

human identity and it is a process that grows out of the beliefs and actions of the people themselves and develops differently in each society, depending upon its history, culture and traditions which cannot be imposed from outside.

From the Oromoo philosophical standpoint, understanding culture of peace needs to be comprehended from their own world view perspectives that can be treated from the *ayyaana*, *uumaa* and *safuu* (Megerssa, 2005). Especially, the supremacy of peace is a binding element in the *safuu* concept of the Oromoo because for them the integrative girdle that connects people together is peace which is itself rooted in the customary law of *safuu*. As Megeerssa (2005) explained it *safuu* is a moral category, based on Oromoo notion of respect for all things, constituting the ethical basis upon which all human actions should be founded. Thus, *safuu* directs one on the right path and shows the way in which life can be best lived within the context of Oromoo world. Also, Mulgeta (2016) explained the concept of *safuu* (human ontology) as an epistemological notion founded on the idea of *jiruu-fi-jireenya-nama* (ontological characteristics of human being). This makes *safuu* a critical reflection upon what ought to exist between each human being and *uumaa* as well as *ayyaana*, on the one side and, and between an individual and human society on the other side.

The Oromoo term *nagaa* which literally means peace, shows the agreement of anything involved in certain relations to create a harmonious relation between the different parts of the human and cosmic orders. Thus, in the Oromoo world view the governing word is peace (*nagaa*) and it has a special place and value among the Oromoo expressed in every activity of their life based on several mechanisms that are used in the community. Cited in Keneni (2012), the place and value of *nagaa* for the Oromoo has been well described in the Oromoo Studies Association Newsletter in 2008 as it states that: *Peace is central to Oromoo ritual and ceremonial activities, to administrative and legal functions, to traditional religion, morality, and social life, and the conduct of politics. For the Oromoo, nagaa is an essential key to an orderly universe and societal well-being that humans must pursue.* This also signifies what Legesse (2006) stated as peace is a pervasive and sustained concern in moral life [of the Oromoo], where the long blessings that are given daily by Oromoo elders are prayers for peace and the theme of peace is everywhere in their life.

From moral point of view, the prominence of peace in the Oromoo culture as a moral consensus was clearly identified by the work of Tenna Dewo entitled as *The Concept of Peace in the Oromoo Gadaa system: Its Mechanism and Moral Dimension*, where he analyzed the *Gadaa* system in terms of its implicit values and explicated the moral principles and values underlying the Oromoo concepts of peace (*nagaa*) and morality (*safuu*). Also, according to Gufu Oba (1996) cited in Dewo (2008) and Scott-Villiers, *etal* (2011) the Oromoo culture of peace (*nagaa*) suggests a human condition that contributes to a harmonious and generous universe where every greeting, prayer, ritual, political, and judicial protocol invokes peace.

Importantly, from spiritual point of view, as Mohammed Hassen clearly explained culture of peace in the Oromoo Gadaa system that can be seen from the *Abba Muudaa* perspective where the house of the *Abba Muudaa (galma)* itself was served as a center for spiritual activities and a symbol of peace and moral force. The essence of the teaching there was peace and harmony where the Oromoo start and end all their prayers with *nagaa*, which includes the safety and well-being of the individual and of the community. For the community, peace is the maintenance of law and order, care of the poor, weak and sick. For an individual, it is inner peace: peace of body, mind and soul. Peace relates to an individual's imaginative sense of well-tempered, balanced interrelations with other persons, the environment and with *Waaqa*. The *Abba Muudaa* connects Oromoo with this *Universal Peace* through his prayers, *Jila* were considered to be "men of god" and imbued with a "sacredquality" as men without sin (Hassen, 2005).

Generally, peace and culture of peace are foundational social ideas that informs the structure and ethics of Oromoo Gadaa system serving in philosophical, social, moral political and spiritual ends. The Oromoo society value, respect and build peace because they believe that it positively gives values to human life and the universe at all. Thus for the Oromoo, culture of peace is understood as one of the basic necessities of life and in the absence of peace it is impossible for the preservation and development of human life.

Human rights protection under the Gadaa system for peace building: human rights and peace are intractably connected because a denial of human right is itself a denial of positive peace (Barash and Webel, 2009). In the Gadaa system too, human rights are inborn status in which children acquired it when they are born as *Birmadu* which is to mean that they are set free through birth where *Birmaduma* (freedom) as a natural right of every person is inviolable and inalienable (OCTB, 2015). In the Gadaa system, the fact that human rights are strictly respected has contributed to the prevalence of an outlook of freedom and liberty among the people, to believe in the equality of mankind, and to live harmoniously and peacefully with other ethnic groups.

In addition, the nature of the Gadaa system has enabled the Oromoo people to treat each other and others equally. For instance, *Guddifachaa* (adoption of children); *Moggasaa* (adoption of non-Oromoo individuals to Oromoo clan); *Seeraa Kooluu* (law of refugees who seek asylum) and *Seeraa Boojuu* (law of war prisoners) helped to uplift social harmony and promote human rights and security in the Gadaa system. These elements of Gadaa system in turn serve both in Oromoo relationships within themselves and with other communities/neighbors to settle conflicts and enhance peace building process which again promotes a sense of shared values with the non-Oromoo who wants to live with them. Generally, in the Gadaa system all human beings have to be created equally and this characteristic of the system has enabled the Oromoo people to fight against oppression and discrimination in any form which in turn fosters culture of peace and positive peace building.

Economic well-being as element of peace building from Gadaa system perspective- the quest for human needs in particular and communal socio-economic development in general are at the center of building positive peace. According to Megersa (2002) in Jalata (2012), the Oromoo concept of (social) development is constructed based on seven interconnected stages which include: *Gudina, gabbina, ballina, badhaadha, hoormata, dagaaga, and daga-hoora*. Thus, in the Gadaa system there cannot be *finna* (development), peace, social justice, *kao* (freedom, peace, prosperity, success, and happiness), and *safuu*. (Jalata, 2012). Also, as Diro (2004) explained it, the economic development for the Oromoo is a systematic and well-balanced relation between the three variables: capital (*Sanyii*), its reproduction and multiplication (*hormaata*), and distribution of benefits, which implies security (*tika*). Thus, for the Oromoo, development emerges through the well-being of all Oromoo society improved in economic, cultural, and political conditions.

To achieve this development, as Diro (2004) and OCTB (2015) explained it, the Oromoo have developed several institutions through which they effectively mobilize productive resources for economic development which promotes cooperation and tradition of helping one another for mutual support. These mechanisms include: *Daboo, Kadhachiisa, Dado, and Wanfala* where the practices are productive in resource mobilization for mutual benefit of the whole society. Also, according to Demissie (2011) and OCTB (2015), Gadaa system supports individuals who are in need (such as the poor, orphans, and other helpless people) through *daara-baasuu* among others. . Therefore, this practice of stretching helping hands to the needy is one more reason for Gadaa system to be considered as an exemplary social system to build peace because the commendable practice of helping the needy among them would contribute whatever he/she can to help the person to rehabilitate him/herself (OCTB, 2015).

As information is among the pre-condition for human and economic-wellbeing, the Oromoo under the Gadaa system has a mechanism known *asdaimtu* which is a deliberate social mechanism used by everyone to share news and to keep, assert and monitor the moral consensus (Scott-Villiers, *etal*, 2011). For them, the performance of message, inquiry, information and decision is a fluid structure on which rests the maintenance of peace because peace begins in the moral mind and then spread in the communication between the people.

Generally, the nexus between economic well-being and peace building under the Gadaa system is very clear enough. Because, for the Oromoo, according to Diro (2004), *nagaa* (peace) the most frequently used word in their daily life as they believe that peace is a fundamental prerequisite for sustainable life. Thus, peace, for the Oromoo, is a prerequisite for all development and more than a mere absence of violence, which implies active cooperation and agreement.

Ecological well-being under Gadaa system as element of peace building- natural resource management and environmental protection is at the center of peace building today. Among the Oromoo too, the concept of peace goes beyond the human domain and includes care for the planet.

This is why in the Oromoo society, the opening ceremony of the Gadaa General Assembly consists customary blessings before any session commenced saying that “May God give us rain, bless our pasture, and provide us peace, prosperity and stability” (Doyo, 2014). According to Asmarom (1973) too, the blessing also goes as follows: “Praise to be God, who has brought us to *Gaayo*, may we full his laws in peace; peace to the land, peace to the multitudes, peace to the multitudes of *Gaayo*; let there be peace in our deliberation, let there be nothing but rain and peace” Also as (Hassen, 2005) noted, the *galma*, as a spiritual center visited by the Oromoo people both to learn and to participate in prayers for peace, rain, fertility and plenty. Thus, put very comprehensively by Jan Hultin (1994), peace for the Oromoo “is a moral state that is a necessary condition for fertility and life, and for the well-being of people and society. Where there is no peace there is misery and death”.

As critically explained by Mergo (2014) within the Oromoo life, there is the practice of long established indigenous forest stewardship among where natural panoramas are both respected and sacred based on *safuu* and *ayyaana*. For him, it is only through the binding use of *safuu* and *ayyaana* that creatures could remain sustainable amid human-environment interaction. In the Oromoosafuu context, natural resources are believed to be blessings from *Waaqa* (God) and source of life hence violating their resilient existence is express offense against the general life systems on earth and *Waaqa*. Thus, as Keneni (2012) explained it, among the Oromoo, an orderly universe and societal well-being are prioritized over individual or personal well-being and interest. Therefore, the ultimate goal of any type of *nagaa* is communal well-being in an orderly universe. In short, for the Oromoo there cannot be an orderly universe and societal well-being without *nagaa* and thus *nagaa* is highly valued among them.

According to Demissie (2011) too, in the *safuu* concept there is a mutual relation between things where every creature [including environment] is expected to live in harmony without inflicting each other. He also stressed that, for the Oromoo, their *safuu* principle, laws and world outlook in general puts respect for the nature at center. Also, as OCTB (2015) explained, in the Oromoo culture the people have reverence for the natural environment they live in because there is understanding of the close interrelation between natural resources and human life. For example, Denge (2011) explained that, water, pasture and land all have an equally unifying role for the Oromoo society under the Gadaa indigenous system which has *Aada Seera Bissani* - customs and laws of range resources to govern the range resources amongst themselves and with neighboring communities. Thus, natural resources have significant importance as a source and sustainer of life that need to have peaceful interaction with human around them.

Generally, the Oromoo understand peace holistically as they believe that everything must be at peace for societal well-being, and they pray for the peace of everything shows that in Oromoo cosmology everything is interconnected through a myriad of webs and threads. Here, human beings are related not only to their fellows but also to nature, and even to the spiritual power believed to be

supernatural (Dewo, 2013). Therefore, in the Oromoo Gadaa system, peace is achieved based on the complementary relationship between nature and human being as any one of the parties is not in peace, it is unlikely that the other parties can enjoy it. (Ibid).

Reconciliation in the context of Oromoo Gadaa system for peace building- Since conflict is naturally inevitable, the mechanisms of preventing, transforming and managing it are pivotal. The Oromoo's world view of *nagaa* (peace) transcends short-lived conflict management because *nagaa* is concern of orderly universe and societal well-being (Keneni, 2012). Importantly, according to Tuso (2000), the Oromoo under their Gadaa system manages and resolve conflict through identifiable steps to arrive at reconciliation so that harmonious relation can be restored among the conflicting parties. Thus, *nagaa* is valued among the Oromoo people and there are a myriad of mechanisms to restore it when it is lost for whatever reason.

The reconciliation process in the Gadaa system takes place mostly through arbitration which has enabled to maintain social relations where those who quarrel with each other have to make peace (OCTB, 2015). The tradition of reconciliation among the Oromoo people is based on investigating into the truth and by making the right decision on the case and this have significant role in promoting a healthy relationship among the community. Decision are made based on the satisfaction of parties in the conflict at the best interest of the public and therefore, *there is no loser-winner but win-win that seeks to balance the conflict of individuals against the peace and security of the people in general* (Tsfaye, 2012).

Based on the Gadaa system, there are also several nonviolent methods of conflict resolution, justice administration and peace building within the interaction of the Oromoo among themselves and with others. These include: *michuu* (literally mean a bond of friendship by which the Oromoo used to solve conflicts and establish cultural tolerance with other ethnic groups with whom they came into contact in one way or the other); *harma-hodhaa* (literally translated as sucking the breast and the system was used to establish a kind of parent-child relationship between the Oromoo and other groups, but without complete absorption); *luba-baasa* (literally translated as to set free or to make free and it was a mechanism by which the Oromoo used to incorporate members of other ethnic groups, especially those captured in battle); *waadaa/ irbuu /kakuu* (literally mean to swear or take an oath to forgive and forget what happened and guarantee not to take revenge of any kind for the sake of *Waaqa* (God) and *Lafa* (earth)); *siiqqee* (an Oromoo women's institution in the *Gadaa* system); *moggaasaa* (an adoption mechanism); *gumaa* (literally mean indemnity or compensation); *Jaarsummaa/araara* (literally the process of reconciliation between conflicting individuals or groups by a group of elders) see Tuso (2000), Gemechu (2002), Chemedo *etal* (2007), and Keneni (2012) among others.

Generally, in the indigenous Oromoo Gadaa system, the above mentioned mechanisms allowed to build peace through 'restorative justice' based on the idea of healing than on the idea of returning 'bad' for 'bad'. These approaches also allowed in resuming constructive aspects of the relationship

in the society by rebuilding trust over time as the shattered trust is restored by experiencing benign and trustworthy behavior over time.

Non-violence in the context of Gadaa system as element of peace building- nonviolence can be a holistic belief in and practice of abstaining from violent acts stemming from religion, ethical values, or principled system. For the Oromoo too, under their principled world views, the notion of *safuu* as human ontology and system of ethics morality equipped them to practice *non-violence* values as they provide care for the environment, the self, or others.

According to Donald Levin, for instance, *civility in deliberation* in the Oromoo polity have served them to facilitate mutual respect in democratic thoughts and various customs encourage civility in public discourse which encourages everyone to avoid provoking resentments but to promote peace (Levine, 2007). Also, according to Keneni (2012), the Oromoo in their interactions emphasized *non-violence* with regard for peace (*nagaa*) and forgiveness (*yaa hafuu*) as interrelated and interdependent values that pervade all aspects of the Oromoo life than for revenge and retaliation. Thus, *yaa hafuu* (forgiving) is a non-violent means to *nagaa* (peace).

Importantly, *non-violence* in the Oromoo Gadaa system can be understood from the peaceful transition of political power under *baallii* ceremony based on democratic values and principles. As political power in the Gadaa system is not monopolized by a certain body politic, all members of the communities participate according to their strata and in rounds. The Gadaa that has been in power for the period of 8 years is bound to transfer power to the succeeding strata or Gadaa in a peaceful way when the round of 8 years completes (OCTB, 2015). Generally, the Oromoo Gadaa system promotes culture of peace and non-violence preferring for peace by peaceful means. This fact that has helped the Oromoo people to live free of oppression and to strengthen the social bond which is established on mutual respect and compassion.

5.2.Siiqqee Institution and its Implication in Indigenous Peace Building Process

5.2.1. Conceptualizing Siiqqee Institution

The Oromoo term *Siiqqee* as defined by several scholars can be conceptualized from two perspectives. First, physically based on its appearance and; second symbolically based on its institutional function in the Oromoo community. Physically, *Siiqqee* is *ulee* (translated as a thin lofty stick) which a woman who gets legal marriage receive on her wedding day (Kumsa, 1997) (Østebø, 2009) and (Demissie, 2011). Symbolically, *Siiqqee* is a social institution sanctioned set of rights exercised by Oromoo women signifying honor, blessing, weapon, religious prayer and etc. (Kumsa, 1997), (Østebø, 2009) and (Kebe, 2016). Importantly as Østebø (2009) explained it, *Siiqqee* not merely is a term for a material symbol rather it refers to an institution in which women totally excluded men having both religious and political functions. Thus, in the Gadaa system as Doyo (2015) explained it, [women] are linked through men using *Siiqqee* and this

signifies the Megerssa's (2005) position which asserts that, in the Gadaa system there was a check and balance mechanism built as *siiqqee* was institutionalized where women formed parallel organizations of their own which actively excluded men. As to Kelly (1992) cited in Kumsa (1997), the interdependence of the male and the female is considered a precondition for peace and prosperity in the metaphysical as well as the practical sense of a given society. Thus, *siiqqee* and *horooroo* (translated as stick given to Oromoo man on his marriage day) are symbolic regulators of a healthy and balanced relationship of power between female and male Oromoo for as long as they live considered as is a part and parcel of the general cosmic order of *Waaqa* conceptualized as *safuu* (Megerssa, 2005). Generally, the Oromoo women had the *Siiqqee* institution, as a parallel institution to the Gadaa system that functioned hands in hand with Gadaa system to maintain *safuu* in Oromoo society by enabling Oromoo women to have control over any of their issues by deterring men from infringing upon their individual and collective rights (Hinew, 2012)

As argument goes, for some “the Gadaa system is only for men, its ‘egalitarian’ nature has clear limitations. Women are not directly a part of the Gadaa and they do not have a role in the Gadaa grade systems.” (SIHA, 2012). Also for others, as women are excluded from Gadaa System especially in politics and military participation their political and democratic rights cannot be represented and respected through separate institution known as *Siiqqee* (Tesfaye, 2012). On the other side, according to Ginbar (2011) cited in Hinew (2012), Gadaa effectively enforced a gender-based division of labor in Oromoo society and excluded women from passing through age-sets and generation-sets. The tough, physical labor and muscular demanding nature of the *Gadaa system*, a compulsory requirements for muscularity to be stayed at *Gadaa* centers and being deployed on hunting for military training for a long distance away from residence and similar factors seemed to be some of those main reasons to give opportunities to male. *Gadaa* demands tough military and hunting exercise activities and fitness, which a female being is thought to be unfit, ascribed to females’ nature for life-giving quality along with the then prevalent socioeconomic, geo-political, environmental, ecological, etc variables. Hence, “gender oriented labor division seems to be logical, scientific and reasonable factors associated with the nature of the task, the ability of the performer, profession and other internal and external conditions. Nevertheless, it is unfair and blind accusation to judge simply the past society had established a functional discriminatory institution whereby female identities were oppressed.” This scruntly captures the interesting account of Wami (2015) which states as “In all cases without the women’s participation there is no Gadaa System. Women are the pillar of the Gadaa system.”

Therefore, this paper totally support the view stated by the Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau in 2015 as follow:

The Gadaa system is a system in which the rights of women are respected. The instrument through which women's rights are duly respected is known as Siiqqee - which is a procedure in which women organize themselves in group to stand up for their rights. In this procedure, women carry a thin stick known as Siiqqee which is given to every girl by her mother on her wedding day. With this gift, the bride is reminded of her power to demand her rights are respected in her future life. Whenever a

woman's right is violated, be it by her own husband or by another person, the women around make a sound (*illillii*) to signify to each other. Upon hearing the sound, women respond by moving to the place leaving everything behind, carrying their *Siiqqee* stick. Here, it is the obligation of every woman to respond to the call. At this time, it is the obligation of the husbands to look after the homes which women have left behind. This shows the strong determination for the respecting of the rights of women. Then, the women go to the Gadaa Council singing a song in which they announce out the specific act in which their right is violated. At the Council, they are welcomed respectfully and invited to speak out the wrongdoing. Afterwards, the person who is accused of the wrong doing is brought to justice and the appropriate punishment would be sanctioned against the convicted. A man who happens to come across to the women while they are marching towards the Council, has the obligation to step off his horse so as to show his respect for the women. After greeting them, he would have to ask for their permission to pass them and resume his journey. If the person crosses their way without giving them regards, he would be accused of acting contrary to the tradition and punished accordingly. Likewise, a man who meets on his way a woman who is travelling carrying her stick, is required to greet her properly before passing her. A woman who has gone out for help of other carrying her *Siiqqee* stick certainly gets the support she seeks. For instance, a woman who is needy and does not have anything to sustain her family would carry her stick and go to those who have ample and able to assist her. Accordingly, the families who are asked to provide assistance would do so as much as they are able to do. The due respect of women's rights in the Gadaa system has enabled women to play considerable role among their communities.

As a result, the next section exposes the way under which the Oromoo women put their finger print in peace building from below based on their indigenous *Siiqqee* institution under the wider Gadaa system. The expected roles of *Siiqqee* institution are analyzed and explained based on the way in which the Oromoo women use *Siiqqee* as a weapon in their overall societal relations. The actual experiences of Oromoo women to build peace in several parts of the society are used to substantiate the findings.

5.2.2. The Roles of *Siiqqee* Institution in Indigenous Peace Building Process

Peace is everyone's responsibility and building peace seeks to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from violence in all forms, even structural violence that has yet held to massive civil unrest. As such, the efforts of women in peace building approach from below through their indigenous institutions is hard to miss. This paper argues for the involvement of women in conflict resolution and peace building as they have been known to play prominent roles. When it comes to Oromoo women, as Qumbi (1989) argued in Kuwe (1997), "The very old, the very young and all women, in the Gadaa system, are considered innocent and peace-loving." Also, as Kebe (2016) stated it, "women in the Oromoo are considered as symbol of mediation and peace building pride." Thus, the following themes present the justifications on the Oromoo women's position in building peace through their *Siiqqee* institution. These include:

***Siiqqee* as symbol of maternal status:** as the Oromoo women receive *Siiqqee* on their wedding day as they are expected to start new life with adjacent responsibilities. As such the women would possess roles and status as mother- which is the first and most valuable school in social life of the Oromoo. Thus, the Oromoo women becoming a mother always strive to bring up their children with

positive norms and ethos, with a view to building a family equipped to contribute to the foundation of a decent society. They make every effort to lay the foundation for a healthy, peaceful society that can take charge of its destiny. In this way, the Oromoo women have always played a critical part in maintaining equilibrium in their society by bringing up their children as responsible members of the community. Women taught their daughters and sons proper behavior and the ethos of society i.e. *safuu* and impressed on them the importance of such values as honesty, uprightness and the necessity to compromise. As such, the Oromoo women have always been active promoters of harmony in the community, which can be referred to as a culture of peace. Therefore, Oromoo women have served as peace educator mothers nurturing the value of peace, respect and empathy for others with their children.

Siiqqee as tool of human rights advocacy and awareness raising: women's goals in peace building have been both to improve society in general and to improve women's position within that society. This makes women instrumental in bringing human rights violations and abuses to the wider public for relevant solution. As Megerssa (1995) asserted it, *Siiqqee* was the weapon by which Oromoo women fought for their rights and it help to be used as a defense to contest against any force that threatens the basic rights of the married woman to her life. Also, the *Siiqqee* was granted to the married women to use whenever she performs important ritual performances and to symbolize her feminine rights and respect (Sirika, 2009). According to Kumsa (1997), "Married women have the right to organize and form the *Siiqqee* sisterhood and solidarity. They get together regularly for prayers as well as for other important individual and community matters. If men try to stop women from attending these *walargee* (meetings), it is considered against *safuu*." Oromoo women used different *siiqqee* mechanisms to maintain their rights; such mechanisms included the law of *muuka laaftu* (soften wood), the *abarsa* (curse), *iyya Siiqqee* (scream), and *godaana Siiqqee* (trek). Specially, when there were violations of their rights, women left their homes, children, and resources and traveled to a place where there was a big tree called *qilxxu* and assembled there until the problems were solved through negotiation by elders of men and women (Kumsa, 1997). Here, *Siiqqee institution* is found as a 'soft power' for the building of peace through the ability to exert influence as an alternative option to peace building through persuasion rather than force or coercion. Oromoo women through their *Siiqqee institution* advocating for change seeking to gain support for change by increasing a group's power (solidarity) to address issues, and ripen the conditions needed to transform relationships. *Siiqqee institution* has served as Oromoo women's network that allowed them to coordinate their action and multiply their power to bring about change in the community. Totally, they reducing direct violence by restraining perpetrators of violence, relieving the immediate suffering of victims of violence, and creating a safe space for peace building activities in other categories that address the root causes of the violence.

Siiqqee as an inviolable gender bridge: according to Gadaa customary law, women are among the group of people that cannot and should not be harmed, even during an ongoing conflict. Also *Siiqqee as a symbol of Oromoo women's rights and respect* explained by (Østebø, 2009),

symbolizes the respect and the power that a married woman has in which nobody shouldn't fight with her if a woman has a *Siiqqee* at her hand as she has to be respected. Also as Demissie (2011) explained it, women with *Siiqqee* is highly respected and no one dares to refuse any instruction given by a woman with *Siiqqee* where whatever she demand is given to her. Even when woman with *Siiqqee* met someone on the road everyone expected to receive blessing from her, and get permission to go across her. Thus, the Oromoo women are the people whose lives and properties cannot be violated even when wars reach their ugly summit even.

