



MIZAN-TEPI UNIVERSITY

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN THE TRADITIONAL SPIRIT

(UGUMET)

AMONG THE MAJANG PEOPLE IN GAMBELLA REGIN

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Abstract

The core objective of this study is to explore the role of indigenous governance in promoting traditional Spirit and Spirit in the Majang Communities, Ethiopia. Conferring to the objectives, the study followed a qualitative research method and used a case study research design. Data were collected through FGD and key informant interviews. An empirical thematic analysis technique was used to analyse data. The study found that the Majang communities have their own unique traditional belief and religious system which is categorized in their structure and comprises the Tapadh, Waledye, Regnawu, Gney and Odi. Indigenous governance has various roles in promoting the religious and belief system; take initiative to establish an administration system that incorporates the traditional system with the formal one, and allowing indigenous communities to freely exercise and practice their traditional belief and religious principles. Now a day this traditional belief and religious system are not frequently practiced by the communities of Majang due to different threats; the regime change in Ethiopia from an Monarchical government to a military dictatorship, the expansion of western Spirit especially protestant Spirit , expansion of globalization and civilization and inadequacy to documenting the traditional Spirit and religious practice system by the concerned bodies. However this traditional belief and the religious system have solidly accepted by the community so far, it lacks emphasis from the indigenous government and it is not lawfully acknowledged today. Due to the intimidation, the traditional Spirit and religious system of Majang are under question mark or it is an endemic because most of the areas except some part of Gambella regional state residents of Majang communities are failed to practice it.

Keywords: *Belief, Tapadh, waledye, regnawu, Gney, Odi, majang*

Acronyms

FGD- Focus Group Discussion

KII- Key Informant Interviews

FDRE- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

SNNPR- Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region

List of terms for *Ato Majang* (Majang Language)

Chickens-----Kogili

Local drinks *Borde*-----*Tajan*

Local drinks *Tej* -----Ogol

Goat -----*Kemt*

Sheep -----*Jinkuy*

Jars -----*Gubuy*

Woman -----*Pettek*

Meat -----*Tar*

Servants -----*Nukuyen*

CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and Spirit ; this right includes freedom to change his Spirit or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his Spirit or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance. (UDHR, Article 18). The spiritual domain is an important but relatively unexplained area in most helping professions on the African continent. Despite a split-up with transcendent matters for a protracted period of time, lately, social work academics have developed increasing interest in this area of Spirit and spirituality.

Asher (2001) suggests that the main reason for this sudden surge of interest in spirituality may be that modern African society has demanded that, for many, are psychologically and emotionally overwhelming. The other contributory factor is the displacement of African communities from their traditional residential areas with its concomitant erosion of their religious belief systems and spirituality through the mushrooming of congregational clergy of all Spirit and denominations. These clergies respond to their members 'spiritual needs through in several ways like counselling and therapeutic care. The presence of Spirit and/or spirituality is widespread and is one of the longest-standing phenomena known to humankind (Berry & York, 2011). From a more analytical perspective, it can be argued that Spirit and spirituality have featured prominently in human history and that in nearly all societies they have played a stupendous and portentous role in human life since the beginning of time.

Ethiopia is the largest country in the Horn of Africa as well as the oldest independent and second most populated country in Africa, next to Nigeria. The country is rich in terms of diverse ethno linguistics, and is endowed with four main religious traditions that included Judaism, Christianity, Islam and traditional Spirit all of them constituting the religious heritage of the country. This tradition, though contemporarily more dynamically evidenced, has a long history and influence. While Ethiopia in general is home to more than 80 ethnic groups, the southern Ethiopia in particular is well known for hosting more than 56 indigenous ethnic groups (Zerihun, 2019).

The history of religious belief in Ethiopia had passed through various stages. Long before the introduction of Christianity and Islam, there were various traditional Spirit among Ethiopian people. These were a belief in various natural objects such as sky, mountains, rivers, lakes, trees and animals. The people believed that special power existed and worked naturally on these natural objects and hence paying sacrifice to them. Both former traditional Spirit and newly introduced Spirit were practiced side by side for a long period of time in Ethiopia. People worship, pray and performed ritual ceremony for these natural objects due to various reasons. It might be due to fear of bad fortunes, but wishing to get good luck, health, wealth and fertility as well. The month and day in which ritual ceremony held varies from district to district. The types of traditional Spirit and its practices may also vary from district to district. However, regardless of the names and its variety, people in Ethiopia had long tradition of exercising traditional Spirit and traditional practices both in pre Christian and Islam era and then after too. (Stauder, 1971)

One among these ethnic groups in the southern region is the Majang people who are commonly described as the 'forest people'. The Majang people had long established an intimate relationship with their environment on which they tread and from which they draw means of sustenance and vital resources such as food, crops, water, and so forth (Stauder, 1971). They have a patriarchal structure and are clan-based egalitarian society with no organized socio-political structure (Stauder, 1970, 1971, 1972).

The history of Majang communities in Ethiopia was sketched posterior to the 17th century (Stauder, 1970). As the countless studies regarding the peoples of despised that the Majang people roamed from South Sudan in the 17th century and finally settled in the places where they are living currently. The Majang people principally settled in Gambella Regional state particularly in Majang Zone, whereas they also disintegrated adjacent areas; Sheka Zone(Yeki District), Bench sheko Zone(Sheko and around Guraferda), Oromia region state (Illuababuro Zone typically Burea). The Majang is one of the indigenous societies in Ethiopia having more than seventy clans, though they lacked to have an organized indigenous governance system (Stauder, 1971). Because the Majang people had no council of elders (Stauder, 1971) holding formal authority to administer their decisions, they appeared to be an egalitarian society. They had no economic class differentiation and a well-organized political structure (Stauder, 1971).

For centuries immemorial to us, the Majang people had no problem of handing their traditions down to their generations. Since the 1960s, however, their traditions seem to have been threatened due to a number of factors, including the influx of non-Majang settlers, the introduction of Christianity (Sato, 1997), modern education, and urbanizations among others. With regard to *change and continuity* in traditions as a whole, Levi-Strauss (1966) categorizes societies into ‘cold’ (refers to society who maintain their traditions) and ‘hot’ (refers to a society adapting to changing situations). Borrowing Levi-Strauss’s terms, we can describe the Majang people as both ‘cold’ and ‘hot’ societies in that the people maintain their traditions recreating or reproducing the past (social structure) in which generations fit into the same positions while, as the same time, adapting themselves to emerging situations being conscious of change. When we say *change and continuity* in traditional Spirit practices, we mean the process of transmitting those traditions from generation to generation but with dynamics and potential threats that affect the continuity of custom, performance, occasion, knowledge, skills, technique and feelings associated with the traditions.

The central issue of this research was that although a larger percentage of the Majang population are converted to Protestantism and very few per cent of them to Orthodox Christianity, to know the presence of significant number of people who maintain the indigenous traditional Spirit values or not which, mainly serve as the mediation for their traditions and cultural expressions, enhancing their harmonious relationships with their environment or not. This research, drawing data from qualitative approach, seeks to examine the interface between change and continuity in traditional Spirit of the Majang people.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Ethiopia is a multicultural and multi-ethnic polity despite the fact that successive regimes blatantly denied this reality in the past. The current Ethiopian politico-legal dispensation recognizes the diversity of the multicultural elements underpinning the makeup of the country. The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) that is currently at work clearly specifies that all nations, nationalities and peoples enjoy recognition and equal legal protection including the freedom to develop and preserve their identity and enhance the unabridged use and enrichment of their cultures and languages.

