

# THE SOCIAL CHALLENGES OF POTTERS AND TANNERS AMONG THE YEM PEOPLE, SOUTHWEST ETHIOPIA

Güney Batı Etiyopya'ndaki Yem Halkı Arasındaki Çömlekçi Ve Tabakçıların Toplumsal Zorlukları

**Reference:** Yimer, N.A. (2020). "The Social Challenges Of Potters And Tanners Among The Yem People, Southwest Ethiopia", International Social Mentality and Researcher Thinkers Journal, (Issn:2630-631X) 6(32): 919-926.

**Nigusu Adem YIMER**

PhD Candidate at the Department of History, Sakarya University, Sakarya/Turkey

ORCID 0000-0002-4455-6137

## ABSTRACT

In this short article it is intended to shade a new insight about the social challenges of occupational groups (i.e. potter and tanner) among the Yem people, in southwestern part of Ethiopia. In the process of reconstructing the social challenges of potters and tanners in Yem special district the author had visited the district twice, in 2013 and 2015. So, while undertaking the study on the dynamics of the social interactions among the Yem people, the author has examined both primary and secondary sources to figure out and reconstruct the social challenges that potter and tanner face from the community. Apparently, the personal presence and observation of the author to the study area also helped for balanced interpretation of the collected data in the process of reconstructing the article. In the process of the study it is identified that the Fuga occupational groups has been residing in Yem special district in a restricted territory since time in memorial. In their interaction with the non-marginalized community the fuga potter and tanner helped the community with their professional skills by producing clay made home equipment. Apparently, despite the presence of outrageous discrimination and marginalization the Fuga potter and tanner in Yem special district helped the community in, circumcising boys, digging graves, carrying corps to the grave sites etc. Therefore, the study tries to examine the dynamics of interaction and interdependence of the socially marginalized and despised fuga community with the other Yem. The study also tries to figure out contributing elements for the long standing marginalization of the fuga community by the Yem people. Apparently, the social stratification of the Yem people based on their occupation is examined while elaborating about the fuga potter, tanner and hunter.

**Keyword:** Yem, Fuga, Potter, Tanner, Ethiopia, Marginalization

## ÖZET

Bu kısa makalede, Etiyopya'nın güneybatı kesimindeki Yem halkı arasında meslek gruplarının (yani çömlekçi ve tabakçı) sosyal zorlukları hakkında yeni bir içgörü gölgelemesi amaçlanmıştır. Yem özel ilçesinde çömlekçi ve tabakçıların sosyal zorluklarını yeniden inşa etme sürecinde, yazar bölgeyi 2013 ve 2015 yıllarında iki kez ziyaret etmişti. Bu nedenle, Yem halkı arasındaki sosyal etkileşimlerin dinamikleri üzerine çalışma yaparken, yazar toplumdaki gelen çömlekçi ve tabakçıların karşılaştığı sosyal zorlukları anlamak ve yeniden yapılandırmak için hem birincil hem de ikincil kaynakları incelemiştir. Görünüşe göre, yazarın çalışma alanına kişisel varlığı ve gözlemi, makalenin yeniden yapılandırılması sürecinde toplanan verilerin dengeli yorumlanmasına da yardımcı oldu. Çalışma sürecinde Fuga meslek gruplarının anıtsal zamandan beri kısıtlı bir bölgede Yem özel ilçesinde ikamet ettikleri tespit edilmiştir. Marjinal olmayan toplulukla etkileşimlerinde fuga çömlekçi ve tabakçı, kilden yapılmış ev ekipmanı üreterek topluluğa mesleki becerileri konusunda yardımcı oldu. Görünüşe göre, aşırı ayrımcılık ve marjinalleşmenin varlığına rağmen, Yem özel bölgesindeki Fuga çömlekçi ve tabakçı topluluğu, erkeklerin sünnet edilmesi, mezar kazılması, cesetlerin mezarlıklara taşınması vb. sosyal olarak marjinalize edilmiş ve hor görülen fuga topluluğunun diğer Yem ile karşılıklı bağımlılığı. Çalışma ayrıca Yem halkı tarafından fuga topluluğunun uzun zamandır marjinalleşmesine katkıda bulunan unsurlar bulmaya çalışıyor. Görünüşe göre, Yem halkının mesleklerine göre sosyal tabakalaşması fuga çömlekçi, tabakçı ve avcı hakkında ayrıntılı olarak incelenirken.

