SOCILOGY | RESEARCH ARTICLE

Double discriminations against marginalized women: Analysis of women in Cinasha minority group of wolaita society, Ethiopia

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Abstract: Discrimination is a violation of basic principles that all persons should be treated equally, which may manifest directly or indirectly and perceived by ethnic minority women. This study was aimed at assessing double discriminations against women of Cinasha minority groups in Duguna Fango Woreda of Wolaita Zone, Ethiopia. For the success of the set objectives, the researcher employed a qualitative research approach. Both primary and secondary sources of data were used to collect information from the study area. Informants of the study were selected by using a purposive sampling technique. Key informant interviews, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and observations were employed for data collection. The findings of the study indicated that women in Cinasha minority groups are facing double discriminations from the host community in different social settings, economic activities and social institutions. In this study, it is recommended to work on raising community awareness, arranging conducive work environments, preparing basic life skill trainings and implementing legal jurisdictions for violence’s committed on them.

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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

Discrimination is a violation of basic principles that all persons should be treated equally, which may manifest directly or indirectly and perceived by ethnic minority women. This study was aimed at assessing double discriminations against women of Cinasha minority groups. There is social inequality, economic inequality and economic dependency for women of Cinasha minority groups and all the discriminations that they have been faced were not considered as double discriminations. There is also a denial of both natural and democratic rights to this group. Both majority and minority groups believe the discriminations to the Cinasha women are not socially fabricated, but naturally delivered to Cinashas. Because of they are living in patriarchal community, Cinasha women are facing different oppressions by both males of their own group and off the majorities. It is not only patriarchal structure, societal structure itself, cultures and traditions are also contributing to exploitation and discrimination of Cinasha women.
1. Introduction

Many people in the world might at some time have experienced a situation in which they have found themselves excluded, harassed or treated differently from other persons. Without justification, only because of their biological, physiological or personal characteristics, their origin or language, and manifestations of belief or preferences they may experience these. The risks of such experiences are however not randomly distributed among the population. For victims of discrimination, the experience appears to have a large impact on their personal lives (Elizabeth Pascoe & Richman, 2009).

Discrimination is the violation of the basic principles that all persons should be treated equally. Craig (2005) summarizes the assessment of discrimination by four essential elements: 1) an individual or group is in comparison, treated or affected differently than the comparator, 2) the difference is disadvantageous to the individual or group, 3) the difference in treatment or effect is causally linked to a characteristic of the individual or group protected by antidiscrimination legislation, and 4) there is no exception or justification permitting the difference in treatment or effect.

Several grounds of discrimination are explicitly mentioned in the EU legislation, particularly in the Article 13 Directives: ethnic origin, religion and belief, sexual orientation, disability, age and gender. Thus, whatever reason is used to justify different outcomes between persons in comparable situations, these grounds are explicitly unacceptable as such (Makkonen, 2005). Discrimination can manifest itself in various ways: 1) directly or indirectly, depending on the criteria causing different outcomes; and 2) culpable or systemic, depending on the possibility to assign responsibility (Olli & Olsen, 2005). Findings from the studies that took place on the discrimination of ethnic minority shows those women can serve as an illustration of the cumulative discrimination on different grounds; gender and ethnicity for two independent risk populations. Women in ethnic minorities are subject to discrimination both as women and as ethnic minority members when compared to the level of discrimination experienced by ethnic minority men (Oudhof, 2007).

On one hand, women describe themselves as member of an ethnic discriminated group than men. However, the share of people who perceive gender as a ground for discrimination is smaller compared to those who perceive ethnic discrimination grounds even among women. Perceived gender discrimination among ethnic minority women is rather often joined by perceived ethnic discrimination, but the inverse proves not to be true: only a small part of women reporting perceived ethnic discrimination are reporting, this in turn in conjunction with perceived gender discrimination (Oudhof, 2007).

More recently, investigating discriminations against women in general and the discriminations against minority groups have got scholarly attention. However, there are scanty literatures which consider the discrimination of women in minority groups. Few scholars studied discriminations and marginalization of minority groups in the study area. For instance, Tariku (2015) studied the state formation and social stratification of Wolaita society. For him, a social status had a great role in the socio-political life of the people. Some social groups are considered as Goqqa, (“free men”) while others are “Ayile” (slaves). Another significant study on this subject is conducted by Mengesha (2014). He studied the roots and manifestations of marginalization by emphasizing on the socio-economic and political facets of the minority groups in Wolaita Zone. Mengesha (2017) also explained the marginal status of occupational minorities in the face of altering the socio-economic and political state of contemporary society.
Mengesha (2017) has been also discovered that there are certain sections of society that are considered to be of lower status and, thus, marginalized and excluded from the host community. To him “Cinasha” (craft workers) and “Aylee” (slaves) are sections of society that are considered as minority groups and occupy the subordinate stratum in Wolaita.

The study that has been undertaken by Meshesha (2016) focused on prejudiced negative images of femininity in Wolaita proverbs. The study addressed how femininity is perceived as a source of danger and problems based on the behavior of the devil or evil spirit that belongs to females. Most importantly, all of the aforementioned studies have not emphasized the marginalization and discrimination of the Cinasha minorities in general and the double discriminations that have been practiced against women from this minority groups in particular.

Therefore, this study assessed the double discrimination on women of minority groups specifically on Cinasha minority groups in Duguna Fango Woreda, Wolaita Zone, Southern Ethiopia. The study examined the nature of social discriminations, economic dimensions of discriminations, and actions of social institutions in combating discriminations against women of Cinasha minority groups in the study area.

2. Methods and materials

2.0.1. Description of the research setting
Wolaita is the name of both the people and area in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Regional State (SNNPRS) located between 6°51” and 7°35’ North Longitude; and 37°46” and 38°1” East Latitude. It is located at about 328 km south west of Addis Ababa. The main occupation of people is agriculture. About 92% population lives in rural areas engaged in subsistence farming. The agricultural activities are practiced using archaic and backward hand tools. Food consumption comes from 50% agriculture, 40% market purchase and 10% animal products (Wolaita Zone Communication department, 2015).