The Region's diversity in terms of varied cultures, languages and historical heritages including belief and value systems that evolved through enduring traditional social systems is reinforced by well-entrenched livelihood systems anchored in discernable economic activities. (Stauder, 1971)

Existing studies of the Majang people have discussed on diverse issues, including the languages of the people (Bender, 1983; Unseth & Tefera, 1985; Unseth 1991, 2007; Moges, 2008; Getachew, 2014; Joswig, 2015, 2016, 2019); the relationship between the Majang and their environment (Stauder, 1971; Tuno, 2001); conflict and security issues (Dereje, 1994, 2007; Sarah 2003; Seyoum, 2015); social change among the Majang (Sato, 1997); interethnic relations (Kurimoto, 1994) and history of the Majang (Stauder, 1970; Abebe, 2013).

Some scholars such as Stauder (1971) have attempted to show the ethno-ecological relationships of the Majang from anthropological perspective. Sato (1997) documented the social change that befallen among the Majang people as a result of Christianisation through villagization, but his study does not document the interface between change and continuity in traditional Spirit . Although others have attempted to examine diverse issues related to the Majang people from the perspectives of history, politics, peace & security, these studies do not address *change and continuity* in relation to traditional Spirit of the Majang people. While discussing the sociocultural issues of the Majang people, Abebe (2013) has shallowly explained issues related to the Majang funeral, marriage ceremony; clan ship administration. However, beyond this, no other attempts were made to examine and synthesize the traditional Spirit of the Majang people, particularly in relation to change and continuity. There exists a scarcity of studies recording the coupled existence of change and continuity.

This research is an endeavour to examine the interface between change and continuity of traditional Spirit practices, with their underlying values, among the Majang people of south west Ethiopia. Above and beyond, the issue under study has not received a sufficient scholarly attention; the need for this work is also palpable in view of the introduction of such new cultural elements in the Majang land as Christianity and other factors, which have undermined the traditional Spirit and cultural values. One of the justifications for carrying out this research is that the Majang people are under serious threat of losing their traditional Spirit because of a number of factors that this research situates the findings in these contexts. In line with this, the

research tries to find answers to the following questions: how the Majang people are exposed to external threats, what factors are affecting the maintenance of their traditional Spirit? How do the Majang people maintain their traditional spirit amidst threats? How the Majang peoples adapts with the changing sociocultural conditions?. As this research is new, it was depend on first-hand information that has been drawn mainly using such qualitative research data collection tools as key informant interviews (KII) and focus group discussions (FGD).

1.3. Objectives of the study

1.3.1. General Objectives

This study is aimed at examining the changes and continuity of traditional Spirit among the Majang People of South West Ethiopia

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

Based on the aforementioned, the study seeks to attain the following specific objectives:

- Mention the different threats that affect the maintenance of Majang's traditional Spirit.
- Identify the adaptation of the Majang people to the traditional Spirit.
- Describe the continuity of traditional Spirit amidst of the threats.

1.4. Research Question

In line with the objectives, the following research questions are posed and addressed:

- What are the external threats that affect the maintenance of Majang's traditional Spirit?
- How the Majang peoples adapts with the traditional Spirit?
- How do the Majang people maintain their traditional Spirit amidst threats?

1.5. Significances of the Study

The contribution of this research lies in its role of recording both the memory and actual practices of traditional Spirit of the Majang people. The study would significantly contribute to produce profound knowledge about traditional Spirit of the Majang people and sharing the findings with the academic community and institutions both at country and international levels.

Also, the outcomes of the research offer awareness about the actual situation of traditional Spirit of the Majang amidst many challenges, i.e., the influx of new sociocultural elements. Moreover, contributing to the scanty scholarly material in this field of social sciences, the study can serve as a stepping stone for those who are interested to make further investigation in the area.

1.6. Delimitation of the Study

The Majang people are widely scattered in a wide areas of forested lands in south Western Ethiopia, but they are predominantly settled in Majang Zone of Gambella region. Although they are settled in diverse areas, the study focuses on the Majang of Gambella region particularly in Majang zone. In terms of thematic areas, the study delimits its scope or restricts itself to such issues as sacred sites, outcast, sorcery, magic charms, and witchcraft, modes of spirit, birth and naming, initiation rites, marriage customs, burial ceremonies.

1.7. Organization of the Study

The organization of the study have five chapters with chapter one covering the background of the study, statement of the research problem, objectives and research questions, significance and scope of the study. Chapter two covers a discussion about concepts of traditional belief system, significances of traditional belief systems and challenges in practicing traditional belief systems. The third chapter is on the methodology of the study covering sources of data, experiences of data collection. Chapter four deals with the interpretation and analysis of the data, implications of data on the objectives and research questions, the final chapter includes an overview of findings/conclusions and recommendations for future studies.

1.8 Opportunities and Limitations of the study

A number of opportunities are made available in the course of conducting the research. One of these pertains to the existence of favourable institutional environment for conducting research since one of the core objectives of the study is to provide inputs for policy measures that the concerned government agencies would embark on. Hence it is believed that there exists a formidable political will in terms of encouraging and supporting such similar other endeavours. Besides, the researcher's previous experience in dealing with matters relating to the study theme including area were advantageous in terms of contributing to the effort of conducting the study

without facing significant impediments. Finally, relative accessibility of the study area also has contributed to minimizing probable difficulties in data collection through repeated field visits.

On the other hand, the quest for smooth conduct of the study faced some challenges and limitations. These included paucity of adequate prior studies on the theme under examination, lack of sufficient logistics and facilities including favourable research infrastructure. These, to a certain degree, adversely affected the completion of the study within the scheduled timeframe.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of Related Literatures

This section focuses on the identification of relevant and related literature pertinent to the theme of the study. The search for literature on the subject under study indicated that there are few cases and relevant sources that are pertinent to the theme on the study

2.1 Concept and Definitions of Traditional Spirit

As of the FGD and interview participant response, **Ugumet** is the Majang terminology which means traditional spirit. A tradition is a belief or behaviour passed down within a group or society with symbolic meaning or special significance with origins in the past (Thomas,1997) A component of cultural and folklore, common examples include holidays or impractical but socially meaningful clothes (like lawyers' or military officers' spurs), but the idea has also been applied to social norms such as greetings. Traditions can persist and evolve for thousands of years. The word tradition itself derives from the Latin *tradere* literally meaning to transmit, to hand over, to give for safekeeping. While it is commonly assumed that traditions have an ancient history, many traditions have been invented on purpose, whether that is political or cultural, over short periods of time. Various academic disciplines also use the word in a variety of ways. (Anthony, 2003) .Away of thinking, behaving, or doing something that has been used by the people in a particular group, family, society, etc., for a long time

Traditional Spirit can be also related with state or habit of trust something peculiarly. It is also something that is accepted, considered to be true. It can be in individuals or groups religious, cultural and political outlook. In this regard, Ethiopian people had a long period of experience in traditional Spirit and traditional practices. Traditional Spirit and traditional practices were long lasting cognitive attitudes in Ethiopia (Maimire, 2010). Fekede Azeze stated that ritual and traditional medicines are elements of traditional Spirit and practice in Ethiopia.