**Anahtar kelime:** Yem, Fuga, Çömlekçi, Tabakçı, Etiyopya, Marjinalleştirme

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Ethiopia is one of the many African countries that recognized by its ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic diversities. As a result of the "complex pattern of linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups" Ethiopia is stated as "a museum of people" by Conti Rossini (C. Conti Rossini,1937, :169). This diversity is one of the typical identification of the country. Having more than 90 million populations Ethiopia is also the second populous country in Africa next to Nigeria. In the country there are more than 80 ethnic groups. In Ethiopia to differentiate one ethnic group from the other language difference is used to use as a threshold. This means those people who share the same language is categorized as the same ethnic group. In addition to language, elements like culture, custom, belief, historical background, psychological make-up, and shared sense of belongingness are also taken

into consideration to differentiate one ethnic group from the other (Abebw Yirga Adamu, 2014, :11-14; Assefa Fiseha, 2017, :170).

Yem is one of those the ethnic groups in southwestern parts of Ethiopia. In the present federal administrative structure of the country (i.e, Ethiopia) the Yem special district is located under the Southern Nations Nationalities People's Regional state. The special district is located between the Omo and Gibe rivers (Richard Pankhurst, 1997, :90). The Yem people share a large territory with the Jimma Oromo. In addition, there are a large number of Yem inhabitants at the present Jimma Zone in particular and other neighboring states in general. (Wondimagen Bizuayehu, and et al, 2004 E.C, :1) The former capital of Yem special district was Fofa but later it was moved to Saja which is some 250 km away from the capital of Ethiopia, Addis Abeba. The district of Yem share boundaries with Oromia region in the north and western directions. Apparently, Yem special district share territories with Gurage zone in the northeast, Hadiya zone in the south, and Kembata zone in the eastern directions. The district's highest altitude is 3500metrs and the lowest one is around 500metrs at Gibe valley. The district is located between 7030'N and 80 35' N latitudes and 410 25'E and 410 55' E longitudes (Denafreeman and Alula Pankhurst, 2001, : 45).

The economy of Yem was mainly dependent on agricultural activity. However, trade had also been contributing to the development of the area. The major type of crops produced by the society included ensät (false banana), cereals, coffee, and perennial fruits like avocado, mango, guava, coke, gishta, papaya, banana, and orange, oil seeds (niger seed, sesame, peanut, sun flower, linseed (talba), and rape seed), cotton, red pepper, sugarcane, soya bean etc. Among them, ensät was a very important plant that largely used by the community mainly because of its drought resistance nature. Its sisal also used to make carpet and sack. Concerning its climatic condition, the special district had three major climatic zones: the middle part of the district is high land, the area east of Gibé River is lowland, and there is also temperate zone in the district (Haylu Welde Amanuel, 1965: 36)

Concerning the territorial extent of Yäm people in history, according to oral informants and some literature, before the arrival of the Oromo in the area particularly during the period of Mowa dynasty, the northern territorial limit of Yäm extended up to the present Wälkité town and its southern limit extended up to Bäda Buna. Some other informants even claim that, the western territorial limit of Yäm before Oromo expansion extended up to the present Jimma town. The other group of informants extended its southern territorial limit up to Gojāb river. In addition, according to Wondimagen, Bizuayehu, Niguse and et al, in the distant past, the Yäm rulers administered a very large territory and the Yäm people inhabited in a very wide area. But following the Oromo population movement, those Yäm who were not interested to lose their sovereignty retreated to their present location. Whereas the other groups were got assimilated by the Oromo (Getachew Fule, 1984: 40; Informants: Mäsifin, Mäkonän, and Habté).