Siiqqee as a symbol of promoting humanitarian and social welfare: in the Gadaa system, family asset is controlled by women; and, it is the responsibility of women to manage what is harvested and to allocate the proportion to be used for household consumption, to be sold in the market to earn cash, to purchase other goods and services needed by the family (OCTB, 2015). Thus, women provide capacity building that promotes long term peace building efforts by enhancing the existing capacities to meet needs and rights aimed to build just structures that support a sustainable culture of peace. In addition, networks, support and solidarity as practiced among the Oromoo women would serve as building blocks for cooperation for development purposes. Importantly, according to Scott-Villiers *etal* (2011), the Oromoo women have their own specific forms of *daimtu*, exchanging information between themselves, as do children and young people. They meet at certain women-only places and at water points, markets, weddings and funerals, and the information they share on actual or rumored conflict reaches the ears and minds of men, women and children across wide areas linked by social and marital ties. They sing songs and give blessings or encouragement that have a profound influence on the society.

Siiqqee as a symbol of peacemaking and preventive diplomacy: according to OCTB (2015), in the Gadaa system women have power to end any act of hostilities and war whether it is taking place between different clans or with other ethnic groups. Whenever there is war going on and women arrive at the place carrying their *Siiqqee* and go between the parties at war, both parties promptly give up the fight. Even, Demissie (2011) stated that, the women who enter the battle field with their *Siiqqee* have special song named *Diloo* used to end the atrocities of conflict. The song does as: “*I don't have a weapon; I do have only my Siiqqee with me; I don't challenge you with force.....*” Thus, the Oromoo women have been capable of building bridges of dialogue and empathy in polarized societies that go beyond the reasons for the armed confrontation and the deep rooted hatred and division. They have commended positions in common from which to initiate a rapprochement and search for new ways of living together.

Along this, the Oromoo women have an actual experiences in local conflict resolution and peace building process. For instance, the role of Guji Oromoo women in conflict resolution in their involvement as a link between the opponents has explained by Debsu (2009) stated as: *The role of women in the peacemaking process is enormous, especially in the conflicts that arise between the Borana and the Guji. Following major conflicts between them, the two groups have a cultural*

practice of sending peace messengers to the adversary group. The party first interested in peace sends a lichoo, a female peace envoy, to the hayyu, judge, of the opponent group. While traveling in the territory of the enemy, the custom confers respect to a lichoo and protects her from any harm...(DEBS, 2009). Also according to Doyo (2014), the role of Borana Oromoo women in conflict resolution and building peace during the ethnic conflict between Borana and Hamar, and Borana and Harbooree was narrated as: *It was us (women) who stopped the conflict that even the government failed to solve for long time. We came to consensus over one common assumption in that we all admitted that revenge could never return lost lives and raise the dead or the incumbent or clan, million birr would never replace lost lives and raided assets. It is after that we got rest. Today, we and the Hamar and Harbooree are brothers and sisters who lean on the same sources* (Doyo, 2014). Generally, the Oromoo women always aims to transform destructive relationships with an array of processes that address trauma, transform conflict and restore a sense of justice. They act as intermediaries in conflict situations, undertaking reconnaissance missions to assess possibilities for peace and subsequently facilitating communication and peace negotiations. Thus, they are also used as bridge building blocks between hostile or fighting communities.

Siiqee as a spiritual mediator and harmony making- according to OCTB (2015), the Oromoo women makes prayers to *Waaqa* on behalf of the whole nation. In particular, when there is a problem facing the community such as drought, epidemic outbreak, etc., they go to a river or lake in the nearby carrying green grasses to perform the ritual of prayers so that *Waaqa* intervene and solve their problem. This role of women is due to the belief that women have the power to mediate between *Waaqa* and the whole community. Thus, Siiqee has a religious role as women are considered as intermediary figures between *Waaqa* and physical world (Kebe, 2016). This, the Oromoo believe in which women are deemed closer to the nature in their nurturing and life sustaining activities. Also, according to Kumsa (1997), women wield a special religious power where they draw an enormous moral and ritual authority. `Women in general are symbolically and politically liminal and correspondingly enjoy special sacred power as a class; people respect and revere a woman because *Waaqa* made her to be respected and revered. It is believed that, interference with a woman's sacred authority is regarded as violating *seera Waaqa* and *safuu*. Thus, if the balance between men and women was broken, a *Siiqee* rebellion was initiated to restore the law of God and the moral and ethical order of society.

6. Conclusion and The way Forward

Indigenous knowledge systems have something to contribute to efforts at crafting new paradigms and approaches to peace in Africa. Thus, undermining the saliency of indigenous approaches endangers local peace building mechanisms. But, Africa's quest for a positive peace is inextricably tied to the quest for gender equality where bringing gender into peace building is paramount as a gendered perspective represents a process of inclusion.

Indigenous peace building system are expected to be incorporated into the contemporary peace building mechanisms since they based on principles cherished and internalized by a community, and are contextualized to capture their collective knowledge and experiences that yields a positive results. Acknowledging these contributions and experiences in the field of peace building provides a different perspective when approaching the issue of peace processes, especially at the grassroots level.

As such, the indigenous peace building approaches practiced by the Oromoo are profoundly bound with socio-political and economic realities of the lifestyles of themselves under the Gadaa system. It is in this context that the principles of social cohesion, harmony, participation, peaceful co-existence, respect, tolerance and humility, among others, are emphasized as core issues in indigenous peace building system of the Oromoo society. The Gadaa as comprehensive system reflects the ways of living of the people and it has ensured the values and principles necessary for peace building as an indigenous approach. It incorporates the values and principles towards which the whole world has been striving such as: the respecting of the rights of women and children, conservation of environment, peaceful conflict resolution, mutual assistance, the provision of asylum to seekers, and providing humanitarian assistance for those who need *inter alia.*, This all makes Gadaa system as the unity-based indigenous worldview for peace building in the Oromoo society: where its institutions aim to achieve justice through participatory, consultative processes; individuals and groups seek opportunities for growth and development; human relationships are based on truthfulness, equality and service; the essential oneness and wholeness of the human race is recognized, and all forms of prejudice and segregation are rejected; women and men participate equally in the administration of human affairs; and, human development and prosperity are achieved through application of ethical principles and processes of consultative decision-making and governance.

The Oromoo women, under the Gadaa system, also have socially recognized ways of categorizing the roles and status to enjoy different rights and privileges according to their seniority (Hussein, 2004). Specially, under the indigenous *Siiqqee institution*, the Oromoo women played their own share in peace building process of the community. They have proven themselves to be successful peace builders basing their strategies on the principles of inclusivity, collaboration, and on the methodology of multi-track peace building. Among other, the Oromoo women have always played a critical part in maintaining equilibrium in their society by bringing up their children as responsible members of the community. As such, women have always been active promoters of harmony in the community, which can be referred to as a culture of peace. Under *Siiqqee institution* the Oromoo women: have mobilized for peace and have played active roles as peacemakers in conflict situations, yet remain the pivotal points in holding together their families and communities in times of crisis; have acted as activists and advocating for peace under by using soft power pursuing democracy and human rights; have served as peacemakers and relief aid workers contributing to reduce direct violence; and have served as educators and participants in the development process.

Generally, Gadaa as a system promotes culture of peace, whereby the *Siiqqee institution* in particular, has immense roles in building peace as it encouraged the Oromoo women to consolidate their holistic devotion capable of bringing about structural changes required to enhance equality, social justice, solidarity, and sustainable peace and development. For generations, the Oromoo women have been serving; essentially as symbol of peace, operationally as peace educators and diplomatically as peace envoys in the societal relations. The totality of this makes the Oromoo women know the cost incurred from conflict and thereby get equipped to transform it in advance. Thus the *Siiqqee institution*, as a reservoir, full of important indigenous values that enrich gender capacities necessary to guarantee lasting peace.

As the way forward, building lasting peace and security requires women's participation as half of the world's population cannot make a whole peace. The Oromoo women, by virtue of their position in the society, have a unique perspective on *Siiqqee* essential values, which well attests their indispensable and instrumental in peace building. Thus, harnessing this indigenous Oromoo women's potential requires enhancing commitment, leadership and accountability, improving institutional capacity and increasing the financial and human resources of formal and informal peace and security sectors in the country. In order to promote an appropriate follow-up of the present study it is better to: elicit a consensus about the Gadaa values to be reinstated as it could effectively contribute to fostering and strengthening a culture of peace in the Oromoo society; (re) introduce appropriate strategies for putting Gadaa system values into practice once more by creating awareness among the Oromoo of the values that have foundered and the solid grounds for reinstating them; expose the essential roles women should play through *Siiqqee institution* in conflict resolution and strengthening peace and social harmony; record the Oromoo women's history in the pursuit of peace as it is important to be written down where women presented in their true light, as indefatigable and undaunted facilitators of peace; examine ways in which modern women can be admitted to the indigenous *Siiqqee institution*; and the international community should empower women Oromoo with their indigenous *Siiqqee institution*.

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7. The Revitalization of Gadaa Federation in Oromia

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Abstract. The indigenous governance systems of Africa declined (and in some cases lost) due mainly to the invasion by the European powers and imposition of their colonial rules. Likewise, the Abyssinian rulers invaded the Oromoo and other nationalities in the Horn of Africa and attempted to rule them in the same way to, and with the help of, European powers. As a result, the the non-centralized Gadaa governance of the Oromoo was destroyed in many parts, but partially retained in remote pockets of territories. After centuries of disappearance, a facade of pan-Oromoo Gadaa federation was restored in 2014 when leaders of sub-national Gadaa units agreed to form *Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo*—Oromoo Council of Abbaa Gadaas. This pan-Oromoo Council was established two decades after the adoption of the new Constitution of Ethiopia, which gives a great deal of attention to the collective rights of nations and nationalities as well as to their indigenous institutions. The main objective of this paper is to investigate the recent movements towards the revival of Gadaa system in Oromia National State, especially the status and roles of the pan-Oromoo Council of Abbaa Gadaas and its sub-national self-governing units in relation to the formal government of Oromia. To this end, both primary and secondary data are used for the descriptive and normative analysis of change and continuity regarding the role of Gadaa as a mode of self-rule and shared-rule in Ethiopia. The finding indicates that the Gadaa institutions have been renewed in almost all parts of Oromia passing through different challenges at both regional and sub-regional levels in what appears a movement of *haaromsa* Gadaa (Gadaa renewal). The Gumii, which was established as a pan-Oromoo federation on equal representation of the constituent Gadaa units, contributed for the reformation of other Gadaa units in many parts of Oromia. It has also helped in the registration process of Gadaa system by the UNESCO as one of the intangible world heritage. However, the practice of Gadaa system has in several cases led to the emergence of competing but asymmetrical governance systems—the indigenous vis-à-vis the formal ones. This study thus suggests the need for empowering the Gadaa federation at both levels—the pan-Oromoo and its sub-national units—by fostering cooperation (than competition) with the formal Oromia Government through continuous negotiations and constitutional reforms.

Keywords: Gadaa, Gadaa federation, Gadaa Units, Pan-Oromoo Gumii.

1. Introduction

The Oromoo is an ancient egalitarian nation of Africa (Caalaa, 2016; De Salviac, 2005). Located in the northeast Africa, the Oromoo has its own indigenous religion called Waaqeffannaa, its own socio-political system called Gadaa and its own calendar called *Dhaha* (Asmarom, 2000; Dirribi, 2011). Due to both internal and external forces, these elements of Oromoo civilization have weakened for centuries. Especially, with the southward expansion of Abyssinian Empire with the help of European colonial powers, which culminated in the making of modern Ethiopia in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Oromoo had lost large part of its indigenous institutions just like other Africans. Until the downfall of the Derg regime in 1991, it had been almost impossible (often criminal) to organize oneself along Oromoo line let alone using Gadaa governance in Ethiopia (Asafa, 1993).

The Oromoo is commonly organized into ten moieties often appears in pairs based on their close neighborhoods: Macca-Tulama, Sikko-Mando, Guji-Borana, Ittu-Humbana, and Rayya-Asebu (Gemechu, 1996). Gadaa federation of Oromoo moieties gradually ended up by forming a confederation. The ever strongest unifying center of the Oromoo Gadaa federation was Madda Walabu, a place named after the then Abbaa Gadaa Walabu Jilo, in the 16th century. Some say that it was after the mid-seventeenth century that the Oromoo governance transformed itself to a confederation of the above moieties until they were conquered by the European and Abyssinian forces (Asafa, 2009). Others write that the Oromoo started a confederal arrangement in the sixteenth century (Etefa, 2008). Even after conquest and occupations by Abyssinian and British forces, Gadaa system was able to survive without complete discontinuity especially in remote pastoral and agro-pastoral areas such as in Borana (of Ethiopia and Kenya) and Guji moieties of Oromoo. As a result, Borana has reached on its 71st Abbaa Gadaa (8X71=568 years ago, 2017-568=1449) and Guji has had its 72nd Abbaa Gadaa (8X72=576 years ago, 2017-576=1441). This means that both Guji and Borana have had their respective Gadaa without discontinuities since 1441 and 1449 respectively.

Both the Transitional Charter (1991) as well as the FDRE Constitution (1995) granted all nations, nationalities and peoples in Ethiopia to exercise their rights to self-determination including up to secession. As a result, nine regional states were established mainly on the basis of ethno-linguistic lines, of which Oromia State is one that was formed after the name of the people in the territory.

Now, this regional-state is the single largest state containing about 40% of Ethiopian population. The Oromoo are nearly 40 million people. They are largely agrarian. They speak Afaan Oromoo, one of the Cushitic language families.

After centuries of disappearance, Gadaa system is being revitalized everywhere in Oromia in the last one decade at both sub-national and pan-Oromoo national levels. The pre-existing leaders of Gadaa units gathered and discussed the need to establish a pan-Oromoo Gadaa institution which shall unite their local institutions. Consequently, Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo was founded in 2014 in Bishoftu town of Oromia Region. This Gumii has also help the renewal of local institutions of Gadaa often as a cultural entity and that is why the present ruling party of Oromia is contributing for the recovery of Gadaa governance. The main objective of this paper is to investigate the recent developments in the revitalization of pan-Oromoo Gadaa governance, especially the role and status of the *Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo*, its relations with and prospects of re/integrating to the formal government of Oromia.

Gadaa is an "incredibly complex concept" (Asmarom, 1973: 179), however, in this paper, it is approached as a governance system. The term national is used to refer Oromoo ethno-national group and sub-national is also used to refer to zonal or clan or moiety of Oromoo. The concept of federation is used here to show a governance system having a shared-rule at the center and self-rule for each of the component units. As it was the locally autonomous self-governing Gadaa systems that came together and formed a semblance of pan-Oromoo Gadaa federation in 2014, it looks that the indigenous powers of the local/zonal Gadaas in Oromia Regional-State are grounded. It is normal for Gadaa system to undergo a very important process known as *haaromsa* Gadaa, which means a renewal or reconstruction or revitalization of Gadaa system, often after a period of discontinuity or staying in power of a given Gadaa official for more than eight years. This paper flashes light on the present movements of *haaromsa* Gadaa or revitalization of the Gadaa system at the local and pan-Oromoo levels.

As a result, in the following part of this paper, I shall first present about the general features of the Gadaa governance system. Secondly, the history of *haaromsa* Gadaa is traced back briefly. The third, which is the main part of this paper, deals with the movements towards the revitalization of Gadaa self-rule and shared-rule—the federation. Under this section, the revivals of Gadaa constituent units and of the pan-Oromoo Gadaa (i.e., the formation of Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo) are discussed separately. Fourthly, this paper casts lights on the jurisdictional tensions,

disagreements and conflicts between the formal government and Gadaa institutions. Finally, the prospect of empowering the Gadaa federation at both levels is highlighted.

To this end, both primary and secondary data are used. In addition to document analysis, five interviews and one focus group discussion were conducted. Methodologically, the paper is both descriptive and analytical/normative in order to investigate change and continuity regarding the role of Gadaa as a mode of self-rule and shared-rule in Ethiopia.

2. General Features of Gadaa Governance System

The prominent scholar on Gadaa democracy of the Oromoo is Asmerom Legesse. He has identified several distinguishing features of Gadaa. I am limited to brief on very few of them. Gadaa system is unwritten Oromoo constitution. All laws existed without being codified into certain written documents. The principles and practices of this constitution had the following features. First, there are five permanent political parties (known as *Gogeessa Gadaa*). They include: (1) Birmajjii, (2) Michillee, (3) Duuloo, (4) Meelbaa, and (5) Roobalee. The names of these parties largely differ from one moiety of Oromoo to the other (Asmerom, 2000). Second, political power is transferred from one party to the other peacefully every eight years. It means power rotates among these parties. One full cycle of Gadaa government is 40 years ($5 \times 8 = 40$). A party returns to power after the other 4 parties complete their terms of office. Thirdly, membership to political parties is fixed by birth among generations. A generation of children born during, for example, *Birmajjii's* term of office (eight years) becomes, by default, members of *Birmajjii*. The next generation of children born during *Duuloo's* term of office becomes members of *Duuloo*. It continues. Each individual member of the Oromoo becomes a member of any of the five parties by birth.

Fourth, the supreme power holder in Gadaa system is *Gumii Gayyoo* (open national assembly), which constitutes the entire people of the Oromoo. As the population of Oromoo grew around 15th and 16th centuries, the people of Oromoo were divided into five paired branches (10 moieties) and the sovereign power was also divided into five centers in a federal (some say confederacy) style: (1) Gujii-Boorana, (2) Sikkoo-Mandoo, (3) Ittu-Humbaana, (4) Raayyaa-Aseeboo, and (5) Macha-Tulama (Megersa, 1996). By the 18th century, all of the moieties/ branches of Oromoo had their own sovereign assemblies in a very loose confederacy. Each of them used to send representatives to a place called Madda Walaabuu to communicate each other about the laws they passed once a year until Europeans started scrambling for Africa in the late 19th century. Fifth, the Gadaa cabinet

members are nine, known as the *Saglii*. These are: (1) three *Abbaa Gadaas* (1st, 2nd& 3rd presidents), (2) *Abbaa Muudaa* (head of ritual and culture), (3) *Abbaa Seeraa* (head of justice), (4) *Abbaa Alangaa* (head of public prosecutor), (5) *Abbaa Sa'aa* (head of national treasury), (6) *Abbaa Biyyaa* (head of internal affairs), and (7) *Abbaa Duulaa* (head of national defense). All cabinet members are directly elected by, and accountable to, the Gumii Gayyoo (the electorate).

Sixth, Oromoo society is structured into eleven age-grades (or Gadaa stages), each for eight years in which all people are set to pass through by performing different responsibilities. These age-grades²² are: (1) Dabballee (0-8 years), (2) Gaammee (8-16), (3) Foollee (16-24), (4) Kuusa (24-32), (5) Raaba-Doorii (32-40), (6) Gadaa (40-48), (7) Yuuba 1st (48-56), (8) Yuuba 2nd (56-64), (9) Yuuba 3rd (64-72), (10) Yuuba 4th (72-80), (11) Gadamojjii (80-88). All Oromoo should perform certain duty when passing in each age-grade, but the most important age grade is from 40 to 48 during which elected people assume political leadership (in the *Saglii*). Note that children born during, for instance, Meelbaa's term of office (40-48) fall in the stage of Dabballee (0-8) and will be members of Meelbaa party by birth. These children will be in the Gadaa stage (40-48) when Meelbaa party returns to power after full cycle of Gadaa government. The five parties share generations classified in eight years in a rotational manner. Everyone has the opportunity to become Abbaa Gadaa. That is why it is an inter-generational power sharing. This can further be explained in the following table.

²² The names of Gadaa age-grades may differ from one Oromo branch to the other.

Table 1: Inter-generational power sharing

No	Age-grade	Gadaa stages	Party membership	Roles
1	0-8	Dabballee	Meelbaa	Needs care, drink milk, etc.
2	8-16	Gaammee	Roobalee	Look after cattle, swimming, horse riding, singing,
3	16-24	Foollee	Birmajjii	Learn environment, hunting, singing, dancing, policing
4	24-32	Kuusa	Michillee	Election for future Gadaa position starts, learn politics
5	32-40	Raaba-Doorii	Duuloo	Army and administrative services, learn law & culture
6	40-48	Gadaa	Meelbaa	Political leadership
7	48-56	Yuuba 1 st	Roobalee	Senior Advisors
8	56-64	Yuuba 2 nd	Birmajjii	Advisors
9	64-72	Yuuba 3 rd	Michillee	Advisors
10	72-80	Yuuba 4 th	Duuloo	Advisors
11	80-88	Gadamoojji	Meelbaa	Needs care

During the golden era of Gadaasystem, Oromoo women had the *Siiqqee* institution, a parallel institution to the *Gadaa* system that “functioned hand in hand with Gadaa system as one of its built-in mechanisms of checks and balances” (Kuwee, 1997: 119). The role of Siiqqee—an anti-patriarchal institution of the Oromoo women—in Gadaa system and major facts for its decline should be addressed independently. This very unique Gadaa civilization of the Oromoo was registered by the UNESCO as one of the world intangible cultural heritages on November 30, 2016 with the joint efforts of the pan-Oromoo Gadaa leadership and the governments of Oromia and Ethiopia.

As far as the historical development of Gadaa governance is concerned, some writers put that the Oromoo were using it around 2000 B.C (De Salvaic, 2005). Others argue that Gadaa started to function since 3rd A.D. (Tabor, 2014). For instance, according to sources from Tulama elders as cited by Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (OCTB):

the Gada system had been functioning under Oda Nabe (in central Oromia) during the period of the leadership of about 225 Abba Gada (leaders of the Gada system). Multiplying the number of these leaders by the eight years term of office sums up to a total of 1800 years... Consequently, one can safely say that the Gada system was functioning under Oda Nabe since about the 3rd (204) A.D. (OCTB, 2004: 51).

The same source has suggested that Odaa Mormor local in northern Ethiopia as the political center of pan-Oromoo Gadaa system had preceded Odaa Nabee, which is mentioned in this quotation.²³

Other literature, however, claim that all Oromoo people were under an effective Gadaa government during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Asmarom, 1973; Dirribi, 2011). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the center of Gadaa power was said to have shifted from central Oromia to southern Oromia as shall be discussed shortly. Furthermore, recorded history demonstrates that between the sixteenth and the mid-seventieth centuries, all of the Oromoo people lived under one Gadaaadministration with major powers devolved to the clan/moieties level (Basi, 1996). It is argued that Gadaa government comprised triple levels of government: the national, the regional and the local (ibid.). At the pan-Oromoo level, the national/federal government was led by an elected council formed from representatives of the major Oromoo moieties, clan families and clans, under the presidency of the Abbaa Gadaa and his two deputies. The pan-Oromoo leadership was responsible for such matters as legislation and enforcement of general laws, handling issues of war and peace and coordinating the nation's defense, management of intra-Oromoo clan conflicts and dealing with non-Oromoo people.

By the mid-seventeenth century, due to rising demographic and geographic complexities, different Oromoo groups started to form autonomous Gadaa governments (Asafa, 2009). While establishing autonomous local governments, the Oromoo groups formed alliances, federations, and confederations to maintain their political and cultural solidarity and to defend their security and interest from their common enemies (ibid.). However, some Oromoo branches interacted with other neighboring peoples as they widely engaged in farming and trade, and developed class differentiation that gradually led to degeneration of Gadaasystem into *mootii* system (kingdom), for instance, in five Gibe states, two Leqas, Yejju and other Oromoo parts. Constant wars led to the evolution of the Abbaa Duulaas (military leaders) to hereditary *mootiis* (leaders) in northern, central and western Oromia (Tabor, 2014). In other words, the rise of the Oromoo kingdoms suppressed the Gadaa system in some parts of Oromia. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Oromoo people were ill equipped to unite and defend themselves effectively from

[T]he Ethiopian colonial system mainly because of the decentralization of Gadaa and the emergence of the *mootii* system. However, it was the Ethiopian colonial state that effectively suppressed the *Gadaa* system in most parts of Oromia. Despite the internal challenge and the external attack on the

²³ According to local sources, Mormor is an Oromo name of Nile River (OCTB, 2004).

Gadaa system, the system has been the foundation and pillar of Oromoo society with its principles remaining as the hallmark of the Oromoo nation (Asafa, 2009: 3).

Therefore, historically, pan-Oromoo Gadaa governance was weakened as Oromoos excessively devolved power to the extent of weakening the central Gadaa government, and then the emergence of local kingdoms. Some of these kings "had collaborated with the Abyssinian/Ethiopian colonial system rather than defending the interest of the Oromoo people during the second half of nineteenth century" (ibid: 6).

From eastern direction, the Muslim Kingdoms rose with the help of Seljuk Turks since 10th century. As a result, emir or *sultane* systems took roots among eastern Ethiopia. According to local oral tradition, the territory of Oromoo in eastern part was bordered by ocean with Zeila port. Zeila, known to the Oromoo by the name Aftelo, was the port that they said to have used before 10th century. Oromoo elders remind us an Oromoo saying to prove this:

Aftalo biyyi bade
Sahil karan hamate
Intalo harmi jige
*Hati garan hamate*²⁴

This saying tells about the lost port of Zeila and its effects on the Oromoo. The same group of elders argues that in the year 455 Hejira Calendar (H.C.), which means 10th century A.D., the Seljuk Turkish came to the Horn of Africa to expand Islam and rule the area but the Oromoo resisted them.²⁵ The Oromoo traditional poem also supports the same:

Odaa muka guddaa muka keenya muka keenya
Daree Biyyoo magaala gosa teenya
Leenci diinaa dhufee
habbuuqee nutufee
*Turk lolaaf dhufee*²⁶

According to Oromoo elders, the Turkish gradually introduced Islam as well as emirate and sultane ruling system in the eastern part of the country and under emir's power were *Damina* and *Garad* local authorities. *Damina*, also locally known as blood father, was clan leader and exercised power

²⁴Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with Oromo elders (Gadaa officials) May 09, 2012, Dire Dawa.