The study area was Duguna Fango Woreda; which is one of the Woredas in Wolaita Zone, SNNPRS of Ethiopia. According to Duguna Fango woreda finance office report, 2020 the total population of the Woreda is about 132, 693. From the total population, about 84.4% people are living in rural areas and only 15.6% people are living in towns. The total area coverage of the woreda is about 40,803.85 ha or 408 km2. The population density of the area is estimated as 320 per square kilometer. The total number of the peasants association is about 26 and 6 rural municipalities.

2.0.2. Study approach
For the success of this study, the researcher employed a qualitative research approach. The qualitative research approach usually emphasizes on words and meanings rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Kothari, 2004). The researcher employed a qualitative approach of study to investigate double discrimination of women among Cinasha minority groups in the study area by assessing the reality in the study issue.

2.0.3. Study population
The primary study subjects of this study were Cinasha minority groups living in different parts of Wolaita zone. The research focused on women Cinashas for discriminations and marginalization they are facing. Due to financial and other constraints, the study carried out in four kebeles involving 48 individuals as study participants in Duguna Fango woreda. They are living in these kebeles by forming their own village that is separated from other residents. For the purpose of this study, 15 women Cinasha were selected for indepth interview, 5 for key informant interview and 28 for FGD. Others; out of Cinasha women were included in KII to triangulate data.

2.1. Sources of data
The study has used both primary and secondary sources of data.
2.1.1. Primary data
The primary data was gathered through a variety of qualitative data collection methods. Accordingly, key informant interview, in-depth interview, focus group discussions (FGDs) and observation tools were employed to gather primary data from the respondents.

2.1.2. Secondary data
To endorse data from interviews, FGD and observation, a thorough document analysis was performed to secondary data. Internet sources and documents from zonal and woreda offices were duly collected.

2.2. Sampling procedure
Since the study relies on a qualitative approach, non-probability sampling procedures were employed to select participants. Non-probability sampling is the sampling procedure that does not afford any basis for estimating the probability that each item in the population has a probability of being included in the sample. The organizers of the inquiry purposively choose the particular units of the study for constituting a sample based on a small mass that will be typical or representative of the whole (Kothari, 2004). Among the non-probability sampling techniques, the purposive sampling technique was employed in the study. The participants of in-depth interview and FGD were selected purposively from both the Cinasha minority groups and dominant groups based on their willingness, familiarity to the study issue and seniority. Key informant interview was held with individuals who purposively selected and believed to give detail information from their life experiences and what they experienced in the community.

2.3. Methods and instruments of data collection
The researcher has collected qualitative data by using different data collection instruments. In-depth interview, key informant interview, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and observation methods have been utilized in collecting the necessary data. The researcher also used qualitative data collection instruments including a key informant interview guide, in-depth interview guide, FGD guide and observations checklist.

2.3.1. In-depth interview
An in-depth interview is conducted to uncover in-depth details of the interviewee’s experience and perspective on a subject (Showkat & Parveen, 2017). It was taken place with individuals who are believed to provide rich and depth information about their life experiences and have the closest information and knowledge about the subject under study. Unstructured interview questions are prepared to deal with the informants. The informants were selected in purposive sampling from the study area. Consequently, the interview was conducted to obtain information about the purpose of understanding the double discrimination of women of Cinasha minority groups. Using interview guides, a detailed interview was conducted from 15 women Cinasha minorities.

2.3.2. Key informant interview
To discover underlying motives and desires and to explore the needs and feelings of respondents, depth interview with key informant is very critical (Kothari, 2004). Key informant interview in this study was conducted with selected key informants from the study area who have the closest knowledge and information in the study matter. These are mainly elderly people, religious leader, government officers and Kebele leaders in the locality and those persons that assume the opinion leadership position.

2.3.3. Focus group discussion (FGD)
Focus Group Discussion in this study was conducted with a group of people who are selected to the study, who are representatives of the study areas and voluntary individuals of women Cinasha minorities. The FGD was facilitated by a moderator who is the researcher at the same time.
The researcher tried to form FGD based on different factors including homogeneity of the study subjects on sex, age, marital status, educational and religious background, areas of existence and occupation in each group. Open-ended questions derived from specific objectives of the study are prepared and given to the moderators. The researcher also selected 28 Cinashas to participate in focus group discussion (FGD).

2.3.4. Observation
The researcher employed the observation data collection technique as a potential source of data to triangulate the evidence with data from in-depth interviews, key informant interview and focus group discussions. The observation checklist was prepared to generate observational data. The researcher observed different situations in the study area, including the physical nature and location of respondent’s house, market places and their production processes etc.

2.4. Method of data analysis
The qualitative analysis of qualitative data is employed for its best approach suited to achieve the objectives of the study by analyzing oral account of women other study participants based on their lived experiences. The collected data managed into similar categories as; socio-demographic data category, social discrimination category, economic discrimination category and actions of social institutions category. After that the researcher compiled and interpreted all necessary data of each category in English according to its importance to the study.

2.5. Ethical considerations
The research was carried out by the ethical guidelines of Wolaita Sodo University, Ethiopia. For the approval of this study, and for obtaining data from study population specifically, the permission was obtained from the College of Social Sciences and Humanities of Wolaita Sodo University. The study objective was clearly informed to the study population. Before interviews and discussions, verbal informed consent was elicited from research participants to record their voices and to take their pictures. The researcher thoroughly explained to the participants about their rights and the purpose of the research. Care was taken to ensure participants know their responses would be kept anonymous and confidential.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. Results

3.1.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the study participants
There were 15 individuals who participated in the in-depth interview. All of them were females and aged 18 to 50. Regarding their marital status, 12 were married, and the others are single and widowed. In religion; 11 are Protestants and the remaining are Catholics and Orthodoxies. In relation to their educational background, 13 interviewees could not read and write, very little were attended primary school and none of them have joined and completed secondary and higher education. Their livelihood strategy is based on pottery work.