Besides, according to Richard Pankhurst, the Yäm people inhabited the area between the Gibé river in the west and the Omo river in the east. Their staple food was ensät. The kingdom was largely isolated in the early and later period. On the other hand, because of political, social, economic and other historical dynamics a large number of Yäm people inhabited outside the Yäm land (Richard Panchiest, 1997, : 90-97; Lapiso Gedelibo, 1991, : 37-38; David Shinn and Thomas Ofcansky, 2004, : 4).

On the other hand, in southern and southwestern parts of Ethiopia the hierarchically arranged socio-economic and socio-political division of society based on the occupation and the type of clan has a very long history. Accordingly people from a certain clan or occupation depicted as minority and marginalized not to enjoy basic human and democratic rights. This social grouping paves the way for discrimination in terms of benefits and social status (De Sisto, 2014, p.83). The relationship of the society on the basses of depiction, marginalization and discrimination through the passage of time accepted as normal. As a result, the society became much more obliged for this discriminatory cultural laws and values than the modern constitutional laws. Consequently it becomes challenging to erode the bad discriminatory cultural practices (Gebreslasse Kiros, 2016, :71-72). This

marginalization practice of occupational groups in different parts of Southwestern parts of Ethiopia like Yem, Kffa, Gurage, Kambata, Hadiya etc affect the equal access to land, political positions, social status. Economic activities of the marginalized occupational groups were limited to production of clay made materials, smiting of iron and carving wood. The community depicts this group as “primitive, backward, lazy, dishonest, unhealthy and unethical” (Yoshida, 2013, :14). The attitude of the majority towards the minority also has a big impact on social and economic integration. The political, social and economic segregation of the minority might also trigger hostility against minority “leading to death and physical injury” (Charistian Dustmann and Ian Preston, 2001:353-354). In Ethiopia various occupational groups such as potter, tanner, weaver and wood workers were oppressed, marginalized and prohibited from participating in political, economic and social affairs of their surroundings. This marginalization is mainly because of the job that this group engaged. However, these despised groups were expected to produce different kinds of material for the socio-economic activity of their surroundings (Nigusu Adem, 2015,:32).

Most of the time this marginalized groups were not allowed to live together with the other community. In Yem the fuga community is marginalized. This marginalization of the fuga pot maker, tuner and other occupational groups in the area is mainly related to the norm, cultural and way of lives of this community. As a result of the marginalization the fuga community in Yem faces different kinds of problems like poor access to education, poor access to health service, poor acceptance by the other community, low self-esteem, poor access to social and political administration etc (Tamiru Berafe, 2017, :68-69). As a result, they were expected to settle in a rugged or rocky unfertile land or beside a forest to enjoy hunting easily. According to some literature, the cause for the settlement of occupational groups beside a forest is mainly to enjoy their hunting from the forest because mostly occupational groups involved on hunting than crop production. Moreover, occupational groups in Yem were not allowed to involve in farming activity because in Yem it was largely believed that the involvement of occupational groups affect the fertility of soil . Above all, these occupational groups were undermined by the people of their surroundings. Their human rights were not respected. In addition to their occupation, the main cause for their marginalization was that this group eats non-ritually slaughtered animals and they did not keep their sanitation. This causes psychological impact on their day to day communication with the other non-marginalized groups (Techle-Haymanot, 2003, :33). But this “despised” group contributed a lot for the community by serving as a midwife, grave diggers, musicians, and circumcising boys because in Yem culture there was no female circumcision. (Nigusu, 2015, :32).

In Yem those “despised” groups did not have equal human and democratic rights in those previous days. For example, they were not allowed to establish marriage interaction with the other non-marginalized groups of Yem. Besides, the burial pace for the fuga potter and tanner was at separate places mostly inside or beside a forest. Moreover, “despised” groups in Yem were not allowed to enter into the house of non-marginalized groups and eat together with other non-marginalized groups; also they were forced to eat with broken materials. Moreover, these groups were considered as evil eye by the other community. Furthermore, foods and drinks which were prepared by the “despised” groups such as fuga did not eaten up by other groups. (Denafreeman and Alula Pankhurst, :46; Informants: Weldemeske Asefa, Weldesemayat, Gebremeskel Jorga and Weldemeske Asefa). Generally, these groups were not allowed to involve on social and political administration as well as activities of their surroundings (Nigusu, 2015, :33-34). For this social exclusion and marginalization the community criminalizes minority groups’ behavior and accepted them as guilty. The excluded potter, tanner and hunter fuga community also lack dedication to challenge the social portrayal against them (Jordi Estivill, 2003,:93-94).