²⁵ According to this group of elders, the term Harar is an Arabic which means 455 Hegira Calendar (H.C.), the year that Seljuk Turk-Arab foreign government introduced Islam to eastern Ethiopia. The year 455 H.C. is located in 10th century A.D. It is officially being celebrated as the establishment year of current Harar city.

²⁶FGD, supra note 3.

over people who were then pastoralists. Pastoralists moved with their cattle from one place to another under *Damina* headship which replaced *Abbaa Bokkuu* Gadaa leadership. *Garad* on the other hand was local landowner for whom pastoralists and sedentary people had to pay tributes for land use. The Arab rulers granted local *Garads* of the areas land ownership certificate known as *Huja* that served them to collect taxes for their administration.²⁷

This shows that the weakening of Gadaa system in eastern part of Oromoo goes as far back as the introduction of Islam and sultanate and emirate ruling system. Mohammed Hassen (2008) discusses the Egyptian rules of eastern Oromoo in the late nineteenth century as follow:

For administrative purposes, the Egyptians grouped the Oromoo into villages and appointed 11,829 malaq (village chief) and garads (chief of several village chiefs) to administer them. Over these, they appointed about 500 Oromoo Damina (governor of a whole clan). At the top of this hierarchy were 45 appointed dogin (governor of several clans), who were always Hareri. All of the offices were hereditary (ibid.).

This means that the Egyptian colonial administration had severe impacts on the eastern Oromoo (Afran Qal'o) Gadaa system, as they replaced elected leaders with hereditary chiefs, who were owners of property. Gadaa system in the east thus was weakened (and destroyed in some parts) not by Christian Kingdom of Abyssinia but by Turkish and Egyptian colonial administration. The Abyssinians replaced foreign rules to become the second oppressive system (ibid.). In the northern and central Oromoo, it was the Christian Kingdom of Abyssinian rules which weakened (and in several cases destroyed) Gadaa system.

3. The History of *Haaromsa* Gadaa

Two events have occurred in the history of Gadaa system: *Cinna* Gadaa and *Haaromsa* Gadaa. *Cinna* Gadaa refers to the discontinuity of Gadaa rule from one political center or at all. It also designates "the division or dismemberment of the Gadaa, i.e., the formation of several clan Caffee assemblies instead of the old central Caffee that used to provide a supreme leadership to all Oromoo clans in union. Since that cleavage, every Oromoo clan used to be governed by its own respective clan assembly" (OCTB, 2004: 52). During *Cinna* Gadaa, the central Caffee was very weak/loose

²⁷Ibid.

and it could not enforce its order at least parallel to the Gadaa constituent units. Several literature indicate that though the central pan-Oromoo Caffee was absent, the constituent units of Gadaa had common ceremonial leader called Abbaa Muudaa, which is believed to have moved along *haaromsa* Gadaa first from Odaa Mormor (northern Ethiopia) to Odaa Nabee (Tulama), then to Odaa Roobaa (Bale), and finally to Madda Walaabuu. This ceremonial head "had to play the role of organizing all the Oromoo living at farther areas...under the same umbrella" (OCTB, 204: 56). That is why during *cinna* period, Gadaa survived in a confederation form. According to the same source, the centrality of Odaa Nabee, which was the political center of pan-Oromoo Gadaa government since 204 A.D., was replaced by clan based assemblies in 756 A.D (ibid.). This later year of *cinna* Gadaa was the period when Shawan Muslim Sultanates emerged (ibid.).

On the other hand, *haaromsa* Gadaa is the complete revitalization or refreshment or reorganization of pan-Oromoo Gadaa system.

Another event that helps us understand the time of the dismemberment of the central Gada assembly (Caffee) was one fundamental change that happened in the whole Gada system. The change is known as '*Haromsa* Gada', (Renewal of the Gada). The term denotes the effort made at a revival or reorganization of the general Gada system along a new line. Oral tradition collected from the Tulama elders shows that *Haromsa* Gada took place before 111 (one hundred eleven) periods of Gada leadership, which is equal to 888 (eight hundred eighty eight years) (OCTB, 2004: 52).

This means that the year of *haaromsa* Gadaa at Odaa Nabee in the central Oromia was traced back to 1116 A.D. The same source adds that:

[...] it is possible to conclude that the central Caffee (Oromoo assembly) functioned actively in unison from its centre Oda Nabe from 204 A.D. to 756 A.D. In the next period covering the year's 756 A.D. to 1116 A.D. the central Caffee was subdivided to a clan level so much so that no remarkable activity was seen. The period of disunity came to an end with a revivalist action mentioned above known as *Haromsa* Gada in the year 1116 A.D. (OCTB, 2004: 52).

The notion of *haaromsa* Gadaa can thus be understood as the act of revitalizing interrupted or discontinued Gadaa system. Other writers such as Tabor Wami (2014) observed that, from 204 to 756 A.D., Odaa Nabee was the center of pan-Oromoo Gadaa federation. However, between 756 and 1116, it devolved power to the clan level (ibid.). Starting from the latter year, there was Gadaa renewal which was successfully accomplished in 1316 at Odaa Roobaa Caffee center in Bale

(ibid.).²⁸ However, because of the southward expansions by Medieval Christian Kingdom of Abyssinia, there were heavy pressures upon the central Oromoo.²⁹

According to Adem Tina and Musa H/Adem Saddo, the invasions of the central Oromoos by the Christian Abyssinia in the north and by Muslim sultanates in the east around 13th and 14th century necessitated another movement of *haaromsa* Gadaa. It resulted in the formation of a pan-Oromoo Gadaa government at Odaa Roobaa (Bale) in 14th century and at Madda Walaabuu under the leadership of Abbaa Gadaa Walaabuu Jiloo in the 16th century, who, according to writers, organized Oromoos into two fronts—Borana to the west and Barentu to the east (Dirribi, 2011). The main purpose of this *haaromsa* Gadaa or the great renewal movement of the 16th century was to liberate Oromoo territories both in the north and eastern directions; and to restore Gadaa sovereignty which was interrupted for several years (Adem & Musa, 2011). In general, "the movement of Gada revival took place at Oda Mormor, Oda Nabe, Oda Roba & Madda Walabu" (OCTB, 2004: 56).

As discussed above, interrupted Gadaa system, which is also known as *cinna* Gadaa, normally requires *haaromsa* Gadaa, renewal or reformation. In many cases, the pan-Oromoo Gadaa federation was weakened by the Oromoo themselves but for devolution and democratization reasons. The introduction of Judeo-Christian religions and the Euro-Abyssinian forces in the horn of Africa had also caused the *cinna* Gadaa. During *cinna* Gadaa period, the Oromoo were largely living as a confederation of clan-based constituent Gadaa units as there were common Abbaa Muudaa, who blesses new laws and new elected leaders. When the Gadaa is revitalized and the pan-Oromoo central Gadaa restores its traditional law-making and execution roles, then the system becomes a federation of Gadaa units of all clans/moieties.

Before the arrival of European and Abyssinian conquering forces in the late nineteenth century, the Oromoo had already devolved powers to the clan level to the extent of creating a weak central government. By the late eighteenth century, for instance, all Oromoo moieties [Borana, Guji, Macca, Tulama, Ittu, Humbana, Rayyaa, Aseebu, Sikko, Mando] had established their respective Gadaas which had loose relations with the pan-Oromoo Gadaa power centered at Madda Walaabuu. The central Gadaa was reduced to play ceremonial role such as serving as a center of Abba

²⁸ Historically renowned five Odaa (sycamore tree) included Odaa Nabee, Odaa Roobaa, Odaa Bultum, Odaa Bisil and Odaa Bulluq. There were also less known Odaas in Borana, Guji, Jimma, Wollo, Ilu Abbabor and others.

²⁹ OBS TV (2016) interviewed Alemayehu Haile, an Oromo historian, January 22, 2016, Finfinne.

Muudaa. Some writers regarded the period from the late 17th century to the late 18th century in Oromoo political history as the era of Oromoo confederation. The non-centralization law was effected due to the explosion of the population and geographic sizes of the Oromoo. This non-centralization policy was responsible for introducing *seera gooroo* which created non-violable sovereign borders between the ten Gadaas of Oromoo moieties. As a result, it was unconstitutional for one Gadaa to enter into the territorial jurisdiction of another Gadaa even for help in times of invasion by enemies. This *cinna* Gadaa led to the decline of the unity among the Oromoo people which later helped Abyssinian forces in the late 19th century to defeat the divided Oromoos largely by playing off against each other (Dirribi, 2011).

To sum up, *haaromsa* Gadaa is the solution for *cinna* Gadaa, which could occur for reasons such as the rise of internal authoritarianism, or external invasions by alien forces or natural catastrophe. In many parts of western, central and northern Oromia, Gadaa degenerated into a monarchical system around eighteenth century. In other parts, Gadaa declined or disappeared due to the pressures from the Christian Highland Kingdom of Abyssinia in the north and central Oromoo; and of the Islamic Turkish and Egyptian invasions in the east. In these cases, there was *cinna* Gadaa or Gadaa discontinuity. The remote southern Oromoo (Gujji, Borana and Gabra) faced not so much centralizations as compared to other parts of Oromia and also there was no internal Gadaa degeneration. As a result, Oromoos in the periphery are able to retain their local Gadaa system for which now Gujji and Borana have 72nd and 71st Abbaa Gadaa respectively.

4. The Movements to Revitalize Gadaa Self-Rule and Shared-Rule

Many would convincingly argue that the modern Oromoo movements for *haaromsa* Gadaa begun in 1960s when educated Oromoo elites established Afran Qal'o and Macha-Tulama associations in Dire Dawa and Finfinne respectively. The social movements were legally banned and underground movements started with the outbreak of the Bale armed struggle in the same decade (Asafa, 1995). These all contributed for the emergence of an Oromoo political organization called Oromoo Liberation Front (OLF) in the early 1970s which promised to conduct armed struggles in order to form an independent Gadaa Republic of Oromia. This latter project was not successful. In 1991, Ethiopia became a federation of nine regional states and Oromia became the largest populous regional state.

Following the constitutional principles regarding the rights to use and develop one's own culture and indigenous institutions (FDRE Constitution, 1995), the Oromoo elders embarked a new

movement aiming to restore weakened institutions such as Gadaa. As a result, a pan-Oromoo council called Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo and sub-national Gadaa units in different parts of Oromia were established recently. In the following parts of the paper, I shall present the self-rule units of Gadaa first and the shared-rule aspect at the Oromoo assembly latter.

4.1 The Revival of Gadaa Constituent Units

In peripheral southern part of Oromia, which is in Gujii (72nd Gadaa) and Borana (71st), Gadaa system is preserved. It was preserved not as a formal government but as an informal government even during the area was conquered by Abyssinian forces. Still, today, Gadaa system is an informal government in both branches of Oromoo where the rest of the Oromoo had to learn the theory and practice of Gadaa. So far, the movement, which appears *haaromsa* Gadaa, is all about the efforts to restore Gadaa federation as an informal institution at both levels as there have been formal government institutions whose law and order prevails. By now, several Gadaa constituent units have been restored to function including Gujii, Borana, Odaa Roobaa (Baale), Arsii, Odaa Nabee (Tulama), Odaa Bultum (Aniya, Ittu), Afran-Qal'o (Dire Dawa), Odaa Bisil (Macca), Iluu, Karrayyu, Odaa Bulluq (Horro-Guduru) and others. Despite it is important to discuss each of these constituent units of Gadaa system, due to space and time, I have to emphasize on one that examines Gadaa revival in eastern Hararge (Afran Qal'o).

4.1.1 On the Establishment

Abba Gadaa Waday Qarsa was said to have been the governor of Eastern Oromoo when Menelik II occupied the area in 1887. Waday Qarsa advised Oromoo in and surrounding Dire Dawa to elect their own Gadaa; and a man from Nole/Oromoo became Abba Gadaa. In due course of time, an adopted Gurgura became Abba Gadaa of Nole with *Ugaas* title.³⁰ Actually, Gadaa as a political system in Hararge started to be weakened 10th century ago by the Turk/Egyptian colonial rule. The latter colonial rule was replaced by Menelik II by the end of 19th century.

After long years of complete disfunctional, the Oromoo in Dire Dawa and surrounding parts of Eastern Hararge renewed their Gadaa institution in 2005 in the form of civil society association

³⁰ Ugaas Buh Gadid was elected as Oromo leader but ended up as Ugaas of Gurgura.

known as Gaaddisa Aadaa Lammii Oromooo. This Gadaa unit had to take the form of association due to political pressures that tried to hinder its establishment in the city of Dire Dawa. Its legal personality was acquired in 2005 by a letter of permission No. dd/0015/616 of Legal and Justice Bureau, Dire Dawa Provisional Administration. It formally reports to the Legal and Justice Bureau annually on the basis of its objectives to renew its permission.³¹ On the contrary, Gadaa system in Gujii or Borana survived for more than 570 years and now functioning without any requirement to have legal permission to exist. What major factors necessitated Oromoos to restore this facade of Gadaa unit in this particular part of Oromia?

One of the major factors for the establishment of Gadaa in Dire Dawa was for self-help as a community. Oromoo elders in the city comment that “our neighbor in eastern direction is pushing us by raising land questions. They played against us our former brothers, Gurgura whom we fully integrate with through what is known as Ilma Barcumaa adoption procedure. Gurgura denied us upon the coming of Issa, its brothers, following railway road”.³² Issa were mainly pastoralists and they came closer to the area for grazing but also they gradually started to rely on contraband economies, particularly after the construction of Ethio-Djibouti railway roads, along which they had settlement.³³ This settlement pattern helped Greater Somalia vision exponents to claim Ethiopian lands up to Adama in 1960s. Even during the Dergue era, they were encouraged to occupy lands up to Mieso and north of Dire Dawa including Erer-Gota, Hurso, Afdem, Mulo and other areas.³⁴ The current Issa/Somali territorial claim to Dire Dawa, which of course has been encouraged by the ruling party of Ethiopia according to the informants, is the latest version of the whole agenda of Greater Somalia vision (ibid.). In such politics, Oromoo need to be organized at least at the level of self-help association to defend themselves in the future conflicts (ibid.).

The other major factor which necessitated Gadaa to revive in the city and surrounding was the political complexity in the transitional period (1991-1992), during which Oromoo elders observed in the city of Dire Dawa more than dozen of political organizations competing for supremacy.

The existence of eleven flags (ten are of parties and one is of Ethiopia) in the city threatened our future. Oromoo of Hararge in general and Dire Dawa in particular were completely confused with Oromoo party politics. Choosing one of the three political parties—OPDO, OLF and IFLO—was pretty difficult. The Oromoo demanded these parties to become one thereby devote for

³¹ That might limit the powers of Gadaa seating in Dire Dawa.

³²FGD, supra note 3.

³³Megersa Qiltu, Interview, High school teacher, Age 49, April 29, 2012, Dire Dawa.

³⁴FGD, supra note 3.

Oromoonational unity. The parties rather opted to accuse and declare wars on each other. This situation forced Oromoo in Dire Dawa to establish an underground kebele level self-help association, Afosha, and the leaders of each Afosha had contacts at city level to cooperate on Oromoo causes. In addition, a short-lived union, East Oromia Chat Exporting Union (1992-1993) played significant role in bringing Oromoo together for further discussion and unity. Even after the closure of this union and the defeat of OLF and IFLO in the area, Oromoo continued to search for a neutral institution which would organize them.³⁵

These all threatening situations and the desire for a neutral institution gradually ended up in the restoration of Gadaa unit in 2005. Informants claim that Afran Qal’o Association was association of four clans including Babile, Daga, Ala and Hobora but the latter Gadaa unit tries to represent all Oromoo. Initially, local authorities in Dire Dawa considered it as an emerging opposition political organization and refused its establishment but later on granted permission with the intervention of higher authorities from Oromia Region. Particularly, it was Abba Duulaa Gameda, the then president of Oromia Region who convinced OPDO authorities in Dire Dawa Administration by questioning them “in whose name are you in power” in a single meeting and helped the establishment of Gadaa.³⁶

Though Dire Dawa based Gadaa unit was commonly seen Gadaa of East Hararge, its territorial jurisdiction used to cover entire Hararge Oromoo community including Harari Region until Gadaa unit at Odaa Bultum in West Hararge was lately renewed.³⁷ Of course, it uses Afran Qal’o laws and constitutions. According to Gadaa authorities, the major unique features of Gadaa constituent unit of East Hararge (as compared to Gadaa units in other parts of Oromia) are: (a) its inclusiveness—major Oromoo moieties are chosen in its power structure³⁸; and (b) its universality—non-Oromoo nationalities in and surrounding the area accept Gadaa laws for mutual co-existence.

4.1.2 Membership, Structures and Objectives

The founding committee of the Gadaa unit in East Hararge was made up of four persons, two from Barentu and the other two from Borana, which gave them confidence to claim a pan-

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Abbaa Gadaa Abdumalik Yunis, Interview, Abbaa Gadaa of East Hararghe (2005-2013), May 29, 2012, Dire Dawa.

³⁷ There were intense tensions and disagreements between East Hararge and Odaa Bultum based Gadaa units when the latter was reformed.

³⁸ For instance, Gadaa centered at Oda Bultum belongs to Ittu moiety of Oromoo; Gadaa centered at Odaa Nabee belongs to Tulama clan and similarly Borana, Guji, and Macca have their own Gadaas. East Hararge Gadaa institution has a sort of pan-Oromoo arrangement in its structure.

Oromoo institution.³⁹ These four personalities along with other individuals later on got elected to become Gadaa officials: Abbaa Gadaa, Abbaa Bokkuu, Abbaa Seeraa, Abbaa Caffee, Abbaa Duulaa and others in East Hararge headquartering Dire Dawa. Its constitution states that:

The organizational structure of the association shall follow the power structure of the early Gadaa system including Abbaa Gadaa, Abbaa Bokkuu, Abbaa Dinagdee, Abbaa Seera, Abbaa Duulaa, Abbaa Karraa, Abbaa Caffee, and Abbaa Galmaa. They form the members of executive committee of the association. Except Abbaa Gadaa, who has three Hayyuu (advisors), all officials shall have two advisors (Gaaddisa Aadaa Lammii Oromoo, 2005: Article 9).

The term of office of members of the executive committee is the term of office of one Gadaa which is eight year and they are elected by the *Gumii* [general assembly] of the association. Thus, the *Gumii* is the ultimate lawmaker and supreme power holder of this Gadaa.

As an association, the Dire Dawa based Gadaa unit has the objectives to develop Oromoo culture, language, norms and preserve its history; to resolve inter and intra-ethnic disputes sustainably through dialogue to promote mutual understanding and co-existence, to strengthen the culture of self-help among Oromoo; to strive to resolve socio-economic problems such as transport accidents, marriage issues and others in collaboration with the government (ibid.).

On the conflict adjudication process, compared to 'modern' court of law, Gadaa is genuine and its decisions are more sustainable. Abbaa Gadaa Abdulmalik Yenus had this saying: “*Dhaabatu mataa kee baasi teessu dhugaa baasi*”, which means ‘defend yourself when standing but find truth when sitting’ to imply that a person standing before the modern court uses any means to escape conviction (the court normally asks him/her to deny) but, in Gadaa system people sit down under Odaa to find the truth thereby resolve the problem sustainably. Besides serving as social court, Gadaa acts as cultural agent of Oromoo in Dire Dawa and upon the arrival of high level delegates from foreign or within Ethiopia, Gadaa officials led by Abbaa Gadaa are often invited to welcome them and open the meeting with *eebbaa* (cultural prayers). The city administration of Dire Dawa normally encourages Gadaa to involve in disputes related to ethno-cultural, religious, local development, social and other criminal issues to advance balanced judgments.⁴⁰

³⁹ Barentu and Borana often appear in Oromo literature as a bi-confederacy of Oromo during the sixteenth century.

⁴⁰FGD, supra note 3.

Another important role that Gaaddisa Aadaa Lammii Oromoo played was that it opened great opportunity for different Oromoos to know and help each other. According to an interview with Abbaa Gadaa Abdumalik,

To be governed once again by Gadaa laws by itself is a privilege and unity for Oromoo. We used to consider Christian Oromoos as Amhara, but now our Gadaa has resolved that problem. Oromoo can be Christians, Muslims, Wakefata or others, and we know that before the introduction of Qur'an in our area, we had been practicing our own spiritual and secular laws. Thus, what is the problem with bringing back that glorious Oromoo laws?⁴¹

In addition to such cultural cohesion roles, Gadaa has remarkably been resolving intra and inter-ethnic conflicts in Dire Dawa, Harari Region and East Hararge. Major works accomplished in this regard are related to *guma* (reparation payment) verdicts. "Before the establishment of Gadaa, in so far as Issa-Oromooguma verdicts were concerned, the reparation payment made to an Oromoo was half of the reparation payment made to an Issa."⁴² If a life is lost between Issa and Oromoo, the reparation payment made for Issa was 30 cows (usually estimated to 30 thousand Ethio Birr), but for Oromoo it was less than 15 cows (15 thousand Birr) (ibid.). Gadaa restored equal *guma* verdicts for all nationalities. Many conflicts related to ethnicity in West and East Hararghe zones including Harar city have been resolved by Gadaa. For instance, since its establishment in 2005 up to 2012, more than 132 verdicts of *guma* were delivered to each of the victims living in eastern Oromoo.⁴³

In conclusion, after long years of disappearance, Gadaa constituent units have been massively restored across Oromia in almost all zones; and those active Gadaa units negotiated for some years and established a pan-Oromoo Gumii/Gadaa in 2014.

4.2 The Revival of Pan-Oromoo Gumii/Gadaa

Since 1960s, the Oromoo have been in movements of what appears "*haaromsa Gadaa*" for the restoration of Gadaa governance in all Oromoo territories. The situation in Oromia with regard to the revival of indigenous institution in parallel to the modern government institutions is similar to what happened to the traditional institutions in Africa in the post-colonial period.

"the pre-colonial governance system conferred special privileges on traditional elite in such a way that when the mantle of post-independence governance fell on the shoulder of the educated elite, its

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ When 43 Oromos from one village serving Zamra Construction as labour forces in Dire Dawa University died of one car accident, Gadaa took up the case representing the victims.

structures could only be a hybrid arrangement that incorporated traditional structures into the modern governance institutions. [...] the traditional institutions felt threatened and demanded a grater 'voice' in the construction of the post-colonial governance system to reflect their own interests. [...] a development that resulted in creating synergy or hybridity between the educated political elites and traditional institutions in the post-colonial governance architecture. The educated elite emerged as the dominant actors in the post-colonial African state but the tension between traditional and modern elements (path dependence) in has persisted" (Sesay, 2014: 11).

The pan-Oromoo Gadaa federation we are talking about is not a formal government institution but it is an informal social arrangement which has popular legitimacy than the formal government. As many of the constituent units of Gadaa were established first, the formation of the pan-Oromoo Gumii resembles "coming together" federation. But as there are also units that were revived by the common Gumii, the process seems to have "holding together" aspect. Let us see the process of its formation.

4.2.1 On the Formation of Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo

The Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo, a pan-Oromoo Gadaa institution, was established by a conference held in Bishoftu town of Oromia from July 3-5, 2014. The participants of the conference were from all zones of Oromia except Kamise; that means, all active Abbaa Gadaas and renowned elders from where Gadaa has weakened or disappeared took part. In general, 160 Gadaa elders (retired and active) and elders were able to participate in the conference. The key agendas of the conference were presenting the history of Gadaa and ratifying the constitution of the Gumii. The process of the reformation of this pan-Oromoo Gumii was not a one year phenomenon. It took several years to get established. After observing that the Gadaa of Tulama had its own office in the town of Bishoftu while the rest of the Gadaa units in Oromia were gathering under Odaa tree, the Gadaa officials who have been attending Irreecha (Oromoo Thanksgiving Day) in the town from different parts of Oromia requested the former to organize a conference in collaboration with the Regional-State of Oromia's Culture and Tourism Bureau. After several meetings in different years on different events, the conference was held and established Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo (a shared council of Abbaa Gadaas) which drafted and approved its own governing rules that also defined the horizontal relationships among the various Gadaa constituent units in Oromia.