Since traditional Spirit are results of long lasting patterns, actions and behaviours usually held within a society over many generations, it is very difficult to change such Spirit and practices? They had been often protected by taboos and strict principles and norms or customs of the community. Accordingly, these traditional Spirit and practices have survived for long although

they have been eroded after the introduction of both Christianity and Islam and the development of modern health service (Maimire, 2010).

2.2 Traditional Spirit in Africa

African Indigenous traditional Spirits are the oldest in the world. These Spirit were in Africa for long time before the coming of Abrahamic Spirit. However, the missionaries of the Abrahamic Spirit succeed in converting some African people to their newly imported Spirit. For a long period of time, African indigenous Spirit have been misrepresented by the strangers and detractors of African values. For African indigenous Spirit, early European explorers, investigators and Christian missionaries were among the most visible detractors (Rotimi2011)

The traditional spirit systems in the DRC share many of the features of traditional Spirit globally. The belief system includes belief in supernatural forces and ancestral spirits. There are individuals who can cast spells, provide supernatural protection, and see into the future e.g., witchdoctors, sorcerers, diviners, etc. Magical power can be embodied in objects like amulets or fetishes (Singh, 2021). Many of these features are also characteristics of more-organized Big God Spirit, like Christianity and Islam. However, in contrast to Christianity and Islam, there is no moral judgment by gods or spirits and no assignment to heaven or hell. Thus, unlike Christianity or Islam, there is no moralizing high God. Because these non-high God supernatural Spirit appear to be historically ubiquitous (Singh, 2021)

2.3. Some remarkable traditional Spirits in Ethiopia

2.3.1 Zar belief

The origin of Zar belief is still argumentative. Scholars associated origin of Zar Spirit with different countries. Most scholars associated the word Zar with Amharic language. Accordingly, Young Allan noted as: The word Zar is credited to the Amharic language of Ethiopia and it had parallel meaning in all Semitic languages. In Amharic it means possessing spirit. In Arabic, the term comes from the word Zahir meaning becoming visible or perceptible (Allan, 1975)

On the other hand, there are conflicting ideas about the origin of zar Spirit. For instance Salham has noted that zar spirit is introduced to Ethiopia from the Middle East across the Nile valley.

Contrary to Salaam's justification, Kahn has noted that zar belief comes from the name of a pagan supreme divinity in Abyssinian math while Arieli and Aychen related the origin of zar with Iran (Richard, 1987). Whilst Okasha has suggested that zar is originated from Sudan. The other scholar Al-Salmi associated the origin of zar with Zanzibar. Trimingham associated the origin of zar belief with Sudan, Somalia, Egypt, Arabia and Ethiopia. He noted that the cult is not a unitary phenomenon throughout these areas; however there are important ritual and cosmological differences from place to place. Wolf noted that the word zar is not credited with Semitic language; instead it could be associated with Cushitic language (Wolf, 1949)

2.3.2 Jini Spirit

Jini spirit was one among traditional belief in northwest Ethiopia. Jin is believed as unclean spirits with supernatural power which could appear in human and animal form. People in Ethiopia believed the availability of jini spirit and sound of drum in the lakes and rivers. People in Ethiopia believed that jin spirit had their own coteries in lakes and rivers. Even they believed that jini spirit had their own cow in the lakes and rivers (Fuller, 1970). Pankhurst noted that "They pray to spirit residing in the river that they call everlasting god, light of the world, eye of the world, god of the people, their saviour, other of the universe." (Pankhurst, 2001)

2.3.3 Qollè or Adbar spirit

Qollè or Adbar was one of traditional Spirit in northwest Ethiopia. It was believed that Qollè has female sex and placed around the top of mountain and indigenous trees. Bahru Zewde noted that one can witness the practice of Adbar ceremony which is still practiced in Ethiopia (Bahru, 1998)

2.3.4 Witch spirit

Human being was forced to become superstition for fear of good and evil forces in natural phenomena. Tadesse (2008) "Magic is the method of predicting, avoiding or controlling certain occurrences by super natural force. It is also a power of apparently using supernatural forces to change the form of things or influence events (ibid)

The history of the Majang people in Ethiopia could be traced back to the 17th century (Stauder, 1970; Bizuneh, 2006). Sources indicate that the Majang people migrated from South Sudan in the 17th century and finally settled in places where they are living now. The Majang people primarily settled in Majang Zone of Gambella Regional states while they also scattered in a number of neighbouring areas such as Yakki District of Shaka Zone, Bench Majji Zone, and around Bure of Oromia region.

Prior to 1960s, as like as other Ethiopian society Majang people were the followers of different traditional spirit. But the supernatural force that each spiritual leader used as a means of their spiritual power was called waqeyo (God). However, the traditional Spirit practices of the people were highly quivered with the introduction of Christianity into the Majang society in the 1960s by the American Presbyterian mission led by Harvey T. Hockstra, popularly known by the local people as Odola (Abebe, 2013). During those days, Hockstra learned and had a very good command of the Majang language. This Christian mission established clinic in the area as a means to attract potential Majang converts (Sato, 1997). As to their kinship system is concerned, the Majang is a patriarchal society having more than seventy clans (Komoyir) (Abebe, 2013). Despite the multiple numbers of their clans, the Majang clans had no political, administrative and council of elders. The only leaders were the Taphas whose role was serving as ritual experts. (Stauder, 1971). The settlement of the community was around their taphadh. Every Majang village had their own taphadh and there was no strong/powerful taphadh who would organize and control the other. Holding formal power to enforce their decisions were rest on the hands of *Tapadh*, (king), they seemed to be hierarchical society. They had no economic class differentiation and well-organized political structure. In the Majang communities membership of the clan was through patrilineal line. But kinship relation was determined both through father and mother. (Stauder, 1971). Such linguists as Bender and Unseth classify the Majang language into a Nilo-Saharan language family (Bender, 1983; Unseth, 1988, 1991). Although the Majang people dispersed and sparsely lived in different areas, there are little dialectical differences in their language (Unseth, 1984). But, unlike the Neolithic peoples who mainly depended on cattle and its products for their livelihood (animal husbandry or cattle herding), the Majang, as they lived in a wide forest environment, relied on hunting, shifting cultivation (slash-and-burn) and honey collection (Stauder, 1970; Tuno, 2001), which are also the main characteristic features of subsistence for different ethnic groups in Benishangul Gumuz and Southern regional states.

The Majang people were positioned in a broad swath of land covered with dense forest. Their culture allowed them to easily adapt into the dense forest as their relationship with the forest was always friendly. Researches such as by Conklin (1961) accentuate that shifting cultivation is circumscribed in areas rich with forests, like the areas of the Majang. However, the arrival and the coming into the area of an increasing number of non-indigenous peoples for permanent settlement with the intension of agricultural activities such as coffee plantations and crops highly affected the Majang environment and their ways of life as much of the forest was cleared (Joswig, 2019).