## 2. METHODOLOGY

In order to reconstruct this article the author has examined both primary sources and secondary sources. The author has also visited Yem special district, which the fuga people inhabit, twice in 2013 and 2015. Therefore, in addition to primary and secondary sources author’s personal

observation is also employed to reconstruct the article. Concerning the primary sources interview with the pot maker and non-pot maker community of the Yem special district is employed. In order to select informants about social challenges of the fuga community the researcher applied purposive sampling techniques. Accordingly informants are selected purposefully based on their knowledge about the interaction of the fuga community with the other inhabitants of the Yem special district. In order to strengthen the data obtained through interview, focus group discussion is also applied.

On the other hand, secondary sources from published articles, books, book chapters, and unpublished papers and articles are employed to reconstruct this article. Following the collection of the primary and secondary data qualitative approach is applied to analyze and interpret the data. In addition, in order to reconstruct the social challenges of the fuga community in Yem special district beside the analytical interpretation whenever necessary descriptive interpretation approach is also employed to analyze the primary and secondary data.

On the other hand, in order to examine and analyze the social challenges of the potters and tanners in Yem special districts, Southwest Ethiopia, Right Based Approach (RBA) theory is also applied. This approach mainly advocates about the way that minority and marginalized groups shoulder responsibility and enjoy their basic human and democratic rights. In relation to this approach in its 2007 report UNICEF mention the importance and demands of suitable policies and interventions to empower the marginalized minority groups to enjoy their basic rights (UNICEF, 2007, :11).

### **3. THE FUGA POTTER, TANNER AND HUNTER**

In Ethiopia the living condition and situation of the marginalized minorities is very multifaceted. At different part of the country there are different ethnic and cultural groups that label as minority and marginalized. The degree of segregation and marginalization in all parts of the country is not the same. Sometimes groups are marginalized because of cultural and ritual practices at other time a certain community is marginalized just because of their occupation which we call it occupational minority. Among those marginalized groups in the country the fuga community engaged in craft works like pot making and tanning (Girmay Guteta, 2016, :2; Ephrem Tadesse, 2015, :8-9).

Concerning the origin of fuga potter and tanner the Yem people largely believe that fuga came from Gonder (an area in the northern part of Ethiopia). During their journey from Gonder the younger brother of fuga whose name was Mowa terribly thirsty and fuga made him a pot from the clay soil then Mowa drink water from a river. Later when Mowa became a king in Yem he ordered fuga to make a pot. This is the oral story behind regarding the origin of fuga and the ground that made fuga community to engage in pottery activities (Nigusu, 2015, :33).

In Yem, there are different occupational groups. But from those different occupational groups the fuga tanners, potters and hunters were the most despised groups than those other occupational groups such as blacksmith and wood workers. Particularly wood work is the most respected occupation in Yem, which did not cause any marginalization in the community. In addition, the fuga community, in Yem, could not allowed to work, drink, and sit with the other community of Yem because the people of Yem largely believe that sitting, drinking, and working with the fuga causes bad occurrences in life such as death of relatives. Therefore, many people in Yem abstain from developing formal interaction with the fuga community (Ibid).

In Yem special district, the fuga community got the privilege of administering there surrounding as political and social leaders during the Italian Occupation of Ethiopia (1936-1941). But before and after the occupation of Italy this privilege of the fuga community was derogated by the other Yem. Moreover, in Yem, the fuga community was not allowed to establish marriage and other kinds of interaction with the other Yem and the community undermined the fuga (potter, tuner and hunter). As a result, there was a master servant relationship between the fuga and the other community in Yem especial district (Denafreman and Alula: 90).