According to Caalaa Soorii (2014), the secretary of the Gumii, there were three enabling factors which led to the revival of this pan-Oromoo national Gadaa institution. The first factor was

identified as an internal evolution that was caused by the contacts among sub-national Abbaa Gadaas and elders which led them to aspire for their re-union to strengthen Gadaa and restore the weakened and already lost Oromoo cultural values. Secondly, the regional government of Oromia has also facilitated the gathering of all Abbaa Gadaas and elders of Oromoo on various occasions where the advices and teachings of Abbaa Gadaas are more relevant in terms of popular impacts than that of the government. Thirdly, the ever rising contacts and level of intimacy among Abbaa Gadaas of Oromoo coupled with the recent Oromoo movements for unity and freedom have created enabling conditions for the establishment of Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo (ibid.).

Some of the major contacts made between sub-national Abbaa Gadaas have led them to discuss their re-union as one Oromoo Gadaa government. The first contact of such kind was when the Gumii Gayyoo—Gadaa Assembly—of the Borana under the leadership of Liban Jaldessa adopted an anti-HIV/AIDS law in 2003 requiring all men and women in Borana to restrict their sexual relations to one person. Four Abbaa Gadaas (of Gujii, Tulama, Karrayu, Gabra) and seven elders (from Hararge (2), Jimma (2), Shawa (3)) were able to attend on that occasion and discussed the need to unite (Caalaa, 2014). Furthermore, Abbaa Gadaa of Tulama paid an official visit to Gujii in 2007 when baallii (power) was transferred. Similarly, different Abbaa Gadaas and Oromoo elders attended in 2008 when Gadaa power was transferred in Borana. In 2009, the Oromia Culture and Tourism held a meeting with all active Abbaa Gadaas and elders in Bishoftu and the agenda was how to strengthen the relations among these fragmented Gadaa institutions in Oromia.

A very crucial relation among Gadaa units in different parts of Oromia was formed in September of 2011, when Gadaa power was transferred in Tulama at Odaa Nabee. Abbaa Gadaas who attended the event and held a special meeting with the newly elected Abbaa Gadaa of Tulama, Abbaa Gadaa Bayyanaa Sanbatu were Abbaa Gadaas of Borana (both retired and active), of Gujii and Gabra. It was at this special meeting in Bishoftu that the idea of establishing Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo was proposed.⁴⁴

When jila was held at Odaa Bultum in order to restore Gadaa system among Oromoo in Hararge, several Abbaa Gadaas from different zones of Oromia attended it and exchanged the idea of revitalizing a pan-Oromoo Gadaa. In 2010, at the Irrecha of Odaa Bisil, Abbaa Gadaas of Tulama and Arsi attended and discussed the idea of re-union with the Abbaa Gadaa of Macca. Above all,

⁴⁴Interview, Tarruu Ungree, special advisor to Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromo, March 07, 2017, Finfinne.

the annual Irrecha held at Hora-Arsadi created intimacy among Abbaa Gadaas across Oromia and caused continuous discussions on the foundation of the Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo (Caalaa, 2014). The final event which led to the formation of this Gumii was the inauguration of the Anole Martyrs Monument for which Abbaa Gadaas (of Tulama, Gujii, Macca, Odaa Bultum, Arsii, Karrayu, Dire Dawa) were gathered in Adama, and decided to form shared Gadaa institution for all Oromoos. They gave the responsibility to facilitate and organize a founding conference to the Gadaa of Tulama. The conference was held from July 3-5, 2014 and the Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo was founded.

In general, from the introduction of the idea of forming a pan-Oromoo Gadaa institution to the establishment of Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo, it took seven years. In fact, the idea of making Gadaa unit to take the form of a pan-Oromoo organization was not a new attempt in recent years, because the leadership of Gadaa, which seats in Dire Dawa governing Oromoos in Dire Dawa, East Hararge Zone and Harari Region since 2005, was made up of four men, two from Barentu and two from Borana (Gaaddisa Aadaa Lammii Oromoo Constitution, 2005).

On the capital choice for Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo, the Oromoo Cultural Center in Finfinne and Abbaa Gadaa Hall in Adama were considered first but failed as they could be busy with government meetings and conferences. Finally, the Abbaa Gadaa Hall of Tulama in Bishoftu was chosen to serve as seat of the pan-Oromoo Gadaa council. The Hall was renamed as "Galma Tokkummaa Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo", meaning, 'the unity hall of Abbaa Gadaas of Oromoo'. The hall had to serve as the seat of both Tulama's Gadaa unit and the shared Gumii. This common Gumii shares not only the hall but also the secretary and other workers of Tulama's Gadaa unit in Bishoftu.⁴⁵

4.2.2 Structure, Membership & Objectives

The pan-Oromoo Gumii is run by a five men committee elected on 5th of July 2014 by the participants of the founding conference. It has lawmaking body called Caffee which is composed of ten representatives of each Gadaa unit (zone) of Oromia and special representation of educated elite (20 seats), totaling 142 (the number has increased since October of 2017).⁴⁶ All moieties of Oromia are entitled to equal representation in the pan-Oromoo Caffee. The Borana Gadaa sends its ten

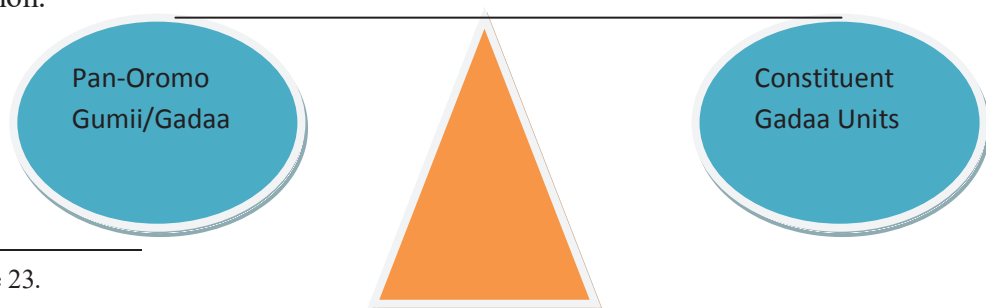
⁴⁵Interview, supra note 23.

⁴⁶Caalaa Soorii, Interview, Secretary of the Gumii, Bishoftu, 06 April, 2017.

delegates to the central Gadaa. The Gujii also sends equal number of representatives. All revived Gadaa units have sent the same number of representatives. Elders have been participating where Gadaa units were not revived to function. Women have also reserved seats.⁴⁷ Therefore, one can safely say that, this shared Caffee resembles the traditional Gumii Gayyoo where all clans were fairly represented in a form of federation. The Caffee meets twice a year.

This shared Gumii has executive body composed of five leaders. As a result, the Abbaa Gadaa of Tulama, Abbaa Gadaa Bayyana Sanbatu was chosen as the chairman of the Gumii, and designated as the Abbaa Gadaa of Oromoo/Oromia in the same year. The latter title, Abbaa Gadaa of Oromia, though more of ceremonial by now, is restored after several hundred years of disappearance. Abbaa Gadaa of Arsii became his deputy, Abbaa Gadaa of Maccaa chosen as auditor, and two men from among Gadaa of Tulama became secretary and finance head (Caalaa, 2014). Even though all have equal representation in the lawmaking body (Caffee), it looks that Gadaa officials from the Tulama have dominated in the executive body of the shared Gadaa for a couple of reasons. First, the rest of its Caffee members reside very far from its capital, Bishoftu. Gadaa officials of Gujii and Borana live in the peripheral south of Ethiopia. Due to the financial problems and geographical distances, it is very difficult for them to move regularly to Bishoftu to run the Gumii. Gadaa has no own income; and it lives on almsgiving by the government and private donors. That is why the Tulama and the neighboring Gadaa leaders (Arsii and Macca) chosen to run the Gumii.⁴⁸ The other weakness of the shared Gumii is that it does not have judicial body (Abbaa Seeraa). In this regard, the constituent Gadaa units have all the three branches of government.

The relationship between Gadaa institutions at the pan-Oromoo level and its constituent units appears that one level is not superior to the other and there is co-equal and balanced relationship. Both have duties and responsibilities to fulfill, and both have their respective lawmakers, executives and judicial bodies. The constituent Gadaa units are free to make and implement any law in their respective communities. That is why I argue that the Gadaa structure in Oromia is evolving to take the form of federation.



⁴⁷ Interview, supra note 23.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Figure 1: Pan-Oromoo Gadaa Federation

The governing constitution of the Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo lists fifteen key objectives to be performed by it. These include, (1) to write down the original Gadaa laws which stayed in oral traditions and preserve for the future generation; (2) to keep the democratic nature of Gadaa power transfers and store tangible evidences in terms of video, pictures, and writing for the next generation; (3) to identify harmful traditions in all clans of Oromoo and to facilitate a coordinated measures against them; (4) to preserve written evidences and create awareness on development, security and economic growth roles played by the structures of Gadaa in society; (5) to strengthen the relations of Gadaa units in Oromia and cooperate to restore where they were weakened or lost; (6) to invite each other upon Gadaa power transfers in order to exchange experiences; (7) to organize scholarly researches in order to harmonize Gadaa laws and narrow the gaps; (8) to resolve the occasional intra-Oromoo disputes; (9) to resolve the deep rooted mistrusts and animosity among some clans of the Oromoo which were caused by the previous governments; (10) to tackle the misperceptions that have been hurting the unity of the people on the basis of clan, religion and region factors; (11) to alert the people about the divisive intentions of the remnants of the old regime who remain against the rights of nations and nationalities granted by the federal constitution, and cooperate with the government when such problems are beyond the capacity of the Gumii; (12) to resolve the complexity issues among Gadaa units where there is competition, and teach about Gadaa and restore where it was weakened or lost; (13) to organize Oromoo scholars, make them conduct research on how to modernize Gadaa system and facilitate its registration on the world heritage; (14) to help followers of Waaqeffannaa religion to get access to places of worship in urban and rural Oromia by consulting with the Oromia Regional Government as Waaqeffannaa is an indigenous Oromoo value governed by Gadaa; and (15) to expel any Abbaa Gadaa from this Gumii and deny recognition when the former fails to transfer power peacefully on time or chooses illegitimately to stay on power for personal gains.⁴⁹

Therefore, the Gumii at the shared level have wider responsibility, which it implements directly in the Oromoo people. The above powers and responsibilities of the shared Gadaa institution can be summarized into three major themes: (a) promoting the pan-Oromoo popular unity (against internal

⁴⁹ These powers and responsibilities are listed in Afaan Oromoo (Oromo language) in Caalaa Soorii (2014), and I translated them into English.

conflicts and external divisive factors), (b) developing, standardizing and defending Gadaa democracy across Oromia, and (d) managing inter-Gadaa unit institutional relations (conflict and cooperation). The last enumerated power (no. 15th) indicates that any Gadaa unit can be dismembered from the pan-Oromoo Gumii by the decision of the Caffee of the latter for the sake of defending Gadaa values in Oromia. It must be clear that the central Gadaa can only dismember its units from the shared rule, but it cannot interfere and dissolve their Gadaa. Thus, Gadaa constituent units are fully autonomous. As a result, the structure of Gadaa system being revitalized in Oromia resembles more of a federal system than a confederation or unitary.

The Gumii has short-term objectives as well. These include to restore Gadaa were it was lost at all; to teach and create awareness about Gadaa through different means, and to unify Waaqeffanaa religion under one center. When the pan-Oromoo Gadaa was formed in 2014, the Gadaa of Gujii, Karrayyu, Borana (Odaa Garris), Tulama (Odaa Nabee), Arsii, Afran-Qal'o (East Hararge), Macca (West Shawa—Odaa Bisil) and Anniya (West Hararge—Odaa Bultum) were functional. The Gadaa of Odaa Roobaa in Bale, and of Odaa Bulluq in Wallagga, of Odaa Hulul in Jimma, of Odaa Doggi in Ilu Abbabor, of Odaa Makodi in Wollo were promised to be restored with the assistance of the newly established pan-Oromoo Gadaa (Caalaa, 2014). As a result, the central Gumii has been busy in the last two years re-establishing Gadaa sub-national units mainly at the zonal level. Now, almost all zones of Oromia including Finfinne and Dire Dawa have their respective Gadaa units.

As mentioned above, the pan-Oromoo Gadaa institution looks more of a federation than a confederation both in principle and practice. Consequently, in the last couple of years, the shared Gumii has been influencing in matters concerning all Oromos, ranging from the preservation of Oromoo culture, identity and value to endorsing Oromoo's demands for political and land reforms. The Caffee of the Gumii held its first session in October 2014 and discussed many issues such as demanding the government to release political prisoners, respect human rights, resolving land questions, and other issues. For instance, Gadaa officials from Dire Dawa were pressing on the rights of Oromoo in the city. Other elder was talking about his son, who was detained in the federal prison in *communicado*.⁵⁰ This shared Caffee held its third assembly early 2016 and adopted a resolution condemning the way the government treated Oromoo protests that took place in the late months of 2015. The content of the resolution was very strong as it listed a dozen of demands

⁵⁰ I watched a video recorded by participants of the meeting.

ranging from an immediate release of those arbitrarily detained to designation of Afaan Oromoo as the other working language of the Federal Government of Ethiopia (Council of Abba Gadaas 2016). In the area of inter-clan conflict resolutions, even on the very establishment day of the pan-Oromoo Gumii, the leadership of the latter advised and blessed the Gadaa leaders of Gujii, Borana and Gabra, who have frequently entered into inter-clan conflicts, to bring peace among their peoples. On the other hand, the Gadaa constituents are autonomous in all issues of their moieties (law-making, execution and judicial). Elections of Abbaa Gadaas at both levels are held in different times. For instance, power was transferred in Gujii last year (2016), and transferred this year (2017) in Borana. The pan-Oromoo level of administration does not interfere in the internal affairs of the sub-national Gadaa units. In fact, extensive powers are exercised at the constituent level as some of them predate and much older than the new pan-Oromoo Gumii. For instance, in Gujii and Borana, baallii (power) was transferred to the 72st Abbaa Gadaa and 71st Abbaa Gadaa respectively. The Imperial and Derg governments had little impacts on the Gadaa system of Gujii and Borana, the two territories were located in the remote south of the country near Kenyan border, and the people were largely pastoralists and agro-pastoralists.

5. Jurisdictional Competitions between Government and Gadaa

The Gadaa institutions have clashed with the formal government at both federal and Oromia levels particularly on three major issues: management of cultural sites, resolutions of conflicts (*gumaa*) and protests in Oromia. The management of cultural sites—mainly that of Irreecha and Odaa sites—has been contested between the shared Gumii on the one hand and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau on the other. The shared Gumii continues to claim that Irreecha sites including their celebrations or ceremonies belong to Gadaa. However, the Culture and Tourism Bureau continue to manage the ceremonies or festivities of Irreecha reducing the Gadaa officials of the Gumii as well as of the area to play marginal roles such as blessing the attending crowds.

There is competition between the government and Gadaa institutions on the management of sites where Irreecha thanksgiving is performed and Odaa (sycamore tree) located. For instance, Hora-Arsadi (sacred lake) where the main Irreecha takes place is administered by Bishoftu town. Gadaa officials complain that Bishoftu officials refused to recognize the lake with its urban plan. As a result, it is said, the boundary of the lake is being pushed as the city administration allowed parts of

the lake to be used by investors.⁵¹ Odaa Nabee is under existential threat as people continue to plough under it. The Caffee Tumaa field, which is located in Akaki District of Finfinne Surrounding Oromia Special Zone and where jila of Tulama's Gadaa is held, has entirely been taken by investors, Gadaa officials accuse. The same complain is heard everywhere in Oromia. It is not Gadaa institutions which administer cultural sites including Odaa, Ardaa Jilaa, lake/mountains of Irreecha, and others. They are under the control of the government.

On the conflict resolution especially *guma*, there have been both conflict and cooperation between the formal government and the informal Gadaa. The formal courts frequently direct issues of *guma* (related to blood payment for the family of the deceased and reconciliation) to Gadaa institutions. In many cases, they cooperate. However, in some cases, when the court decides on the basis of false evidences presented to it, people who lost justice as a result brings their cases to Gadaa. As it is often difficult to deceive in front of Gadaa lawyers using false evidences, the truth is inevitability discovered. In 2013, Abbaa Gadaa Bayyana Sanbatu was detained by Bishoftu court just because he reversed the latter's decision. The case was that the court freed a man who killed a person; and the Gadaa of Tulama searched for the truth and found that the man was criminal and imposed *guma* that he has to pay to the family of the deceased. Meanwhile, the court intervened and detained Abbaa Gadaa.⁵² Of course, finally, the finding of Gadaa prevailed and Abbaa Gadaa was released immediately. In Gujii and Borana, it is common to find criminals facing double punishments, one by the government courts and the other by Gadaa verdicts. In several cases, the government has formed pseudo-elders to counter true elders and Abbaa Gadaas. In other cases, Abbaa Gadaas become agents of the government often against the interest of their constituencies. According sources, for instance, the serving Gadaa unit of Tulama has less recognition among several sub-clans of Tulama as the latter have their own *hayyuus* (knowledgeable persons) who act as Abbaa Gadaas.⁵³ There is clear competition between government and Gadaa.

The final area that the pan-Oromoo Gadaa entered into disagreement was on the way the government (especially federal government) treated the recent protests in Oromia. As discussed above, Gadaa condemned the heavy-handed state repressions and demanded the government to address the major questions of the Oromoo protestors. However, as the government financially

⁵¹ Interview, *supra note* 23.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

sponsors Gadaa institutions in several occasions, informants argue, it tends to corrupt and instrumentalize them.⁵⁴ Moreover, critics claim that Gadaa officials at the shared rule violated the resolution passed by the common Caffee in March 2016 and the stands of the Gumii following the massacre at Irreecha of the same year. As a result, there remain disagreements among them.

6. Discussion & Conclusion: Towards Empowering Gadaa Federation

In this paper, I have discussed the movement towards the revitalization of Gadaa federation in Oromia—*haaromsa* Gadaa—by paying considerable attentions on both the shared Gumii and the autonomous constituent Gadaa units. It first presented the general key features of Gadaa socio-political system. Then, the history of *haaromsa* Gadaa is traced back briefly, which showed that the last pan-Oromoo Gadaa renewal took place in the sixteenth century at Madda Walaabuu, southern Oromia. In the following century, the federation of clan-based Gadaas evolved to a confederation causing *cinna* Gadaa (discontinuity). This final *cinna* Gadaa weakened the unity of Oromoo people and created favorable conditions for their occupation in the late nineteenth century by the British and Abyssinian forces. The main part of this paper has dealt with the new movement towards the revitalization of Gadaa self-rule and shared-rule—the federation, once more. The restorations of Gadaa constituent units (emphasizing on Afran Qal'o in East Hararge) and of the pan-Oromoo Gadaa (i.e., the Gumii Abbootii Gadaa) are discussed separately.

The pan-Oromoo central Gumii is reformed in Bishoftu town in 2014 after several hundred years of disappearance. Gadaa leadership in Borana and Gujii did not stop in the last 570 years. If the present *haaromsa* Gadaa towards the revitalization of Gadaa federation in Oromia turns successful, it will be the fifth renewal: (1) Odaa Mormor (northern Ethiopia before 3rd century), (2) Odaa Nabee (central Oromoo/Tulama, 12th century), (3) Odaa Roobaa (southern Oromoo/Baalee, 14th century), (4) Madda Walaabuu (southern Oromoo/Baalee-Borana, 16th century) & (5) Odaa Nabee (central Oromoo/Tulama, 21st century).

The final point of discussion was the jurisdictional tensions and conflicts between the informal institutions of Gadaa and the formal government. It has shown the potentials and instance of subordinations of Gadaa to the formal government laws and institutions, despite the rare

⁵⁴Interview, anonymous teacher (Oromo), Bishoftu, March 2017.

cooperation between them. The question remains what to do and how to develop this extremely weak Gadaa structure. “Gadaa and the government should work hand-in-hand” said, the FDRE President, Dr. Mulatu Teshome, on UNESCO meeting, November 29, 2016 in Addis Ababa.⁵⁵ However, he did not mention what this 'working hand-in-hand' exactly meant. He surely gave bigger weight to the relevance of strengthening and developing Gadaa for various purposes. He recommended close cooperation between the informal and the formal. However, we have seen that both institutions compete over several jurisdictions. Of course, Gadaa's registration by the UNESCO as one of intangible world cultural heritages has implication for changes to undergo in Oromia and Ethiopia. How can the two institutions—the formal and indigenous—exactly cooperate at least at the Oromia Regional State level? Can that be negotiated, and how?

In counties or regions with a dominant ethnic group and a single traditional institution, the relationship between the modern governance and traditional authority can be negotiated and constructed without much tension, according to Amadu Sesay (2014). For instance, the dominance of the Ashanti king in Ghana's traditional domain creates less tension in managing the tenuous power configuration between traditional and modern sources of authority. As a result, the post-colonial negotiations between educated and traditional elites in Ghana have led "to a stable post-colonial governance system that recognizes the importance of traditional structures while maintaining the authority of modern governance structures and institutions" (ibid: 11).

According to Ghana's model, it is possible to create a situation in which Gadaa is integrated into formal government institution. The shared Gadaa council can be recognized by the regional constitution as a cultural leadership of Oromoo people. That can be one of legal consequences of its inscription by UNESCO. According to the federal constitution of Ethiopia (1995), regional states have the powers "to establish a State administration that best advances self-government" (Art 52/a). Further, the same constitution states that "Government shall have the duty to support, on the basis of equality, the growth and enrichment of cultures and traditions that are compatible with fundamental rights, human dignity, democratic norms and ideals" (Article 91). With regional constitutional amendments (Art 112), Oromia can follow parliamentary system, in which there are bicameral Caffee, two heads of the State and integrated court and Gadaa indigenous laws. This power sharing design in the form of bicameralism should be for the short-run because in the long-

⁵⁵ TVO News, November 30, 2016.

run, the Oromoo wishes to restore its full-fledged Gadaa system that takes over the political system in Oromia after the society is reconstructed on the basis of advanced Gadaa: back to the future.

In the bicameral Caffee, one is the lower house, whose members are elected by the people every five years and the other is the upper Caffee which is of the pan-Oromoo Gumii that shall be elected directly from the people or indirectly from the Caffee of Gadaa constituents every eight years. The former is lawmaker, and the latter with the assistance of Gadaa legal professionals interpret the constitution. The Head of the Government or the President of Oromia Region is the political leader of a party or a coalition of parties that won the majority seats in the lower house; whereas the cultural leader or Abbaa Gadaa of Oromia is the Head of the State chosen from the upper Caffee. However, Abbaa Gadaa of Oromia cannot be ceremonial leader equivalent to British Queen or German monarch or Ethiopia's President. He is more than that because the management of Gadaa system in Oromia including cultural issues, ethnic identity, heritage, and other functions which were under the authority of Culture and Tourism Bureau would fall under the jurisdiction of Gumii Abbootii Gadaa Oromoo. As a result, this bureau would be subsumed under the command of the Gumii. This restructuring would also affect all social sectors including education curriculum. If Gadaa officials of constituent units are elected to the posts of executive body of the national Gumii, they better vacate their former local positions so that every constituent unit would have equal opportunity to participate. In this regard, there must be integration between male leadership in Gadaa and women leadership in Siiqqee at the Gumii's executive level, and women's representation in the upper Caffee should also be proportional. The formal courts and Gadaa institutions shall serve the public by consulting each other on the basis of Gadaa moral values, i.e., *Safuu* (Oromoo moral philosophy). As the verdicts of Gadaa are more genuine, legitimate and lasting, the modern courts should adopt the same procedure while finding the truth.

What is the importance of this power sharing arrangement between formal and informal governance systems? First, such union would help rebuild stable Oromoo society in accordance with Gadaa system. Gadaa units would no more be regarded as mere associations as they have to be granted constitutional-legal personalities. All generations of Oromoo must be reconstructed, reorganized and fix their memberships in one of the five Gadaa parties—Meelbaa, Roobalee, Birmajjii, Michillee, & Duuloo—by formally teaching Gadaa education in all schools in Oromia so that the present *haaromsa* Gadaa would succeed. In areas where Gadaa remains weak or is at its early stage of revival, grass-root social movements must be ignited towards restoring it in society. All members

of society must find and organize their Gadaa, and Oromoo children should start to be born into Gadaa membership. These all would develop Oromoo culture, identity and renew forgotten African indigenous value of democracy and equality in Oromia. Gadaa age-grades and their respective functions should be modernized as may be required. Membership to the upper house (cultural Caffee of the shared Gumii) as well as the posts of its executive body including the post of Abbaa Gadaa of Oromia would be open to very competent, professional and politically non-partisan individuals through Gadaa elections. Membership to the lower house (i.e., political Caffee) should also be acquired through democratic multiparty elections.