Before the 1970s, clothes among the Majang community were not known. They had no access to garments or they did not make clothes of garment by themselves. The Majang rarely put on clothes. To cover their private parts, they only used the leaves of emuy plants. Sometimes women wore the skins of bushbuck and antelope. This was also to cover their private par. The clothing tradition of the Majang was changed after 1974. During the Derg, the Majang were rewarded with free gifts of clothes, blankets and farming tool (Abebe, 2013)

The Majang were largely depended on cultivation of small scale crops both before 1974 and afterwards. They were also dependent on grain foods. Porridge was a staple food among the Majang which prepared either from maize or sorghum grains. The other food made from a grain of maize was called *kijo*. This was also a favourite food among the Majang. They also depended on varieties of taro (*Sakoy*), cassava (*babure, anchote*), varieties of yam (*kawn, badey*) and sweet potato, sesame (*nume*), cabbages (*molon*) and others. For meat supply, they were dependent on hunting of wild animals. (Stauder, 1971)

With regard to drinks, the Majang regularly prepared drinks in the morning and in the evening. They prepared *Kari* made of coffee leaves not of coffee berry. The Majang considered the leaves of coffee as a blessed God's gift. The other alcoholic drinks the Majang used to drink were *tajan* of grains and *ogol* prepared from honey.

2.4. Significances of traditional Spirit

Traditional spirit at the centre of African ontologies and cosmologies.

Africans are a very spiritual people and their spirit is evident in their ways of life such as healing, birth, death, hunting etc. Most scholars on Spirit such as Chavunduka (2001), Shoko (2007) and

Viriri and Mungwini (2009) have converged on the point that Dpirit is the centre of African existence. There is no separation between the spiritual and the material in traditional African life. African Spirit is the basis and reflection of African people's existence (Viriri & Mungwini, 2009). African traditional Spirit plays significant roles in times of war, droughts, death and illness. Given this importance of Spirit and spirituality to Africans, it is clear that social work practice cannot be complete without including the spiritual dimension (Baskin, 2002).

2.5. Challenges in practicing ritual systems

Traditional Spirit is/was decline/ing trough time due to the evangelization of Christianity and Islam. The evangelization of these two religion decreases the numbers of practitioners of traditional Spirit from time to time starting from past to present. Respecting the preaching of religious leaders people began to leave their traditional Spirit and practices through gradual process. But its dynamics was not occurrences of overnight. That is why one can witness about traditional Spirit and its practices still today. Though they are practice till today, both evangelization of these religions and the spread of modern health facilities had their own role for the decline of traditional Spirit and its practices trough time (Aysheshim, 2012)

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Method

This part of the research has presented the research design and research methods which are used in order to give answer for the research questions and meet the objectives of the research. It also presented the process of data collection as well as data analysis procedures.

3.1 Description of the study area

This study was conducted with in two Woreda (Godere and Mengeshi) of Gambella regional state which the Majang peoples stayed for a long period of time. Godere is a Woreda in Gambella, Ethiopia. Part of the Majang Zone, Godere is bordered on the south and east by the South Western Ethiopian Peoples Region (SWEPR), and on the west by Mengeshi. Meti which is located in Godere Woreda is the centre of the Majang Zone (CSA2007).

Based on the 2007 census conducted by the CSA, Godere Woreda has a total population of 38,781, of whom 19,928 are men and 18,853 women; with an area of 592.75 square kilometres, Godere has a population density of 65.43, which is greater than the Zone average of 26.28 persons per square kilometre. Reportedly 7,140 or 18.41% are urban inhabitants. A total of 9,752 households were counted in this Woreda, which results in an average of 4.0 persons to a household, and 9,494 housing units. The majority of the inhabitants said they practiced Ethiopian, with 42.12% of the population reporting they observed this belief, while 34.98 were Protestant, and 20.83% were Muslim (CSA2007).

Part of the Majang Zone, Mengeshi is bordered on the south and east by the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), on the west by Anuak Zone, on the north by the Oromia Region, and on the southeast by Godere. (CSA, 2007). Based on the 2007 census conducted by the CSA, this Woreda has a total population of 20,467, of whom 10,639 are men and 9,828 women. The majority of the inhabitants in the area practiced Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity, with 54.83% of the population, while 39.09 were Protestant, and 5.19% were Muslim (CSA, 2007)

3.2 Research design

Based on the nature of the study, a case study research design was used. Creswell & Poth (2016) noted that a case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a tradition or system through detailed and in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information.

Case Study

The reason which made the 1960s a land mark in the history of Majang was the introduction of Christianity to the Majang land by a Missionary known as Odola by the Majang , his real and full name was Harvey T.Hockstra. Odola was the most known white name among the Majang upto these days. After establishing his missionary post at Godere; Odola constructed an airstrip, a school and clinic. Before he started his project, he also gained permission from “a powerful ritual expert (taphadh)”, in Godere called, Balti to continue the missionary activities. Till the coming of Odola and opening of the clinic, disease such as small pox, malaria, typhoid, tropical ulcers and others were treated by traditional ritual experts, taphadh. Initially, Balti, the taphadh, in Godere discouraged his followers not to visit the clinic. But the surrounding people through time understood the curing capacity of medicines given by the missionaries and later Balti himself visited the clinic and had got vaccination against small pox. afterwards, the Majang started to come from near and far areas. Those who came to get medical treatment at the clinic were preached Gospel side by side with the treatment.

3.3 Research approach

Qualitative research approach was employed as a research strategy of this study. Qualitative researchers and ethnographers tend to collect data from the natural settings from limited number of people, and explicate phenomenon both from emic and ethical perspectives. Thus, they do not bring individuals into a lab (a contrived situation), nor do they prepare and distribute questionnaires for individuals to fill out. Qualitative data are gathered by actually talking directly to the people and observing them how they behave and act in their social settings. Qualitative researchers have face-to-face interaction, which often are taken place over time (Creswell, and Creswell, 2017). The interview and FGD participants are purposively selected because of their important to the issue.

3.4 Study population

Population can be defined as the totality of observation with which the study is concerned (Saunders et. al. 2007). The target population of this study was the Majang peoples which live in South Western part of Ethiopia, particularly Godere and Mengeshi Woreda under Majang Zone.

3.5 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The study area and research participants were selected purposively. Thus, two Woreda such as Godere and Mengeshi where the Majang communities mainly animate were purposively selected. These are areas where profuse information concerning the traditional Spirit and Spirit of Majang is pledged. By using the purposive sampling technique local elders, religious leaders, clan leaders, traditional belief leaders, officials, and experts from the culture and truism office of the two Woreda were selected. The sampling technique used is purposive and based on the aforementioned criteria pertaining to, age, social status, domicile (rural), gender and Spirit in a manner that ensures representation covering most part of the 2 Woreda of the Majang Zone. Over 54 key informants are identified.

3.6. Data Collection Tools

In order to collect data, this research utilizes such qualitative data collection tools as, key informant interviews (KII) and focus group discussion (FGDs). Interview and FGD as data collection tools would make it possible to explore both the religious and socio-cultural history of the people, which existed, mostly in oral tradition.

