states that social organisation is, in its origins, organisation for the performance of ritual. According to the Hocart (1952), social organization depends on myths which explain and clarify the role of each individual in the community life. This interconnection and interdependence of myths, rituals and social organisations constitutes a link between the cultural and the structural dimension of violence. If negative rituals could be substituted by positive rituals and negative myths replaced by positive myths, then also the social organization based on destructive rituals and myths could be challenged. In other words, finding a positive alternative to the negative myths and rituals could help to change the social organization of Kaffa and thus break the vicious cycle of violence (Galtung, 1996) by addressing contemporaneously its structural and cultural forms.

6.3.4 Metaphors and images

As with rituals, LeBaron (2003) argues that metaphors connect the realm of the inner world of emotions and creativity, to an outer realm of logic and rationality. Because metaphors are powerful and versatile, there are many ways they can be used either constructively or destructively. Metaphors can promote or weaken relations; they communicate deep meanings and reveal the symbolic nature of issues. A metaphor then becomes a puzzle, something to put together and explore, a pathway into cultural frames, thoughts, feelings and powerful habits that shape perceptions, actions and relations.

The example in section 3.3.5 of Chapter 3, showed how a metaphoric image can be re-interpreted in an attempt to restructure the cultural context. The image of the kitten used by the Maori tribe of Iwi to undermine the value and capacities of female diplomats during negotiations with Crown representatives was adopted by Crown representatives and rephrased with reference to baby eels that develop into big adults. The new image recalled the potential of the young women in the Crown delegation; they were not as innocent and powerless as the Iwi might have thought.

Research findings demonstrated that in Kaffa both Manjo and Kafecho use metaphors and images that divide, demonize and perpetuate a siege mentality. The Kafecho relate the Manjo to the wild or animals considered not valuable (e.g. donkeys), while the Manjo associate the Kafecho with foreign investors attracted by the natural resources of the area. Both Kafecho and foreign investors are perceived as misguided appropriators of land and exploiters.

As the example of the kitten shows, metaphoric images can be changed and turned into constructive pictures thereby changing the perspective of the listeners. The image of the donkey associated with the Manjo could be met by emphasizing the

hard-working nature and sense of sacrifice of this group. In the same way, the relationship of the Manjo with the forest and the wilderness, symbols of the feared unknown, could be used to stress the courage of the group and their role as intermediaries between the material world and the spiritual world, between human beings and supernatural powers.

Equally, the image of the Kafecho as exploiters of land could be met with reference to the richness of the Kaffa land which provides its inhabitants with abundant crops and ample possibility for cultivation, eliminating chances of struggle over resources.

Overall, this section aims to demonstrate that despite the destructive intent for which these metaphors were created, exploring them provides the opportunity to suggest alternative perspectives into the way history is told and relations shaped. Positive metaphors have not been found during field-work but the negative ones could be reframed in the broader process of reframing the conflict, as shown above. It becomes the mediator's or third party's job to restate what each party has said in a way that causes less resistance or hostility (LeBaron, 2003).

6.3.5 Enhancing paradoxes

Exploring the cultural reality of Kaffa, contradictions, paradoxes, and apparent inconsistencies emerged. Manjo women, for instance, are asked to breastfeed Kafecho's babies as a way to make them grow stronger. Despite that, the Kafecho never buy cow's milk from the Manjo in the marketplace as the milk sold by Manjo is seen as polluted. Inter-marriage between Kafecho and Manjo is also strictly forbidden by cultural norms due to the eating habits of the latter. However, asked whether they would marry a *ferenji* (foreigner), the Kafecho have no doubts about their affirmative reply. They certainly would, and no matter if the *ferenji* eats monkeys or other kinds of meat from wild animals.

Confronted with the inconsistencies of their behaviour, the Kafecho participants simply laughed, being unable to provide a clear and logical answer. As the Kafecho and the Manjo (through the techniques mentioned above) develop more complex pictures of each other, they can also see the paradoxes behind their beliefs and actions. Through this exercise people can:

Let go of some of their judgements and fixed images and [find] more flexibility for keeping their relationships supple. Only then the connections and shared goals among them become more visible. Practices that draw on connected ways of knowing reinforce this forward momentum (LeBaron, 2003, p. 219).

6.3.6 Reaching out to the wider public

Finding a path in the direction of broadening the knowledge of a positive counter-narrative of Kaffa among community members is not the purpose of this study. The aim of this research is rather to underline the importance of culture as a platform for conflict transformation and a meeting point for external and internal efforts towards social change. However, a suggestion worth mentioning was proposed by a Manjo in Decha:

On television, stories and traditions of different people of Ethiopia are told. We learn about their music, their dances and the way they live. When we see documentaries about other groups, at first we are surprised about their way of living and their traditions. After watching the documentaries many times, we are not surprised anymore but start appreciating more cultural differences. If only someone could come and record all our stories, our music and dances, our rituals and ways of making food. If only some could come and record it and broadcast it nationally, then we Manjo will be proud of our culture and the Kafecho could understand that we do not go hunting anymore and that we do things similarly to them. The Kafecho could learn a lot about my people if they only could be exposed to our culture, if only we could be given more relevance on television or on the radio (Field notes. September 26, 2008).