The second main function of politically non-partisan indigenous institution is its roles during the transitional or political crisis. In the post-independence of Nigeria, as Eyinla and Edo argued, "no government can afford to ignore their [indigenous leaders] relevance in stabilizing the polity in times of crisis. In fact, any government that overlooks the place and role of traditional rulers in promoting national unity and cohesion does so at its own peril" (quoted in Sesay, 2014: 12). As discussed above, one of the major factors that necessitated the establishment of Gadaa unit in Dire Dawa was the transitional period political crisis in the city. Oromia Region in particular and Ethiopia in general has since recently been in political crisis, for which a countrywide state of emergency was declared in October of 2016 and extended on 30 March, 2017 for another four months. Therefore, if crises of higher magnitude, which cannot be managed through traditional ways, happen, the Oromoo needs a neutral institution which can balance and manage the situation. Political parties are short-lived; and Gadaa institutions transcend from generation to generation. Therefore, the security of people should be guaranteed in times of crisis as well. It means that, the pan-Oromoo Gadaa along with its constituent units should be strengthened to take over political power until fresh elections are held and legitimate government is formed. Moreover, when the ruling party is defeated at the poll, the Gadaa would mediate peaceful political power transfer to the newly elected party in Oromia. As the term of office of Gadaa officials is eight years, it would always facilitate smooth transitions. More critically, if a party refuses to transfer power, the upper Caffee, which is politically neutral and independent, will defend the constitution.

In any case, the informal becomes part of the formal as a complementary to the regional government. Indirectly, the Government of Oromia would amass basic legitimacy. However, the major skepticism in the revitalization of Gadaa federation in Oromia is the possibility that Gadaa institutions may be manipulated and instrumentalized by the dominant political party.

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8. How to become *abbaa gadaa*: A case study from the Boorana in Southern Ethiopia

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Abstract

This paper attempts to contribute to the understanding how abbaa gadaa have been chosen among the Boorana throughout their history. There were 71 abbaa gadaa who were selected until today among the Boorana. Each one of the 71 abbaa gadaa had his own election history according to the oral historiographical records of the Boorana. First, I present a description of the criteria used for becoming abbaa gadaa based on an analysis of concrete election cases from Boorana history. Second, I describe one specific historical case of the election of one abbaa gadaa in comparison with the dominant and widely recognized criteria of abbaa gadaa election. For this, I use the case of the 50th abbaa gadaa, Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa (1848-1856). Based on detailed oral traditions, it will be explained how he was selected and what happened after he became abbaa gadaa. In the case of Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa, we would see the struggle between heredity and public opinions and its tragedy in the end. In the framework of such constant discussions on and about abbaa gadaa among the people, the gadaa system of the Boorana could continue to exist as a political organization, which avoids to exclusively concentrate political power within one lineage.

Key words: *Abbaa gadaa*, Heredity and Public Opinions, Oral Historiography on Gadaa, Boorana

Introduction

There are many studies about the *gadaa* system, especially the *gadaa* of the Boorana. Many scholars have done research on the *gadaa* and showed that it is a quite well organized and complex political system (e.g. Asmarom 1973; Baxter 1978; Schlee 1998; Tagawa 2000; Bassi 2005; Boku 2009). However, there are not so many analyses about how people have concretely chosen an *abbaa gadaa* based on detailed historical cases (Oba-Smidt 2016).

This paper discusses the ways how to become *abbaa gadaa* among the Boorana. During several years of field research, I have collected oral historiographies on *gadaa* since 2007 (Oba-Smidt 2016). Based on these detailed oral traditions and interviews with people, I try to contribute to the question what kind of criteria existed for becoming *abbaa gadaa* among the Boorana.

Results and Discussion

Based on the comparison of all oral traditions, I found four criteria for becoming *abbaa gadaa*; 1) belonging to one of the legitimate lineages, 2) being generous (include having many livestock), 3) the members of his lineage are linked with some heroic history, and 4) cleverness. Many political struggles have marked the Boorana history, when a *abbaa gadaa* did not fulfill all those criteria.

In this paper, I focus on the oral historiography on the 50th *abbaa-gadaa*, Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa. Many Boorana elders narrated that Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa was clever and there is a heroic history on his lineage. But when he was selected as a future *abbaa gadaa* by the 45th *abbaa gadaa*, Saaqoo Dhaddachaa, Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa changed his *luba* (the first *gogeessa*) to Saaqoo Dhaddachaa's *luba* (the fifth *gogeessa*). In addition, as Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa lost his father and mother when he was a small boy, his family had only a few cattle. Jaarsoo Waariyyoo Daawaa narrated how Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa could become *abbaa gadaa*.

Text 1

Gadaan Daawwee Gobboo waraana qabdi, Arsiin wal hadhan. Arsiin Boorana haatee ka galto obboleessa isaa qa'ee fudhatte. Obboleessi isaa, ka isiin qa'ee fudhatte kun, maqaan isaa Godoolee Gobboo. Arsiin fudhattee hin guddatee, hin jabaatee, nama waraanaa ta'ee, jannaa, jabaatee Arsiin moo'ee abbaa waraana ta'e. Booranatti duula dhufee, gadaa Daawwee Gobboo taani, Boorana lolee dannaba fuudhe. Dannaba innii dhaabee keessa taa'uu, Daawwee Gobboo *cibraa* lola dhufe, *duuba* amma bu'aa, abbaan bu'aa, ka loon nyaaphi fuudhe kana reebuu, Daawwee Gobbooti. Ka loon kana fuudhee keessa taa'u Godoolee Gobbooti, kun amma abbaa bu'atii, kanatti walitti dhufe. *Dannaba* bule kaani itti afuursees duuba Boorani qaraa walitti afuursaa, "abboo! Abboo!" "Yaa!" "Ati nami lolee dannaba fuudhee eennu?" "Godoolee Gobboo." "Ati nami bu'aa dhufe eennu?" "Ani Daawwee Gobboo." "Bor diirama walitti dhumnaa waraanaa, wantee lafa keeyyadhuu, anilleen lafa keeyyadhaa, oduu wal irraa fuunaa kootti." "Walitti dhufee waraanaa wantee, lafa naqatee walitti dhufee "ati eennu?" "Godoolee Gobboo. "Ati ufi hoo?" "Ani Daawwee Gobboo Saaraati." "Godoole ka eennu?" "Ka Gobbooti." "Gobboo achi hoo?" "Hin beeku, abbaa Saaraa ati baantuu kana ani hin beeku." "Maan?" "Ijoollumaan nyaaphi na fudhatee, Arsiin na fudhattee, achitti galee, achitti guddadhee, dhiira waraanaa ta'e, kaayoo qabaa guyyaa loluu cufaa *offalee*, nagumaan gala, amma kana lolee *dannaba* fuudhe." "Ani Daawwee Gobbooti, dheedi ati haatee kiyya, nami bu'aa dhufee anaa, *dannaba* keessaa naa ba'I," Daawwee Gobbooti jedha. "Akka ba'u hin qabuu, yo loltee narraa fuutee aadaa, yo loltee narraa fuudhuu baatee narraa galteeaadaan sitti narraa gala, Godoolee Gobboo *dannaba* fuudhee, *dannaba* sun Boorani dhufee jennaani, wal hin haanee keessaa ba'eeni naa gurra du'aa ,atuu yoo obboleessa kiyya taatee, aadda *cibraa* narraa galchi" jedhe. Duula narraa galchi bu'aa, bu'aa taan irraa galchee, la bu'aa irraa galchee, Godoolee Gobboo *dannaba* uffi kaan galfate. Nu akkana waliin dhalannee, yoo *dannaba* warratti galchuun geetee lafa odeefadhuu, karaa odeeffadhuu, yoo galaani baasee, natti kootti. Itti dhufee, armatti walitti dhufe. "Kootti lama warra keennatti siin gala. Gurbaa!" "Yaa'a," "Anatti si dura jiraa?" "eeyee," "ani Gobboo Saaraatti na dhalee, sillee Gobboo saaraatti dhalee, sii sun ammo amma sidii taatee amma dhuftee *dannaba* narraa fuutee, akka ati baantuu galfadhuu beenii" jedhe. "Ani sirraa gala," "eeyee," "ani dhiphuu omaatuu hin qabuu, durii nyaaphatti si fudhatee, amma anatti si fudhataa, siin galadhaa kootti," fudhatee galateen. Daawwee fudhatee galateen, Daawwee Gobboo kanaa nadheen isaa lamaa, Daawwee Gobboo kana loon isaa ulee sadii, tisseen isaa dhaba hin qabduu, hin dhufee, la warrattiin gale. Itti qalee sangaa itti galchee mana niitii maandhitiitti, "nyaachisii obaasii nama kana

nyaachisii obaasii” jedhee, sangaa kaan qaleefi nyaachiftee obaafte. “Amma duuba ati waan taatuu, jalatti galii,” amma niitii kennaafi beeki. Niiti maandhitti obboleessaa kenna jalatti galtee, hin dide, “innii waan takka hin argin na tolchite.” “Walitti galtani?” “Hin gallee la dadhabe.” Itti quufuu dide Daawwee Gobboo kaan, “gurbaa, gurbaa!” “Yaa.” “Ani loon ulee sadii qabaa, tisee ta aga hin qamne qabaa, loon ulee tokko keetii fudhadhuu, loon ulee tokko kiyjaa, ulee takkatti jidduutti hafee, ulee tana nutti gargar qoodataa, wal qixxeetti gargar qoodannaa, orma kalee keessaa dhuftee hin yaadini, ati waan taatuu, garuu hin yaadini tisee aga sii geetutti fudhadhuu, tisee Boorani gaafasi tisee qabaa, aga sii ta’etti fudhadhuu.” Godoole Gobboo niitii isaa maandhiti isatti ba’een, Godoole Gobbootti ba’een, loon ulee takkaan ba’ee, tisee wal qixxeetti gargar fudhatte taa’e. Godoole Gobboo kanatti ilma dhalee, niitii obboleessi kenneef taan irraa, ilma dhalee kana maqaan isaa Dabbasaa. Dabbasaan kulleen ammallee ilma dhalee, ilma kana maqaan Guyyoo, amma Jaldeessa kanatti ka Guyyoo, ka innii dhale kanatti maqaan Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaati. Amma nami kunini gara kalee dhalatee, gogeessi isaa keennuma, ka Gadayoo Galgaloo kaan, kama Daawwee Gobboo kaani, Daawwee Gobboo daraaraa kana duuba jaarsa Guyyoo Dabbasaa niitiin irraa doote. Haati Jaldeessa kana irraa dootee, yo amma isiin irraa doote kanaa, Saaqqoo Dhaddacha Gaamadu jaarti tana barate. Jaldeessi Guyyoo Dabbasaa kaan ijoollee, Guyyoo Dabbasaa kaan la du’ee, jaarti tanatti Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa kana iyyoomse. Godoole ilmaan isaa Dabbasaa, Dabbasaa ilmaan isaa Guyyoo, ilmaan Guyyoo kana Jaldeessaa, Guyyoon kun du’ee, haadha Jaldeessaa tana baratee Saaqqoo Dhaddacha Gaamadu, innii baratee jennaan, haati haadha isaa hin ta’in ta abbaan irraa du’ee taani Jaldeessa kana hiyyoomsite. Jaldeessa isiin hiyyoomsite kanatti Saaqqoo Dhaddacha ka mana haadha diqqoo dhaquu kaani akka takka hin argin ulfeessee, abbaa gadaatii Saaqqoo Dhaddacha Gaamadu, amma Saaqqoo Dhaddacha Gaamadu kun, ilmaan Bulee Dhaddacha, sabbaaqi Diida Nam-durii gogeessa isaanisaddeetatti amma Bulee Dhaddacha kanatti mare, amma Saaqqoo Dhaddacha Gaamadu kaanti akka takka hin argin qananiisee jaalate. Qananiisee, maq-baasa ilmaan isaa gaafatan. Eennu gaafatan, Saaqqoo Dhaddacha gaafatan. “Maq-baasi ilmaan kiyjaa ta ardhaa gammee hiyyeeti jedhe. Gogeessi ufii kaani, gammeen hiyyeetiin eennu? Jaldeessa kana amma lallabaa akkana ta’a. Jaldeessa kaan lallabate, gadaa ilmaan ufiitti. Jaldeessi kun, innii dhaloottaa silaa, luba Jiloo Nyeencooti, amma kana Saaqqoo Dhaddacha kana la fudhatee, ilmaan ufii lallabatee, yo ilmaan ufii lallabatee kaani, Jaldeessi kaani, gogeessa Saaqqoo Dhaddacha kaanti gale. Jaldeessi Guyyoo Dabbasaa, silaa ka

gogeessa ilmaan Liiban Waataa kaan, amma Saaqqoo Dhaddacha gogeessa ufiitti galchee lallabee, hayyuu amma Jaldeessi kun, ka gaafa Cirrattee maanaan dhaqee, biyya balleesse kaan.

In Daawwee Gobboo's time, there was a conflict. The Boorana fought with the Arsii. When the Arsii returned home, they took away Daawwee's brother. The name of the brother was Godoolee Gobboo, and he was taken by the Arsii and raised in the land of the Arsii. Godoolee Gobboo became a powerful man. He became the most powerful man in Arsii lands. Then he became a battle commander.

This Godoolee Gobboo came to fight in the Boorana lands. The leader of the *gadaa* was Daawwee Gobboo. Arsii fought Boorana, plundering livestock. Godoolee Gobboo stopped the plunderers.⁵⁶ Then, Daawwee Gobboo went to take back the livestock from that large force of Arsii. In charge of the counterattack was Godoolee Gobboo. And so they met. When Godoolee Gobboo was stopped, he heard that the Boorana were coming. The Boorana first made noise and then came. Daawwee Gobboo called out, "Hey, hey!" "What!?" replied Godoolee Gobboo. Daawwee asked "Who attacks the Boorana and plunders their livestock?" Godoolee said, "Godoolee Gobboo does. Who has come to take them back?" Daawwee answered, "Daawwee Gobboo." Godoolee Gobboo said, "Tomorrow morning, we will talk. Put down your spear and shield." Daawwee said "I will put down my spear and shield, too. Let us exchange information. Come!" Each put down their weapons and came together.

Daawwee asked, "Who are you?" Godoolee answered, "Godoolee Gobboo. Who are you?" Daawwee answered, "I am Daawwee Gobboo Saaraa. Who is your father?" Godoolee replied, "Gobboo." Daawwee asked another question, "And who was Gobboo's father?"⁵⁷ Godoolee replied "I don't know. You said Saara but I don't know the name." Daawwee asked "Why not?" and Godoolee answered, "When I was a child, the Arsii kidnapped me. I was raised in the land of the Arsii. I became powerful. I had good fortune. Even when I go to fight I come back safely. This time, too. I fought and took livestock." Daawwee told him, "Who did you take the livestock from? I came to get the livestock back. Leave the livestock and run away." Godoolee replied, "No, I won't run. It is reasonable for you to fight to get the livestock back. I took it, but to go home without

⁵⁶ After livestock has been plundered, it is customary for the plunderer to wait for the enemy to come and fight to get back the livestock. Winning that battle means that the livestock will be returned.

⁵⁷ Referring to his grandfather. When people of Boorana give their own name, it is customary to give the name of their father and grandfather, too. People usually remember the last ten generations of the patrilineal line.

fighting the enemy who came to get it back would damage my name. If you are my brother, you pull back your men.”

Then, Daawwee pulled back his men. Godoolee took the livestock and left for Arsii. Daawwee said to Godoolee, “We are brothers. Take the livestock back. Ask people where my village is. If you can cross the river, come to see me!”

Godolee and Daawwee returned to Daawwee’s village together. Daawwee called out to Godolee “Hey!” “What?” responded Godolee. “I am older than you,” said Daawwee. “That’s right,” answered Godolee. When Daawwee said, “I have a father in Gobboo Saaraa. So do you. But you came as an enemy to take livestock from the Boorana. After you told me to pull back my men, you came back.” Godolee replied, “That’s right.” Daawwee said “For me, there is no problem⁵⁸. Before, the enemy took you away. This time, I take you away. Come!” Daawwee took Godolee away.

Daawwee had two wives. He also had three livestock enclosures. There were many people who helped with his work. Godolee returned with him, and Daawwee slaughtered an ox. Then he took Godolee to the house of his second wife. Daawwee told her to give Godolee milk, and let him eat the slaughtered ox. Then he told his wife to have sexual relations with him. Daawwee gave Godolee a wife. But Godolee said, “I’ve never even tried something like this!” and refused the offer. Godolee would not even consider accepting it. “Hey!” “What!” “I have three enclosures. I have a lot of people who look after my herds. I will give one of my herds to you. I will keep one myself. The last one we will divide evenly. I will divide everything I have evenly. Don’t worry about the land of the enemy you left yesterday. Worry about how to live here. Take as many workers⁵⁹ as you like from my place,” said Daawwee, and Godolee took Daawwee’s second wife. He took one herd, and divided the servants with Daawwee.

Then, Godolee had children with the wife he received from Daawwee. The child’s name was Dabbasaa, and his son’s name was Guyyoo, and his son’s name was Jaldeessa⁶⁰. Godolee returned to the land of the Boorana, had children, and his *gogeessa*⁶¹ descended from Gadayoo Galgaloo⁶². Daawwee Gobboo’s time was daraara. Guyyoo Dabbasaa’s wife died⁶³. Saaqqoo Dhaddachaa⁶⁴ and

⁵⁸ Indicating there is a lot of livestock.

⁵⁹ Meaning slaves.

⁶⁰ Later became 50th leader of the gadaa.

⁶¹ luba

⁶² The 1st leader of the gadaa.

⁶³ Meaning that the mother of Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa, the 50th leader, died.

⁶⁴ The 45th leader of the gadaa.

Jaldeessa's stepmother⁶⁵ were lovers. When Jaldeessa was a child, his father Guyyoo Dabbasaa died, and Jaldeessa was raised by Guyyoo Dabbasaa's other wife, but they were very poor. Because Saaqqoo Dhaddachaa and Jaldeessa's stepmother were lovers, Saaqqoo helped Jaldeessa. Saaqqoo was the child of Bulee Dhaddachaa⁶⁶. Bulee was *sabbaaqa*, and Diida Namduri's⁶⁷ *sabbaaqa* came around⁶⁸. Saaqqoo respected Jaldeessa, and when people asked Saaqqoo who would be *adulaa*, he answered, "That would be my poor *gammeee* child." And when people asked, "Who is the poor *gammee* child in your *gogeessa*?" Saaqqoo said, "It is Jaldeessa." Thus was Jaldeessa became *adulaa*. Jaldeessa was originally the same luba as Jiloo Nyeencoo⁶⁹, but Saaqqoo Dhaddachaa adopted him and named him *adulaa*, and Jaldeessa was incorporated into Saaqqoo's *gogeessa*⁷⁰. Jaldeessa originally belonged to Liiban Waataa's *gogeessa*⁷¹, but joining Saaqqoo's *gogeessa* he became *adulaa*. Jaldeessa would later cause an incident known as The Cirrattee and Maanaa Boorana Massacre⁷². (Oba-Smidt 2016)

In other words, Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa did not fulfill the criteria 1) and 2). This caused a political struggle among the Boorana during the period of Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa (1848-1856).

It is famous among the Boorana that there was a big ethnic conflict between the Boorana and Arsi during the period of Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa. The Boorana lost the battle and many heroes died. Some elders narrated that there was a conflict between Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa and other *gadaa* officials in this period.

Text2

⁶⁵The second wife of Jaldeessa's father Guyyoo Dabbasaa.

⁶⁶The 40th leader of the *gadaa*.

⁶⁷The 5th leader of the *gadaa*.

⁶⁸Bulee (the 40th leader) and Diida Namaduri (the 5th leader) both belonged to the 5th *gogeessa*, and both were *sabbaaqa*. As reported by Asmarom Legesse [Asmarom 1973: 198, 199], the Boorana foresaw problems occurring during times of *gadaa* leaders from the same *gogeessa* and with the same *maqa-baasa*. It is thought that during times of leaders from the same *gogeessa* and with the same *maqa-baasa*, the same events will arise, and the people remember the names of such leaders.

⁶⁹Jaldeessa was a descendant of Daawwee Goobboo, who belonged to the 1st *golgeessa*. Jiloo Nyeencoo was the 46th leader of the *gadaa*.

⁷⁰The 5th *gogeessa*.

⁷¹The 1st *gogeessa*. Liiban Wataa was the 41st leader of the *gadaa*.

⁷²A big battle between the Boorana and the Arsi in the period of the 50th leader of the *gadaa*.

Jaldeessa Guyyoo, raaboma ka dhalatee ciiftuu wa wal mormani lubi isaani kun, abbaan gadaa jaha (6), ka Jaldeessa kana caaluu, Jiloo Kuloo jedhanii Karrayyuu, Nuuraa Jaldeessaa jedhanii Digaluu, Jaldeessi Guyyoo Dabbasaa Qarcabduu, amma duuba warra kanaani sunsumaa, jara kanatti duuba wal dhabe. Wannii innii gula wal dhabe, kami ciisee taphatuu “abboo callii qaroo hin dhalataa dubbii ardha baratte miti.” “Qaroomaanuu hin dhalannee” waliin jedhe. “Qaroo hin dhalatee” jedhe. “Isii yo dhalatee, lafatti dubbii barataa?” irratti wal dhabi warra kanaa tan gula dhufe. Fula dhalatte cufaan wal ba’ee, wal dadhabe. “Kaan qaroon hin dhalataa” jedhaa, “kaan lafatti dubbii barataa,” jedha. “Yoo lafatti dubbii barataa jedhanii, gadaa abbaa aganaa lafa jiraa, aabboo ebeluu ma wa nuu hin dubbannee?” Jedha. “Gadaa abbaa aganaa lafa jiraa akaakuu ebeluun kun ma wa nuu hin dubbannee?” Jedha. “Qaroon hin dhalata la jettee, isii la dhalatee, dabbaallittiin tante tun, maa wa nuu hin dubbannee?” Jedha. Wal dhabi jara armaa gula dhufe, dhawa dadhabe, dhibaayyuu dadhabe, jila dadhabe, aadaa dadhabe, oma tolfatu cufaa dhabe, raagaan wal dhaqe duuba. “Ani abbaa gadaatii, gadaa horadhee, gadaa tana ittillee hin dhalanne, itti galee, gadaa itti galee obbaafachuu dadhabe, maqaa amaatti na bira jiraa” jedhee raaga dhaqe. “Nama akkana si dhibuu kana ufirraa obbaasii” jedhee raagi kaani wa itti tolchee, Jaldeessa kaanti wa tolche. Duri yo Jaldeessi aadaa lallabuu namuu itti gadi hin ba’uu, yo Jaldeessi “aadaa ka’aa, jila akkanaa tolchinaa jila, akkanaa tolchinaa ka’aa” jedhuu itti gadi hin ba’ani “korma qallaa ka’aa” jedhuu itti gadi hin ba’ani, “korbeessa qalla ka’aa” jedhuu itti gadi hin ba’ani, aadaa cufaa dhabe, ufumaa gadi deebi’ee taa’ee dheeduma godaane, amma tolcha kaani itti kennetti, yoo galtee lallabii jedhee hin lallabe. Jiloo Kuloo kanaa, Gobbaa Cophii jedhani kanaa, Achee Tuuchee jedhani kanaa, jari kun sadeenuu adulaa. Jaldeessi raaga dhaqee kun, maltuu duulaa jaarsa Soma dhiiraa 190 cabse kana dhaqe. Warri kaan sadeeni warra kanatti galee, warri kun yoo galuu, Jiloo Kuloo kuni abbaa irra galee Kuloo Finiinaa jaarsi kun sangaa qaleefi gadiin ba’ee, “ati Jaldeessatti gamtaa jedhanii, wannii aadaa tana dadhabdhanii, aadaan amma isan irratti baddeef jaldeessaa fi si ka wal hin beennee, isan sunsumaa, sunsumi itti gaman, sunsuma nama gabaabsaa, Jaldeessatti hin gamini” jedhe jedhan. “Isan gogeessa, gogeessi itti gaman gogeessa nama hanqisaa, gogeessatti hin gamini” jedhe jedhan. Jennaan, “isii aabboo amma yoo falamaan ilmee bineensaa takka dhuftee innii Goonaa qoree, aniin Sabboo hin qoruu ifumaa taa’a,” jennaan “ufumaa taa’ii ilaali” jedhe jedhan. “Fulaa *salleessi mataa bokkuu* kun galalcha sadeen na biratti dabsuu ana gaafa jiruu Jilootti wa nuu didaa, amma gaafa Jiloon hin jirre eenti wa nuu didaa, galalchi sadeen naan jedhutti irra jiraa” jedhe jedhan. Jaarsi kaani jaartiin, “Jiloon la du’ee jibbaadhuu” jedhe ol deebi’e. Farda ufii faatee galee,

