

Searching for a Way out of Social Discrimination: A Case Study of the Manjo through the 2002 Incident in Kafa

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Under the present Ethiopian government, social discrimination is a human rights issue. Despite the national policy of the right to self-determination launched by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front, the Manjo, a socially discriminated minority who live in the western Kafa and eastern Sheka zones, feel that they are being deprived of this right. In 2002, the Manjo attacked the Kafa in an attempt to put an end to this discrimination. Knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the Manjo uprising is essential for understanding the conflict. This article describes these circumstances and the changes brought about by the incident.

Key words: Kafa, Manjo, social discrimination, minorities, conflicts

1. INTRODUCTION

In this article, I investigate the social background of an armed attack against the Kafa by the Manjo. In March 2002, Manjo living in Bita *wäräda* in the Kafa zone and Yeki *wäräda* in the Sheka zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities People's Region (SNNPR) mounted an attack on their Kafa neighbors. Many Kafa were killed and their houses burned to the ground. The attack was violent, especially in Woshero *kebele* and Shota *kebele* of Bita *wäräda*.

The Manjo are a minority group who live in pockets in the Kafa, Sheka, Bench Maji, and Dawro zones and the Konta special *wäräda* in SNNPR. They also occupy the Oromia and Gambella Regional States. Manjo living in the Kafa zone have long been discriminated against by the Kafa. During the Derg regime, attempts were made by the government to abolish social discrimination against the Manjo, although these met with little success. 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, as minorities are not considered independent ethnic groups entitled to receive economic and political resources.

The government and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) regarded the 2002 Manjo attack to be an eruption of long-held frustration caused by Kafa discrimination and subsequently initiated campaigns to abolish discrimination. Although discrimination was one cause of the incident, a close examination of the economic and political conditions of the area reveals the social background to be just as important. The Manjo in Kafa were wealthier than those living in other areas and were more sensitive to economic and political deprivation caused by governmental policies. Furthermore, the attack was near Tepi, the capital of Yeki *wäräda*. On the same day that the incident took place, Majangir and Sheko residents had risen in revolt and clashed with local officials in Tepi (The Ethiopian Human Rights Council 2002; Human Rights Watch 2003).⁽¹⁾ They were protesting

against the local administration for their right to self-determination, which had been granted by the federal government in 1995 but denied in the Sheka zone (Sato 2005; Vaughan 2003, 2006). Manjo in this area were influenced by the political activities of the Majangir and Sheko and became conscious of their own political rights.

Here, I examine what induced the Manjo to attack. Having spoken with informants, both Manjo and Kafa who had firsthand information, I attempt to identify the direct and indirect causes of the attack as perceived by both parties. I also examine the effects of the attack on the relationship between the Kafa and the Manjo.⁽²⁾

First I describe the social and economic background of the Manjo. Next I describe the social relationship between the Manjo and the Kafa and provide examples of Kafa discrimination against the Manjo. Then I explain the recent Manjo attempts to become organized under the self-determination policy of the EPRDF regime and show how government responses frustrated them. Finally, I describe the 2002 incident and discuss its causes and effects.⁽³⁾

2. THE MANJO AND KAFa SOCIETIES

2.1. *The Manjo in Kafa*

The population of the Kafa zone is estimated to be 858,600, of whom the majority are Kafa. Na'ò, Chàra, and Me'en live in the southern part of the Kafa zone; Oromo live on the border of the northern part; and Gimira, Sheka, and Majangir live on the border of the southwestern part. The Amhara people, who migrated from the north, also live in the Kafa zone (Fig. 1).⁽⁴⁾

In general, people who speak the Omotic Kafa language (*Kafi-noono*) are called *Kafa*. However, within Kafa society, people differentiate themselves as either Gomoro,⁽⁵⁾ Manno, or Manjo. The majority call themselves *Gomoro* (hereafter referred to as *Kafa*). The Manno are tanners and are also discriminated against by the Kafa,⁽⁶⁾ but the Manjo, estimated to be about 10,000 to 12,000 in population,⁽⁷⁾ are the most marginalized.

The history and society of the Kafa have been studied intensively. Bieber (1920) conducted extensive research on their culture at the beginning of the 20th century, and Huntingford (1955) laid out a comprehensive structure of the society that formed the framework of the traditional Kafa Kingdom.

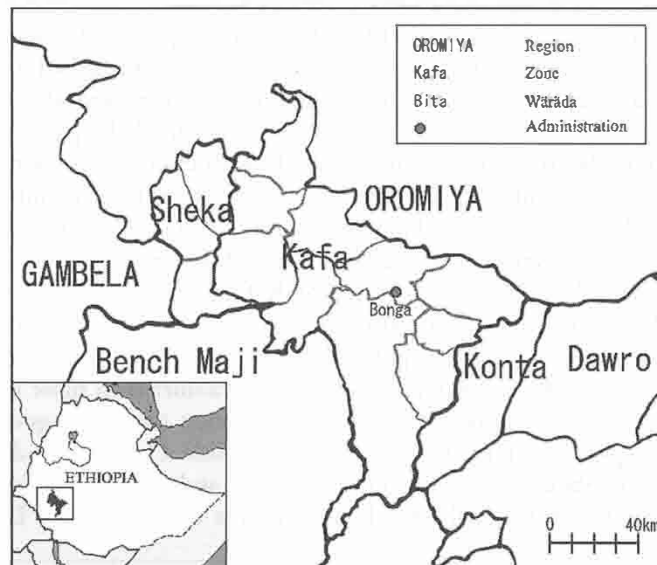


Fig. 1. Location of the Kafa zone

Orent (1969, 1970a,b) researched the kinship system in the 1960s, and Lange (1982) wrote a detailed history based on field research and written material.