From five (05) key informant interview participants, four are males and one female. The age limit is 35 to 50. All informants were married; four (04) Protestants, one Catholic and no Orthodox. Regarding educational background, the female informant from Cinasha minority could not read and write; 02 attended primary school level and One (01) completed secondary education. The informants have different livelihood strategy. Female informants from Cinasha minority were pottery workers. The other three informants were engaged in mixed farming and government officer is working in government office.

Among 28 FGD participants, all are females and the age limit comprises 18 to 50 years. Regarding marital status; 19 are married, 06 are single, 02 are widowed and one divorced; religion of the participants; 20 Protestants, 05 Catholics and 03 Orthodox. In relation to educational
background, 03 are attended primary school, 25 were not attending school and none of them joined and completed secondary and higher educations. The livelihood strategy for 27 discussants is pottery work and one works mixed farming.

3.1.2. Social discriminations against women in Cinasha minority groups
The social discriminations of women from Cinasha minorities could be examined in terms of the features of segregation and non-reciprocal relations. According to data from KII and FGD the life status of Cinashas in Wolaita society is at a lower level and often distinguished by exclusions which articulated in the occasions of the social interactions between them and the dominant majority groups. The occasions and events that exclude Cinasha minorities may include greetings, mealtime (commensality), and membership to unions, burial practices, most sturdily in choice of spouses, in school and at health service centers.

As information from II shows, people from Cinasha minority groups were not allowed to enter others’ home and to eat or drink with members of society. From the very beginning, they are excluded from different ceremonies such as weddings, funerals and other rituals. Majority groups make social relations with people from Cinasha minority groups in a careful ways because of wrong perceptions to the group. But, Cinashas were allowed to participate in specific events for the services they deliver to the demands of majorities and they were allowed to stay at segregated places. These types of discriminations were still abundant among the minority groups of the society and the women sections of the group were more victims of the problem than men in the study areas.

3.1.2.1. Greeting as an important social trait. Greeting that expressed by shaking hand is one of the most valued practices of the people in Wolaita and it is believed as the sign of respect. People from majority groups were not disposed to share greetings with Cinasha minority groups because of the wrong perception that Cinasha minority groups are people with evil eye (Garomote). According to information from II, KII and FGD, the practice of ignoring greetings to people from the Cinasha groups is higher for women of the group than men. This is manipulated due to the reason that women were believed to seize more and active evil eyes (Garomote Ayaana) than men Cinasha. As the data gathered from an interview that took place with the key informant show, people from the majority community living near to Cinasha minority groups put some cultural drugs in their pocket or neck or hand in order to protect themselves from ills and deaths that can be caused by evil spirit of Cinasha minorities. As one participant described below;

“It is not easy to interchange daily greetings with people from majority groups living around us. The people who were living around the settlement to Cinasha groups never move anywhere from their home without holding some cultural drugs in their pocket or in their hand because of the perception that the Cinashas were with evil eye. Women from Cinasha were believed to be more evil spirited and little men Cinasha were also perceived as evil spirit person …”

(KII with woman from Cinasha)

Another 40 years old woman from Fangasore Kebele in in-depth interview has also acknowledged the aggravation of the discrimination that took part between Cinashas and other dominant groups while sharing greetings. No one from majority group is willing to give them greetings by shaking hand. This is also true in religious institutions. It is because of wrong perception that held by the community, women from Cinasha minority groups were segregated from this core community ritual.

3.1.2.2. Eating practice as a common culture. The trend of having meal together in a collective manner with the respective neighbors is a very common habit. Within the community there was/is
a practice of eating some fruits, sugar cane and other food items on roads while walking. When people from majorities, unfortunately, get contact with some women from Cinasha minority groups, they suddenly stop eating, drop or hide it from the eye focuses of Cinasha women. Majority groups in the study area were not willing to share meals with women from Cinasha and women were excluded from this kind of practice because of the wrong perception as they have evil spirit. In addition to the fear of evil spirit, women from Cinasha minorities were excluded from having a meal with people from majority groups due to the belief that they consume higher amount of food during their meal. It was not expected to have a meal together, it was not allowed to have a meal where there is anyone from the Cinasha group especially Cinasha women ones. One of the participants in in-depth interview said that:-

“No one is competent enough with women from Cinasha minorities during the meal as to the sayings of majority” (II with 36 year old woman)

3.1.2.3. Stereotyping cinashas as “impure”. The stereotype that the majority groups hold the women of Cinasha minority groups as impure is another dimension of discrimination to Cinasha women. There is a wide range of beliefs in the study area that women in Cinasha minority groups were set as impure. Impurity has both overt and covert nature. The overt nature of impurity is related with keeping their personal hygiene and the covert nature of it is tied with community tradition. As it is explained in the in-depth interview, there is common belief on the community to Cinasha women that they didn’t keep their personal hygiene. The utensils that Cinashas were using in their home, the clothes they wear, village they live are assumed as unclean and polluted. The community perceive that all Cinashas eat died animal which is taboo among the wider society. To some extent, men Cinashas have better chance to share their feelings with others in the community than female Cinashas. This was due to the stereotype on female Cinashas as more impure than men. The situation discussed in FGD as follows;

“….the majorities participate in funeral ceremonies and weddings of our group just for the sake of respecting community trend than respecting us. They, as a neighbor, were not willing to participate in different social issues that took place in our home, to help us in different duties in ceremonies and their children were seriously ordered not to reach our home at ceremonial times”.