Concomitantly, concerning the fuga community in Yem the material of Nigusu stated that in the past the fuga communities did not have acceptance and recognition in the society. Consequently, there were master-servant relationship between the other Yäm and fuga. Because of this the non-fuga people had the right to order the fuga at any time irrespective of age and sex. Accordingly, a single fuga (Bära) was expected to serve 30 to 40 non fuga. The fuga accepted the order of the non fuga mainly frightening the punishment of their deities because the fuga community, in Yäm, believed that refusal of order from the non fuga community may cause death of relatives. Besides, fuga (Bära) was expected to give corvee labor and pots to their masters as a reward. This was done to gate sanctification and purification from their deity. In return for the reward that come from the Fuga (Bära) the non-fuga community gave ensät, grain, food, drink, coffin (during death of the fuga), goat to be scarified to the deity of the fuga called zartona. Apparently, as a reward for the gift of the fuga the non-fuga community allow the fuga place of residence mostly on the outskirt of their farm lands or at a rugged land (Nigusu, :34).

In Yem special district we get the fuga community in large numbers at a place called Meleka. In addition, all fuga in Yem speak Yemsa (the language of Yem people) but some literature states that there is some dialect difference between the fuga and other Yem while speaking the language. However, this dialectic difference is not identified by other people from outside (Ibid).

On the other hand, in the past at school the fuga communities in Yem special district were not allowed to sit together with the other Yem. Besides, the Yem people believed that the fuga community was always accompanied by kita (bad sprit). As a result, the Yem people sprinkle a hot ash on the chair which fuga sit before sitting on a chair. This was done to feed away the bad sprit kita (Informant: Mekonen).

#### **4. INTERACTION BETWEEN THE FUGA (POTTER AND TANNER) WITH THE OTHER COMMUNITIES IN YEM**

Interaction on the fields of the economic, political and social arena is a day to day activity and a common and an age old human nature. However, sometimes cultural factors and traditional beliefs became a barrier for the social, religious and economic interactions among people. The fuga community of the Yem special district is a good example of marginalization in political, religious and social activities from the other communities in the district since time immemorial. In their day today and social activity the fuga community's acceptance on the eye of the other inhabitants of the district is very bad. This poor outlook of the non-marginalized Yem over the marginalized fuga affects the social, economic, cultural and religious interaction of the fuga community with the other. Accordingly, marriage interaction was not allowed in Yem between the fuga and other community of that surrounding. But if the fuga and non fuga community establish marriage interaction the couples were expected to flee their home soil. Besides, if the fuga and non-fuga made a sex the fuga was expected to slaughter a goat and the non-fuga a cow or an ox in order to purify themselves from their sin (Ibid).

During the evaluation of the marginalization and exclusion of the fuga community of the Yem special district under the right based approach theory it is clear that the fuga community was not exercising their human and democratic rights for a long time. For instance, article 18(2) of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) states that "no one should be compelled to slavery and slavery like practices". Article 24 (1) also mention "all persons has a right to respect due to human beings and to the protection of their reputation and honor" (FDRE Constitution, Addis Abeba, 1995, :5-7). But these rights were deprived from the fuga community for long time in Yem special district, southwestern part of Ethiopia.

On the other hand, when fuga couple married they were not allowed to be dependent on their family. Rather the couples were expected to generate their own income for their marriage. Moreover, by the time of the Durge government vilegaization policy the fuga and non-fuga communities were settled at the same places. But later the fuga Community was not in a position to



continue to live together with the other Yem. This was because of the harassment that they encountered from the other Yem. Consequently, they returned back to their former settlement. Later through the passage of time, religious institutions played a very important role in changing the attitude of the non-fuga towards the fuga community. In addition, the membership of the fuga community on those monolithic religious institutions such as Islam and Christianity also contributed a lot to reduce the marginalization of fuga in Yem. Moreover, as a result of the teaching of these monolithic religious institutions the fuga people avoid eating of non-ritually slaughtered animals and pork's (Denafreeman and Alula, :55).

In Yem special district, the fuga communities were expected to dig the graves of their own without the involvement of the other Yem. They also dig the graves of the non-fuga community in their surrounding and carry the corps of the deceased guy to the burial places while the other Yem simply observe their activity. However, this day this activity is showing some sort of development and improvement even if not totally disappeared (Informant: Mekonen).