According to research conducted before the Derg era, Kafa society had a social hierarchy similar to the caste system. At the top of this hierarchy were the Kafa, followed by occupational groups including blacksmiths (*K'emmo*), weavers (*Shammano*), potters,⁽⁸⁾ bards (*Shatto*), and tanners (*Manno*). In this hierarchy, the Manjo were commonly referred to as hunters and given the lowest status, equal only to slaves.⁽⁹⁾ The Kafa exclude the Manjo from their own category of *asbo* (people), treating them as *gonde ashi yaro* (people of bad clans).⁽¹⁰⁾

Historically, the Manjo had a kingdom of their own ruled by a "great king," *Manjo tato*, but they were driven into the forest, where they were conquered by the Kafa (Beckingham & Huntingford 1954: vii). Incorporated into the Kafa kingdom, the *Manji-tato* became subservient to the Kafa king, *Kafi-tato*. In the *worajo* (administrative area) where the Manjo lived, *Manji-rasha* was responsible for collecting taxes through *Manji-guudo*.⁽¹¹⁾ The Manjo were appointed guardians of the borders of the kingdom and regional fiefs and also served as scouts, castrators of war prisoners, and state executioners (Lange 1982: 266–267).

Although almost every article and book listed above includes a paragraph or two on the Manjo, no research has focused specifically on this group. Recently, Gezahegn (2003) published a groundbreaking article on the current situation of this group based on fieldwork conducted among Manjo living near Bonga. Gezahegn's main focus was social and economic changes undergone by the Manjo since the Derg regime. Whereas previous researchers have treated the Manjo as hunters, Gezahegn demonstrated that this group is changing its way of life from hunting and gathering to farming. However, Gezahegn's perspective was limited by the fact that his research was conducted only in two villages. Gezahegn (2003: 91) mentioned that the Manjo receive little income from agriculture and described them as "poor farmers." However, this image is far from the reality of Manjo living in Bita *wäräda* and Gesha *wäräda* where I did my research. The people in these areas earn their income mostly from agriculture, cultivating various crops and plowing more land than Kafa farmers. Manjo living in Bita *wäräda* are well known for their economic success with coffee cultivation. They live in houses with corrugated iron roofs equipped with tables, beds, and chairs that show off their high living standards in this rural area.

2.2. *The changing Manjo lifestyle*

Before the Derg era, the Manjo had no right to own land and moved around to hunt and gather food (Gezahegn 2003: 90). According to an informant, their population was smaller than it is today, and dense forests were plentiful until the 1980s. Prey for hunting was also abundant, and the Manjo used to eat meat almost every day. They started working their land at daybreak, and when the sun was at its zenith, they would go out to hunt, walking tens of kilometers every day. They returned home with wild animals at sunset.⁽¹²⁾ Today, Manjo recall those days with nostalgia and pride. Elder Manjo who are known for their hunting and fishing skills are respected and called *aaddoo* (hunter).

The most commonly hunted animals were wild boar (*gudino*), bushbuck (*dollo*), porcupine (*caayo*), colobus (*ello*), buffalo (*gabo*), and elephant (*dangiyo*). These animals were caught mainly for food, but other animals were captured for different reasons. For example, civet cats (*wongo*) were captured alive in traps and sold to Kafa Muslims (Huntingford 1955: 106; Ishihara 2003). Some animals, such as porcupines, were (and still are) considered panaceas. For example, porcupine meat is used as medicine for treating colds and skin disease. The Manjo captured porcupines at the request of the Kafa. The hides and fur of some animals, especially leopards (*maho*) and lions (*dahero*), were used as material for clothes and hats. Elephant tusks were sold and provided the Manjo with a significant income.

Today the living environment of the Manjo has changed drastically, and hunting is becoming increasingly rare due to severe restrictions (Gezahegn 2003: 90). Although they still hunt small animals using dogs, guns, and trapping nets, the Manjo must travel a long distance to find areas with abundant populations to hunt big game. Now the Manjo buy meat at the market.

Manjo women used to make earthenware at home while the men went out to hunt. Women

made plates, pans, pots, and water jugs and sold them at local markets. Now many Manjo women have stopped producing earthenware for cash income, making it only for their own use at home; some young women do not even know how to make earthenware. One of the reasons for this is that kitchen utensils made from aluminum and plastic are coming into wide use, and the demand for earthenware is decreasing. Another reason is that the Manjo believe their practice of making earthenware was one of the reasons the Kafa discriminated against them.

Today most Manjo are farmers. In fact, the lifestyle of Manjo living in the western Kafa zone is not different from that of Kafa farmers who cultivate staples such as maize, sorghum, wheat, barley, *t'ef*, *ensete*, and beans. Manjo backyard gardens contain staple vegetables (e.g., onion, garlic, ginger, cabbage, sweet potato, sugar cane) and fruits (e.g., banana, mango, papaya) that are sold for cash income. Some Manjo grow coffee and earn more cash income than the Kafa.

Apiculture is another source of cash income for the Manjo and mostly takes place in Gesha *wäräda* and Saylem *wäräda* in the northern part of Kafa. Because the Kafa are generally not as skilled and knowledgeable apiculturists as the Manjo, they buy their honey from the Manjo. Although the Kafa make *t'ajj* (mead; *eeyo* in *Kafi-noono*) and *bärz* (a nonalcoholic drink made with honey and water; *bärzo* in *Kafi-noono*) from honey purchased from the Manjo, they never sell these drinks to the Manjo. The Manjo object to this and claim they have the right to buy and drink *t'ajj* and *bärz*. This situation is changing, as aspects of discrimination are also changing.