If broadcasting on radio stations or television channels should prove to be challenging as a task, theatre plays could be a more feasible way to initiate a process of societal transformation.

With the help of a third party mediator, these positive myths, stories, rituals and metaphors could be emphasised in public spaces, told and played as a way to re-design and re-shape the history of Kaffa and envision a new future that does not contemplate the mechanisms of culture that exclude and deny the importance of multiple voices (LeBaron, 2003). This work on local narrative could be used to promote social change in a smoother way, abstaining from direct confrontation. The case of Burundi in the aftermath of the conflict (see section 3.3.3 in Chapter 3) is an example. It showed how the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) succeeded in explaining the humanitarian principles on which it is based through sayings and myths shared across society. Burundians belonging to different groups and different sectors were brought together to rediscover positive cultural narratives in their society. A play based on this initiative was subsequently made and performed 'on the road'.

Research shows that different forms of theatre offer different possibilities for opening up a creative shared space between groups. The 'Playback Drama Theatre' is widely recognized as a tool for tackling issues in a society. It is a spontaneous improvised theatre involving collaboration between performers and spectators. Rousseau et al. (2005) argue that within a safe space, a director coordinates the story while actors and musicians gather information in order to play the story back to the teller and the group (refer to section 3.3.2 in Chapter 3). The stories are changed and replayed through different scenarios developed by the audience. The idea is to alter the situation to empower the storyteller and the others, either by changing the meaning, building a relationship, creating an opening, or a dialogue with others that was missing from the original story (Rousseau et al., 2005). This part of the workshop becomes a collective effort for

co-creating a story or situation where participants look for alternatives to their first reactions and strategies.

This is just an example of how local narratives could be used to foster mutual understanding without the parties having the perception of a change imposed from outside. Revised narratives brought to people through theatre plays can have similar effects as the above mentioned television documentaries. Stories, chosen to fulfil the scope of conflict transformation, become the vessels of local culture. Local culture, then, becomes the means to social transformation.

6.4 Conclusion

The analysis of research findings suggested that both local capacities for peace and AAE intervention in the Kaffa society have strengths and weaknesses.

On the whole, economic interests or religious belonging are often identified as connectors. While in some places economic interdependence crosses conflict lines, in the case of Kaffa it seems to create more opportunities for emphasizing differences and fermenting tensions. Religious affiliation, on the other hand, may connect people physically in the same way it brings Manjo and Kafecho together to the same church. It may also connect them emotionally, i.e. listening to the Bible read may inspire them and speak to their heart, despite differences. However, even when a good relationship is established at individual level between a Kafecho and a Manjo or a subgroup (e.g. Manjo and Kafecho members of the same church), the relationship does not seem to have any significant effect on the broader Kafecho-Manjo relationships. The re-entry problem has been identified as a main limitation to the impact of positive connectors on intergroup relations.

Among all connectors mentioned by Anderson (1999) as local capacities for peace, this research focused more closely on local systems to make peace. These systems are widely distributed and prevalent throughout the research areas.

Despite their wide coverage, they are quintessentially local serving particular groups. The majority of such institutions are built on cultural rules linked to local belief systems, and are based on localised trust among people who know each other and have face-to-face contact within the community. The main strengths of this kind of local resources are that they are backed with legitimacy from the community and focus also on the spiritual world of feelings and not just on material issues. However, to a considerable extent, local systems to make peace either religious or community-based, reflect existing hierarchies and domination and reproduce unequal rights. In some cases, they exclude the participation of the Manjo from their administration of justice (see the *eddir*); in others the Manjo receive unfair treatment as justice is based on the application of cultural beliefs and values and not solely on the issues or matters of dispute.

It is important to note that the research did not find any inclusive local peace-making system that has formed across-ethnic boundaries. It is believed that one of the reasons thereof is the fact that the Manjo have always been considered a caste within the majority Kafecho instead of a different ethnic group.

The 'external' nature of AAE on the other hand, could help this actor to better discern positive connectors between the parties. Local actors, in fact, might be too engaged in conflict and too biased against each other to be able to discern elements of commonalities between them. The analysis of AAE contribution to social change in Kaffa revealed however that the main emphasis of the NGO strategy has been on the conscientisation of the Manjo and the promotion of their rights. The research suggested that AAE have facilitated the empowerment process of the Manjo but it has also showed that the increased awareness of the Manjo about their rights has not been backed by improved capacities for action. AAE did not, in fact, implement enough capacity building strategies which seem to be required to address discrimination. The activities that the government was supposed to take over after AAE left the area, suddenly stopped. Further, the

empowerment of the Manjo has not been followed by effective work on the dominant group whose acceptance of the Manjo seems to be only on the surface.