gallaan yaa'a lallabe. Yaa'i kaani hin ka'ee, hin duulee, gaafa innii duulee kaani, gaafa armaa gannaaleen buutee, Gannaaleen qabatee Saddeetiin bu'ee "gaafa galtee Argannee galii innii eger immoo siin mormaa, gaafa innii siin mormee ta innii siin morme sun gula gali." InniiJalloon buunaa jedhaa, ka jallaan ormaa muree gubbaa tataa'uu, namitolchee kaani atin ammo Arganne" jedhi. "Ati Arganne bu'uu jedhe, innii Jalloon bu'uu jedhaa, ishii jedhii gula deemi ka jallaan ormaa muree gubba tataa'u." "Gaafa gala, yo *dannaba* fuutee, yo Maanaan labdee, Maansaan dhaxxee, dannaba fuuteetin galtee Saddeeti gallaa jedhii, innii Cirratteen galla jedhaa, eeyee jedhii gula galii ka bu'aan Cirracha itti fakkaattuti." Akka sun duulee, akka sun galee, Maansaan dhaqee, Maanaan labee, nyaapha kaani obbaasee dannaba kaan fuudhe gale. Sirraa nyaapha loluu, Waacillee haa fuudhuu, dannabuma fuudhuu duule ofi irraa gale. Galee jennaan, "karaa saddeetii nu galchaa," jennaan "karaa Jalloo gallaa jedhee, karaa Cirrattee gallaa" jedhe. "Onanaa argannee jennaan diddani, ardha tana jennaan diddani, beena ka isan qabattan anu gulaa galee" jedheetiini karaa Cirrattee kaanti gale. Cirrattee tanatti dhaabee, duuba galaana taakisiisee, kaasuu dide dannaba kaan, kaasuu dide. "Dannaba kaasi" jechaa, dhaqanii jechaa dhaqanii, "kaati hin geenne jedhaa, bu'aan hin dhumnee" jedhaa, "kaasi" jechaa dhaqanii, "bu'aan hin dhumnee hin kaasuu" jedhee taffeeffate jedhan. Bu'aa taanti amma dhufee wanni maqaa Arsii jedhanii hin hamnee Mandooti hin hamnee, Sikkootti hin hamnee, Baaletti hin hamnee Gurraa maq-eennuun, maqaa Arsii ka muumme hin qabnee kaani tokko hin hamnee, cufaa karaa karaan reebuu taan dhufte jedhan. Waluu hin beettuu, waluu hin garree, reebuun tuni karaa lamaan dhufte jedhan. Reebu karaa tokkoo abbaan "Qaraarsaa Duuloo" jedhan, gurraacha guddaa jedhan. Reebu karaa tokkoo abbaan "Betera Karree" jedhaan, Beteri Karree kunii geefarraa agana, gabaabaa mataa aga mana kanaa jedhan. Hidha surreen hidhataa jedhan, udduun irraa buuti. Awwaara wal argee jedhan duuba "isii jarana awwarti sun maani?" "Awwarti sun maani?" Namuu awwaara argee awwaara taan wal gaafataa "garami yaati?" Gara hori faana *dannabaa* yaatii, yo faana *dannabaa* yaatuu malaa bu'aa, taalleen bu'a. Amma nama walitti ergee wal gaafate "ati maan?" "Iyya reeba." "Iyya tee abbaan eenu?" "Qaraarsaa Duuloo." "Te hoo? Betera Karree." "La gara wal barrannee, wal fa rifannaa akkanumatti yaa'a lama," walitti dhufee Betera Karree laalaa, Qaraarsaa Duuloo itti dhufee duuba. "Isii *Qaraarsaa Duuloo* mee?" Hin dhaga'ee malee takkaa hin garree "Beteri karree mee?" "Beteri karree kanaa" yo innii gadi ba'ee gumii taan keessaa orbobbiisummaan mataa bokkuu, ka akkanaa gadi hin bane. "Waan dhageennaan gurra guddoo, waan agarraan ilatti muyoo Beteri Karree kun diinaan na ijjeese" jedhe jedhan, *Qaraarsaa Duuloo* kaan innii ufi gurraacha gudda. "Waan

dhageennaan gurratti guddoo, waan agarraan ilatti muyoo yo jettee muyummaa fi guddinnii keenna ammallee nu dura jiraa beenii” jedhe jedhan, Beteri Karree diqqaan kaan. Warra kaan Arbi dura dhufetti reebu taan, Warseessi dura dhufetti, Gafarsi dura dhufetti, geettee bofaa buutiilleen dura dhufte jedhan. Duula dhufee kaan akkana garta, mataan gama tokkoo duuluu ta’a, gama suni maree ka jiddu tana nama akkana walitti ejjuu akkanaan dhufee jedhan, wanni bineensi kun cuftummaan dura yaa’uf. Guyyaa amma isiin bori *irba* kaachiftuu, adulaa ja’aan taan nama tokko keessaa *Waata Gannaaleetti* ergee, “beenii *Waata Gannaaleetiinbaalguda* nuu fuudhii” jedhe jedhan. Nami duri himana kanaan isa kaase kaani, “ati sarbaa madooftaa, yoo eger farda yaabbaattaa faanoo gubbaa buuteetiin jette sarbaa dudduubaan si waraanani, nagaan galtaa beenii” jedhe jedhan. Guyyaa isiin *irba* kaaciftuu sisiin, innii qaraa guyya inuma beeka eegumatti jira bineensa dhufee “badi biyyaa maan tuni? Jechuma jedhani bineensa alaa kun wanniin udaan adii, wanni guddaan kaani, geedaalloon, qeeramsii, homa hin hamnee cufti ya dura dhufe, bineensi ala bushaa’aan kuni omaa hin amnee, amma *irbi* la kaatee “been *Waata Gannaaleetti baalguda* nu fuudhii” jedhe nama tokkocha erge jedhan. Yo isiin xarii jettee, farda ufi kaan la yaabbaatee, la kooraa seenee, mataan duula irra armaa gadi deebi’utti, ka duula akkana fudhatee mirgaa bitaa yaa’ee amma akkana itti gadi deebu’uu Jaldeessa sarbaa waraane jedhan eboo saamaatiin. Kun hin ba’ee, duuli isaa ardha akkanaan badee, gaafa duuli kun galee nadheen duula kana abbootiin duula kanatti irraa citte ilma badaa itti *irban* jedhan. Ta amma duuba Boorani yo wa dhaatuu “*Gala abbaa dubraa haatee Nuuraa Jaldeessaa bade, Jaldeessi Maanaan labee JilooKuloo badee, Machiin Kuloo Finiinaa bu’a Cirratte bade, itti gobbite Gobbaa Cophii bade, bu’aan Achee dhawatte ,Achee Tuuchee bade*” akkana geeraranitti kanaa Jaldeessa eegeen isaa akkana cinna taatee waraanaan cite.

When Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa was in the *raaba* set, people opposed him. Of the six *adulaa* in his *luba*, there were two who were stronger than Jaldeessa: Jiloo Kuloo of the Karrayyuu clan and Nuuraa Jaldeessaa of the Digaluu clan. Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa belonged to the Qarcabduu clan. They were *sunsuma*⁷³, but they fought with each other.

The reason they opposed him was because in the past, before they began to argue, they had a conversation that went like this. One person said, “Shut up. Cleverness is due to nature. People cannot learn how to argue. Cleverness is due to nature.” Another said, “No, cleverness is something you start learning when you are born.” This argument became the seed for their conflict. In every place

⁷³ Belonging to clans that mutually respect each other

there was Boorana, people stood against each other once they started arguing about this question. Some said that cleverness was natural, some said that people learned how to talk from others from the time of birth and became clever. Against the opinion that cleverness was learned, people retorted, “If people learn how to talk starting from birth and become clever, then why is it that no matter how many leaders come and go, the elderly never talk?” To that, others responded, “If cleverness is due to nature, then why can your son in the daballee set not talk?” These arguments are what started them fighting with each other⁷⁴.

The dhawaa and dhibaayyuu rituals couldn't be conducted, people didn't follow the customs, and Jaldeessa could get nothing done, so he went to the raaga. He consulted with the raaga, saying, “I am the leader of the gadaa, but I wasn't born into the luba I am in. I was placed into my set through human intervention⁷⁵. I feel it will be difficult to complete my *gadaa*. I feel my name may be tarnished afterwards.” The raaga said, “Chase them off by killing those who are in your way” and gave Jaldeessa some magic.

When Jaldeessa tried to move things forward in accordance with custom, the people did not come. He conducted the rituals in accordance with custom, said he would do things in that way and did so, but the people did not come. Even when he said he would sacrifice a bull, they did not come. Even when he said he would sacrifice a male goat, they did not come. He was unable to perform any of the customs. He could do nothing but follow his livestock. The raaga gave him a magical token and told him to choose *adulaa* when he returned.

Jiloo Kuloo, Gobbaa Cophii, and Achee Tuuchee were the *adulaa* in Jaldeessa's luba. Jaldeessa went to the raaga, but one time, these three men went to see an elderly strong man who was clever and had folded the spears of 190 enemies⁷⁶. On the way home, Jiloo Kuloo stopped by his father's house. His father's name was Kuloo Finiinaa, and Kuloo slaughtered a bull from Jiloo and Jiloo entered his house. Jiloo's father said to him, “You seem to be opposing Jaldeessa, but if you do that, our customers will disappear. Jaldeessa and you have a *sunsuma* connection. If *sunsuma* fight amongst themselves, their relationships will become more shallow. So don't oppose Jaldeessa. You and Jaldeessa are the same *gogeessa*. If people in the same *gogeessa* oppose each other, relationships will become shallower so don't oppose him.” Jiloo said, “If there was a problem

⁷⁴Jaldeessa was not born to the luba he belonged to when he was leader of the gadaa and this was unorthodox, and it is thought that the simple argument developed into the more severe confrontation.

⁷⁵ See the text 1.

⁷⁶ Meaning that he was a strong man who had killed 190 enemies in his life.

where someone had to kill some wild animals, and he held a gathering of the Goonaa moeity, would I not be able to hold a meeting of the Sabbo moeity?⁷⁷” His father answered, “Yes. Shut up and watch.” Jiloo said, “That guy with the tiny body and massive head⁷⁸ doesn’t treat the three clans of the Sabbo fairly. As long as I’m alive, I will try to stop that. Even if I die, it would be better if people at least said that I stood against that.” Jiloo’s father told his wife that Jiloo had died⁷⁹, and left. Jiloo mounted his horse and returned to find that the yaa’a village had been established. The yaa’avillage was established, and the decision was made to go fight. The raaga said to Jaldeessa, “If you go to fight, cross the river from Gannaalee, go into Gannaalee and towards the Saddeetii lands, and then return through Argannee. The people of the yaa’a will probably be against you. If they go against you, do what they say. They will say you should go from Jalloo, but if you do so, the enemy will probably kill the Boorana and stand upon the dead.” This was the raaga’s magic.⁸⁰ “However,” the raaga said. “Tell them you will go to Argannee. If you say that, the group will surely say you should go from Jalloo. Offer no resistance, and follow them bravely. People will surely die there. Plunder some livestock and go to Maanaa, then say that you will return on the Saddeetii road. If you say that, they will surely say you should take the Cirrattee road. Do not oppose them, but follow them. The enemy will likely pour down upon you in strength.”

Jaldeessa did as the raaga told him. They went to Maanaa, killed the enemy, and plundered livestock. Jaldeessa said that they should return in the direction of Waacille When it was time to return after plundering the livestock, Jaldeessa said they should return from Sadeetii and the group said they would return on the Cirrattee road in Jalloo. When Jaldeessa said they should go from Argannee, the luba refused – they opposed everything Jaldeessa said. Jaldeessa said, “Let’s do it your way” and they returned by the Cirrattee road. They stopped at Cirrattee. He stopped the people from crossing the river. He stopped the army that was leading the plundered livestock. When the people tried to move the army, Jaldeessa said, “Not yet. The enemy will not come to take back the livestock,” he said⁸¹. They swarmed over the area like fleas. That was when the enemy came to take back their livestock. Many of the Arsii enemy came from Mandoo. Many came from Sikkoo. Many

⁷⁷ Jaldeessa was affiliated with the Goona moeity, and Jiloo was affiliated with the Sabbo. These two moeities are locked in latent rivalry with each other.

⁷⁸ Meaning of Jaldeessa.

⁷⁹ At this point, Jiloo’s father has sensed the death of Jiloo.

⁸⁰ The *raaga* is saying that Jaldeessa should use the fact that the people of the luba will refuse his directions against them, and to deliver the luba to the enemy to be defeated. During the war council, Jaldeessa was to make suggestions as to the route they would take, where they would fight, and where they would camp, and he was to suggest only safe routes and places. Since the luba would oppose those suggestions, they would automatically choose dangerous routes and places to do battle with the enemy. In this way, Jaldeessa could adeptly guide the people of the luba in a dangerous direction, and in the end, the luba was completely wiped out by the enemy

⁸¹ See previous footnote 1.

also came from Baale. An uncountable number of Arsii came, leaving none behind, all coming from different roads – so many even the Arsii themselves didn't know each other. Two groups of people came from two roads. One group was led by a man named Qaraarsaa Duuloo⁸², and Qaraarsaa was big and black. The other group was led by a man named Betera Karee⁸³ and he was verysmall and slim with a large head. He wrapped a head turban (*surree*) around his body. If he didn't use that, his trousers would have fallen down. The dust danced up into the air as the Arsii arrived. The Arsii asked each other, "What is this smoke?" "Where are they going? They seem to be following livestock thieves. They are following in the enemy footprints." Each army was going to take back their livestock. The Arsii each sent people to ask the other questions. "What are you doing?" "We are going to take back our livestock." "Who is leading you?" "Qaraarsaa Duuloo. What about you?" "Betera Karee." They confirmed the details with each other, and while both were worried about their battle lines, the two armies became one.

Betera Karee saw the army of Qaraarsaa Duuloo coming and asked, "Where is Qaraarsaa Duuloo?" Qaraarsaa Duuloo also said, "I have heard stories, but have never seen him. Which one is Betera Karee?" "That's Betera Karee" When Betera Karee got near, he emerged from a large group of people with the thin body of a spider and a large head. Qaraarsaa said, "From what I heard, I thought Betera was a large man, but seeing him in real life I see he is a small man. The enemy will completely destroy us." Qaraarsaa Duuloo was a big, black man. Betera said, "There is a big difference between what I heard and what I see is different, but who is big and who is small is decided from behind." An elephant approached the Arsii. Rhinoceros and buffalo and big snakes and small snakes all approached. The wild animals seemed to surround the Arsii army.

Jaldeessa waited for the Arsii to arrive the next day, and told a man to go to Waata village in Gannaalee and get an ostrich feather. The raaga had said to Jaldeessa, "You will have injuries on the lower leg. You will be stabbed by the enemy when you put your feet in the stirrups of your horse to mount it. You will be stabbed in the calf, but you will come home alive." Jaldeessa also knew the day that the enemy would come running in. He waited for that day. The Boorana people cried, "Ah! Even the animals have joined the Arsii. What does this mean?" The hyenas and lions and leopards and foxes and all the other animals ran along before the Arsii. Then the battle began. Before the battle began, Jaldeessa had sent one man to get an ostrich feather from Waata village in

⁸²An Arsii hero.

⁸³An Arsii hero.

Gannaalee⁸⁴. When the battle began, Jaldeessa mounted his own horse. Jaldeessa was wounded in the calf by a small spear that was thrown but he returned home. The troop was completely destroyed. The women lost their husbands. The people married the unmarried young men to those women. The Boorana sing of this battle in the following way. “The fathers of children in the daballee set attacked the enemy, and Nuuraa Jaldeessaa died. Jaldeessa went through the Maana lands and Jiloo Kuloo died. The strong son of Kuloo Finiinaa died in Cirratte. Many enemy came, and Gobbaa Cophii died, and the ground around the enemy became solid white⁸⁵, and Achee Tuuchee died (*gala abbaa dubraa haate, Nuuraa Jaldeessaa bade, Jaldeessi Maanaan labee Jiloo Kuloo bade, machiin Kuloo Finiinaa bu’aa Cirrattee bade, itti gobbite Gobbaa Cophii bade, bu’aan Achee dhawattee Achee Tuuchee bade*⁸⁶.) ” In this way, Jaldeessa’s entire *gadaa* was annihilated. (Chikage Oba-Smidt 2016)

Several *gadaa* officials who have strong influence within the society were against Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa during any decision-making process. Today’s Boorana elders suggest that the conflict with the Arsi was caused by this inner conflict. They narrated that such an inner conflict produced several mistakes in the battle. That was the reason, why the Boorana lost the battle.

Based on two oral historiographies, I analysed that Jaldeessa Guyyoo Dabbasaa did not fulfill all the criteria for being an *abbaa gadaa*, and that is why the *gadaa* officials did not accept him as *abbaa gadaa*, thus the inner conflict happened. This example shows that belonging to one of legitimate lineages is more important for becoming *abbaa gadaa* than the other criteria.

Conclusion

It is widely underlined that the *gadaa* system is a democratic system. However, if one studies oral historiographies on *gadaa* of the Boorana, one can observe that there were struggles caused by contradictions between tendencies of heredity and public opinions, in other words between people who dominate political power and people who were against them. Many legitimate lineages dominated Boorana politics as far as people supported them. It had even happened that legitimate lineages continued to keep their power against the majority of public opinion.

⁸⁴The man was one of the few who was friends with Jaldeessa, so he was secretly sent away to safety.

⁸⁵The Boorana wear white costumes when they go to fight.

⁸⁶Many of the narrators refer to this *geerrarsa*.

The *gadaa* system itself does not yet fully realize a democratic society. I would like to suggest that the *gadaa* system is one of ways to realize democratic society as far as people would care to understand and use the system carefully.

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9. Roles of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) for Sustainable Development and Environment Protection: The Experiences of Gurawa, Tulo and Jarso Districts

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Abstract

This research was aimed at examining the general overview, structure, forms, significances and practices pertaining indigenous knowledge (IK) that surfaced the livelihoods of the community for sustainable development and environmental protection. The IK systems of the local community remain unstudied in the past for various reasons. Yet, emerging from society's deep-seated philosophies, IK with varying forms and functions provide the society with coping strategies in the process of making their life better. The investigations of such knowledge enable us to identify and exploit the statuesque, skills and experiences of the local community and ways of transferring IK systems. The community utilizes IK in preserving and protecting the environment together with its ecological niche. This enhances sustainable development especially at grassroots level. Besides, they cultivate their best practices and disseminate them among various social segments. This research employs descriptive and analytical model from top-down and bottom-up participatory approaches. It mainly focuses on practical skills, knowledge, work habits, experiences and attitudes of societies' secular and sacred practice in social and cultural settings. The research was conducted at the villagers and clan bases in Gurawa, Tulo and Jarso Districts as representative samples of the two Hararghe Zones. Research tools like interview, FGD, document analysis and photographing were used to collect the data and capture the incident. The Oromoo terms are written in Afaan Oromoo script. The major themes and social significances of the IK of the local community were critically examined in line with their cultural practices, living conditions and specific geographical areas. The exploitation of secular, sacred, folkloric and material genesis of IK assist in communicating ranges of themes on the indigenous community, their worldview, their secular and spiritual thoughts, social functions, folk-wisdom as the tradition has been kept intact to the present time before the advance of modern knowledge (MK) and harmonizing with MK to protect the environment and sustainable development in the current time.

Key terms: Indigenous knowledge (IK), environmental protection, secular and ritual practices. Sustainable development, Heera Gadaa

1. Background

The issues of maintaining sustainable development and environment protection by improving deforestation, land degradation, desertification and other natural and man-made phenomena and activities have been the major topics of debate and the high-ranking agenda especially in this 21st century. Scientists, religious institutions, secular and non-secular organizations, international and charity organizations and media agencies are designing schemes to prevent the environment together with its ecological niches to enhance environmental protection and sustainable development. To do so, they employ both traditional and modern approaches harmoniously to reduce the complex environmental problems. Unequivocally, various integrated practices of indigenous knowledge with respect to agricultural practices, water supply, soil and land management, wildlife preservation, forest protection and disease controlling mechanisms etc. could greatly improve society's livelihoods and bring about sustainable development.

Most current argument and researchers give more weight to modern technologies as means to bring about development and transformation through the preservation and protection of the environment. They usually leave behind the IK systems of communities or otherwise give less attention to them in spite of their core component and practical outcomes. Nonetheless, different forms of undiscovered IK of a given community play great roles in promoting and enduring developments. They are born in, grown with, and flourished in the framework of indigenous communities as reflections of their long year's cumulative life experiences. Hence, IK systems in general refer to "locally and naturally granted body of knowledge of the indigenous people" (Mapara, 2009:140). The concept 'indigenous people' used to character people with long-lasting knowledge systems. Such people can be groups, communities, societies or local clans can be identified in terms unique culture and particular geographical areas. Although such people are survived with various forms of enduring knowledge, their knowledge systems remain unrecognized get less public attention due to socio-political, economic and other factors.

IK can be perceived in broad sense covering all sorts of knowledge intellectual, technological, ecological, and medical, and others. They help the community "to attain firmed livelihood in their environment" (UNEP, 2008:6). They specially help the poor people in their day-to-day practices in their socio-cultural, economic and political lives. They assist them as the basis for local

decision-making in relation to agriculture, health, natural resource management and other activities (ARWB, 1998: i; UNEP, 2008:4). Unlike MK, IK is not difficult to utilize and promote as it does not seek more time, energy, cost, and specialized technical skilled manpower in utilizing. However, in spite of their greater significances in the day- to- day life of many communities, different forms of IK have been marginalized. As Ocholla (2007:3) stated, this condition has held back their development and integration.

Different communities in African have many well developed innate IK they seek for and rely upon to bring about sustainable developments from many angles and these can be categorized as their spiritual and secular knowledge (Workineh, 2005; Kas, 2008). In Ethiopia we have many of such knowledge possessed by different communities and local clans as long-lasting and diverse forms. Such people use IK systems as the base of devising making, coping strategies to overcome challenges, to protect the environment and to bring about sustainable developments. Many of such knowledge are found at grassroots level among various community and local clans in which there is less probability to study and describe them in such context.

The communities who are living in Hararghe are distinguished in terms of their cultural practices; wisely use of natural resources, the prevalence of mutual engagement and IK systems that affect their life publically. The existing IK systems of this society include occupational folklore, environmental protection, land management systems, traditional medicine, animal breeding system, disease prevention mechanisms and others. However, still thorough investigation has not been conducted by identifying different forms and their functions to promote and transfer these as the best practices.

A decade ago or more, some people of the area moved away and settled in various regions and localities of Western part of Oromia due to environmental change and drought expansion. Putting into use various indigenous, they evidently showed their best practices resulted in the quickest progress they have made. Along this line, this research was conducted to identify and describe the IK systems prevailing within Hararghe communities. Doing so attempts were made to present overall views, functions, social significances, themes, structures and others aspects of IK for environmental protection and exploitation IK for sustainable development which are the major themes to transform community of the area. There is also currently valid evidence observed from

the attentions given by the government to the exploitation of traditions and values systems in mobilizing the society towards various developmental activities for social transformations.

2. Statements of the Problem and Justifications

Sustainable agricultural systems and biodiversity protection through IK is one of the major themes that gained currency in the 1980s. These developments have been noticed together with macroeconomic reform, food security and income generation in response to the financial and ecological problems that have provoked imported high input modern agricultural practices like improved varieties of selected seeds, chemical fertilizers, weed killers and others. As Tesema Ta'a (2008:127-130) emphasized, in developing countries, sustainability evolved from a reassessment of the role of IK and practices in such sectors as agriculture, fisheries, natural resources management at the level of a small scale practices. Many other forms of traditional and customary practices assist to improve the livelihood of the people are often proved to be more sustainable than some imported MK systems.

The existence of IK on various aspects and forms are highly diverse. The prominent ones involve complex farming systems, the conservation of land and vegetation, the role of traditional medicine, IK on farming and agricultural practices and ritual centers. Each of them contributes towards environmental protection, land management systems, disease controlling mechanisms etc. Nonetheless, thorough investigations have not been conducted in these areas. Even many prevailing studies seem to focus on modern techniques of agricultural systems and environmental protection scheme without giving due credibility to the enduring IK of the society. Apparently, the use of local farming knowledge and other IK practices have the advantage of improving interactions between man, the land and the environment to promote biodiversity, preservation of indigenous practices for further maintaining and enhancing sustainable developments. As an ultimate goal, under this condition, the environment becomes the most suitable place for all beings.

Contemporary studies on various methods of IK systems are related to agriculture and environment in Oromia in general and Hararge region in particular. This imply that there are often scarce and inadequate scientific works in the area. The written accounts on Oromoo IK systems are commonly found to be fragmented, misrepresented and misinterpreted. Hence, they do not properly describe the socio-cultural and socio-economic issues attached to and exemplified through knowledge

systems of various community and local clans. In Ethiopian studies, there seems to be a lack of emphasis on IK systems with inadequate scientific documentation on occupational folklore, environmental protection mechanisms, land use and management systems, traditional medicine, tradition animal breeding system and the utilization of folkloric wisdoms.

In relation to aspects of IK with regard to agricultural practices, in sub-Saharan Africa, Eicher and John (1990:21) states that several experiments have been conducted to refine fertilizer dosages to come up with ways of minimizing the frequency and amount of fertilizer in use while maximizing outputs. The main problem facing farmers is, however, the unavailability of chemical fertilizers and above all inappropriate pricing policies. [They have complained that they get the highest crop yield only for one or two harvest years by using chemical fertilizers and they use selected seeds every year to obtain a sufficient harvest. With each passing year, farmers find themselves pushed to the threshold of bankruptcy by the ever-rising cost of chemical fertilizers. In fact, the high cost of modern farm management practices has caused farmers in many parts of Oromia to state *lafti gubboo barte* meaning “the land has also started to demand chemical fertilizers as bribes” to be productive. This is an analogous to the government bureaucrats of the courts who are accustomed to taking bribes from peasants in order to make a ruling on certain cases. Thus, owing to the ever-rising cost of chemical fertilizers, people have come to regard ‘traditional farming’ as cheaper and more sustainable than ‘modern farming’. According to Ben-Dror (2008:127), food products from traditional farming systems are tastier and healthier than food items produced with the use of chemical fertilizers and this indicates the need for prioritizing IK.