3.6.1. Interview

An appropriate tool would be employed for this research was interview. Bryman (2003:9) noted that, “through interviews we collect verbal reports of behaviour, meanings, attitudes and feelings that are never directly observed in the face to face encounter of the interview” Thus, in order to collect the verbal behaviours, meanings, and attitudes of the participants of the study, a series of interview were conducted with elders, clan and religious leaders, arbitrators as well as experts of the community. Due to its convenience, both structured and unstructured interview was employed. This is because as referred by Kumar (1999), interview is advantageous in that it provides uniform information and requires fewer interviewing skills than does unstructured interviewing.

Interview has been applied to the selected individuals like elders, clan and religious leaders as well as experts based on their closeness to the research title. To this end, interview schedules were prepared in appropriate sequence and administered accordingly. Thus the researchers employed this tool in collecting data from purposefully selected elders, clan and religious leaders as well as experts of both sexes based on their importance to the issue.

3.6.2. Focus group discussion FGD

This research employed (FGD) as an important means of data collection. Conducting FGDs is very important because some of the informants show disagreements on some points during discussion. Therefore these disagreements were further discussed through FGDs when the elders, clan and religious leaders and experts participate owing to their experience on the issues of traditional belief among the community under study.

FGD was taken as the primary source and additional appropriate tools reviewed and customized in a way that is appropriate to measure the role of stakeholders on the issue of traditional belief in the study area. It was also helpful to use the social dynamics of the group to stimulate participants and give the researcher the chance to reveal and collect essential information about their opinions, experience, perception, spirit, attitude and grievances on the issue of the research title.

In this study the researcher was guided by a checklist. The participants were local elders, religious and clan leaders as well as experts. They were purposively selected believing that they are very relevant to the study. Nine (9) focus group discussions were conducted. The number of participants in each focus group were 6 persons ($6 \times 9 = 54$). Therefore, 54 participants were the part of the FGD. The researcher also took part in all FGDs as a facilitator and guider of the discussion by probing the issues being raised in.

3.7 Analysis and Interpretation Technique

Qualitative research encompasses different data collection and analytical approaches with the aim of providing cultural and contextual description and interpretation of social phenomena (Vaisnordi & Snegrove, 2019). Though there exist various techniques of analysis it is not helpful to be overwhelmed with the variety. This is because there is no concrete prescribed way to address the process of analysis (Kawulich, 2004). However as noted by Creswell (2007) data analysis in qualitative research consists of preparing and organizing the data for analysis

(transcribing), reducing the data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes. This is the general process that researchers use, across many books in qualitative research. Therefore, in this study the researchers employed a thematic analysis technique.

In agreement with recommendations given by Braun & Clarke (2006) and Vaismoradi & Seagrove, (2019) the researchers followed the following series of steps in thematically analysing data. First; getting familiar with the data; involves reading and rereading the transcribed data and getting thoughtful about the data. Second, generating initial codes; involves highlighting the item of data which were considered to be potentially interesting across the entire data set, and researchers did this keeping the research questions in mind. Third, searching for themes; the researchers go through initial codes and combined codes which are similar to form a central theme and sub-theme. At this stage codes were collected under themes and subthemes on the basis of their relationship. Fourth, reviewing themes; the generated themes were compared and checked against the coded extracts. Fifth, defining, refining and naming themes; the researchers defined and named each theme. In-depth analysis for each individual theme was given in order to ensure that the themes are in accord with the overall concept of the data, and more importantly, they are in relation to the research questions. Sixth, producing final report; analysis was given for each theme and report was written. The report consists of interpretation of the analysis and discussion part

CHAPTER FOUR

4. Data presentation and Research findings

The Majang communities had their own traditional Spirit system which existed and were practically practiced for a prolonged period. As pronounced from discussion of FGD with clan leaders, local elders, and religious leaders, long time ago the Majang community had their own traditional belief practice. A person who possessed by one of these sprits had the power over the community and their property. Some of the types of spirits believed in by the Majang are described hereunder.

TYPES OF RITUALS

4.1 The *Tapadh* traditional Spirit of the Majang Communities

Despite the multiple numbers of their clans, the Majang clans had no political, administrative and council of elders. The only leaders were the *taphas* whose role was serving as ritual experts. The *taphas* existed in all Majang land. The role of the powerful *taphadh* was restricted to traditional ritual practices such as: maintaining peace and order, removing evil spirits, provision of ritual protection from disturbance, healing illness, ending disputes among their followers. Among the Majang almost all *taphas* came from Melaneer clan. The social organization of the Majang was based on *komoyir* (clans). But their settlement was not along clan line. The settlement of the community was around their *taphadh*.

Tapadh is believed to be a name given to both the traditional spirit and to the spiritual leader among the Majang communities. As it was described in the FGD discussion the Majang communities are highly practiced hunting and gathering, because of their close to the forest. The *Tapadh* has their servant/facilitator called *Nukuyen*. During the time of hunting wild animals, it is believed that the *Tapadh* knows where those hunted animals lived. So that every hunter came to the *Tapadh* and got blessed before go to the forest. After the ritual process the hunters easily hunt those animals through simply throwing *biake or spire*. In return the hunters prepared a temporary house in the forest, a traditional drink called *tajen*, and meat (*tar*) for the *Tapadh* (Yemalo, Simon and Ezqel)

The other ritual process that the *Tapadh* do was blessing a woman with the problem of Barrenness/infertility. So that she will be pregnant and give birth of a child. In return the *Tapadh* will get the bride price of the newly born child when she got married. Furthermore the *Tapadh* have also a right to marry the new born child when she reaches to the age of marriage or any other woman that he prefers. If the chosen women are not willing to marry him it is believed that his spirit curse and finally kill her.

On the other hand, when pandemic or drought happened in the area, the community gathered in the compound of *Tapadh*. They stayed for three days in a small house called *Gode Tamune*. During their stay they played Trumpet called *Puwak*. Then they returned back to home having a blessed green leaf from the *Tapadh*. They all throw that leaf in the area far from the community and no one is living. This shows throwing of the evil spirit of the pandemic or drought.

The other possession of *Tapadh* spirit was shown when a murderer gives his hand to the *Tapadh* the *Tapadh* will bring the two conflicting parties in to peace. After this agreement, if the victim did any revenge on the killer, the *Tapadh* spirit will kill him.