In the end, the analysis showed that AAE's approach has managed to address visible forms of discrimination but faced obstacles in altering underlying biases and discriminating practices derived from the local culture, mostly due to structural limitations and issues related to donor conditionality. The 'externality' of AAE also posed problems of legitimacy linked to all types of interventions carried out from outsiders in a particular cultural setting.

Based on the theoretical framework of Chapter 3, this research suggested that the problem of long lasting discrimination justified and legalized through a destructive culture could be better tackled with the use of a counter-culture based on constructive cultural elements. Findings showed that some of the cultural elements mentioned in the literature review, like myths and stories, are also present in the culture of Kaffa. The stress on positive rituals, myths and stories and the reframing of negative cultural elements could help shed light on a hidden history of interconnectedness among the two groups, ultimately resulting in more balanced relations.

The help of third party mediators such as ActionAid Ethiopia, especially in the initial phase of searching for positive elements in local culture and reframing the negative ones, can facilitate the process of conflict transformation. With a spirit of inquiry, flexibility to explore new creative tools, awareness and sensitivity to cultural differences, outsider third parties can help the Manjo and the Kafecho to discern what they have not managed to discern yet: a shared picture made of interconnectedness between them.

This thesis aimed at contributing to the ongoing debate on best practices for conflict transformation by suggesting a timely guide for working with

complexities in the Kaffa society. Its contribution in moving on this debate and extending the existing literature lies in the attempt to explore the significance of the cultural sphere in the process of transforming conflict in Kaffa. How indigenous knowledge and a cultural inclusive approach can transform violence and oppression is an extremely significant topic in the Ethiopian realm. No previous study has been carried out on this topic in the country. How the culturally constructed conflict in Kaffa could be turned into a culturally constructed peace could be beneficial to similar conflicts within Ethiopia and outside it. Comparison in this manner is often an extremely effective way of reaching a better understanding, not only of issues generally but of a particular country's system and its possibilities and limitations.

This thesis suggests that the use of local culture is a viable way to transform the long lasting and deeply rooted asymmetry in the society of Kaffa, whilst also remaining authentic to the cultural identities of the Manjo and the Kafecho. The myths, stories, rituals and metaphors collected during the field-work are an enormous resource for learning, teaching and training. They capture the need to pay attention to the role of local knowledge and to integrate cultural awareness into programmes for conflict transformation. A dynamic engagement in conflict could provide a way to change the conflictual relationships between the Manjo and the Kafecho to transformative ones.

External actors need not only resort to a traditional prescriptive approach to conflict but might also consider investigating new ways of moving through cultural diversity, ways that associate them with learning growth, and constructive social change. With the exploration of myths, stories, rituals and metaphors as intervention and teaching tools, external actors can initiate a conversation that becomes richer as it continues. These tools are ways into cultural meaning making and contribute to deeper relationships between and within groups.

In emphasizing the importance of culture for transformative possibilities in the Kafecho-Manjo relations, this research does not aim at undermining more traditional prescriptive approaches to conflicts. Conflict transformation is a multi-disciplinary, multi-layered field where the collaboration between and application of different branches of knowledge is not only welcomed but necessary.

Finally, this research also stresses the need for new insights into how the meaning constructed by local actors can be changed, how people in conflict formulate ideas of reconciliation and retribution, how they discuss memory and forgetting.

This study also wishes to lay the foundations for continued research into challenges faced by grassroots people committed to peace to reach out to their home communities and overcome the re-entry problem.

How listeners perceive stories and the ways cultural elements belonging to traditional societies could be integrated into peace programmes is a further theme to explore. In doing so, a better understanding of, or encounter with, local knowledge will develop.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

Manjo history is one of suffering, violence and continuous struggle for survival against marginalization and disappearance. They are categorised by the surrounding Kafecho majority as 'backward', 'primitive', 'not human' or 'not person', 'polluted' and 'polluters', are kept at a distance and humiliated with words and actions. Central to this research was the examination of ways in which the marginalisation of this group of former hunters could be alleviated.

Whilst there have been a number of improvements during the last century, the trend has not been one of linear and constant acceptance into mainstream society. The transformation in land ownership, the dwindling of wild animals, the governmental prohibition of hunting, religious conversion, relations with non-Kaffa people, are all factors that appear to have contributed in the transition of this marginalised group from hunters to agriculturalists. Changes of regimes have also brought some improvements in the life of the Manjo. Under the Marxist regime they were entitled for the first time to own land and under the actual ethnic federalism their self-awareness was promoted, with the unattended counter effect though, of generating greater conflict at local level.