3.1.2.4. Discriminations in funeral ceremonies. The funeral ceremony has its role in reflecting discrimination to Cinasha minorities in the study area. In the early times, men from Cinasha minority groups were preferred to take part in the ceremonies for the services they deliver. They were known for singing, dancing, and playing different cultural musical instruments in different ceremonies in the community. As a result, they were walking a long distance from their home to deliver such services. According to data from II, KII and FGD, now days, the demand of the society for seeking male Cinashas to sing and dance in the ceremonies is insignificant due to technological advancements of music and the influences of religion. Women from Cinasha minority groups were not allowed to participate in these ceremonies in their surrounding at earlier times and till now the participation is limited. They were excluded from this core community ritual because of the beliefs of the community which considers them as people with the evil spirit, impure, and as the one who participate only for seeking food. A key informant explained as follows:

“In ancient times, men from the group were required in funeral practices to deliver a service of singing and dancing. Now a day, this trend was changed because of changes in religiosity, but women from this group at both ancient and this time were not wanted to participate in the ceremony. They were feared and believed to affect many people with an evil spirit when participated in such practices and activities …”

(KII with 35 year old woman)

3.1.2.5 The Discriminating Nature of Relationships and Participations of Cinashas with Others in Social Affairs
The participation of cinashas on “Idir” and “Iqub” and other social settings.
People of Wolaita have different social settings that maintain reciprocal interactions and relationships among each other. The discrimination of women from the Cinasha minority was laid on the level of participation and formation of different unions such as Idir and Iqub in the study area. Most often, women in the study area were known for organizing in group for saving butter and other animal products. But, women from Cinasha minority groups were not allowed to join these groups due to different reasons. One reason is bests on their economic activity; women in Cinasha groups were known for their pottery work which is believed as low-grading work. Since their attention was highly focused on the pottery work and as it was believed as they had no time to feed cattle, to make better milk and butter, Cinasha women are excluded from such groups. The other belief is that their product is undermined or has less value in the remaining community because the community fears that they are possessed with an evil spirit. They were also segregated from Idir. Based on data from key informant interview, the consideration of women in Cinasha minority group as impure is the other factor to exclude them from Idir and Equb. One of the interviewee disclosed the truth as;

“… No one can drink milk from our home because it is believed as having bad odor, no one is ready to eat or use butter from us, and no one can have a sit with us in union of Idir because of the wrong perception that consider Cinasha as impure”.
(KII with 47 years old woman.)

There are also another occasions that assure social interactions among Wolaita people. These include people’s participation in events like weddings, conflict and dispute resolution mechanisms (“Shimgilina”), church leadership, Kebele counsel. These are some of the areas in which Cinasha minority generally and the women from the group particularly face the discrimination from the host community. As discussion undertook in FGD shows, none of women Cinasha were invited to attend in weddings and other thanks giving ceremonies, no one from them expected to solve and manage the disputes arise in their locality, none of them were a candidate and a selectee of church leadership, none of them become a leader or administrator even at Kebele level.

Mate selection and marriage as tools of discrimination. It is obvious that our society is male dominated and the request to marry someone emanates regularly from males. This attitude influenced the mate selection and continuity of practicing love relationship of all women in general and women of Cinasha minorities in particular. More importantly, it limited the opportunities of girls in the Cinasha minority groups only to their own group. As a result, the women in Cinasha minorities were excluded from making marriage relationships and the selection of mate with majority group. They experienced endogamy for centuries by two basic reasons. The first reason is that exogamy is a taboo for Cinashas as of the belief of majorities concerned. The second reason is to uphold and sustain the culture of making pottery, skills of circumstance and other cultural traits.

Nowadays, the male Cinashas in some areas have practiced exogamy in some extent with challenges. As to the data acquired from informants, there were some men who engaged in marriage of dominant groups Goqqaa. The dominant women who married men of Cinasha minorities were segregated from making social relationships even with their own families and relatives in both times of peace and mourning. They were labeled as “Cinasha” women by the
rest community. They face high level of marginalization; which exposed them to physical and emotional problems such as depression, loneliness, sadness, harms, conflict and divorce in their marriage. One of the in-depth informants disclosed the following information;

“ I have been prohibited from attending/wailing in my mother’s burial. My family has driven out me from the burial ceremony when I came with my husband’s family and with my neighbors” ....

(II with 26 years old girl)

Health institutions as tools of discrimination. The Ethiopian government has designed a number of health packages to improve the health status of rural communities. The health institutions and professionals have roles and responsibilities to administer and implement these policies. But, Cinasha minority groups were marginalized and discriminated in implementation of such policies in past and present times. They were kept out from provision and usage of health services. One cause of discrimination was laid on the assumption that Cinashas were not hygienic and healthy. Because of fear of discrimination that emanate from health institutions and health professionals, people of Cinasha minority groups were not willing to go to healthcare centers. They were not allowed to get different health care services even in urban areas where by so called status as “Cinasha” and “Goqqa” is believed as unknown. The healthcare workers were not willing to provide them environmental health packages and other services in their respective kebeles. The professionals didn't go to their village to train and treat them. Information from FGD shows this truth as follows.

“The healthcare workers weren't willing to visit our community. They didn't follow up and help us in keeping both environmental and personal hygiene to the others in the community. Because of this, we always miss the opportunity to have drugs given in donation from government and others. We missed the chances to get help and advice of reproductive health services. We faced segregation even when we go to Woreda healthcare center to get health care services … ”

Education sector as a source of discrimination. The Ethiopian government has different policies and strategies to access education for all citizens in the country. “Education for all” is one of the policies that the government has planned as development goals of the country. Beside this, people of minority groups have exercised discrimination in educational institutions. They didn’t have an access to primary education around their community and majority of them couldn’t read and write. They couldn't able to send their children to school. According to the interview with key informant, the school registration rate of children from Cinasha minority groups in general and a female in particular is very low. There was also higher drop out of female students from schools in the group. For instance, female students in Eddo Kindo Kebele were drop out from their primary school and the other didn’t start their study at all. As a result, the literacy rate was very low in this group. As discussion made with study population, one of the discussants explained how she dropped out her study as follows;

“Life is challenging both at home and school. The ignorance of both classmates and teachers was shocking in school. My classmates are not willing to sit with me in classroom. They were
too younger than me. I have various and hard duties given at home from my family. I tried to overcome these challenges, but gave up. At last, I decided to drop out my study. (FGD)