The dissemination and widely prevalent of MK systems through globalization in the developing world have far largely made the IK systems to be ignored and marginalized otherwise. However, an increasing number of recent studies in agricultural research and development have affirmed the effectiveness of the IK systems in achieving sustainable development (Eicher and Staaz, 1990:44; and Tesfahun, 2004:25-29). Accordingly, in contrasting to the conventional wisdom of agricultural extensionists, the recent studies advocate the indigenous technical and institutional change as the desirable model for more sustainable development.

Concurrently, the other aspects of IK are related to how the indigenous traditional religion, ritual centers and shrines in Hararghe contributed to the preservation of natural vegetation. According to

the Oromoo environmental ethics-Oromoo echo-theology, traditional ritual places are considered as holy center and thus reserved by the local people. This has something to do with preservation of natural environment for sustainable development. Likewise, the traditional medicine collected from local herbs has been contributing as a traditional laboratory that resulted in the existence and conservation of various plant varieties. This issue is also an important theme needs for further identification and investigation in Hararghe regions. Regarding various forms of IK system, there are hardly any works so far conducted. Therefore, there is a need for full-fledged research work in Ethiopia in general and in Hararghe area in particular on the area of IK.

Therefore, in this study attempts were made to shade light on one of the least studied themes in Hararghe, IK, which has multifaceted advantages when integrated with MK systems to realize environmental protection and sustainable development. In this research, theoretical and practical aspects of IK, roles and functions IK were analyzed to uncover the potentially valuable IK preserved by the society as a long-lasting knowledge and wisdom. In relation this, the general objective of the research was to investigate the overview of the various forms of IK that surfaced the livelihoods of the community of the study area for environmental protection and to ensure sustainable development. The specific objectives are:

- to identify different forms of IK systems significant in the day to day life of the community.
- to describe the skills, knowledge, work habits and attitudes of the community towards IK in the realistic social settings.
- to explore the systems that the community use to utilize IK in maintaining sustainable development and environmental protection.

3. Theoretical Consideration

A theoretical framework for the study of IK systems, their assessments and implementation could be achieved from the perspective of local participation for global understanding and implementation that helps to construct a body of IK of a society and local communities. In view of this, both the top-down and bottom-up participatory research approach were used as the model for the analysis of various forms of IK. Hassan (2008:11-12) indicated that this approach helps to integrate local actions for global understanding. He also briefly summarized how the participatory research model is integrated with the two models. He asserted, “Participatory research and development is rooted in

the shift in theories from modernization theory associated with top-down technological transfer, to neo-populist theory that advocates for local people participation, which uses bottom-up approaches in research and development”.

Indeed, under normal condition both traditional and modern approaches are complementary or one enhances the other. That is why the quotation stresses the need to integrating the IK systems and various forms of practices of indigenous people with standard scientific methods for further understanding of the undiscovered IK. In this view, the assumption behind is the global issues on environmental protection and sustainable development requires the collaborative efforts of local communities which perhaps constituents of the whole and unified knowledge that can bring about global awareness and development. Therefore, this approach emphasizes that the technological innovation is nothing to do with society’s transformation without making attractive their IK systems.

Participatory research model according to AC, Macaulay and others (1998:4) emerged in 1960’s and 70’s as a strategy with an intention to include the culture context of the indigenous people in the process of movement for justices that has long practicing in international development settings. One of the major factors for the development of this model was that traditional knowledge has been used inappropriately, out of context, or for financial or professional profit without obvious benefit to the community. Hence, the proponents of bottom-up or local participation approaches present convincing arguments that local people have accumulated wealth of knowledge based on their long-term experiences which complement scientific knowledge in environmental conservation to bring about sustainable development (Hassan, 2008 :12). Contemporarily, it is understandable that transformation of a nation demands on the roles and practices of indigenous people and local communities for the conservation of natural environment. In the case, participatory research model of integrated schemes of top-down and bottom-up is highly relevant for the analysis of various roles of the indigenous knowledge of the community. Therefore, this model is highly helpful to investigate and document the IK systems of people of various localities.

4. Methodological Issues

It is supposed that different social groups successfully live through utilizing and practicing various forms of IK systems and the related skillful material arts. Based on this reality, the subject of the

research took into considerations different stakeholders. These include literate and non-literate peoples, religious and community leaders, leaders in traditional institutions, traditional ritual performers and singers, traditional medicine compressors etc. A meeting and sessions were held with these groups of people and their experiences were shared through elicitation, demonstration, narration, and description about the existing IK. They also explained essences of IK systems of the society and local community as they were and as they are prevailing currently.

The referred groups were accessed based on the recommendations obtained from contact persons on such assumptions like their expertise on knowledge and cultural traditions of the communities, the material or spiritual folklore they actively engage and based on their regular work habits. The communities have been relied up on such features to distinguish themselves as knowledgeable expert in an area of IK systems and ways of promoting them. Since the owner of IK engaging in various practices of such knowledge are limited in number, available cultural experts among the community regardless of their sex, age, social status and education background were considered as source of the data. Besides governmental institutions like municipality, cultural and tourism bureau, education bureau, planning office and public centers like museum, library, archivals and others service sectors were visited. They all assisted to understand the overall practices of IK, people's awareness of various forms of IK and ways of preserving and utilizing them for sustainable development and environmental protection.

To identify, describe, analyze and document various forms of IK systems as they prevailed or as are prevailing in the current socio-cultural settings of the community understudy, descriptive research approach was employed. Both qualitative and quantitative data can be manipulated through this approach to research. The exploring of IK creation practices usually employs qualitative research approach to describe and interpret the IK practices in the social and institutional settings (ECIS, 2010:12). As the writer pointed, researchers in the area of humanities use descriptive approach not merely as the description of events. They also rely on it as fundamental means to research enterprise and to contribute a great deal toward peoples understanding of the shape and nature of the society. It provides facts about the way things are and can provoke actions. A good description can also provoke the 'why' of a research beyond descriptive frontier and extends to explanation. Thus, most data tools would provide good descriptive account on basic IK, their structures and their functions in various

socio-cultural settings. Quantitative research method may also be used in the research process to establish objective knowledge in relation to the view and value of the respondents.

Since relevant primary and secondary sources of data have great importance to the subject under the study, triangulation or mixed method of data gathering tools was employed. Spratt et al (2004:6) stated “with in a single research paradigm, a researcher can be more effective by using triangulation or mixed research methods”. To this effect, observation, interview, FGD, document analysis and photographing were used to obtain qualitative data for the research. These tools extensively employed in the collection of pertinent sources on IK systems as highly embedded within and preserved by the society for further analysis and documentation.

The extensive and series visits made to the society and local communities in Eastern and Western Hararge Zones of the study districts enhanced the familiarity and exchange view with various stake holders and actors on IK at their working places and natural environments. The triangulations helped to understand the practical aspects of IK systems, their present and past importance and how the communities maintain them and their feelings on the current state of various forms of IK systems. Knowledgeable informants, elders and other target groups recognized as major actors provided input on IN practices as they support their livelihood, prevent disease, for environmental protection, to nurture their physical and spiritual needs and to enhance sustainable developments.

Information obtained from primary and oral sources were cross-checked with information from secondary sources such as document analysis and literature review. Document analysis were used to interpret meanings and thoughts that incorporate contents and communicative events. In these case different traditional practices, occupational folklore, IK related documents themes were assessed. Each of them may involve various practices and knowledge of the indigenous community to establish or disprove the evidence already at hand from primary sources and literature review. Given many limitations of oral sources which are laden with some kinds of distortions, baffling and overlapping tendencies in explaining different issues, strictly controlled manner was undergone cross-checking with information from primary and secondary sources. In supplementing document analysis, photographing and field note were used. Photographing was used as a vehicle of describing the realistic view of the respondents, the scenery of the area and practical experiences of the indigenous society and local community on the spot while the community put into practice various forms of IK

systems. Field note was used to jot down key issue during data collection to capture informal necessary incidents.

Descriptive data were generated both qualitative and quantitative information. Thus, using descriptive approach, the “what?” aspect of IK as extended to the “why?” aspect were used for further explaining the socio-cultural issues and living conditions of the community understudy. The same data were critically analyzed in relation to the socio-cultural settings of the community in question to answer the ‘why?’ of IK in the immediate social-cultural life of the community.

5. Data Presentations and Discussions

5.1. Overview

Under this title, brief overall issues and status of IK of the study area could be explained mainly by elaborating and exemplifying views of the people on IK of the research sites. Apparently, the prevailing IK among the community and the state of their practices are highlighted focusing on their functions, forms, nature, wisdom and experiences of the community. Accordingly, there are six major categorizes of IK identified in the study area. However, they are highly fragmented and even some of them are replaced by the so called MN as in *daagaa* and *sulula*. These major categories include (a) IK on forest and management (b) IK on source of medicine, (c) IK on increasing productivity, (d) IK on environmental protection, (e) IK related to ritual or sacred practices, (f) IK or wisdom on verbal arts. Each form of IK incorporates different specific knowledge and skills in which the members of the community of the study area put into use unconsciously or consciously. They help them to win their lives, to enhance sustainability and to protect the environment from further degradation. Not having mutual exclusive manner, each forms in the categories have also their own, themes, functions, subcategories and distinguishing features in enhancing sustainable development and environmental preservation.

IK on forest and land management is specifically related to animal raring on small plot of land in the absence of ample grass, wise use of land through crop diversification, tracing as well as intercropping. IK on increasing productivity is exemplified by waste product management and exhaustive utilization of animal manure, rotten lives and other decayed matters to make fertilizer through traditional compost preparation. This IK is more realizable and fruitful than the imported or

manufactured fertilizers. The *Qurii* (water collected in the form of ponds) for irrigating plants during dry seasons is also another form. Such practices entered the social life as coping strategy enabling the people to survive in dry climate or season resulted from either the prolonged rain drop or the naturally semi-arid and arid areas as parts of people's living style and their adaptive strategies. Different cases on people of the study area also show that the people curiously and carefully use both decay and tradition compost fertilizer justifying that the crop could be tests well and more productive than when they use modern fertilizer.

The IK related to ritual or sacred practices on the Pan *Iituu* and *Humbaanaa* annual *Gadaa* power exchanging ritual which took place at *Odaa Bultum* in the last *Gadaa* cycle and from exploiting the experiences of the community's on oral narratives of principles related to the environmental protection. The proclamation and lessons on the stated ritual is highly related with forest and environmental preservation. For example *Gadaa* ritual practices show that people of the study area widely value the tradition and preserve many types of big trees for their sacredness, place of *Gumii* deliberation and reconciliation. It is believed that part of these natural plants is considered a houseful to human being, life-giving shade for birds and animals, source of edible fruit for human being and specious of birds and place of tranquility that gives special sense to life.

As the councilor of *Abbaa Gadaa* at *Odaa Bultum* explained in connection to *Baallii* (*Gadaa* Power Transferring Ceremony), since the revitalization of *Gadaa* and its ritual practice started for the last three *Gadaa* Cycles, the attitudes of members of the communities have been drastically changed towards environment protections. Thus, together with the *Baallii* ritual takes place per *Gadaa* cycle at *Odaa Bultum*, the proclamation and dissemination of *Heera Gadaa* (*Gadaa* Constitution) and *Heera Bosonaa* (unwritten constitution to protect forest from the perspective theological ethics to protect and preserve the environment. Of the 20 Major *Heera Gadaa* which is part and parcel of Oromoo Indigenous Religion, four of them comprehensively articulates issues of the environment under the *Heera Bosoonaa*. These are *yakka malkaa lagaa* (the violation of norms of river basin), *yakka dirree tikaa* (the violation of norms of meadow) and *yakka fooyyessa dinagdee* (the violation of economic resurgence) (see title 'IK on Ritual and Sacred Practices').

Understanding the economic use of land, member of the community in the study area apply various IK on small farm lands and realize environmental protection in the meantime. On the other hand,

our informant Mume Ibrahim said the elders clearly articulate the manifestation of environmental and forest laws in their culture supported by elaborated *Heera Bosonaa* (unwritten constitution to protect forests). The laws get extended from religious life to secular practices as comprehensive unwritten constitution which has been sustained with the society for centuries. With regard to the management of land, member of the community developed various skills to protect their farm plots from erosion or running water through building terraces in sloppy areas. The construction of ditches and canals around farmer's plots of land significantly protected the washing away of land, fertile soil, or cultivated fields by flooding. Along these terraces, the community usually plants various species of grasses for lessening erosion.

Daaga and *ciphaa* are also two most slightly different but common mechanisms which are practices for dual purposes i.e. controlling soil erosion and increasing production. In case of *Daagaa*, the digging is involved but in *ciphaa*, stones and pieces of rocks are simply constructed to make cement with the soil that characterizes most of the cultivated fields in highlands. As most topography of the land in Hararghe is characterized by highlands and plateau, people wisely use terraces in sloppy areas in their farming fields. Such terraces are usually constructed at 10 feet distance from each other. Doing so, they usually plant different species of grasses to check erosion. They dig three meters long in depth to enhance the retention of water and moisture.

People of the area have the knowledge and skills of plant different grasses or trees around their cultivated fields which they think would lessen soil erosion. In fact such trees contribute to the prevention and control of the washing away of the soil by running water and it is more practical in sloppy areas mainly during rainy season. Related to this, people construct *ciphaa* using rocks or stones with the soil in the farm field. People of different areas are very skilled in using *ciphaa* to prevent the formation of gullies in their farmland after harvest during the dry season. There are also well experienced and skillful people in digging their plots with *dongoraa* (digging tool). As our informant, Sufiyan and Nejash explained, this exposes the soil underneath to sun heat for different reasons. First, they think it would help to expose the soil to the sun heat and activate free circulation and relaxation of the soil. Second, it would help the soil to retain water or moisture which benefits the crops

During spring season, the people keep sprinkling animal manure they collected during the whole year on the plots of land they made ready for cultivation to increase productivity. As soon as the crops bore three to four leaves, they dig round the plant. When the crops reached height to one's knee, they farm round the crop using *jabbii* named as *baybaqaa*. This is done to facilitate the percolation of water. They also seed out the weeds. In this way they increase their productivity. Furthermore, crop rotation is one of the strategies used by Hararghe Oromoo to lessen the washing away of fertile soil by erosion and flooding. For instance, after the cultivation of maize and sorghum on their fields, farmers prefer to plant wheat and barley which they think would make the soil firm as our informants Sufi and Najash Abdella explained.

5.2. Functions of IN and Strategies to Sustain them

The knowhow or cognitive aspect of IN practices in the study area is based on the issues of environmental preservation, land management, forest consecration, increasing of productivity, medication purpose, sacred or religious practices, and verbal arts. Each of these are closely related to the skills emerged from the long year established way of life of the people in the utilization of different forms of IN systems. This again determined in the setting of work habits and living style of the community in their specific geographical and cultural settings. They demonstrate their indigenous skills practically in their day to day survival and utilize different forms of IK systems under different conditions. Sometimes, one form of IK enhances and more integrated with other forms as elaborated in cases below.

Case 1- in preparing the traditional compost, the people first dig a wide excavated hole. Then, they collect waste products like animal dung, weeds, leaves, animal and plant left over and deposited in the holes. They keep storing it from time to time and enhance further fermentation or decayed for about three months or so. Soon, they take out the decayed traditional compost and make use of it by applying in their farming fields during sowing and crop germination seasons. In this process, they adequately demonstrate things from their critical observation and finally determine when and how to use it in a recycled manner.

Case 2-around the plot of land nearer to a single farmer owns, there are a number of different tree species. Among this, the local community preserves trees like Eucalyptus, *Ejersa*, *Heexoo*, *Waddeessaa* prior to others for their diverse alternative functions that may be seen in terms of considering parallel usage. For example, to prepare traditional compost, society prefers

Waddeessa tree than other plant species as the fertilizer from the leftover of this tree species gets most suitable for the intended purpose. Comparing *Waddeessa* tree with that of Eucalyptus tree, they argue that there are serious disadvantages of the latter. The crops sowed nearby a eucalyptus tree become extremely unproductive. Its roots also go deep to the surface and absorb ground water causing the surface drought. The leaves drop from the tree and its shadow also never substitutes its lack fertility and other disadvantages when compared to *waddeessa* tree.

Case 3- To avoid shortage of farm land and to increase productivity of their crops effect in the best and simplest way, the society applies the knowledge of using variety of crops in a single plot of land in one single season. For example, during the summer season right at the beginning of rain drop, they plough their land and sow potato. Soon after getting harvested potato, they use other varieties of crop like barley and wheat on the same farming land. Moreover, they use intercropping techniques such as the cultivation of *jimaa* and sorghum or maize and sorghum or maize and sugar beet or *ocholoonii* in single plot of land.

As observed in the above cases, the community adequately makes use various interconnected IK either to sustain the environment or increase productivity as parts of their day to day routine. People of each research districts consistently narrate that various forms of IK are highly imbedded within the culture and living situation of the local people. To keep the preservation and sustainability of IK, they forward different strategies. For example, to introduce the IK, an individual and group members work for their dissemination to the posterity. They also encourage the owner of IK so that the collaborative efforts of the cultural groups could get oriented, taught or trained by the experts for their current utilization. This can be realized through demonstration, exchanging of the products on IK, practically observing etc of various form of IK. Experience sharing has also been found important area of such strategies as observed through interaction done between different village communities. The forms of IK that the community possessed can be vary in their geographical setting, in terms of the skills of the people and vitality of IK. They also in their degree of importance for immediate consumption for sustainability, increasing productivity and in terms of promoting and transferring various form of IK as the best practices. Finally, they promote certain kinds of IK and value system of local people during farmer's forum, cultural celebration and festivals. These occasions enhance the means of empowering the community though sometimes they are influenced for political conception.

5.3. Common Forms of Identified IK System

The various forms of IK of the study area are presented by describing them in specific settings as parts and parcel of culture of the community. In doing so, the practices of the community are demonstrated supplementing by photographs taken during series of field work activities. As one form of IK in the lists is linked with or raised under one or more forms, the categories of IK are not mutual exclusive. What matters is to make the different forms of IK clear in line with the experience, skills and working habits of the community understudy focusing on the major themes related to the IK identified in each subtitles.

5.3.1. IK on Forest and Land Management

Since the people consider land as the immediate factors of productions and forests as means of surviving all living things, they have rich experiences and indigenous ways of protecting in the changing and continuity process. Regarding the use of forest, the society share their experiences in an interconnected manner whereby we can observed the consequences and outcomes. For instance, the people strongly believe that the disappearance of forests bring about desertification. Conversely, they accept that moisture of the whole days and dew point of the morning and night time are provided from the forests. Similarly, to overcome the problem of grazing grasses for their cattle, people make utilize the tracing edges located between traced lands called *daagaa* along agriculture fields. They also plant grasses and decorate the landscape using stone to protect soil slide as well as the washing away of soil by erosion.



Picture 1: Land Management Skills in Tullo

The society practices of indigenous soil conservation system seem to be transformed at different periods as indicated by different names. In the former time they used the terms *maagara bishaan hidhuu* in which people used to rely on the concept *ijaan qiyyisuu*, i.e, the art of close observation at the line of eroded land to estimate the line of affected area where they accurately establish tracing. However, later on, such experience in IK gradually replaced by concepts like *daagaa* and

sululaa. Both concepts are different from *maagara bishaan hidhuu* for applying technology oriented measuring tools to identify and establish the line of eroded land.

On the other hand, to add input to the land for final outcome of increasing production, people systematically use both natural and man-made fertilizers on small farm holdings. Informants underline the importance of their preference of manure than artificial fertilizers for various reasons. First, once the manure is used, it can enhance soil fertility for two or more years whereas the artificial fertilizer can only be used once. When manures are applied to the land only once they could get adequate production for the second harvesting seasons while this is not valid in case of artificial fertilizer. Again manure is economically more rewarding than the artificial fertilizer whose price is sky rocking. Manure also enriches soil fertility when compared to artificial fertilizers that corrupts the land even upon applying it on the most fertile land. Once the land gets adapted to man-made fertilizer, it cannot give fruitful production without using it persistently. Nonetheless, crops grown using manure can stay for a long period of time when compared to crops grown by fertilizers (Ibrahim, Sufiyan, Najash and Mohammed). Even food products obtained from the former case is said to be tastier than the latter.

Most informants underlined that the use of modern fertilizers could increase the crops physically and help them little to bear more seeds in the process of increasing their production. From their experience many farmers emphasized the greater benefit from applying more manure like animal dung than that of man-made fertilizer to get more production on small plots of lands. Accordingly, the production is greater when natural fertilizers are much more applied to the land and modern fertilizer is applied in small amount. Most informants, thus, agreed the greater the use of modern fertilizers is the more residual than the production expected. Thus, as option, they hold that the more manure and the less the artificial fertilizers they apply on the land is the more production they can obtain. Besides, the Oromoo of the study areas employed other forms of IK which directly or indirectly contributed to inputs to land or sustain the environment. Tracing is one of the best methods to keep the washing of fertile soil by running water especially in hillsides or sloppy area.



Picture 2. Erosion break and terraced field in Tullo and Jarso Districts respectively

5.3.2. IK on Source of Medicine

The Oromoo over Hararghe have preserved various species of trees for medicinal purposes. Such trees range from large species to smaller ones and are found in different climatic zones. Although some of them are found in cool highlands and warm tropical zones, majority of them grew in hot areas. Some of these plant species include: hargeessa, dhebecha, ejersa, baargamoo, hiddiibudee, rummaana, goraa, mi'eessaa, cabbii-tokkee, shukee, jinniraas, ceekaa, harrigoogee, biixxuu, xuuxxoo, baddeessaa, abasuuddaa, xiilloo, adaamii (cactus) and zanjabiil (Mume Ibrahim, Sufiyan, Najash, and Mohammed). Either the trunks, the leaves, the roots or almost part parts of these plants are used as means of composing traditional medicine. Either the extracts, lives, stems, roots, fruits, latex or the seeds of these plant species are important for medication purposes. For instance, leaves of eexoo pounded and used as medical purpose to avoid tape worms. The extract of xiilloo is used to pull out the thorn that hide in the skin causing itching. The latex from *adaamii* (cactus) mixed with red xaafii and offered to a mad dog cures through it through vomiting.

5.3.3. IK on Increasing Productivity

The IK on increasing productivity greatly vary according to experiences of the community in specific settings. Here only the common instances to majority of the people are demonstrated. To begin with, the community widely use intercropping as one of the most important methods that help them to increase production from the land, to diversify their diets, to improve daily consumption and to increase their income. Mostly cereal crops such as barley and wheat are inter-planted with maize, sorghum and other varieties of crops on *jimaa* fields. The people also believe that the dense roots of inter-cropped plants and cereals would firmly hold the soil much so that it would minimize erosion. Besides, the residuals of diverse crops get decomposed and increase soil fertility. Likewise, it is used for fattening cattle as well as protecting the run-off water in the *jimaa* fields. As identified through observation, since the people of the study area support their livelihood by planting *jimaa* on

small plots supplementing with fattening cattle, this could have its own role in preserving the forest standing still (informant Mume Ibrahim, Sufiyan, Najash and Mohammed).



Picture 2. Intercropping Practices in Tullo and Gurawa

Due to population growth and fragmentation of land, majority of people in Hararghe prefer to grow *jimaa* than other crops. Specially, most farmers in the highlands where rivers or underground water is often available depend on the cultivation of *jimaa*. This resulted in the decrease of production of food crops which are expected more from the highlands. The situation is aggravated when *jimaa* leaves grew longer and cannot allow intercropping. Therefore, with the income they can get from *jimaa*, many people likely to spend on food crops. To increase their income on small plots, they pull out water from river, springs, dug wells or collect water in the ponds during the summer rainfalls. This would help them alleviate shortage of water for *jimaa* fields which they usually use during the dry season.

Since getting much crop production requires vast agricultural lands to support one's families, the people of the study area usually devised means of becoming efficient on small plots of land. To do so they make *jimaa* their best choose. This plant requires water to ripe for sale every month. Thus, the people obliged to collect water in ponds and preserve for use during dry season as the most and commonly practiced methods. Its relevance also has entered in social lives to the extent that it become good criteria in the property lists asked by girl's parent upon marriage question of the couples. Thus, if the boy does not possess *qurii* (water collected in ponds), the girl's family refused to allow the marriage. On the other hand, people of the Hararghe in general and that of the study sites in particular are said to be the most hard-working ones. They work day and night to increase *jimaa* production digging its fields sometime using kerosene light during the night. This is because once *jimaa* field is properly planted it would bring income estimated to range between 5000-10,000 birr from 500 square meters land in an average. This illuminates that the Oromoo of the study area

innovated such efficient strategy which help some to own one or more vehicles of transportation and merchandise goods (informant Sufiyan, Najash and Mohammed).