If wealth *per se* seemed to help in the process of integration, as a Kafecho pointed out during interviews, a rich Manjo is nevertheless a Manjo and as such subject to discrimination (see Chapter 5.2.4 'Prospective solutions'). Likewise, government attempts to alleviate the overt and covert forms of violence against the group have met with low success. The little rights consciousness experienced in Kaffa means less pressure on institutions to take rights seriously and implement them effectively. This behaviour apparently increased the frustration of this

marginalized community allowing for its participation in a violent conflict in 2002.

On the whole, despite all the transformations happening in society and trends of change, marginalisation has a strong social and cultural impact that is far more complex than can be dealt with only through economics or law. The assumption that the problem in Kaffa is merely lack of economic development and fair distribution of political power and therefore can be solved by economic packages and political reforms, is in fact one sided. Such an analysis fails to understand the complex social formation, attachments, interaction, and structure found in this traditional society in the same way that it fails to understand the power of culture in conflict.

The vicious cycle of violence in Kaffa has remained unsolved as the cultural dimension of discrimination against the Manjo has not been addressed yet. As Galtung (1996) points out, cultural violence is used to describe ideologies, convictions, traditions and systems of legitimacy with whose help direct or structural violence is made possible, justified and *de facto* legitimized. Those in Kaffa who denied, officially or unofficially, that the Manjo have the same rights as the Kafecho claim to be defending the local tradition. Potent shaper of individual's and group's behaviour, the mainstream narrative of Kaffa is considered by local communities as the root of discrimination and its ground for justification. This study indicates that interactions between the Manjo and the Kafecho are governed by unruly practices and institutional biases. In other words, embedded and internalised social norms based on sets of values and beliefs which nurture divisions. Through 'negative' beliefs, manifested with negative rituals and narratives, Kafecho exercise social closure by restricting access to resources and opportunity to members of their group.

While the transformation of society encompasses many layers and dimensions of intervention, this thesis argued that this process is guaranteed to fail if the cultural dimension of violence remains unaddressed. It is only when overt and covert aspects of violence are tackled that social justice through equal opportunity, a fair distribution of power and resources, equal protection and impartial enforcement of law can be reached (Galtung, 1990 and 1996). This research suggests that a lasting way to achieve this goal is through a combined effort of internal and external capacities for conflict transformation rooted in the local culture. Both types of interventions have their advantages. But they also suffer from weaknesses which their mutual collaboration could alleviate or indeed overcome.

The strong grasp of local reality is certainly a key point in favour of local capacities for peace. This is particularly visible in the local systems to make peace, namely funeral associations (*eddirs*), elders' moots (*kabechinos*) and traditional religious leaders (*alamos*). These institutions have the advantage of being recognized by the community and thus their rulings are binding not only on the parties concerned but also on the larger community. Their emphasis on reconciling the protagonists with each other rather than on establishing right and wrong is also another reason for their strong hold over people. The aim of the intervention is not retaliation, but the restoration of equilibrium, usually through mechanisms of restitutions, apology and reconciliation with an emphasis on forgiveness and peaceful coexistence.

Nonetheless, local ways of making peace as well as other connectors of local capacities for peace have also their limitations. Examples taken from systems of economic and political interdependence showed that local capacities for peace are unlikely to be able to bring about social change in Kaffa. They can in the best scenario improve personal relations between Manjo and Kafecho based on a temporary precedence of the individual identity over the social Kafecho's group identity, but are unlikely to produce larger outcomes in the community.

On the whole, because discrimination comes from society and the prejudices against the Manjo constitute a key element of the Kafecho's identity, the potential of local capacities for peace is mostly limited to preventing direct violence from flaring up or to stop it temporarily. This is once again visible in local ways of making peace. These systems are unable to challenge the cultural framework upon which meanings are made in the community and identities constructed. Inequality, exclusion and undermining of Manjo's individual rights constitute the core ideas around which the social structure of Kaffa has been built and from which local institutions and systems generate. Local capacities for peace can then only work in the framework of the *status quo*, or restoration of the old order. They are difficult to apply with regard to conflicts against the community, conflicts that challenge the framework of values and relations of the traditional order.

If the cogs of local culture are the source of conflict, then local actors are immersed in it and their worldview has been built upon social injustice. Hence the help of a third-party mediator could be beneficial to break a deadlock situation, as the perspective of people outside the conflict has not been affected by the highly polarized environment and they are able to better discern and work on commonalities and bridges between the groups.