3.1.2.6. Abuses and violence on women of cinasha minority

Physical Abuse and Violence. Physical abuse is abuse involving contact intended to cause feelings of intimidation, pain, injury, or other physical suffering or bodily harm. Women in Cinasha minority groups were subjected to physical abuse and violence from both majority community and males in their own group. The abuse on Cinasha women is reflected by beat up. Husbands beat up their wife, fathers beat up their daughters and brothers beat up their sisters with and without reasons. The most common feature that distinguishes the Cinasha community when beat up takes place was that the loudly crying of women's at midnight. This is due to males in Cinasha group having less responsibilities and burden to regulate different duties in the household level. Cinasha males were not expected to work domestic works and to participate in different outside activities in the society. All these circumstances played its significant role for them to consume alcohols and beat up their wives at night when they come to their home. In contrary to this, women Cinasha had little or no chance to participate in different activities in the community. Culturally both men and female Cinasha give the service of circumcision for the community before the expansion of modern health care systems. Male Cinasha give the service for male circumcision while females are for females before the prohibition of female circumcision. Even if they give similar service as males in this regard, they are not equally treated and paid as males. People give food items for consumption and other cheap equipment. The information from key informant interview shows this;

“Male Cinashas always beat up their own wives. It was common to hear the noises at midnights. Husbands left their home at early and return at night. They do it to drink alcohols, to eat enough foods and to attend in different events around the community. There is a local saying that male Cinashas pray to God at the morning, ‘Wogaa wor’ means please God kill the richest and the popular one among the community members. The death makes them an opportunity to spent time and to access food and drink. After drinks, they beat up their wives …”. (KII with 50 years old woman)

Women in Cinasha minority face physical harm from others in community, in public places like markets, churches and schools. Most often, this was happened due to the belief of evil spirit in the group. As it presented in in-depth interview, some people among majority group beat up women of Cinasha minorities for two reasons; to protect themselves from evil spirit and to revenge them by assuming the death of the respective families or relatives was committed by their evil spirit. Generally speaking, the domestication of all household tasks to women Cinashas, degrading the roles and responsibilities that women Cinashas can exercise in the society and stereotyping them as more evil spirit than men paved a way to be physically abused.

Verbal abuse. Verbal abuse can be defined as a form of emotionally abusive behavior including the use of language. It can also be referred to as the act of threatening. Through threatening a person can blatantly say they will harm you in any way and will also be considered as abuse. There are different terms used to abuse women in Wolaita community. Insulting and other signs are among the terms. People say “Cinashiya” not “Cinashay” while insulting someone. “Cinashiya” refers to an insult that belongs to women and “Cinashay” for men.
The meaning of “Cinashiyaa” feminine representation is more difficult than “Cinashay”. Let us see the abuse as to in-depth interview:

“The term Cinasha by itself is used as a term to insult someone who is female than male. The Cinasha women were insulted by their family members, neighbors and the community as whole in different places more than men”.

Sexual abuse and violence. Sexual abuse is any situation in which force or threat is used to obtain participation in unwanted sexual activities and it is another impact of discrimination that women of any community in general and women of minority groups in particular face. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family (UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 16). They are entitled to equal rights as to the marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. But, women of Cinasha minorities were discriminated from the above rights in that people do not give them a chance and right to choose their soul mates, to practice sexual relationships with whom they love. For them, the rights seem naturally denied. As to the in-depth interview taken with the research participant,

“Cinasha woman has no right to select their own mate. The right was only vest on men. There were also high level of ravish and rape in the group. (II with 45 years old woman)

Labor abuse and violence. Labor abuse refers to the factors that sort some violations such as unsafe working conditions, employment of children, exerting mandatory overtimes and energies, payment of less than the minimum wage, abusive discipline, sexual harassment, or violation of labor laws and regulations (France, 2016). It is another feature of discrimination of women in Cinasha minority group. As it was discussed earlier, the major job of women in this minority group is pottery work. The work is hard by its nature, most often performed manually and demands high energies. All men in the group, the outside community members who use utensils from pottery work and the administration bodies abuse labor of women of this group. No help and support were given to Cinasha minorities. The interview which supports this is given below;

“It is very difficult to find preferable soil for pottery work. Transporting the soil to work place is also a challenging. On the other hand, the processes of preparation, taking the product to the market are other difficulties we face in this job. We cook the meals for the whole family and work other household duties. In general, we engaged with all household duties than the other women in our community.”

(II with 35 years old woman)

The discrimination of Cinasha women was resulted from the hard and unsafe working conditions and all domestic activities that unwillingly given and left to them. The community also abuses their labor by devaluing the prices of the pottery products. They purposefully make the prices of the products of pottery work very cheap in the market. But, no soil for the products of pottery works was granted freely. As a result, the women from Cinasha minority cost higher prices for production of those utensils and sell it with cheap prices in the market. There is a trend of exchanging the
product with foods and other commodities. It was done basically to devalue the products as discussed in FGD.

“At earlier times, the people replace our products with little food items. Till now, the communities around us do such kind of exchange. The products in market place are also cheap. Every items and products in market place are changing its values, but our products are remaining the same and sometimes changing with little improvements in price over time”.

The Cinasha women were engaged in daily routine works of the majority community. They clean house, wash clothes, attend market, watch over cows, plough land or doing agricultural activities and harvest plants. They are also daily paid workers for little wage in labor works. Cinasha women exert their potential and lose their energy with discouraging payments in labor market in the study area. The payment for Cinashas and other Goqqas is different. The majorities pay little fee for Cinashas who did the same works with Goqqas. Hence, they were discriminated in fees of their wage.

The other factor for abuse of Cinasha women in the study area is the lack of support from the administrative bodies and lack of different facilities. As the data from interview and FGD shows, there is no support from the administrative body to the women from this group. They have no chance to be organized in small scale enterprises and no significant facilities. There is no road facility, no transport access, no working and selling place. This all exposed Cinasha women to labor abuse. In sum, women of minorities face discriminations in their daily and routine life circumstances.