In the past, the fuga community in Yem involved actively on tanning. But from time to time the Yem fuga reduced their involvement on tanning activity. This was mainly because of the bad odor during production as well as the poor payment after production. However, until today the fuga community actively involve on the pottery production and hunting (Denna Freeman, 2016, :4; Denafreeman and Alula, :58).

On the other hand, concerning the relationship of clans among the fuga community in Yem special district informant Mekonen states the following:

*In Yäm, there were fifteen fuga clans and most of them were impoverished. Unlike the other Yäm, the Fuga communities in Yäm did not have their own tato(king) because of this they were represented by togo (representative). Apparently, from the fifteen fuga clans, Kapu and Zofu Fugas were considered as the most despised fuga. Consequently, no Yäm including the remaining fuga clans establish marriage and other relations with them because there was belief in Yäm that establishing marriage tie with Kapu and Zofu Fuga causes endless elongation of dead body during death* (Informants: Mekonen).

However, today in Yem there is no official marginalization of the fuga community. But mostly the non-fuga communities in the area are not interested to establish marriage and other social interaction with the fuga. For example, in social activities on local social organizations such as idir and iqub the other Yem do not like to look the fuga to involve with them equally. Keeping constant this all things, there is a big advancement on the political, social and economic interaction of the fuga and non-fuga community in Yem.

## **5. YIRFO (BLACKSMITH), WEAVING AND WOOD WORK IN YEM**

In Yäm blacksmiths were responsible for the production of different types of iron tools for the community. They were locally called Yirfo. Some of these iron tools are axes, sickles, drills, nails, saws and the like, which have important values for agricultural and other economic sectors (Richard Pankhurst, 1990, : 222). Most of the time, the Yirfo (blacksmith) of Yem were not interested to be called by this derogatory term. Rather, they prefer to be called by their own personal names (Denafreeman and Allula P., 2001, :50). In Yem, unlike the Fuga (Bära), the Yirfo (blacksmith) were not totally dependent on occupational works. Rather, they also engaged in agricultural activities and their living standard was not lower than the other Yem people (Ibid, :49). On the other hand, informants confirm that like the other Yem people, the Yirfo occupational group also used to undermine the Fuga community and not interested to establish marriage and other social relations with them (Ibid, :50).

Moreover, in Yem special district, unlike the Fuga, the Yirfo had land to plough and they had equal political, social, religious and economic right like the other Yem (Informants: Habté and Täsfayé). They also worship religions which the other Yem worship; live together with the other Yem; can

establish marriage and other social, religious and economic interactions with the other Yem without any barrier (Informants: Täsfayé, Mäkonän and Habté).

In general there was no remarkable difference between the Yem (Yämma) people and Yirfo in their socio-economic interaction; political role and involvement as well as living standards.

Regarding wood work, it was one of the ancient practices of Yem people which anyone interested would involve without any harassment and marginalization. In addition, like wood workers weavers were not marginalized in their social, religious, economic and political activities in Yem district. Besides, the people did not have any derogatory name for wood workers and weavers (Ibid).

## 6. CONCLUSION

In Ethiopia at different part of the country there are different group of people who are marginalized just because of the job which they engaged. However, the means for marginalization of the people varies from place to place. For instance in some part of the country weaving is accepted by the community as respected job where as in other area people that engaged in weaving marginalized by the surrounding community. The same is true for other occupational groups like potter, tanner, black smith etc. Accordingly in Ethiopia the marginalization of people just because of their occupation is not the same everywhere and every time. For instance, during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936-41) marginalized occupational groups at different parts of the country enjoyed political and social administration, which was not allowed for them before.

In Yem, there are different occupational groups that engaged in pottery production, tanning, weaving, hunting wild animals, wood work and smiting. But except the fuga (potter, tanner and hunter) the other occupational groups were not marginalized. For instance, weaving and wood work are respected works in Yem, which any Yem can participate. The yirfo (black smiths) also have the right to participate in any political, social, religious, cultural and economic activities of Yem which were not allowed for the fuga community. In this study findings indicate that the cause for the marginalization of the fuga potter tanner and hunter was the norms, values and way of lives of the fuga community and the attitude of the other non-marginalized groups towards the fuga.