Based on the last assumption, the research moved to assess the impact of the project of the international NGO ActionAid Ethiopia to alleviate the discrimination of the Manjo. The assessment showed that a discourse of equality has spread in the research sites through AAE and government activities, but values embedded in society have barely changed. The overwhelming majority of Kafecho continued to deny the social, economic, political rights of the Manjo and discrimination is perpetuated in more insidious forms. Such examination raised questions about the approach of AAE towards discrimination. While the NGO tried to position itself as a facilitator of initiatives owned by the community (refer to section 4.6 in Chapter 4), it seems that it has failed in this scope. The lack of

continuity of its activities in Decha *woreda* showed that AAE was not completely able to build the capacity of the people to organize themselves.

The main limitations of the project have been categorized into three groups: strategic constraints linked to the plan of action designed by the NGO to achieve its goals; donor conditionality connected to the funders-funded relation; and innate weaknesses that have to do with the legitimacy of this external intervention in the eyes of the locals. For each of these groups of limitations, recommendations and suggestions for further studies have been made. It is important to underline, though, that this thesis does not aim at providing a complete list of ways forward for every recommendation. By showing the weaknesses of AAE intervention this study simply aimed at stressing the importance of a combined approach to conflict transformation in the area. More research is needed on the key points highlighted such as the process of project evaluation and ways in which the legitimacy of external actors could be fostered.

External third party actors have both disadvantages (incomplete knowledge and problem of legitimacy) and advantages (perspective, no identity/association with the conflicting parties) but the way they enter and assume important roles in conflict circumstances correspondingly poses the most complex moral and also practical challenges they face. This thesis argues that AAE should try harder to work in partnership with local actors and design its programmes to support and strengthen their contribution. While making this argument, the questions remain: who do external actors think they are? To what extent does their approach to conflict work and when does it constitute only an inappropriate social engineering? There is no easy answer to these questions. Since this dilemma cannot be evaded, external actors are saddled with the duty of learning how best to play the role of outsiders. How this can be best done in each setting, by different typologies of aid and external actors, requires further reflection. However, for every project, in any setting and independently for the nature of

intervention, the issue of its legitimacy has to be seriously tackled. The collaboration with local actors could be a key element for the success of projects carried out by outsiders in conflict as it could reinforce arguments in favor of desirability, legitimacy and sustainability of external interventions. If locals see the intervention of external actors as desirable, the question of its legitimacy will be reduced.

In the assessment of both local capacities for peace and AAE intervention a common re-entry problem has been found that remains the central unresolved problem for grassroots dialogue and a fertile ground for future research. Interactions in a safe environment, that may be a church premises or AAE workshops, allow participants to see the 'enemy' as human beings and realize that the issue at hand is not as definite as they had been taught to believe. This experience also gives them a glimpse of what peaceful coexistence could achieve. The immediate effects of such interaction are, therefore, enhanced understanding of the other side and more moderate views about the conflict and how to solve it. Findings showed that in cases where Manjo and Kafecho changed their mind about each other as a result of exposure to an image of the other that did not conform to the idea they previously had, for instance during AAE workshops, fear of being ostracized by their own community prevented them from sharing their experiences with their respective communities and of transferring the knowledge and trust they built at an individual level to the society at large. Hence, the challenge for people in favour of peace becomes to reach out to their home communities at the grassroots level and persuade the many, rather than count on the clout of a few. This poses once again the problem of challenging the culture that prevents the introduction of new ideas into society.

Because addressing the cultural dimension of violence implies going back to the culture which generates the discrimination and influences the group identity of Manjo and Kafecho, this research suggests that the common ground upon which

the collaboration between AAE and local actors could be based is the local culture.

A way to decrease intergroup tensions has been identified in the creation of an umbrella social identity of Kaffa which would encompass the difference between the Manjo and the Kafecho and could be based on common values and views for the future. This discourse implies reshaping the identity of the two groups by modifying the cultural cogs on which the conflicting selves are based.

The culture of Kaffa, through negative narratives, myths rituals and stereotypes, shapes the individual and group identity of the people and contributes in feeding intergroup prejudices and negative images of each other. Nonetheless, this same culture can also be considered the most powerful connector among local capacities for peace. In fact, it also contains the seed of peace in the form of presently less explored constructive narratives and rituals. In such a polarized environment, the task of outsiders would be to facilitate the exploration of narratives of constructive partnership, which are based on peaceful concepts of each group and which emphasise possible positive images of others. By looking and exploring cogs of local culture, external actors can change the emphasis of narratives from opposition in the past to mutual understanding and shared responsibilities. Song, poetry and dances were the means used, for instance, by the President of Guinea, to bring peace between the countries of Burkina Faso and Mali. By digging into local myths, rituals, stories and metaphors and reframing negative elements in a way that reduces mutual harm, AAE could provoke supporting narratives that describe positive situations in inter-ethnic relations. In Burundi, the International Committee of the Red Cross was able to explain the humanitarian principles upon which it is based through the use of local myths and sayings. Unpacking the assumptions embedded within negative metaphors, looking for constructive myths, stories and rituals is a powerful way to re-imagine history and envision a new shared future that does not perpetuate elements of

culture that exclude and deny the importance of multiple voices. Reframing negative metaphors, sharing positive metaphors, abstaining from direct confrontation and acknowledging history helped smooth the tension of the negotiation contributing to a positive change in the relationship between the Iwi and the Crown in New Zealand.