3.1.3. Economic discriminations
3.1.3.1. Pottery as a livelihood strategy and division of labour. The economic discrimination of women in Cinasha minority group was emanated from economic activities and the living standards of the group. Pottery work is the major economic activity that the Cinasha minority groups survive their living. The work is also considered as well-known craftwork in wolaita community. It is a livelihood strategy for Cinashas than farming and other occupations. Pottery is believed as women’s job in the Cinasha minority community itself. The phrase “Hillanchiyoo” is used to call Cinasha women, which means “pottery women” in Wolaita. Cinasha minorities make their residence around the place where the soil for pottery work is available and accessible (Fanta & Acha, 2006).

As presented on the above statements, it is the duty and responsibility of women to undertake all tasks of pottery work; to search and identify the soil needed for it; to dig and collect it, to bring it to their work place by carrying, to process it, to craft the potter, to take the final product to market and to sell it. Accordingly, women have a full responsibility to work pottery work and to feed whole family.

Men in the group were engaged in other occupations such as farming and animal herding activities. Men Cinasha were usually proposed to participate in different ceremonies in the community to sing songs (called as “Boliyo” in Wolaita language), to dance cultural dances and to play cultural music instruments in the ceremonies as burial, wedding; circumcision and etc. They were also cultural experts who supposed to exercise endogenous knowledge of male circumcision in the community. They search out meals and drinks from those ceremonies as a reward to their contribution.

As to data of FGD, the above division of labor to both men and women of Cinasha minority was mainly done to discriminating women of Cinasha group. The majorities and men of the group categorized the pottery work as disrespected and degraded job of women of Cinasha minorities. It is beyond dividing jobs to women, but it is all about labeling women Cinashas as incompetent and powerless class of society.

3.1.3.2. The impact of urbanization on pottery work and discrimination of local government. The farming activity has been used as one of a livelihood strategy by some male Cinashas. But, the
increasing rate of urbanization to their farming areas and lack of accessibility of land are one of affecting factors to this strategy. Similarly, the pottery work is facing a number of problems such as lack of soil in surrounding, market fluctuation to get grass and other raw materials for production, lack of work place and lack of selling place in the town and market. The women Cinashas walk remote areas to search preferable soil, dig the soil and bring it via their backs. They buy grass and other raw materials for the production of pottery by costly price and sell the final product with cheap price.

Beyond the hard nature of pottery work, Cinasha women have difficulties because of the structural discrimination from the local government. The market situations and the value given to their product by the host community were some of the implications of the discrimination. On the other hand, Cinashas were neglected from organizing in small scale enterprises to secure safe work place and initial capital from the government. They frequently asked the local government to organize them in small enterprises, to facilitate work place and to get help of initial capital. But nobody gave them a little attention. For instance, the government given more attention to the street coffee market (alarmingly emerging type of business) in the towns that usually use the pot called as ‘Jebena’ on which they put the coffee. Jebena is the hand work of the Cinasha women. The coffee sellers have the right to be organized in small scale enterprises to sell coffee in streets. This is to mean that the non-Cinasha members of society who engaged on different jobs have an access to initial capital, working and selling places. But the pottery workers were deprived of these opportunities. The problem also discussed deeply on FGD as follows:

“There is isolation in market place to sell our products. We were facing a great challenge to sell our products from a day to day. We enforced to sell our products in unclean and unseen places at market”.

Based on the observation that the researcher used to collect a significant data as shown on Figure 1 below, women Cinashas were not opportunists in advancing their skills and securing permanent selling and buying places.
The pottery work of the women Cinashas should be supported by trainings. But their work was not supported by different skill trainings. They were discriminated from skill training packages as a citizen safe working and selling place for their products. Most market places are crowded. There are no separate and constant places to sell pottery products in the study area. As a result, their products breakout at the stage of design, burning stage, transportation, and selling. The data from FGD is given below shows the less attention given to works of women Cinasha minorities;

“The products of pottery work were broken in transportation because of lack of appropriate transportation to the market. We carry 7 to 15 pots which is equivalent to 25kg to 35 kg in our back and move from 10km to 20kms to different markets. We have no shoes. This has an adverse effect on physical health status of us than that of the breakings of the products …”

In general, women in Cinasha minority were living in deep rooted poverty. They had insufficient foods required for the survival of their family members. Most often, they get meals once a day and they get more than once per day at special moments. They were neglected from poverty reduction programs designed by the government. For instance, they were neglected from aids from both community and the government. Their home is built from shanty materials and it is very far from tolerable context for human living. They lacked clothes to wear and most of their wearing is tear clothes. Accordingly, they were exposed to different living crisis because of discriminations on the group. The information from the interview shows that they are discriminated from land, capital and market.

3.1.4 Actions of social institutions in combating discriminations against women of cinasha minority group

3.1.4.1. Actions of local government in combating social and economic discriminations. Local governments have a pivotal role in preventing any form of discriminations and abuses on minority groups. Cinasha women also have a key role in economic activities in relation to their craft work. Their contribution to community and government is high. The products of this work are base for the daily meal consumption of the majority community. But they were also marginalized and discriminated from both the government and the community on the basis of wrong perceptions and thinking’s towards them.

As it is well known, the government has a number of programs in education, agriculture and health sectors that are intended to build the capacity of women in the community. The programs in turn have affirmative action to benefit women. But pottery work of women Cinasha was neglected from all those affirmative actions. As it was assured in an interview with informants in this study and in the discussion in FGD, there was no special program intended to support women of Cinasha minorities. They were neglected from the programs designed to support women as general in the community. This kind of discrimination was seen in different dimensions of socio economic arenas.

Nowadays, the government is prominently working to eradicate illiteracy. A motto “no child must be out of school” is designed to send or register all children to school stay at school. Home to home assessments were made to encourage and motivate the school children. But, the literacy rate of women in Cinasha minority groups in the study area is very low. Almost all of them couldn’t read and write and the smaller number of them attended primary education. More than ten female children who aged above ten years hadn’t started their study in the study area. They also drop out from school. It was because the local government failed to encourage and follow up the Cinasha students in contrary to Goqqa students. As of the data from the FGD, no school communities follow Cinasha students whether they are at school or not.