As it was mentioned by the key informants those individuals who faced sickness and need to be heal by the blessing of *Tapadh* will come to the *Tapadh*'s compound having the traditional drink *Tajan* and meat (*Tar*). The sick man who sits in front of the *Tapadh* will drink very small amount of *tajan* and *tar* after it was blessed by the *Tapadh*. Then the evil spirit (illness) will come out from the sick person. (*Nurkin, Esyak, Agi*)

The other traditional belief practiced by the Majang community was *Waldey*

4.2. The *Waldey* traditional Spirit of the Majang Communities

It was a spirit lived only on granny woman. It was celebrated once in a year under plant called *Ebi*. The plant of *Ebi* was planted in circular manner and stone (*gidhéy*) was put in the circle. This place of worship was called *saloy* by the community. During the celebration of this spirit, local drinks *Tajan* (*Borde*) or *Ogol* (*Tej*) would be prepared. By cutting the Dogs ear (*War*), the blood would mix with the *Tajan* or *Ogol* and put it in a material called *Konde*. Under *Ebi*, the granny woman sits on *Nepuk* (Hog skin). Those, who are in different problems, came in need of solution, sits near to *Waldey* (granny woman). Immediately before drinking the *Tajan* or *Ogol*, with a mixture of blood, the *Waldey* shout loudly and then drink that *Tajan* or *Ogol*. As it was

explained by the FGD participant, the blood mixed with *Tajan* or *Ogol* is taken as alms for the spirit. Following this, as it was believed by the tradition of the community the spirit lived on *Waldey* would tell what they must do for those who sited near to her in need of solution for their problems especially sickness, child infertility and child mortality. As it was mentioned by the FGD participants this spirit is hereditary. An old aged *Waldey* would inherit the spirit to her matured daughter. Goat (*Kemt*), chicken (*Kogeli*) and Sheep (*Jinkuy*) would be given to *Waldey* as a sacrifice for her spiritual services. (W/ro Tinbit, W/ro Newi, W/ro Sara, Ato Alazar). The other spirit believed in by the Majang community was called *Ragnaw* spirit:

4.3. The *Ragnaw* traditional Spirit of the Majang Communities

It was a spirit, which was believed to be lived on an old father. It was celebrated under a tree called *Emuy*. This spirit was highly related with hunting and gathering and beehives. A seedling of Coffee Tree which is not cut of its leaf before would dig up from the ground and let the leaf dry by the sun light. Few days later a local drink, *Kari* was made from Coffee seedling leaf. A number of very small Jars (*Gubuy*) sited round *Emuy*. A man who needs to go to the Jungle for hunting animals or for string up beehives on the Tree or for collecting Honey brings that *Kari* and adds it to all *Gubuy* sited under *Emuy*. Then *Ragnaw* came and adds ember in to one of the *Gubuy*. As it was explained by the interview participants, a *Gubuy* with ember fire is taken as alms for the spirit. The rest is drink by *Ragaw* and he blessed those who bring the *Kari* in need of the blessing of *Ragaw*. As the tradition of the Majang community, the blessed man will be successful in his mission. That means hunters kill and bring animals, a man also string up beehives peace fully and a man also collects a large amount of Honey product without an accident in the Jungle. The interviewee also adds that, when they return from the Jungle, they would give some portion of the product to the *Ragaw* before any of them use/test it. (Ato Daniel, Ato Ayoma, Ato Yaykob)

4.4. The *Gney* traditional Spirit of the Majang Communities

The other traditional belief that the Majang community celebrated long time ago is *Gney* spirit. It was a spirit lived on a woman (*Pettek*). This spirit was assumed to be very important to heal the sick and Curse a person. A person with the sickness of Fever would present in front of the *Gney* having *Kari*. Then the *Gney* plunge some amount of *kari* by using *geyni* and add it in to *Konde* and again *gney* plunge a few amount of *kari* from *Konde* by *geyni* and sit the *geyni* on the sick

part of the body. Then *gney* knock the *geyni* by her finger. Finally the disease will come out and inter in to *Konde* from the back of a sick man who sits in squat in opposite side of the *gney*. Finally a sick man runs in fast to his front direction and this show the sick man's recovery from his/her disease. Lastly the disease that inter in to *konde* will throw away in a place where no one is lived/living. (W/ro Tinges, W/ro Meta, W/ro Tigist, *Ato Hizkel*).

4.5. The *Odi* traditional Spirit of the Majang Communities

The other traditional belief practiced by the Majang community was *Odi*. It is one of the traditional belief systems which were practiced by the Majang communities for a long span of time. This spirit was believed to be lived only on elderly men. The power of this spirit was assumed to be healer. As it was mentioned by the participant elder's blood from hens throat (*Kogili*) assorted with *tajen* putted in to burrow. First of all the assorted *tajen* drink by *Odi's* runner called *Nukuyen* from the burrowed by kneel down on the ground. The assorted *tajen* was assumed to heal the evil spirit lived in side the patient. Next to this, *Odi* himself take the assorted *Tajen* through *Konde*, then he immerses the leaf of *Emuy* in to that *Konde* and he spatter the assorted *Tajen* by the *Emuy* on the hair and head of the patient. The spattered blood assumed to dis appear the evil spirit lived externally on the patient's body.(*Ato Sidrak, Ato Esrael, Ato Eshi*).

4.6. How the Majang community adopt the traditional belief?

In relation to the adoption and practice of this traditional belief, the Majang community adopted it from their father and mother through inheritance. Since this traditional sprite was transferred from mother to daughter or from father to son through inheritance, any of the Majang community easily adopts and practices these traditional Spirit. But as the time goes, different external treats came in to being in the community and these brought a change on the continuation of the traditional Spirit. (W/ro Shegita, W/ro Meta, *Ato Ermiyas*)

4.7. The role of Local governance in promoting the traditional Spirit practice

Indigenous governance plays a significant role in promoting the traditional Spirit and religious practice of certain community which was developed during the ended period. Traditional Spirit and religious practice systems are prominent to indigenous exceptionality. Thus, the

relationships which exist among indigenous governance and traditional Spirit and religious system are built up on the notions of reverence and have mutual support for one another.

Accordingly, the finding of the study revealed that, the mutual upkeep for one another as seen from two dimensions; (1) the role of indigenous peoples themselves in keeping and sustaining their traditional Spirit and religious system for the imminent generation, thus as it was described from FGD discussants, the role of indigenous peoples includes, to strengthen efforts to maintain traditional Spirit over the advancement of out dated traditions wisdom and the devolution of indigenous knowledge to the future generation, pledge dialogues about the significances of belief to promote sympathetic and reverence for aboriginal sanctity, indigenous peoples should know about the Spirit of morality, upholding community interest which promotes mutual good interest. (2) The role of indigenous governance in promoting traditional Spirit and religious practice. The indigenous governance role towards promoting traditional Spirit and religious systems is revealed from different angles includes; give respect and, lawfully recognizing the religious institutions and belief system of the communities, take initiative to establish an administrations system that incorporates the traditional system with the formal one, create awareness on indigenous communities to membership their organizations, allow indigenous communities to freely exercise and practice their traditional belief and religious principles. Thus, the findings of this study conclude that the indigenous governance of the study area had played a great role in preserving the traditional belief system of the communities by transferring to the next generation

4.8.The intimidation which shakes the preservation of Majang's traditional Spirit practice

As it is described in the literature part the Majang's communities had their own traditional Spirit and religious practice for a long period, but these traditional Spirit and religious practices are under intimidation at this time due to different reasons;

(1) The regime change in Ethiopia from the monarchical government to military dictatorship. Before the change of regime, the Majang communities had practiced their traditional Spirit and religious practice throughout the provinces in which they had resided but, after that, the military government (*Dergue*) has come to power, they were seized different policy and strategic measures in the entire country. As it was revealed from focus group discussion and key informant

interviewee the military government (*Dergue*) had procured measures on the Majang communities in particular to their traditional Spirit and religious practice because the military government believed that it faced practiced government policies and agendas due to the communities didn't participate in a government meeting, community development activities, they didn't follow government policies rather the communities give high respect to their traditional Spirit and religious practice which inter dis-appointed the military government and forced to take measures against the Majang communities to not to practice their traditional Spirit and Spirit .