Today the Manjo have stopped hunting and eating wild animals, which are practices considered to be reasons for the discrimination. The Manjo have just as many livestock (e.g., cows, bulls, goats, sheep, fowl, horses) as the Kafa and eat their meat and dairy products. Since the Manjo have gained the means to earn money and have begun wearing clothes and shoes sold in boutiques, they have become indistinguishable from the Kafa in terms of their appearance. In this respect, the Manjo, who are no longer hunters and "poor farmers" (Gezahegn 2003: 91), have achieved almost the same economic standard as the Kafa, despite being discriminated against socially.

3. DISCRIMINATION AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

3.1. Manjo stereotypes

The social hierarchy of the Kafa kingdom was completely eliminated under the Derg regime, but the Manjo are still referred to as *gonde asbi yaro* (people of bad clans) by the Kafa. Most of the Kafa distinguish themselves from the Manjo by pointing out certain features and characteristics that the Manjo people supposedly have. Stereotypes of the Manjo include the following:

- a. Eating habits:** The Manjo eat "unclean" and "filthy" food. This includes the meat of religiously prohibited animals such as the savanna monkey, baboon, colobus, wild boar, and dead animals.
- b. Physical appearance:** The Manjo are short in height, with very curly hair. Their noses are low and wide. The Manjo do not care about hygiene, do not wash their bodies or clothes, and smell unpleasant (in some cases because of skin disease).
- c. Characteristics:** The Manjo are wicked and are liars, they are not interested in education, and they are ignorant and lazy. They are extravagant and thieving and lack a sense of morality.

These Manjo stereotypes are shared not only among the Kafa but also among the Amhara, likely because intermarriage between the Kafa and the Amhara is very common. Moreover, similar idioms and logic referring to eating habits, physical appearance, and characteristics are used among Ethiopians in general to describe certain groups held in contempt. The Manjo are well aware of these stereotypes. A Manjo informant told me that some Kafa people say "The Manjo have nails divided into two. Men have tails at the back of their heads, and women have tails on their foreheads."⁽¹³⁾ In return, the Manjo regard the Kafa as liars, ready to deceive them. The Manjo also consider the Kafa to be cowardly and extremely suspicious, whereas they themselves are brave and honest.

Despite this abuse, even after staying in the houses of both Kafa and Manjo I found it difficult to pinpoint the differences in their lifestyles. Because most Manjo have stopped eating the meat of wild animals, their daily meals are almost the same as those of the Kafa. The Manjo wash their bodies and clothes in the river once or twice a week as the Kafa do. Thus, it seems that Manjo stereotypes lack a substantial basis in reality, and that the Kafa use such idioms only to justify their discrimination against the Manjo.

3.2. *Discrimination against the Manjo*

The Manjo are discriminated against in everyday life. Social discrimination is especially noticeable in greetings, at mealtimes, in communal labor, in the choice of spouses, and in the location of burial grounds (e.g., Lange 1982; Gezahegn 2003). Similar situations of social discrimination have been reported by the Fuga, the Wayto, and the Waata, as well as various occupational groups scattered all over Ethiopia (e.g., Pankhurst 1999; Gamst 1978; Freeman & Pankhurst 2003a).

Before the Derg period, Kafa discrimination against the Manjo was far more brazen. According to both Manjo and Kafa informants who lived at that time, it was not uncommon for Manjo to be beaten by Kafa. If a Manjo happened to be wearing the same clothes or shoes as a Kafa, he or she was beaten and forced to take them off. Moreover, if a Manjo encountered a Kafa on the road side, the Manjo had to humiliate himself, stepping aside, bowing, and greeting the Kafa with the phrase *showocchi qebona* (literally, let me prostrate myself on the ground).

Even today, some Kafa refuse to allow a Manjo to enter their house, requesting that the Manjo sit on an *ensete* leaf or a beehive box placed outside. Even if, by chance, a Manjo is permitted to enter the house of a Kafa, his or her seat will be near the entrance. Likewise, Kafa never enter Manjo houses but only stand in the doorways.

Complaining to me about this kind of behavior, a Manjo said, "Why can't a Manjo enter the house of a Kafa, when a dog is allowed to do so?"⁽¹⁴⁾ It is also quite common for Manjo to be prohibited to enter local restaurants. However, outright refusal to admit entrance to a Manjo is rare. The owner of the restaurant (most likely a Kafa) merely tells the Manjo that all the food is sold out, which implies that he or she is an uninvited guest. In some cases where Manjo are permitted to enter and have a drink, owners reserve bottles and glasses for use only by Manjo.

The Kafa avoid eating with the Manjo or using the same tableware, because cooking utensils used by the Manjo are considered "unclean." The contradictory attitude of the Kafa toward honey and *t'ajj* illustrates this further: Kafa eat honey that Manjo gather but consider drinking *t'ajj* made by Manjo to be abhorrent.

Recently, some Manjo have attempted to resist this discrimination. These mostly young and educated men have tried and sometimes succeeded in persuading the Kafa to treat the Manjo in a more humanitarian way.⁽¹⁵⁾ However, such amicable relationships are usually limited to individuals and never extend to the Manjo as a whole. Because the Manjo are a minority, such individual attempts against discrimination are intentionally ignored by the Kafa.

The Manjo social position and way of life have changed drastically since the Derg era. Changes in the Manjo subsistence economy and their conversion to evangelical Christianity have had significant influences on their economic and social status vis-à-vis the Kafa. However, the Manjo are still discriminated against in various ways and, especially among the educated, feel that they are being deprived of their right to political, economic, and social equality.