The other responsibility of local government is supporting their work by facilitating work place and selling place. To minimize the unemployment rate and to eradicate poverty, the local government has responsibility through facilitating inputs, work and selling place. It has full mandate to recognize their works and to protect their human rights that can be violated in relation to work. The local administrations have roles played to recognize pottery products in market and among community members. In the same way, the pottery work is one of the cotton industries which demand a series guidance and support from
local government. As the data from FGD, pottery workers lacked all these in contrary to other members of the society.

Generally speaking, the local government was failed to institutionalize pottery work and gave more attention to works done by other sections of society. The women Cinashas were discriminated from the rights of small scale enterprises and industries, the packages of basic skill trainings, the affirmative actions, and programs of sustainable development.

3.1.4.2 Actions of religious institutions. Religious institutions have a great role to eradicate bad traits in the community and among different groups. They have the responsibility to keep social cohesiveness and to struggle discrimination against Cinasha women. These roles of the institution become slight in solving the problem. Women Cinashas have exercised discrimination at religious institutions. All Cinashas in general and women Cinashas in particular were not allowed to attend any church fellowship and to participate on all social concerns of the religion with majorities. None of members of any religion want to worship God, to pray God and to attend any religious rituals with them. They were not allowed to elect and to be elected in church leadership positions. The magnitude of the religious discrimination to women Cinashas is greater than that of the men Cinashas. Hence, these institutions become a center of discriminations rather than solving the problem itself. The discussants in FGD have also informed how they were discriminated in social and spiritual issues of the religious institutions as follows;

“… The pastors of the church do not teach us how to engage on the marriage institution as of the words of God. They do not encourage the marriage between us and the Goqqas. They even inform our social background to ‘Goqqas’ in order to fall the future relationships”.

The other most important discriminating issue in religion is that the daily workers do not wash the clothes of the Priest of the Catholic Church whose social background is labeled as Cinasha. The workers do not cook food for him, the followers of the religion do not express their sin in order to get salvation, and they do not go to church since there is a Cinasha Priest.

3.1.4.3 Actions of non-governmental organizations (NGO). As we have discussed above, women in Cinasha minority groups were facing high level of discriminations; as a result, they were living in deep rooted poverty. Consequently, non-governmental organizations have responsibility to do different activities that focus on programs which fight bad traits and poverty in the community. Basically, there is no NGO which work on the Cinasha and other minority groups in the community. There was no effort made to include women from Cinasha minority groups to different programs which are targeted to help the whole community. No attention was given to them because of their social status.

3.1.4.4. Actions of medias. The development of media in our community is growing yet in publicizing different social problems. Media may benefit the disadvantaged groups. But, minorities are not included in the samples in most available mass communication studies. The role of media in addressing the problem regarding the double discriminations in Cinasha minority was very slight and insignificant. No Medias know who they are, where they are, what they do, what they eat and drink, what they wear, where they study, how they get public services. This is simply due to discriminations emanated from the public and the media too. As to discussions made with study subjects in FGD, media played no role in circulating our discriminated and segregated life statuses to outside people and to concerning bodies.

“There is no responsible body to apply our discriminations and segregations that based on our social background. No one knows our problem the Almighty God. No one is responsible and accountable for the discriminations that emanated from every members of majority group. No government bodies and media agencies are beside of us in quest of our problem. We die out from this planet without any solutions for our existing and most emerging problems”. (FGD)
3.2 Discussion
To the best of knowledge of the researchers, there are no published scientific papers conducted particularly on double discriminations against women of Cinasha minorities in Wolaita Zone. Like this study, other studies have suggested the social aspects of discriminations that minority groups in general face in their life Korkoba and Aminu, 2018; Mengesha (2014) & (Mengesha, 2017); Jobo (2016). The studies discussed how minorities are socially excluded, feel inferiority and hopelessness, how they occupy subordinate stratum and are facing different problems. This consistency meets the game theory that acknowledges how minority groups have less or no access to political power, economic opportunities and knowledge. As it is clearly shown in this study, Cinasha minority groups in general and women Cinasha in particular are intentionally excluded from social interactions, political power, economic opportunities and knowledge in the community.

The other studies have also focused on discriminations and marginalization of minorities only. For instance, the studies undertaken by Dereje has focused on psychological aspects, both Tarekegn and Mengistu (2019) and Jobo (2016) have focused on language especially on folklores and proverbs on feminism and Tariku (2015) gave due attention to cultural dispute settlement process in Wolaita. In the face of this, these studies didn’t acknowledge how women in minorities are discriminated and marginalized in the community. But this study has deeply shown that women Cinashas were discriminated socially in different occasions such as greetings, eating practices, funeral ceremonies, participations in (Idir and Equb, weddings, social conflict and dispute resolution mechanisms, church membership and leadership), mate selection and marriage relationships, health and education sectors. These are the ways in which women in Cinasha are facing marginalization in addition to those discriminating natures of physical, verbal, sexual and labor abuses. These show how labeling theory is applicable in dealing with the discrimination against women in Cinasha. Most of the behaviors and characteristics given to Cinasha women, which are source of social discriminations to the group are the labeled than actual. For instance, there is deeply rooted believe in the community that Cinasha women are with active evil spirit so called “goromote”. There is also wrong perception that women in this group are always unclean. The community perceives that Cinasha women may consume more food than others. These all are labeling to the group and we cannot find tangible evidences to these perceptions. The data collected in this study doesn't show the reality of these perceptions, but it is clearly reflected that all these perceptions are socially constructed and labeled to the group by dominant groups.