Story co-creation is another useful tool toward this end, as the case of the 'playback drama theatre' used by a transcultural child psychiatry team in Canada has shown. Through this drama technique, the team was able to facilitate the integration of immigrants and refugee children into Canadian society. This process begins with the sharing of stories and involves acknowledging the existence of a reality other than the one known and building more expansive stories from this awareness. Such storytelling by different people may reinforce positive feelings and stories through constructive characters. The positive emotions produced by listening to a counter-narrative could strengthen the formation of unifying identity of Kaffa with emphasis on tolerance, reconciliation, and goodwill.

The challenge for AAE and other external actors willing to take up the difficult task of alleviating the discrimination against the Manjo would be to construct a perception and concept of a new common identity very carefully, using existing positive narratives and situations of successful collaboration. The formation of this new identity of Kaffa could be possible only if the two groups do not perceive any danger or threat to their primary identity from a new encompassing identity. One way to pass the new message smoothly onto the bigger community would be through zone III of reality, described by Lumsden (1999) as a space within culture where the inner and outside world converge, where ideas can emerge, emotions be expressed, and perhaps symbolically, new relationships tried out, before these ideas are integrated psychologically or applied socially. Experiments in theatre, as in the case of Burundi mentioned in chapter 4, can have this effect. During theatre plays, normal rules and states of consciousness are temporarily kept

outside, symbolic acts can be performed and group identity can be shaped in a way that causes less resistance from the receivers (Lumsden, 1999). This and similar spaces could serve as physical platform for the creation of a Kaffa identity aimed at bringing together incompatible identities into a common group concept that would be mutually acceptable and would connect both groups and all parties.

The structure of narratives, based on perceptions of 'they as enemy' and reflecting negative attitudes, feelings and stereotypes, could thus be replaced by a non-oppositional structure rooted in a nonviolent image of the self and the others. Opposed to the idea of integration of the Manjo into mainstream society (shared by all Kafecho, Church representatives, local and federal governments and AAE) based on the renouncing of the group's peculiar identity at the benefit of its assimilation into the Kafecho culture, this new common identity would be based on a new shared narrative which includes elements of both groups' identities and common goals, values and aims.

While this thesis recognizes that conflict transformation entails a wide range of sequential activities, ranging from economic to political and social reforms, it mostly aimed at focusing attention on the need for a relational approach and interdependence between actors in conflict, as opposed to more coercive strategies.

Instead of an approach that attempts to suppress or instigate the abandonment of Manjo's identity, a different strategy is called for: one that recognizes the importance of exploring the cultural bond that ties the Manjo group and the Kafecho group together. Not to be left out is also the bond that ties the Kaffa together, Manjo and Kafecho alike. This new strategy recognizes the value and peculiarity of each identity and culture in alignment with basic human rights but also contemplates the unifying concept of a new shared 'We-ness'. Future studies could further assess the adequacy of this model for exploring creative approaches

to conflict transformation in the Kaffa society and other similar traditional settings by exploring aspects of the model mentioned but not fully addressed by this research.

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TABLE 1. Data Manjo participants¹

No.	AREA	Gender	Occupation	Age	Education	Religion	Participation to AAE activities
1	AB DW	M	T	1	SS	EO	Y
2	BA GW	F	HW	1	NE	EO	Y
3	BA GW	M	FA	2	NE	EO	Y
4	BA GW	M	FA	1	NE	EO	Y
5	BA GW	M	FA	3	NE	P	Y
6	CC DW	M	P	1	SS	C	Y
7	CH DW	M	P	1	SS	P	Y
8	CC DW	M	FA	2	NE	EO	Y
9	CC DW	M	FA	3	NE	EO	Y
10	CC DW	M	HW	3	NE	EO	N
11	CC DW	M	FA	3	NE	EO	Y
12	CC DW	M	B	1	NE	P	Y
13	CC DW	M	S	1	SS	EO	Y
14	CC DW	F	HW	1	NE	P	Y
15	CC DW	M	S	1	SS	P	Y
16	CC DW	F	HW	3	NE	P	N
17	BA GW	M	S	1	NE	P	Y
18	BA GW	M	FA	3	NE	P	Y

¹ Full explanation of codes used is provided in the legend, pp. 259-260.