(2) The other and major external treats that affect the continuation of these traditional belief was protestant Religion. The reason which made the 1960s a land mark in the history of Majang was the introduction of Christianity (Protestant) to the Majang land by a Missionary known as Odola by the Majang, his real and full name was Harvey T.Hockstra. Odola was the most known white name among the Majang up to these days. Odola went to Godere after he got permission from Emperor Haile Selassie. The area began to be called traditionally Godere mission after his missionary station was established. Now the area is called Mengeshi. (Abebe, 2013, *Ato Markos*)

Odola started his missionary work in 1964 near the Godere River deep in the Majang territory, north of Meti town, some 65 kilometres away from Meti. Before he transferred to Godere, Odola was working as a missionary in the South Sudan among the Anguak and Murle people. The spread of Christianity among the Majang Consequently abandoned the continuation of many traditional practices.(Ibid, *Ato*, Tinsae, *Ato*, Tito)

Till the coming of Odola and opening of clinic, disease such as small pox, malaria, typhoid, tropical ulcers and others were treated by traditional ritual experts. Rituals in Godere also discouraged their followers not to visit the clinic. But the surrounding people through time understood the curing capacity of medicines given by the missionaries and later rituals themselves visited the clinic and had got vaccination against small pox. After wards, the Majang started to come from near and far areas to serve in the clinic. Nowadays, it is estimated that about 90 percent of the Majang people have become Protestant Christians. The worship of traditional ritual idols was stopped in every villages of the Majang. (Abebe, 2013, *Ato Kibruadis*)

Under protestant Christianity, the Majang community got an oath to their God to do not practice any traditional spirit. As a part of this they eliminate and throw away any of the material used to worship the traditional spirit.(*Ato Wayway, Ato Simon, Ato Choma*)

(3) Due to the expansion of globalization and civilization. As a result of the intensifying of globalization and civilization especially the youth population was not eager to attain to practice their traditional Spirit and religious practice system which was create generation rupture.

(4) The influence from other settler's community was also a part of factor that affects the practice of their traditional belief. The Majang had age old contact with the Sheko, Kaffa, Sheka, Oromo, Amhara, Tigre, Gurage and other ethnic groups, whom the Majang called *Galier* to mean Habesha. The Majang gave this name for all light colored people of the Oromo, Amhara, Tigre, and others northerners. The Majang, attracted by the socio cultural activities of the settler's community started to lose their own traditional Spirit and adopt some of the settler's culture and Spirit especially (Orthodox Christianity Spirit) (*Ato Kibrenahom, W/ro Tigist* ,).

(5) Inadequacy to document the traditional Spirit and religious practice system by the concerned bodies. As it is known that government through its institutions plays a great role in documenting and creating awareness among the public, but during the observation of the Majang communities' site or area in which they reside, the researchers were observed that government institutions especially culture and tourism offices fail to document the traditional Spirit and religious practice system of the communities. The finding of this study concludes that the regime change in Ethiopia from the monarchical government to military dictatorship, the expansion of western Spirit especially protestant Spirit, expansion of globalization and civilization, and inadequacy to documenting the traditional Spirit and religious practice system by the concerned bodies are the major threats which shake the protection of Majang's traditional Spirit and religious practice system. The finding of this study recommends some basic measures to safeguard Spirit and religious practices from the threats; government should create awareness about the departure of traditional Spirit and the western Spirit (protestant), concerned bodies should document the traditional Spirit and religious practices, and local government should blend the traditional Spirit system of the society with the formal governance system in cooperation to enhance the traditional dogma. (*Ato Wayway, Ato Simon, Ato Choma*)

4.9. The contemporary status of Majang communities in practicing the traditional Spirit

As the Majang communities are settled in the displaced settlement, typically exist in Gambella regional state and the same part of southwest regional state, particularly in Bench Sheko Zone (Sheko Woreda), Shekka Zone (Yeki woreda) and in the regional state of Oromia (Illuababuro zone), they failed to practice their traditional Spirit system uniformly. The finding from this study revealed that, the current prestige of Majang communities in practicing their traditional Spirit is under question mark or it is an endemic because most of the areas except some parts of Gambella regional state residents of Majang communities are failed to practice the traditional Spirit system due to the aforementioned intimidations. Many spiritual leaders have been enforced to condemn their Spirit and practices, leaving an enormous mystical breach among the new generation. It is a difficult task to fill the thought and knowledge needed to bear sacraments, rituals, and other thoughts of indigenous religious and belief systems as they have already been endangered. Thus, these studies conclude that the traditional Spirit and religious system are not consistently practiced by the communities of Majang in the current period. (*Ato Yemalo, Ato Yae'l*)

CHAPTER FIVE

5. Conclusion and Recommendation

5.1. Conclusion

Many literatures including this study showed that Indigenous traditional spirit have a lot of contribution to the social development of any communities. Therefore plenty evidence show that the Indigenous traditional spirits should considered by the government to foster development in the community. For socio cultural development strategies to be efficiently applied and to have sustainable long last that enable to strength and develop the socio-cultural aspects, the application must be respected and possessed by the target beneficiaries. The study showed that at the indigenous level, the institution of Indigenous traditional spirit is no suspicion in a durable position to provoke contribution and commitment for development of socio-cultural activities in their communities. For the coming of traditional spiritual development, partners like NGO and other professionals that facilitate socio-cultural development a close working relationship of Indigenous traditional spirit are energetic. However challenged with a lot of encounters particularly with regards to funding and traditional thinking, most of the Indigenous traditional spirits are now coming to the recognition that the central government alone cannot do everything for their societies. Most of Indigenous traditional spirits have therefore taken up the resourcefulness of mobilizing their people for community based development. The interest with which most Indigenous traditional authorities are now encouraging development in their societies have therefore ensured that the predictions of modernization theorists by no means came to be right. The Indigenous traditional authorities' institution will therefore become more appropriate and valued if the recommendations are successfully executed.

5.2. Recommendations

The study has revealed a number of issues with related to Indigenous traditional spirit in the study area and the following recommendations are forwarded which are important for the local development if executed by stakeholders. The study revealed that the military government (*Dergue*), protestant Religion, expansion of globalization and civilization, and the influence from other settler's community resulted for un-practicing of the traditional spirit in the area. These undermine the development of the identity, socio-cultural activity and integrity of the community at local level. There is the urgent requisite to find suitable solutions to rehabilitate the practice of traditional spirit. This should be done by involving all stakeholders including government, NGO,

Indigenous traditional spirit leaders, religious organizations, the people themselves and the international community. Moreover, it has been seen that Indigenous traditional spirit has the most acceptance by their communities. They are in tad with their subjects at the grassroots and the societies anticipated that they should be the champions of their socio-cultural development. It is also important that inclusion of the indigenous traditional values in political issue of the local community of Majang peoples by giving short and long capacity training to continue their traditional spirit in practice