In line with Dereje, 2018; Mengesha (2017); Jobo (2016), this study pointed out minority groups are the most vulnerable sections of society in relation to economic arenas. The consistency of the studies to this study was laid on economic problems of the group that resulted from the beliefs of the majorities as incapable entities and as an occupational group at the lower verge of all societies. The studies were didn't sufficiently discuss the discriminations women Cinashas encountered in relation to their economic activities in particular.

The studies undertaken by Mengesha (2014) & (Mengesha, 2017); Tariku (2015); Dereje, 2018; Tarekegn and Mengistu (2019); and Jobo (2016) were also inconsistent with this study. The studies haven't discussed about the failure of social institutions such as local governments, religious organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations, and Medias in combating discriminations against women of Cinasha minority group and how the institutions themselves become a center of discrimination for the group. The studies don't say anything about social institutions in discriminating the women Cinashas instead of solving the problem of discrimination that these groups of people face in their life. But this study has shown us that the government, the religion, the non-governmental organizations and media are discriminating the women Cinashas in different aspects. For instance, the study has examined that the government itself is discriminating the women Cinashas in socio-economic aspects. The government is discriminating them in social and economic development sectors like education, agriculture and health. It didn't build the capacity
and gave affirmative action to them and included them in development programs and facilities. The religion in this study has been examined as a center of discrimination in both its spiritual and social aspects. Both Non-Governmental Organizations and media didn't play their role in combating the discriminations against women Cinashas.

As it is discussed throughout this study, Cinasha women are facing multiple forms of discriminations and marginalization both as a women and one from minority group. As women, they are facing different forms of discrimination, abuses, neglects and violence from the community and males in majority group and their own group. As one who is living in patriarchal society, there is higher inequality between men and women in this group. The violence and abuse in this group is higher than the women in majority group. In this regard, this study is consistent with the radical feminist concept which blames the exploitation of women on men and women are the oppressed groups. Men in Cinasha groups are oppressing their women in labor exploitation, because it is women responsibility to feed the whole family. Physical and verbal abuses on women in Cinasha group are practiced by men.

On the other hand, this study also shares the idea of Marxist feminists that capitalism rather than patriarchy is the source of women oppression. The women of Cinasha groups are oppressed, exploited and discriminated by women in majority groups as well in addition to males. So, living in patriarchal society is not the sole reason for the oppression of Cinasha women, but the community structure contributed a lot for their oppression. Labor exploitation, discriminations from social affairs, neglect in social interaction, devaluing their products, discriminations in public institutions and etc are typical concerns in structural oppression of women.

4. Conclusion
This study has examined double discriminations against women of Cinasha minority groups in Duguna Fango Woreda in Wolaita Zone, Ethiopia. The study aimed at examining the social discriminations, economic discriminations and examining actions of social institutions in combating discriminations against women in Cinasha minority groups.

The findings shows that there is social discriminations against women in Cinasha minority groups which is manifested by segregation from different social events like weddings, funerals, cultural festivities, etc. not exchanging greetings especially the greeting manifested by hand shaking, ignoring to have a meal with them, ignoring them from forming social unions as Idir, Equb and others, neglecting them from getting service from health and education centers. They are facing different kinds of abuse and violence from their family, spouses, and others in the community. They are facing physical abuse of beat up, verbal abuse of insult, sexual abuse and labor abuse that are discriminating women Cinashas by its nature.

Regarding economic discriminations in Cinasha women, they are neglected from other economic activities and restricted only in pottery work. This work is also characterized by many challenges and difficulties for them. They are getting difficulty to find soil for pottery production, to transport the soil, to have safe working and selling place. The value of the product in the market is very cheap and it doesn’t show any progress through years while other products are changing in the fastest rate overnight. Because of it, they are unable to fulfill their family’s need and forced to live under deep-rooted poverty. Consequently, women in Cinasha minority groups are living in a perilous environment, unordinary homes, and cruel areas.

The actions of different public organizations and institutions such as local government, religious organizations, non-governmental organizations, and media in combating discriminations against women in Cinasha minority groups were failed. The government failed to fight social discrimination, economic discrimination, abuses and violence’s against women in Cinasha minorities. It hasn’t built the capacity of women of Cinasha minorities in different programs and projects. Similarly speaking, the
religious organizations, Nongovernmental organizations and media were failed to address why there is discrimination and harsh living conditions of Cinasha women minority groups.

Generally, there is social inequality, economic inequality and economic dependency for women of Cinasha minority groups and all the discriminations that they have been faced were not considered as double discriminations. There is also a denial of both natural and democratic rights for Cinasha minorities in general and women Cinashas in particular. The discrimination seems nature-based than nurture-based. This implies that both groups (majorities and minorities) believe the discriminations are not socially fabricated, but naturally delivered to Cinashas.

This study is consistent to the concepts of radical feminists and Marxist feminists. Because of they are living in patriarchal community, Cinasha women are facing different oppression by males. On the other hand because community structure, cultures and tradition to minority groups and women, women of Cinasha are facing exploitation and discrimination not only from males, but also from women of majority groups. So it is not patriarchal structure only, but it is the societal structure also contributing to Cinasha women oppression.

All responsible bodies must work together and play their roles effectively to come up the problem of double discriminations against women in Cinasha minorities as a women and one from minority group. The community, government, academic communities/elites, non-governmental organizations, religious institutions and media must take part in solving both social and economic circumstances of discriminations that women Cinashas are facing in their life.

Funding
The authors have no funding to report.

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ACRONYMS
APA—The Australian Psychological Association
EU—European Union
FCD—Focus Group Discussion
ICCPR—the International Covenant on Cultural and Political Rights
ID—In depth interview
KII—Key Informant Interview
NRC—National Register of Citizens of India
SNPNRS—Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State

Availability of data and materials
The data used to support the findings of this study are available from the corresponding author upon reasonable request.

Disclosure statement
No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Citation information
Cite this article as: Double discriminations against marginalized women: Analysis of women in Cinasha minority group of Wolaita society, Ethiopia, Melese Mesene Mena, Memihuru Gezume Guja & Yared Paulos, Cogent Social Sciences (2022), 8: 2132676.

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