19	BA GW	F	HW	1	NE	P	N
20	BA GW	M	FA	2	NE	N	Y
21	BO	M	T	1	US	C	Y

TABLE 2. Data Kafecho participants²

No	Area	Gender	Occupation	Age	Education	Religion	Participation to AAE activities
1	BA GW	M	FA	1	NE	P	Y
2	BA GW	F	HW	1	NE	EO	Y
3	BA GW	M	B	2	PS	EO	Y
4	BA GW	M	S	1	SS	EO	Y
5	CC DW	M	S	1	PS	M	Y
6	BA GW	M	FA	1	PS	C	Y
7	CC DW	M	FA	3	NE	EO	Y
8	CC DW	M	B	2	NE	EO	Y
9	BA GW	M	FA	1	NE	EO	Y
10	CC DW	M	FA	3	NE	EO	Y
11	CC DW	M	FA	3	NE	EO	Y
12	CC DW	M	FA	2	PS	EO	Y
13	CC DW	F	HW	1	NE	P	Y
14	BA GW	M	FA	3	NE	EO	Y
15	BA GW	M	FA	3	NE	P	Y
16	SH DW	M	TB	3	NE	N/EO	N
17	CC DW	M	S	1	SS	EO	Y
18	BA GW	F	S	1	SS	EO	Y
19	BO	M	S	1	SS	EO	Y
20	BA GW	M	FA	3	NE	P	Y
21	BA GW	F	HW	3	NE	EO	N

² Full explanation of codes used is provided in the legend, pp. 259-260.

22	BA GW	M	FA	2	NE	EO	Y
23	BA GW	M	FA	2	NE	EO	Y

TABLE 3. Data other participants (Government officers, UN and NGOs staff and clergymen from the formal Churches of Kaffa)¹

No	Gender	Ethnicity	Occupation	Participation to AAE activities
1	M	K	GA DEWO	Y
2	M	NK	CP	N
3	M	K	GA ZO	Y
4	M	K	GA ZO	Y
5	M	K	CO	Y
6	M	K	GA DEWO	Y
7	M	NK	AAE	
8	M	M	GA DEWO	Y
9	M	K	CC	N
10	M	M	GA GIWO	Y
11	M	OK	GA GIWO	Y
12	M	K	GA GIWO	N
13	M	NK	ONGO	N
14	M	K	UN	N
15	M	OK	UN	N
16	M	NK	AAE	
17	M	K	AAE	
18	M	K	GA DEWO	Y
19	F	K	GA DEWO	Y

¹ Full explanation of codes used is provided in the legend, pp. 259-260.

Legend

AGE²

18-30 = 1

31-50 = 2

51 + = 3

AREA

AB DW= Agaro Bushi (Decha *woreda*)

BA GW=Baho village (Gimbo *woreda*)

BO=Bonga

CC DW= Copi Cocho (Decha *woreda*)

CH DW= Chiri (Decha *woreda*)

SH DW= Sheka (Decha *woreda*)

EDUCATION

NE=No formal education

PS=Primary school degree

SS= Enrolled for or obtained a secondary school degree

US = University degree

ETHNICITY

K=Kafecho

M= Manjo

OK= Other ethnicities in Kaffa (including second generation of settlers)

NK = Non from Kaffa

GENDER

F= Female

M= Male

OCCUPATION

AAE= ActionAid Ethiopia staff

B= Businessman

CC= Clergyman Catholic Church

CO= Clergyman Orthodox Church

CP= Clergyman Protestant Church

FA= Farmer

² In Ethiopia, age is not always a significant parameter: distinctions are based on social maturity rather than on birthdates. For this reason, the age of participants has been grouped into only three broad categories. Establishing an approximate age for participants was nonetheless considered important by the researcher in order to assess changes happening in the Kaffa society across generations.

GA ZO=Government administrator (zone level)
GA DEWO= Government administrator, Decha *woreda* level
GA GIWO= Governeman administrator, Gimbo *woreda* level
HW= Housewife
S= Student
ONGO= Other NGOs
T= Teacher
P= Policeman
TB= Leader of traditional belief
UN= United Nations staff

PARTICIPATION AAE PROJECT

Y= YES

N= NO

RELIGION

EO= Ethiopian Orthodox

P = Protestant

C = Catholic

M= Muslim

N= Natural Belief

APPENDIX 1. Interview topic guide for community members

Opening of the interview:

- Introduce myself
- Explain the purpose of the interview
- Assure confidentiality and anonymity to the respondent
- Explain how the information will be used
- Allow opportunity for the respondent to ask questions about the researcher, clarification about the research, anything else before the start of the interview
- Ask permission to record the interview

Respondents' background:

- Name
- Age
- Social group
- Occupation
- Religious beliefs

Themes for interview:

Group Identity

- Why is your group different from the other group?
- How do you identify the other group?
- What do you think of the other group?
- How do you behave towards members of the other group?
- How do members of the other group behave towards you and your group?
- When did the division between you and the other group start?