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Lists of Informants

No	Name	Age	Residence Place	Remark
	<i>Ato</i> Wayway Tonget	52	Godere Woreda	He is a peasant. He offered a good description of the communities' ritual practices.
	<i>Ato</i> Simon Jobejena	51	>>	He is religious leader. He has good memory of former traditional belief practice.
	<i>Ato</i> Choma Qoya	69	>>	He is from Baya kebele I made an interview with him at Gelesha while visiting his families there. He knows very well the difference between today's religious practice and the past traditional belief practice.
	<i>Ato</i> Kibruadis Bombo	62	>>	He is a farmer. He has knowledge of the past and the external treats that affect the continuation of traditional belief practice.
	<i>Ato</i> , Tinsael Wilkit	78	>>	He is a peasant and he knows more about the traditional activities and way of life of the community.
	<i>Ato</i> , Tito Ashwan	40	>>	He is Kes and Good knowledge about protestant Spirit .
	<i>Ato</i> Markos Yemalo	61	>>	He is Kes and Good knowledge about protestant

				Spirit .
	<i>Ato</i> Kibrenahom Rena	60	>>	He is Kes and Good knowledge about protestant Spirit .
	<i>W/ro</i> Tigist Derese	90	>>	She is a respected old woman in her village. She has good account of the culture of the community like drinking, foods, dressing and traditional ritual practices.
	<i>Ato</i> Yemalo Sekemuri	65	>>	He is a peasant. He has a good memory of their traditions.
	<i>Ato</i> Yae'l Fagala	63	>>	He is a peasant. He is the son of Fagala; Majang balabat /chief. He has a good memory of the relation between the traditional belief and Protestant Christianity as well as the central government after the 1950s.
	<i>W/ro</i> Shegita Wenjel	55	>>	He was a clan leader. Now he is Peasant and Good knowledge about traditions of the community.
	<i>W/ro</i> Meta Konde	55	>>	He was a clan leader. He has a good memory about the traditions of the community.
	<i>Ato</i> Ermiyas Rapashik	55	>>	He was a clan leader. He has a good memory about the traditions of the community.
	<i>Ato</i> Sidrak Samuel	48	>>	He was a clan leader. He has a

				good memory about the traditions of the community.
	<i>Ato</i> Esrael Zewudy	40	>>	He was a clan leader. He has a good memory about the traditions of the community.
	<i>Ato</i> Eshi Diskori	68	>>	He was a clan leader. He has a good memory about the traditions of the community.
	<i>Ato</i> Nurkin Shenshu	73	>>	He is elders of the community. He has a good memory about the traditional belief of the community.
	<i>Ato</i> Esyak Alope	65	>>	He is elders of the community. He has a good memory about the traditional belief of the community
	<i>Ato</i> Agi Yusun	56	>>	He is elders of the community. He has a good memory about the traditional belief of the community
	W/ro Tinges Kotachew	55	>>	She is a peasant. Her ancestor was the one who were lived with the <i>Waldey</i> traditional spirit. She knows the traditional belief practice of <i>Waldey</i> very well.
	W/ro Tomsa Yemalo	65	>>	She is a peasant. Her ancestor was the one who were lived with the <i>Waldey</i> traditional spirit. She knows the traditional belief practice of

				<i>Waldey</i> very well.
	W/ro Tigist Yael	62	>>	She is a peasant. Her ancestor was the one who were lived with the <i>Waldey</i> traditional spirit. She knows the traditional belief practice of <i>Waldey</i> very well.
	Ato Hizkel Tawin	98	>>	He is a peasant. He has a good memory of the past in the community.
	W/ro Tinbit Mamo	68	>>	She is a peasant. Her ancestor was the one who were lived with the <i>Odi</i> traditional spirit. She knows the traditional belief practice of <i>Odi</i> very well.
	W/ro Newi Kerin	63	>>	She is a peasant. Her ancestor was the one who were lived with the <i>Odi</i> traditional spirit. She knows the traditional belief practice of <i>Odi</i> very well.
	W/ro Sara Shawi	72	>>	She is a peasant. Her ancestor was the one who were lived with the <i>Odi</i> traditional spirit. She knows the traditional belief practice of <i>Odi</i> very well.
	Ato Alazar Arkani	62	>>	
	Ato Daniel Serawit	62	Mengeshi Woreda	He is a farmer and has a good memory of the pat

	<i>Ato</i> Ayoma Merin	75	>>	He is a peasant and has good memory of the past.
	<i>Ato</i> Yaykob Teramaj	63	>>	He is a peasant and a good Memory of the past culture, traditional activities.
	<i>Ato</i> Tito Hawariyat	53	>>	He is a peasant has the memory of their past; settlement, culture, traditional activities.
	<i>Ato</i> Bambe Yemalo	59	>>	He is a .peasant He has a good memory of the past and traditional ritual practices.
	<i>Ato</i> Abreham Konde	78	>>	He is a peasant. He has a good knowledge about the past
	<i>W/ro</i> Sina Alazar	75	>>	She is a peasant and has the memory of the past about their communities.
	<i>W/ro</i> Menfes Shay	51	>>	She is a peasant and has a good memory of their past.
	<i>W/ro</i> Seyiba Tobel	55	>>	She is a peasant and has the knowledge of culture and traditions.
	<i>W/ro</i> Tikidem Tinsael	47	>>	She is a peasant at Kumi Kebele. She has general knowledge about the communities in the past
	<i>Ato</i> Memsael Lanjaw	69	>>	He is a peasant. He has the general memory of the communities history and culture
	<i>Ato</i> Mamush Arkani	77	>>	He is a farmer. He knows

				about the past
	<i>Ato Alazar Arkani</i>	73	>>	He is a peasant Majang. He has a good memory of the past particularly with protestant Christianity in the area.
	<i>Ato Geletiyas Hizqel</i>	81	>>	He is a peasant. He has the general memory of the pas
	<i>Ato Beri Redat</i>	78	>>	He is a peasant. He has a good knowledge of traditional economic activities and culture
	<i>Ato Milion Sey</i>	64	>>	He is a peasant. He has a memory of the communities' situation after 1940s.
	<i>Ato Muse Gajet</i>	60	>>	He is a peasant He knows about their previous settlement, culture and traditions.
	<i>Ato Yosef Serawit</i>	59	>>	He is a peasant and has good knowledge about the tradition of the community.
	<i>Ato Arshid Sepera</i>	53	>>	He is a peasant. He has the memory of the past about their community.
	<i>Ato Merawi Tazaz</i>	50	>>	He is a peasant. He has the general knowledge of the community that he is gained from hear say.
	<i>Ato Kibrom Molon</i>	77	>>	He is a peasant. He knows the tradition of the community

				very well.
	<i>Ato Awkin Fide</i>	71	>>	He is one of the son of known <i>tapadh</i> ; Fide. He moved from Fidé to his present settlement with his mother. He has a memory of the traditional ritual practices and has general knowledge of the past.
	<i>Ato Dingetu Dest</i>	69	>>	He had served in the administrative position of Yekkina Godere during the derg and also served in Godere district in the EPRDF but now he is a peasant. He has a good memory of the pas
	<i>Ato Edisa'el Wari</i>	70	>>	He had served in different administrative positions but now he is a peasant. He has a good memory of the past; the relation with their <i>tapadh</i> .
	<i>Ato Fanos Péru</i>	68	>>	He is a peasant. He has a good account of the past traditional practice.
	<i>Ato Hawariat Banjan</i>	69	>>	He is a peasant. He has a clear memory of the past.