4. FORMATION OF THE MANJO ELITE AND THE CLAIM FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

4.1. *Affirmative action and the right to self-determination*

The 1994 constitution divided Ethiopia into nine regional states based on "Nations, Nationalities and Peoples," defined in Article 39 as a group of people (a) who have or share a large measure of 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, (*The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia* 1995).

Regarding the boundaries of regional states, Article 46 states that they "shall be delimited on the basis of the settlement patterns, language, identity and consent of the people concerned," and 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 change the boundary of a regional state is guaranteed in Article 48.

Based on this stipulation, measures for affirmative action are taken for minority groups. Their right to participate in political activities is also guaranteed in the constitution. Article 54 states that minority groups are admitted special representation in the Congress of the Representative of the People of the Federal Government.

Recently, minority groups have been given priority in education and employment by the government at the zonal and regional levels. As a result, some minority individuals have finished their education and obtained jobs in the local administration. This affirmative action corrects the imbalance among ethnic groups in the local administration. The Manjo are treated as a minority and as such enjoy various measures of affirmative action.

4.2. *Claming the right to self-determination*

After the initial boundaries were laid out, some nations, nationalities, and peoples insisted on having an administrative district of their own in the SNNPR where minority groups were concentrated (Miyawaki & Ishihara 2005: 31). This was also true of the Kafa zone. Initially the area was divided into four zones: Kafa, Sheka, Benchi, and Maji. In 1996/1997, these four zones were reorganized into the Kaficho Shekacho zone and the Benchi Maji zone. However, the Shekacho insisted that their language was different from that of the Kafa, so in 2000 the Kaficho Shekacho zone was subdivided into the Kafa zone and the Sheka zone (Vaughan 2003: 270).

Similarly, the Majangir, an ethnic group living mainly in the Gambella Regional State and the Oromia Regional State and SNNPR, revolted in Tepi (Yeki *wäräda*, SNNPR) in April and May 1993. According to Sato, the Majangir, who claim to be indigenous to Tepi, were dissatisfied with the distribution of administrative posts and the demarcation of the border, which excluded Tepi from the Gambella Regional State. After the conflict, a peace conference and a series of negotiations were held among representatives of the Majangir and Shekacho and officials of the Gambella Regional State. Although the Majangir request to include Tepi in the Gambella Regional State was rejected, Godare *wäräda* in the Gambella Regional State, where some of the Majangir lived, was given the status of special *wäräda* (Sato 2000: 14, 2005: 283–284).

The Majangir case encouraged Manjo, whose population in this area was exceptionally high, in Yeki *wäräda*. Although most Manjo are uneducated and indifferent to political matters, some are educated and well informed about how to petition the government. In 1997, two educated Manjo, who were residents of Bach'i *kebele* in Yeki *wäräda*, petitioned the local government requesting Manjo rights equal to those of any other nation, nationality, or peoples. The petition pointed out that although the government recognized equal rights for all, the Manjo were discriminated against by the Kafa and deprived of the opportunity for employment as administrative officials, teachers, and police officers. The petition also claimed that the government turned a deaf ear to the Manjo. The petition was supported by Manjo living in Bitä *wäräda* and Yeki *wäräda*, and funds were raised for the two *wärädas* to take action at the zonal level, followed by the regional and federal levels. Fundraising was initiated by Manjo residents of Woshero *kebele*, Shota *kebele*, and Yina *kebele* in Bitä *wäräda* and Bach'i *kebele* in Yeki *wäräda*.

The two Manjo visited all *wärädas* in Kaficho Shekacho zone (present-day Kafa and Sheka zones) to investigate the customs and habits of the Manjo and collect oral histories.⁽¹⁶⁾ They also made a census of the Manjo population and clans.⁽¹⁷⁾ The data were compiled in a 29-page report handwritten in Amharic that concluded that the Manjo were an ethnic group with its own culture, customs

and habits, and language distinct from *Kafi-noono* and *Sheki-noono* (the language of the Sheka). The report was attached to the petition as evidence that the Manjo were an independent ethnic group.

The petition also included the request for recognition as a people, the establishment of a special *wäräda* and the formation of a political party of their own. They insisted that they were the indigenous people of the Kafa area and that their clans and cultures were distinct from those of the Kafa. To support this claim academically, they quoted passages from Bieber and Cecchi.⁽¹⁸⁾

However, the local, regional, and federal governments dismissed their request on the grounds that the Manjo speak *Kafi-noono*, that the Manjo population is too small, and that the group does not include many educated individuals.

In response to this dismissal, Manjo in Woshero *kebele* refused to pay the annual tax in 2000/2001.⁽¹⁹⁾ When a policeman came to negotiate payment of the tax, the Manjo repelled him with spears and hatchets. Following this incident, the Head Administrators of the Kafa zone and of Bitä *wäräda* came to Woshero *kebele* and met with the residents in March 2001. However, by tossing cash out of their pockets to show that the matter was not one of money, the Manjo demonstrated their protest of the dismissal of their request by the government. The meeting failed to resolve anything, and a Kafa informant who had participated in the meeting complained to me that it had been in vain.

5. THE 2002 INCIDENT, AND ITS BACKGROUND AND AFTERMATH

5.1. Social and economic background of Woshero and Shota

The 2002 incident occurred in Woshero *kebele* and Shota *kebele* in western Bitä *wäräda*. These *kebeles* are located about 110 km west of Bonga and 10 km east of Tepi. Tepi is a commercial center, and people living in Woshero *kebele* and Shota *kebele* often go there to buy goods and foods not available at weekly markets (Fig. 2).