Local capacities

- When you were a child, what did your father tell you about the reason for this division? Is there any story related to that?
- In your community is there any local system to make peace? List systems and characteristics.
- Does everyone (including members of the other group) have access to these systems?
- Do you interact with members of the other group? On what occasions? How?
- Do you share ceremonies or rituals with the members of the other group?
- What do you think are the good qualities of the other group?
- Do you know any sayings about the other group (positive or negative)?
- Would you like to share a personal story (positive or negative) of

interaction between you or your group and the other group?

- Are you involved in community activities with members of the other group? What do you think of this collaboration?

ActionAid Ethiopia (AAE)

- Can you tell me about AAE? How have you been involved?
- What do you think of the AAE project in favour of equal relations between the Manjo and the non-Manjo?
- What do you think are the main strengths of the project?
- What do you think are the main weaknesses of the project?
- What has happened since AAE left? (Only for participants from Decha *woreda*)

Change

- Has your behaviour toward the other group changed with respect to the past?
- What do you think are the main factors which influenced this change?
- How do you think the relations between your group and the other can improve?

Final remarks

- Thanks
- Perceptions about the interview
- Any questions you would like to ask?
- Anything else (related or not related to the interview) that you want to say?

Question guides varied from actor to actor and the position of each participant

APPENDIX 2. Interview topic guide for local government and external actors other than ActionAid Ethiopia

Opening of the interview:

- Introduce myself
- Explain the purpose of the interview
- Assure confidentiality and anonymity to the respondent
- Explain how the information will be used
- Allow opportunity for the respondent to ask questions about the researcher, clarification about the research, anything else before the start of the interview
- Ask permission for recording the interview

Respondents' background:

- Name
- Social group

Themes for interview:

Stance

- What is the position of your institution/organization towards the Manjo?
- What is the position of your institution towards discrimination?

ActionAid Ethiopia (AAE)

- Can you tell me about AAE? How have you been involved?
- What do you think of the AAE project in favour of more equal relations between the Manjo and the non-Manjo?
- What do you think are the main strengths of the project?
- What do you think are the main weaknesses of project?
- What happened since AAE left? (Only for participants from Decha *woreda*)

Change

- Have the attitudes of the organization/institution toward the other group changed with respect to the past?
- What do you think are the main factors which influenced this change?
- How do you think can the relation between Manjo and Kafecho improve?

Final remarks

- Thanks
- Perceptions about the interview
- Which questions you would like to ask?

- Anything else (related or not related to the interview) that you want to say

Question guides varied from actor to actor and the position of each participant

APPENDIX 3. Interview topic guide for ActionAid Ethiopia

Opening of the interview:

- Introduce myself
- Explain the purpose of the interview
- Assure confidentiality and anonymity to the respondent and explain how the information will be used
- Allow opportunity for the respondent to ask questions about the researcher, clarification about the research, anything else before the start of the interview
- Ask permission for recording the interview

Respondents' background:

- Name
- Social group

Themes for interview:

Activities

- What are your goals and strategies?
- What kind of activities in favour of the Manjo is AAE involved in?
- When did you start?
- What kind of workshops do you hold? Can you list them?
- How long does a workshop last?
- How is a workshop structured? Which issues do you touch on?

Participants

- Who can participate to your workshops?
- How many people are targeted *per woreda*?
- What are the criteria to select participants in workshops?
- How many people are trained in each workshop?

Funding

- How is this project funded?
- Is the funding stable?
- How is/are the relation/s with the project donor/s?

Challenges

- What challenges do you face from participants?
- How do you assure the continuity of the program?
- Do you think that the project has some limitations? If so, of what nature?

Final remarks

- Thanks
- Perceptions about the interview
- Which questions you would like to ask?
- Anything else (related or not related to the interview) that you want to add/ask?

Question guides varied from actor to actor and the position of each participant

APPENDIX 4: Cover letter

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA

May 23, 2008

To Whom It May Concern:

Ms Federica De Sisto is a doctoral student at the University of Dublin, Trinity College, Ireland

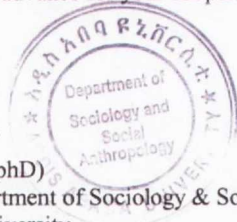
She is affiliated to the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology of Addis Ababa University. She is doing her field work in Keffa Zone, Southern Ethiopia, Her research title is "A Study of Local Traditions among the Manjo". The period of her field work is from June to December 2008, during which time she will interview people (e.g. elderly) and do archival research.

In order to obtain the necessary information required for her PhD research and to produce original materials, she needs the assistance of different individuals and government and no-government officers. The Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology would appreciate very much if you can extend the assistance Federica needs.

We thank you in advance for your cooperation.

Thank You

Abeje Berhanu (phD)
Chairman, Department of Sociology & Social Anthropology
Addis Ababa University



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