Currently the marginalization's of the fuga communities are declining and to some extent they are participating in political, social, economic and religious activities. These development of attitudinal change came because of the following factors: first the intensification of religious teaching; second the 1974 Ethiopian revolution, third the Italian occupation of Ethiopia (1936-1941), fourth the present notion of equality which developed the awareness of the people regarding occupational groups.

## REFERENCES

- Abebw Yirga Adamu. 2014. "Ethnic and Religious Diversities in Higher Education in Ethiopia: The Case of Bahir Dar University". University of Tampere.
- Assefa Fiseha. 2017. "Intra-Unit Minorities in the Context of Ethno-National Federalism in Ethiopia". *Utrecht Law Review*, Vol. 13, No. 1.
- Conti Rossini, Carlo. 1937. *Etiopia e Genti d'Etiopia*.
- De Sisto, F. 2014. "From Conflict Escalation to Conflict Transformation: actual and potential role of stories and storytelling among marginalized occupational minorities in southern Ethiopia, in international journal of African development, vol.1, no.2.
- Dustmann, Charistian and Preston, Ian. 2001. "Attitudes to Ethnic Minorities, Ethnic Context and Location Decisions". The Economic Journal. Blackwell Publisher.
- Estivill, Jordi . 2003. "Concepts and Strategies for Combating Exclusion". Published by International Labour Organization.
- Ephrem Tadesse. 2015. "Psychological and Educational Experiences of Students from Potter

Family at Primary Schools; Soro Woreda in Focus”, Addis Abeba University Department of Special Need Education.

Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) Constitution. 1995. Addis Abeba.

Freeman, Dena and Alula Pankhurst. 2001. *Living on the Edge*. Addis Abeba .Ethiopia.

Freeman, Denna. 2016. “Understanding marginalization in Ethiopia”. Available in LSE Research online.

Gebreslasse Kiros Haylu .2016. “Social Stratification and Marginalization in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional States of Ethiopia: the case of Manja Minority Groups”. *Global Journal of Human Social Science*. Vol. 16, No. 6.

Getachew Fule.1984. “A Kingdom of [Yäm]: A Historical Survey to 1894”. BA Thesis, Addis Abba University Department of History.

Girmay Guteta. 2016. “Minority Rights in Federal Ethiopia: Case Study of Fuga Minority in Oromia Regional State of Dire Enchini Wereda”. Addis Abeba University College of law and governance Center for Federal Studies.

Haylu Welde Amanuel. 1965. *Ethiopian Geographical Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3, Addis Abäba.

Lapiso Gedelibo. 1991.*Yä Ethiopia Yä Tarik Mänäsha (The Origin of Ethiopian History)*, Addis Abeba: Ethiopia.

Nigusu Adem. 2015. “A History of Yem people, Southwest Ethiopia, ca.1843-1974”. MA thesis in History at Jimma University.

Richard Pankhurst. 1990. *A Social History of Ethiopia*. Addis Abeba University.

Richard Pankhurst. 1997. *The Ethiopian Border Land* .Asmara.

Shinn, David and Ofcansky, Thomas. 2004. *Historical Dictionary of Ethiopia*. London.

Tamiru Berafe. 2017. “Assessing the cause and effects of social exclusion: the case of ‘pot makers’ in Yem special Woreda in Southern Nations Nationalities People Regional State in Ethiopia”. In *African journals of political since and international relation*. vol.11, No. 4.

Techle-Haymanot. 2003. “The low cast Fuga occupational groups under the Italian Administration”. In *Journal of Northeast African studies*, vol.10, No.3. Addis Abeba University.

UNICEF. 2007. “A Human Rights Based Approach to Education for all”. New york, USA.

Wondimagen Bizuayehu, Ayele Gelan, Niguse Zebe and et al.2004. *E.C. Ye Yem Hizib Tarik (“The History of Yem people”)* (Addis Abeba).

Yoshida, S. 2013. “The Struggle Against Social Discrimination: Petition by the Menjoin in the Kaffa and Sheka Zones of Southwest Ethiopia”. Osaka, Japan.