Woshero *kebele* consists of 894 households and had a population of 4,204 in 2005. Shota *kebele* has 459 households and a population of 2,159. One of the most remarkable characteristics of these two *kebeles* is their proportionately high Manjo populations.⁽²⁰⁾ Also, both are known for their coffee production. Residents, including Manjo, are farmers and cultivate coffee as a cash crop. The estimated annual production of coffee beans is 500 to 2,000 kg per household, which amounts to as much as 2,500 to 10,000 *birr* (1birr = 0.1US dollar). Economically, this translates into a high standard of living.

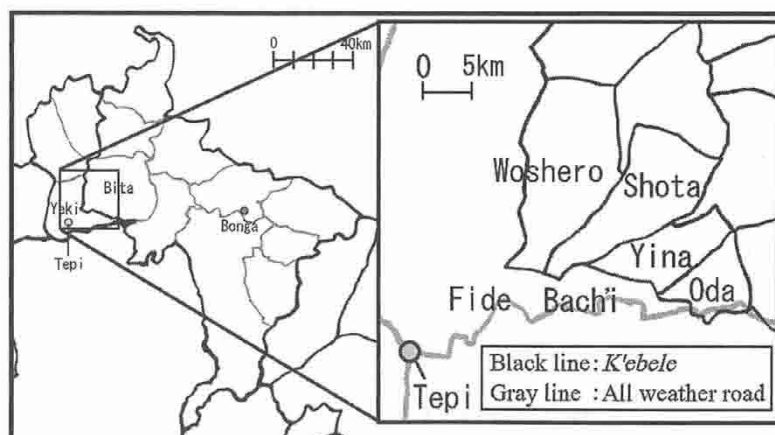


Fig. 2. Area of the attack and the location of *kebeles*. Map made by author based on map prepared by Zonal Finance and Economic Development Desk and Sustainable Poverty Alleviation in Kafa Zone in 2003

5.2. *The incident*

On the morning of Monday, 11 March 2002, shooting broke out in Bach'i *kèbele*. The road between Oda *kèbele* and Bach'i *kèbele* was blockaded by Manjo living around Bach'i *kèbele*. Cars and buses from Tepi and Bonga were not able to pass and instead had to take the detour road through Mizan Teferi.

Word of the incident spread to Woshero *kèbele* and Shota *kèbele*. On 12 March, Manjo residents there began to attack their Kafa neighbors. A policeman who took part in the suppression of the disturbance told me that Manjo formed several groups of 20 to 30 persons, one holding a gun and the others armed with spears and hatchets. Each group had its own particular role: one opened fire, another one plundered, and other groups killed persons.⁽²¹⁾

A Kafa informant told me that Manjo began to attack at around 8 a.m. at Shota *kèbele*.⁽²²⁾ Kafa residents were confined in the three evangelical churches in Shota *kèbele* for 3 days until a policeman came and liberated them. Many Kafa houses were burned to the ground by Manjo raiders, and some Kafa were killed with hatchets for their bullets. The head administrator of Shota *kèbele* was shot. Another group broke into the house of the family of a former *geppe-tato* or *ballabat* (landlord) in Shota, who belonged to the Shota clan. One family member managed to escape with his two wives and children, but the others were killed with hatchets. Manjo raiders tied men to trees, raped their wives in front of them, and then cut out the men's tongues. The corpses were left to rot.

The situation in Woshero *kèbele* was somewhat different. According to a Kafa informant, Manjo raiders initially planned to rob their Kafa neighbors of guns. However, when a group of Manjo approached the target house, one of the members of the Kafa family noticed it. Running into his house, he picked up a gun and shot the Manjo leader. Seeing the leader die, the raiders began to retreat. This skirmish was enough to dampen their excitement.

In Woshero *kèbele*, many of the Kafa residents fled, and others shut themselves in their houses. A Kafa informant told me how difficult it was to take refuge:

As soon as I heard the shooting, I fled to my relative's house in Gesha *wäräda* with my wife, children, and cows. The Manjo were everywhere, and we had to find a way out where there were no Manjo. We walked through the forest for two days. On our way we passed two pregnant women giving birth. One baby was born dead. The other baby was named *säddüi* (refuge). We heard that our house was set on fire and some of our neighbors were killed. Eight days after we left our village, I heard that order was restored in Woshero *kèbele*. Then we returned.⁽²³⁾

It took about 1 week for order to be restored. Paths connecting the main road to villages in Woshero *kèbele* and Shota *kèbele* were blockaded by the Manjo. At that time, there were no police stationed permanently in these *kèbeles*. Two policemen were assigned to patrol four *kèbeles* (Oda, Yina, Woshero, and Shota), and they were usually in Oda *kèbele*. After the incident, police in the Kafa zone gathered in Bitä *wäräda*, and federal police troops were dispatched from Awasa. In the process of entering Woshero *kèbele* and Shota *kèbele*, local and federal police forces burned down Manjo houses; some federal police shot and killed Manjo. After they surrendered, the Manjo were disarmed, and approximately 40 guns were confiscated. Manjo raiders caught by the police confessed everything about the attack.

A policeman who took part in the suppression of the disturbance told me that those who had led the attack were ex-soldiers in the Derg army.⁽²⁴⁾ According to this policeman, the ex-soldiers taught other Manjo how to use guns, dig trenches, and fight. The Manjo constructed temporary houses in the forest in which the women and children could take shelter. The preparations took about 15 to 30 days. Therefore, it was quite difficult for the police to track down the Manjo.

A week after the incident, word had gotten around that the disturbance had settled down. However, Kafa residents of Woshero *kèbele* and Shota *kèbele* did not return to their villages immediately. It was not until 23 March that the first Kafa returned to the area to find that livestock had been stolen or lost and shops had been looted.

A Kafa school teacher described his experience at Woshero. An armed Manjo passed the front gate of the school. At that time, the teachers were hiding in a classroom with a gun that they had obtained from a school guard. To their surprise, the Manjo merely passed by, leaving them. The Manjo did not intend to kill Kafa indiscriminately but rather had selected in advance a few people as targets of the assault.

5.3. *Background of the incident*

Before the incident, there had been rumors. A Kafa informant testified that he had seen a Manjo buy bullets in Tepi and bring them to the village in a plastic tank.⁽²⁵⁾ Another Kafa said that he had heard several Manjo talking about the Anywaa preparing a riot in Tepi. Some Kafa had even heard rumors that the Manjo were planning an attack.⁽²⁶⁾ However, administrative officials regarded these rumors as groundless and ignored them.

Regarding the cause of this incident, there were two theories. The first was that the incident was an act of resistance to social discrimination; many Kafa informants referred not only to everyday discrimination against the Manjo by the Kafa, but to one incident in particular.⁽²⁷⁾ In 1994/1995, the price of domestic coffee soared, and coffee producers, including the Manjo, gained an unprecedented high income. Manjo coffee producers, some of whom were now wealthier than their Kafa neighbors, began to buy goods and clothes of the same quality as those brought by Kafa. One day at the market in Woshero *k'ebele*, a Manjo man was wearing a hat identical to that of his Kafa neighbor. The Kafa and his friends quarreled with the man, because Manjo were not supposed to wear clothes of the same quality as Kafa. The quarrel was settled, but later those same Kafa ambushed the man on his way to a village in Shota *k'ebele*. The Manjo tried to run away, but the Kafa stabbed him in the back, killing him. The victims targeted in the Shota *k'ebele* incident in 2002 were relatives of the Kafa who killed this man. Therefore, many Kafa considered the 2002 incident to be retaliation for the attack on the Manjo.

The second theory was a political one. On the same day of the Manjo attack, the Majangir and Sheko had attacked their Shekacho neighbors and the *wäräda* administration office and police station in Tepi (Sato 2005: 284; Vaughan 2006: 199). Some people, including the local government, associated this incident with the dismissal of the Manjo petition.⁽²⁸⁾ When federal police arrived, they arrested the Manjo man who had played a central role in creating the petition and set fire to his house in Bach'i *k'ebele*. Initially, the police considered this person to be the leader of the attack. However, in the case of Woshero *k'ebele* and Shota *k'ebele*, those assaulted were not government officials but citizens. This Manjo man said to me:

I was a real nuisance for the government. While I was involved in the movement, the federal policemen had designs on my life many times. But we did not wish to resort to violence. We only wanted to appeal to the government to improve the social situation of the Manjo by peaceful means. But some Manjo tried to change the situation by violence. Consequently, much to my regret, it became an event with violence.⁽²⁹⁾

Different people explained the incident from different points of view. Depending on the person, the disturbance was caused by Manjo who either were frustrated with discrimination by the Kafa, were frustrated with the government for dismissing their petition, or held a grudge against a particular Kafa who had killed a relative. Considering that most of these explanations refer only to the general conditions under which most of the Manjo lived, they cannot satisfactorily explain why the incident occurred only among certain Manjo groups.

5.4. *Distinctive features of Manjo in the western Kafa zone*

Three characteristics differentiate Manjo residing in western Kafa zone from Manjo living in other areas.

First, the Manjo in this area are wealthier than others, having gained cash income from coffee

cultivation. Therefore, the lives of Manjo in the western Kafa zone are not much different from those of the Kafa.

Second, this area is adjacent to Sheka zone and is near Tepi, a densely populated, multiethnic area where Majangir, Sheko, Gimira, Shekacho, and Amhara live side by side. In the Kafa zone, the language used in schools is *Kafi-noono*, whereas in the Sheka zone, it is Amharic. People living in this area, whether they are Kafa, Shekacho, or Manjo, are accustomed to speaking Amharic. Moreover, Tepi, the entrepôt of the area, is connected with Addis Ababa by public transportation. Because of this, the Manjo have contact with people belonging to various other ethnic groups. Among them, the Majangir and the Sheko are well educated and have their own political party (i.e., the Sheko-Majangir Democratic Unity Party). Being in close contact with the Majangir and the Sheko means that the Manjo are familiar with the right to self-determination. Thus, it is not surprising that the 2002 Manjo attack broke out on the same day of the Tepi uprising by the Majangir and the Sheko. Manjo living in the western Kafa zone were clearly strongly influenced by the political ideas of these neighbors.

Third, a number of Manjo men in this area served in the military during the Derg era. In fact, the proportion of Manjo soldiers is larger than that of Kafa in the Kafa zone, due to the fact that Kafa men caught Manjo men and handed them over to the military to avoid their own conscription. After the collapse of the Derg regime, these ex-soldiers returned to their homelands. They were not only armed with weapons but also knew how to fight. In the military, they had been treated as equals of the soldiers from other ethnic groups. It is thus not surprising that the returning Manjo soldiers were dissatisfied with the outspoken discrimination against them by the Kafa residents and ultimately played a pivotal role in the incident.

5.5. *Aftermath of the attack*

News about the 2002 incident spread in and around the Kafa and Sheka zones, and the public media also reported on it. Its impact was tremendous, because the incident shattered the image of the Manjo as a "poor and humble people living in the forest."

After the incident, seven policemen were assigned to keep the two *kebeles* under control, and a police station was established in Woshero *kebele*. In addition to their usual salary, the policemen were paid an extra allowance of 7 *birr* per day. After a while, the number of officers was reduced to two; they are stationed in Woshero *kebele* and patrol Woshero *kebele* and Shota *kebele*. In addition to creating a police station, the local government improved social welfare services in the two *kebeles*. For example, in Woshero *kebele*, a public water pump was installed and a clinic was built, while in Shota *kebele*, an elementary school was constructed.

The local administration also changed. Shota *kebele* elected a new head, as the former had been murdered in the attack. The head of Woshero *kebele* took responsibility for the attack and was removed. The head administrator of Bitä *wäräda* was removed, and a Manjo man was appointed as a new sub-administrator of Bitä *wäräda*. Moreover, Manjo who had played a central role in preparing and submitting the petitions in 1997 received positions in the local administration in Yeki *wäräda* in 2005.

Two hundred forty one Manjo were taken into custody.⁽³⁰⁾ They were subjected to judicial procedures and were sentenced according to the role they played in the incident. Some were jailed in Bonga, and others were imprisoned in Mizan Teferi. However, it was not only Manjo who were arrested. A Kafa man, whose father owned a gun and had murdered the Manjo leader, was also arrested. The trial of the latter was entrusted to the Supreme Court of the SNNPR, because it was recognized that a fair judgment could not be expected in the High Court of the Kafa zone because the judge was a Kafa. Manjo prisoners were just being released on probation when I started my field research.

To reach a common understanding on the social background of the incident, the federal government held public hearings and conferences in Bonga and Mizan Teferi. However, Manjo who were in jail at that time could not participate. Moreover, Manjo who resided in the Sheka zone were not invited to attend the meetings, even though the attack had first occurred in that region. In the mean-

time, the state government was inquiring into the attack and conducting research on the Manjo and their history. The results were compiled in a 22-page report distributed at the 2003 public hearings. As a result of this official intervention, discrimination against the Manjo in Kafa zone came to be treated as a human rights issue.

A number of NGOs such as FARM Africa, S.O.S. Sahel Ethiopia, and Action Aid Ethiopia initiated various campaigns to abolish this discrimination. FARM Africa started the Participatory Forest Management project for the Manjo in 1996. In 2002, this project became a part of the FARM Africa and S.O.S. Sahel Ethiopia project. Action Aid Ethiopia has conducted projects for the Manjo in Bita *wäräda* and Dechä *wäräda* since 2005. However, some Manjo complained that these NGOs (probably due to a lack of information about the incident) concentrate their projects only in the Kafa zone instead of Yeki *wäräda* in the Sheka zone, where the incident originally occurred.

The 2002 incident affected the social relationship between the Manjo and the Kafa. The areas where the incident took place became unusually peaceful and quiet, because many Manjo men were arrested, which left only Manjo women, children, and elders in the villages. Manjo and Kafa began to greet one another by shaking hands, and Manjo were allowed to drink *bärz* in restaurants owned by Kafa. In restaurants, Kafa and Manjo began speaking with one another; however, this does not necessarily indicate peace. A Manjo informant told me:

I never saw this kind of situation before the attack. I think the Kafa still dislike the Manjo in their hearts, but the Kafa are trying to build good relationship with the Manjo.⁽³¹⁾

In the initial phase of my research, the atmosphere was still very tense. When I asked some people about the incident, most of them either refused to answer or evaded my question. The incident brought about an awkward situation in which the Kafa and the Manjo pretended to have made peace with one another. A Manjo informant told me that the Kafa whose family member had been killed by the Manjo was very angry and hated the Manjo, and the Manjo involved in the murder feared personal retaliation from the Kafa.

If a Manjo and a Kafa happened to quarrel with each other in the *Kebele*, it was to be reported to the *Kebele* head at once. Apparent conflicts between Kafa and Manjo were suppressed due to the fearful memories of the attack. This was true even of children. For example, according to a teacher in the Woshero elementary school, when a Manjo student and a Kafa student quarreled at school, older students instantly interfered and said, "Do you want to cause an event like in 2002?"⁽³²⁾

The image of the Manjo held by the Kafa also changed somewhat. Before the 2002 incident, the Manjo were considered poor people living in the forest. Now the Manjo have a new image, that of "dangerous and cruel people." To an outsider, the relationship between the Kafa and the Manjo seemed normal, peaceful, and amicable, but this relationship was merely a cover for an uneasy tension.

6. CONCLUSION

The 2002 attack was rooted in social discrimination against the Manjo. However, a close examination into the incident reveals complex social factors at play. The Manjo obtain cash income from agriculture, and those who reside in the western Kafa and eastern Sheka zones, in particular, are wealthy and educated. The lifestyles and living standards of the Manjo and the Kafa in this area differ little. In addition, the political activities of the Majangir and the Sheko have affected the Manjo, making them very conscious of their political and humanitarian rights.

The incident had a serious effect on the relationship between the Manjo and the Kafa in general. A Manjo informant told me that his people are encouraged by the incident, even though they are against violence. The Manjo, not just those residing in the Kafa zone, are beginning to feel that the long-standing discrimination by their neighbors, with whom they share the same language and cul-

ture, is unbearable and unjustifiable.

In the Kafa zone, the government has taken measures for affirmative action in education, and Manjo can now enter the boarding school for minority groups established in Arba Minchi in 1998. This has produced a group of educated individuals. Today, Manjo graduates from this school are being appointed as teachers, police officers, and agricultural managers. Since the 2002 incident, campaigns for education launched by NGOs and the government have increased. Although only a few Manjo are educated, they have become a role model for the younger generation attending school.

The social life of the Manjo is also changing. When I spoke with Manjo, they often complained about the discrimination against them by the Kafa. They asked, "Why aren't the Manjo equal to the Kafa?", "Why can't Manjo marry Kafa?", "Why is there no Manjo administrator?" The Manjo feel that they have been deprived of their right to self-determination and have begun to insist on this right. The 2002 incident created a new opportunity to discuss the social discrimination of minorities and human rights issues.

NOTES

- (1) Vaughan (2003: 276) reported the Manjo incident had occurred several days after the incident in Tepi. According to my informant, however, the Manjo incident and the incident in Tepi took place on the same day.
- (2) After I had completed my master's thesis on this incident, Vaughan published a paper in which she reported and analyzed the same incident (Vaughan 2006; see also Yoshida 2007). Although my analysis was obtained from my own field research, it mostly agreed with Vaughan's findings. In this paper, I present some details of the incident that Vaughan omitted and support these findings with statements from locals.
- (3) This article is based on information and data collected in my research in the Kafa zone, which was conducted in three phases: (1) from January to March 2005 in Bita *wäräda*; (2) from August 2005 to February 2006 in Bita *wäräda*, Gesha *wäräda*, Manjiwo *wäräda*, and Decha *wäräda*; and (3) from August to October 2006 in Gimbo *wäräda* and Gesha *wäräda*. Fieldwork in Woshero *kebele* and Shota *kebele* took 5 months. Institute of Ethiopian Studies supported my research. The second and third phases of research were funded by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology). The research was conducted under the project "Historical Investigation of Ethnic Conflict in the Process of Nation State Building: A Comparative Study on Northeast African Societies" (Project Leader, Katsuyoshi Fukui, Kyoto University, Project No. 17251014).
- (4) The immigration of the Amhara from northern Ethiopia to the Kafa zone occurred in three major phases. Initial groups followed Menelik's conquest of the area in 1897. The second influx took place during the Italian occupation; the third resulted from the resettlement policy of the Derg regime (Vaughan 2006: 194).
- (5) Although its origin is unclear, it is generally understood that the word *Gomoro* derives from the fact that the Kafa used to hunt and eat hippopotamus (*gumare* in Amharic) in the Gojeb River (Orent 1969: 47).
- (6) The Manno eat the meat remaining on the hide when they skin an animal. Because of this, they are discriminated against by the Kafa.
- (7) This estimate was given to me by the Head Administrator of the Kafa zone. According to this estimate, the Manjo account for 1.1% to 1.4% of the entire population of the Kafa zone. This seems to be more appropriate than an estimate mentioned by Freeman and Pankhurst (2003b: 76). Quoting data from van Halteren (1996: 4), they estimated that the Manjo account for 5 to 10% of the entire population in the Kafa and Sheka zones.
- (8) Pottery is customarily made by women of the Manno and the Manjo.
- (9) According to Lange (1982: 267), the Manjo should be distinguished from slaves. The Manjo have their own clans, different from those of the Kafa. A Manjo informant told me that the Manjo and the Kafa were not the same, that the first king of the Kafa kingdom was a Manjo, and that the Kafa were newcomers and usurpers of the throne. Lange (1982: 181) referenced a similar story.
- (10) Mengistu (2003: 101) pointed out that the Manjo who live in the Sheka zone are not considered to be human.

- (11) The Kafa kingdom consisted of administrative units called *worafos*. Each *woräfo* was governed by a Kafa (*Woräfo-rasha*). *Manji-rasha* covered the Manjo residents under *Woräfo-rasha*. *Manji-guado* was a Manjo who worked under *Manji-rasha*.
- (12) Interview with a Manjo woman, Gesha *wäräda*, 29 November 2006.
- (13) Interview with a Manjo man, Gesha *wäräda*, 19 January 2006.
- (14) Interview with a Manjo man, Bitä *wäräda*, March 2005.
- (15) Before the Derg period, the Manjo were not allowed to attend school; thus, most of the Manjo were deprived of the opportunity to receive an education.
- (16) Series of interviews with the Manjo man (resident of Bach'i *kebele* of Yeki *wäräda*) who submitted the petition. Interviews were conducted at Bach'i *kebele*, 14 and 19 November 2005; and Tepi, 27–28 January 2006.
- (17) According to this man, the Manjo population was 77,389 in the Kafa zone and 31,543 in the Sheka zone in 2000/2001. The number of Manjo clans was more than 40.
- (18) These passages were quoted from a book on Kafa history written in Amharic (Täkle 1985).
- (19) Interview with a Manjo man, Woshero *kebele*, 1 March 2005.
- (20) Although it is difficult to determine with great accuracy the Manjo population of these *kebeles*, the high percentage of Manjo students in the Woshero elementary school (40%, or 277 of 695 students in 2005) indicates the Manjo make up a large proportion of the population.
- (21) Interview with a Kafa policeman, Woshero *kebele*, 8 March 2005.
- (22) Interview with a Kafa man, Woshero *kebele*, 6 March 2005.
- (23) Interview with a Kafa man, Woshero *kebele*, 8 March 2005.
- (24) Interview with a Kafa policeman, Woshero *kebele*, 8 March 2005.
- (25) Interview with a Kafa man, Woshero *kebele*, 6 March 2005.
- (26) Interview with a Kafa man, Woshero *kebele*, 6 March 2005.
- (27) Interview with a Kafa man, Woshero *kebele*, 6 March 2005.
- (28) Interview with Kafa and Manjo men, residents of Woshero *kebele*, March 2005.
- (29) Interview with a Manjo man, Tepi, 27–28 January 2006.
- (30) Interview with a Kafa policeman, Bitä Genet, 19 February 2008.
- (31) Interview with a Manjo man, Woshero *kebele*, March 2005.
- (32) Interview with a Kafa man, Woshero *kebele*, 8 March 2005.

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