The other important IN for increasing productivity is animal fattening. People of the study area keep separate enclosure for the kind of cattle they want to fatten so as to diversify source of income. They keep nearby home in small hat like ordinary shelter to prevent the long movement of cattle by providing food and water. Early in the morning they take grasses to the cattle in the field and back them to home to prevent them from extreme sun heat. Then, they roasted salts and grind it to feed them. This would enhance the appetite of the bulls for feeding and made them drink more water. It also replaces the advantage that the people used to obtain in the past by taking their cattle to *huraa* (salty springs). The animals are also given different kinds of cooked grains like sorghum, maize, lintels etc. At the same time the cattle to be fatten is made to feed a new ripen crops of sorghum and maize.



Picture 4 . Process of cattle fattening in Tullo

In the fattening process, the people have specific varieties of animals feeding for the morning, day time and the night time similar to the meal they have for people in regular manner. In the morning they provide feeding consists of grinding clay sand mixed with salt. Soon after feeding the cattle, the owned take them to the place where grasses with the morning dew points are preserved. If there is shortage of such grasses, the people use two strategies: (a) the rinsing the stem of the corn with salt and feed them (b), depending on their experience from MK, they plant elephant grasses and use them for the same purpose. In the day time, they usually feeding feed the cattle sugar beet which is the common plant in the area. In the evening, the ripen sorghum, corn and kidney beans are mixed and served for feeding but now they avoid mixing it with the salt to avoid cattle from getting thirsty.

Upon fattening cattle, the Hararrghe Oromoo carefully select good species in terms of having long height, wide bones, good appearance and compelling color. To the contrary, they do not fatten

short, unattractive color and horny cattle believing that they could not grow well to attract high price. With regard to the place reserved for the cattle, during the night a house with a well leveled floor is preferred to avoid discomfort for the fattened cattle that would lead to a decline in their fatness resulted in attractive and high price (Sufiyan and Najash and Mohammed)¹.



Picture 3: A cattle selected for fattening in Jarso

People also give serious attention to the issue of quantity versus quality by preferring to fatten few oxen instead of many for various reasons. First, the more they feed a few oxen properly, is the more they can afford economically to feed and sell them in high price that support their lives. Fattening large numbers of cattle on small plots have the disadvantage of creating overgrazing which leads to soil erosion. Thus they believe that fattening a few oxen on small plots permits the use of grazing lands based on shifting system which does not affect proper feeding and this makes the land prone to erosion. According to our informants, Sufiyan and Najash, the Hararghe community used to teach and handed down this IK to the generation orally.

5.3.4. IK on Environmental Protection

Environment is living place for the entire living beings and it should be seriously protected. Therefore to address the issues of environment, the Oromoo of the study area have long-lasting secular and religious lesson to teach on the environment. They usually explain the environment in relation to the forests, the land, the mountains, the valleys, the rivers and hills. They tell and retell about the laws and the connections between their lives and nature which manifested in folk songs, proverbs, riddles, wise sayings, elaborative speech and other folk genres. Various folk genres are expressed at social occasions like *miriysaa*, *darashii*, *shobdoo*, *shagooyyee* and which whose organic data are presented under 'IN on Verbal Art'. Here, the comprehensive and essential IK formulated by *Heera Gadaa (Gadaa Constitution)* to protect the environment is *Heera Bosonaa* (unwritten constitution to protect forests). According to *Gadaa* experts, the protection of the environment is mainly resulted from the preservation and conservation of the forests and various

trees species (Sufiyan and Najash). *Heera Bosonaa* is one of the highly comprehensive laws that restrict individual from doing of guilty of cutting forests or damaging the environment. One who act against *Heera Bosonaa* will receive punishment. The person who cut a tree without the consent of his neighbors or elders in the area is fined in cattle like a cow or a heifer or in cash based on the nature of the damage. Yet *Heera Bosonaa* allows cutting only old aged tree species, trees begin to fall down, hooked or curved shape bearing plants lack branches. They perceive that these kinds of tree would hinder the growth of other trees. They are also recommended for fuel (Mume Ibrahim).

Optimistically, people perceive the shades of trees such as *Odaa* and *birbirsaa* as a life-giving and symbol for many things. First people conduct ceremonies like *wadaajaa/du'aayi* (indigenous ritual synchronized with Islamic practices) under it. Second, the Oromoo *Gadaa* system is related highly to the conservation and preservation of environment. For instance Oromoo held various meetings, ceremonies and *gumii* deliberations under *Odaa*. Hence they preserved it for various reasons. First, it is believed that the branches of *Odaa* are inspired for giving comfort to life. Its shades protect animals, small plants, cereal crops and people from extreme sun heat. When discussing under such big trees, the Oromoo believe that it reduces sound echo and do not affect those small plants and cereals grown under it. *Odaa* is also safe from being dwelled by poisonous snakes and predatory animals. Furthermore, Oromoo of the study area hold that lightning does not strike the *Odaa*.

As a result *Odaa* serves as a place of assembly for elders under which they preside over disputes and safely kept cattle to protect them from extreme sun heat of the afternoon. In the past, *wadaajaa* ceremony used to be frequently practiced under large shades trees which they called *hujubaa* (indigenous burial place). To some extent, currently people have preserved *wadaajaa* ritual practice and conducted it at *hujubaa* and Muslim saintly shrines. These places are named the 44 Islamic saints such as Aw Said, Aw Jimjim, Aw Negus, Aw Jibril, Aw Gudora etc. These areas are recognized as places where the people made Islamic pilgrimages to saintly patrons. So it is a taboo to cut trees, put the land under cultivation, throw pollutants or other thins affect such sacred places. Even for their ceremonies they use only the falling branches or hooked trees which prevent the growth of other trees. Thus, forests and trees represent life under which ritual ceremonies, arbitration, assembly (deliberation) and meeting held on matters related to *gosaa* and *gumii*. The shade of the trees valued as a place for protecting and getting rest their cattle. Due to such cultural

practices, Oromoo of the study area have special reverence for forests (Sufiyan, Najash, Mume Ibrahim)



Picture 5. Some species of trees near Oromoo ritual sites, Gurawa

The Oromos also like to settle in areas where *marga jiidhaa* (green and fresh grasses) grow in abundant. *Marga jiidhaa* is attached to symbolic meanings for fertility and perpetuation of life and usually are the means of blessing. Such protective mechanisms are embedded in Oromoo culture to the extent that they say until recently ‘the earth has mouth, ears and eyes, speaks, listens and sees us while we do everything on it’ as of Oromoo Concept of Safuu. The Oromoo concern for trees and forests is also clearly manifested from the names they give to their sons and daughters. In Jarso and Gara Mul’ata elders stated that the Oromoo named their sons and daughters after various species of trees like *qilxuu*, *birbirsaa*, *habruu*, *biqiltuu*, *Odaa* etc. The equating of children with these trees depicts their desire to protect and care for trees and forests by every individual in the same vein as their children (Mohammed Abdulzabur). On the other side, the society also have a wise expression which says, *namni muka dhaabeefi namni dhale maqaan hindhabamu* (Once name who planted the tree or/and who gave birth will never get perished). The ideology of this saying indicates that as the child is named after its father, so the tree could also be named after the one who planted or protected the tree. In the process of generation continuity, the name of the ancestor remains in the genealogy, so the life of the people reveal that too old trees are still remain popularly known.

The Oromoo of Harargge address the importance of preserving growing trees in proverb *muka ol guddataa jiruufi daa’imani ol guddataa jirtu tokko* (a growing tree and growing children who do not complete their development stage are the same). As handled down by elder to the posterity, the communities usually teach the generation so that they seriously consider the role of environment in

their lives. This shows the high regard and friendly relation the Oromoo have for their environment. They associated trees with human beings showing their awareness about their environment. As a result, they plant trees like podocarpus , *baargamoo*, *waddeessaa*, *ejersaa* etc in their farm fields and around the river.

Traditionally the community does not always cut trees as they please them. But if their need arises for fuel and other conceptions, they cut parts of branches in the way they might not harness the growth of the trees. Customarily, cutting the trees in the span of two weeks' time since the appearance of a crescent becomes a full moon is not allowed. They believe the trees get dried totally. It is rather permitted to cut after the end of three weeks after the moon span. Hence, when people want the wood for house construction, they only cut trees two weeks after the crescent appeared thinking that the wood would become dry quickly and brittle easily. Upon cutting trees, people do not usually do deep into its roots. Rather they cut it at some meters above the soil to allow the trees to sprout again from the bottom. Soon after cutting the trees there is a tradition to put animal dung or cover it with the soil on the remaining part to protect it from drying. This would help new trees to sprout out. Generally, the Hararghe Oromoos plants trees in separate quarter from farm fields both for their future use and to protect their environment (informants, Sufiyan and Najash)

5.3.5. IN Related to Ritual or Sacred Practices

Even if majority of the Oromoo in the study area practice Islamic Religion, their religion seem to be highly synchronized with Waaqeffannaa practices and value systems that indicate they believe in one God. Basically the Gadaa system and Waaqeffannaa are highly integrated. Hence, as people of the area actively practice *Gaada* system, they also practice Waaqeffannaa religious principles side by side with Islamic Religion. For example they use Waaqeffannaa oriented concepts, blessings, proverbs, proclamations, expressions and other verbal arts in the process of sacred practices or rituals to protect and prevent the environment.

In cursing and blessing, the Oromoo of the study area firmly pass advice saying *abaarsasadeen sodaadhu* (fear the three curses): (a) the deification along the street (b) deification along river side (c) deification under the shade of trees. The harmony and strong interaction between the entire living environments is addressed by five basic praying principles. The principles give equal respects

for the God, women and subjects of the environment. These are *Waaqni wayyu* (the God is respectful), *lafti wayyu* (the Earth is respectful), *dubartiin wayyu* (the female is respectful), *gaarri wayyu* (the hillside/mountain is respectful) and *lagni wayyu* (the river basin respectful).

On the other hand of the twenty cardinal *Waaqefannaa* principles, four of them entirely devoted to environmental protection and preservation. The principles also touch many aspects of secular issues and identified as *yakka malkaa lagaa* (violation of norms of river basin), *yakka dirree tikaa* (the violation of norms of meadow), *yakka fooyyessa dinagdee* (the violation of economic resurgence), and *yakka dhaddacha Oromoo* (the violation of norm of *Gadaa* Multitude Ritual Assembly) and each are highly elaborative.

According to principles of violation of norms of the river basin, the river basin can be the place where minerals are excavated, cattle drink water or *huraa*, rocks are obtained, and forest and wild beasts of societal or public properties are available. Neglecting public ownership, if individuals or groups quarrel on such properties and caused different consequences, it is the violation of norm of river basin. In this case *HeeraGadaa* forces one to pay *gumaa* (indemnity) and punishment upon one's quarreling in using *heelaa* (place of preserved water for cattle), cutting the straight tree or *Odaas* and killing wild animals and pollutes the river. These acts directly or indirectly affect the individual and the society. Hence, the individuals and the society have their own share in receiving compensations.

The violation of principle of economic resurgence is the way of protecting and preserving *waan jiraa* (any form of economy). The society explain this in relation to possible options in moving the nine fortunes. The nine fortunes are: (a) two people-male and female (b) four splintered feet-cattle, sheep, goat and camel, (c) three closed feet-horse, donkey and mule). The nine fortunes are named *waan muran dhiigaa harighan fiigaa* (those that run upon chasing and getting bleed upon cutting). The owners of such animals take them to and bring back from the grazing land in orderly manner. For example, one should avoid them to keep in the same fence and the same field just to avoid sudden death. The owner also needs to treat them independently in grazing land, living environment, and the weather condition for breeding them. Traditionally the society recommend breeding sheep, goats, and camels in cool temperature, hot temperature and desert land respectively for their economic use. It is also believed that the brides leave from the right side and come back to home from the left. People towards the market and from the market take opposite direction to avoid

unnecessary clash which affects *waan jiraa*. Upon taking the cattle to *huraa* and back from *huraa*, the keeper should use opposite directions for the same reason. If someone leaves a narrow passage for moving the cattle through and built fence, the cattle may run into other animals and harm them by piercing them with their horns or kicking and killing the small ones. In the absence of the above norms, both *jiruu* and *waan jiruu* would be affected.

Generally, *HeeraGadaa* force the individual who failed to leave ample pass way to pay *gumaa* and compensate for the victims. The village elders, clan leaders, *hayyuuu* (wise person) individuals in the village also compensate the people and the owner of the meadow where the accident happens.

The violation of principle of norms of the meadow is the facilitation of the purging or washing out of the meadow instead protection or keeps the meadow safe. According to oral historian, the concept of violating norms of the meadow first was originated from *sagllii* tradition. *Sagllii* is the name of nine individuals who were named upon slaughtering animals in a compound to perform *waadaa* in protecting the meadow. In such traditions, a group of nine people should be together in slaughtering an animal. *HeeraGadaa* forces a group to offer *dirraa* (meat of the rib bone) dividing it into three to three consecutive passengers which may come while the groups is on the blessing ceremony. If another fourth passengers comes and requests *dirraa*, they respond as ‘*dirreennagayaataatetti* (the meadow has been perfectly in peace) as code of informative. But if the fourth person is pregnant women, it is a must to give her equal portion of the meat. If the group fails to do so, the *Gumii* and *Heera gadaa* forces them to slaughter another animal for compensation. Specially, the compensation given to a pregnant woman is quick and very serious as she may get aborted. Besides, people in the *sagllii* group care for her until till time of to check the newly born child is normal. But since the *HeeraGadaa* allow *gumaa* starting from birth, the women is not allowed *gumaa* for the aborted fetus. In one’s home or meadow, it is a norm to provide the guests with dinner. In the absence of readymade dinner, the family reserves the food they have preserved for the children. People should not throw away dead animals around one’s home, at grazing land and in the open field, there is no open defecation. Doing all these is the violation of the norms of the meadow.

The violation of principle of norm of *Daddacha*Oromoo (*Gadaa* Multitude Ritual Assembly)related to the harming of big trees like *Odaa*, *Qilxuu*, *birbirsa*, *Dhaddacha* which are mainly considered as ardaa jila (ritual site for praying, mediation, *gumaa* and *gimii* deliberations.It also include water body, mountain, or *Caffee* (plain area) where people gather and pray, *Waaqaa* discuss different social issues and pass decisions. Such areas are as parts and parcel one's family and give them necessary cares. These mountains are not damaged for the sake of getting mineral, for construction and for other economic or social needs. Forests and big trees are not cut down and streams are not dried up for the same purpose. The people rather care for such areas considering them as means of livelihood. If an individual or a group failed practices these in their locality, it is said that they perform the violation violation of principle of norm of *Daddacha*Oromoo (*Gadaa* Multitude Ritual Assembly)

5.3.6. IK On Wisdom or Verbal Arts

There are different proverbs, elaborative speeches, riddles, expressions and folk songs that the Hararghe Oromoo in general and that of the study area in particular address their compatriots the need to preserve, conserve and protect their environment. Generally different verbal arts are carefully constricted based on the experience and wisdom of the people accumulated over a long period of time in the past and has been perpetuated to the posterity. Hence, they have great impact to influence the people in their day to day life from many angles. Since it is bulky to touch upon every folk wisdom or verbal arts, it is important to consider songs, elaborative speech and expressions.

Traditionally the society use elaborative speech which is used as means of protecting the entire environment in case even when outsiders may try to harm or destroy the environment. The speech runs: *Osoo ka ilkee soddom qabu jiruuti, ka takkallee hinqabne sooftuu fudhatee, 'suwaaka' muruuf gaaratti deemaa kana beekaa !* While one with 30 teeth is there, one who has no teeth picks an ax up and dashes towards the hillside to cut traditional tooth brush, and all of you please have the knowledge of this act! People's concern and respects to plant species like *ejersa* is expressed in songs especially by valuing uniqueness of the plant in its usage.

Way ejersa murittaa

If you cut away an ejersa tree,

Way damee akkam godhittaa

How can you get its brunch anymore?

Way ofii eerumittaa You are going to get married,
Way ana akkam godhittaa So, you abandon me,

The lyric song related the significance of tree species to one's best beloved friends in which case it is impossible to get brunch of *ejersa* tree after cutting off it from the base and likewise it is also impossible to get intimate friend after marriage. The following *mirriysaa* songs similarly address the unique of things including trees among their typical categories.

Muka hunda hin murani One cannot cut all trees indiscriminately
Muka murantu jira For we have the kind of species we should cut
Mana hunda hin bulani One cannot spend at everyone's home
Mana bulantu jira For one has his own choice to spend
Lammii hunda hinfaarsani We cannot praise all our compatriot/clans
Lammi farsantu jira Except those who reputed for their heroic deed

The first two lines of the verses that are still kept as the common folksong among Oromoo of the reveal that every tree species couldn't be cut arbitrarily as it pleases someone and this is a tradition. The verses indicate that there are trees reserved only for use. Tree to be cut, one's home a person can stay the night and person to be braised listed for their parallel uniqueness. As stated before *heera bosonaa* (unwritten constitution to protect forests) limits the use of trees, the kinds of trees to use and under what conditions people they use trees. Furthermore, trees are praised in terms of possessing unique attribute and sometimes attributes that can be compared what human beings as addressed below in the *mirriysaa* verses.

Songs in AfaanOromoo

Edaa Odaan Bultumi

waa sadi qaba;

Jalaa bishaan qaba

gubbaa midhaan qaba:

Morka dureeysa qaba:

Qaamaa shargagga qaba

morka gootaati qaba.

Translation

Oh, *Odaa* Bultum

it has possessed three things;

Under the root it has water

above the trunk it has edible fruit:

It has attributes to be compared the rich:

It has huge physical appurtenance

it has charisma to be compared to the hero.

The verses characterize the importance of trees specific to *Odaa* focusing on several functions it can offer to human being. Its roots serve as source of water; its huge physical serves as source of shades and tranquility and habitat for animals; its body above the trunk bears fruits useful as diet for, people animals and arboreal habitats animals. The possessing of such things and its huge physical appurtenance make *Odaa Bultum* the symbolic representation of a rich man and charismatic hero respectively. The verses below also advice people not to cut tree unnecessarily.

<i>Dardarri muka mure</i>	The young man cut a tree
<i>Muka hundeen haddarte</i>	And a tree's root get dried
<i>Abaluu kuma naqeen</i>	Someone has got thousands wealth
<i>Nama gurbeen gargaarte</i>	That has got support of the youth

The first two lines of the verse show the proscription that bans the cutting of trees until the plants reach the stages that it is deserved to cut them for certain purposes. The verse also states that the youth could be the major actors in cutting down the trees as well as in working hard to produce adequate products. This implies the youth age in Oromoo tradition and give them awareness as they usually cut the trees to construct hat, bed, home furniture as well as other the necessary tools in separating from the family and start to establish independent life. There is also *mirriysaa* songs which describe the important of various features of land analogous to real objects that the people depend on to lead their life.

<i>Hallayyaan gaarree lafaa</i>	A cliff is the rift of the earth
<i>Gaarri sangoota lafaa</i>	Hills are like the oxen of the earth
<i>Araddaan dallaa lafaa</i>	A meadow is a fence of the earth
<i>Dhagaan xannacha lafaa</i>	A stone is the gland of the earth
<i>Bishaan imimaan lafaa</i>	Water is the tears of the earth
<i>Citaan dabbasaa lafaa</i>	The grass is the hair of the earth
<i>Garaan mutaa liqimsee</i>	The abdomen swallowed sharp tools
<i>Qiciicaa lammii tiyyaa</i>	My innocent and kinky compatriots
<i>Akkamiin galee rafaa</i>	How can I back home and sleep calmly?

Except the last two lines of the songs that show one's intention to take revenge on someone for his /her past wrong deeds, all the other lines indicates the importance of forest, stones, water and

characterizing the features the unique object i.e. the Earth on which everything relevant to human existence are growing on.

The society also express their concerns, belongings and love for big trees having many brunches and the cattle in an elaborative expressions '*muka dheeraa dameen dhibba, nama hamaatu saawwan jibbaa*. This implies big trees like *birbirsa, Odaa, gaattiraa, qilxuu* and other branchy trees could be preserved mainly for their grace, home of wild beasts and other functions. The people use similar lyric songs to appreciate the huge nature of big tree, their pleasant smelling, and other economic advantages their functions for the home and shelter for wild animals saying *birbirsa gurguddaa, ija laman ol laaltaa* (you look up the huge *birbirsa* trees with your two eyes), *gaattiraa urgooytuu manaan ijarraa* (you used a pleasant odor *gaatiraa* to build the house) , *weennii babbareduut gubbaarra taphata* (the beautiful Colombes monkey chat on its brunch).

The other useful expressions of advising people for the preservation of natural environment include *lafa lafa ilalte hiqotiin* (one should not till the land form higher than the rest land form) and *lafa waaqa ilaalte qubsumaaf irra hintaa'iin* (one should not settle at the valleys which is lower than other land form). The first expression shows the avoidance of cultivating the hill side or mountain as it contain good moisture and remnant trees species serve as sources of rain and moisture for crops grown in plainly areas. The second expressions show the avoidance of settlement at valley areas as people get vulnerable to flooding or running water.

6. Challenges , Current Experience and Ways of Integrating MK to IK

The currently prevailing high trend of overpopulation seems to serious problem in Hararghe region has forced different members of the society to cultivate marginal land. Due to population pressure, most people have begun to disregard the indigenous way of protecting their environment. There are many instances of cutting various species of trees for house construction and charcoal for fuel wood. Some people in the study area wisely use and maintain natural environment by planting new trees to replace the used or the one they cut down for different purposes like land management skills (*daga* and *cipaa*), crop diversification and crop rotation and practice of other verbal arts to promote IK. Yet there are many people who are out of necessity or disregard the tradition and indigenous way protect the environment due to lack of awareness on environment ethics which are deep-rooted in various forms of secular, religious and verbal practices of IK. For instances, cutting

trees for various purposes, they still could not replace them by new plantings. Parallel with the expansion of agricultural lands, several farmers in *baddaa* and *badda-daree* areas usually cut trees down for farming. However, there are some sites in Hararghe where natural forests are set aside and protected under the watchful eyes of each district agricultural bureau.



Picture 3. Reforestation and deforestation experiences in Tullo and Gurawa District

The serious and in most cases out of controlling problem that many informant and people of the study district emphasize is the effect of plastic and *jimaa* left over that have polluted the environment. Plastic varieties (high land water container and *mikkaa /festal*) and *jimaa* byproducts are strongly attached to the people of Hararge. It is parts and parcel of their culture and so many people widely use them regardless of rural and urban settings during their long journey in the process of chewing *jimaa*. They usually throw away such byproducts into open field, at the edge of farm land, along the bridge and in fact everywhere. There is also hardly any tradition of using the very limited garbage storages properly in urban areas. All these problems are emphasized by experts in different offices of the study area as the most serious problems that affect the environment, productivities and people's health with their other multiplied effects. Generally there is hardly any well-developed practices of indigenous and modern strategies to manage waste matters especially plastic and byproduct of *jimaa*. On the other various species of trees are reduced due to house construction, use by blacksmiths for charcoal and forest clearing for agriculture in the current time. Although the traditional medicine compressors and bearer of *wadaajaa* ceremony cut some trees for their necessity, to some extent they preserved them for future use.

Regarding the integration of IK and MK for sustainable development, there remains much to be done. In most cases, the formers are not given due attention as there is a tendency to consider the IN as outdated. Besides, they are not fully exploiting the MK in their daily life because of complicated problems. This proves that if the IK explained above are supported scientifically and incorporated into the modern techniques, they could enhance environmental protection and sustainable

development. The result of this is the combination of increasing production on small plots of land without substantial harm done to the environment as verbal songs, elaborative speeches, proverbs, riddles and praise also relate. Although such consciousness is embedded in Oromoo tradition, population pressure and the expansion of agricultural lands led to the decline of concern of people for environment. With regard to the wisdom of the Oromoo of the study sites they are found to be innovative on the management of land, choice of crops with high market prices and irrigation works and ponds for more production supplanted by animal fattening that increased their revenues and assured their livelihood.

7. Concluding Remarks

The great deal of knowledge and experiences of people of the world from oral mode of communication have kept persistently perpetuated across the posterity being relied for their long-standing impact in the daily activities various communities. Currently, the study of such themes are topical issues attract the attentions experts and researchers in various organization, institutions and service providing sectors. It especially highly relied by communities and local cleans of many developing countries as means of lively hood. These forms of IK are highly prevalent among Oromoo and other societies who have been entirely depend on oral mode of thought and communication for a long time. This research was aimed at investigating the major forms of IK used by Hararghe Oromoo living in Gurawa , Jarso, and Tullo Districts identifying their categories or forms, functions, structures, their features as well as relation of IK to MN. The description and analysis of various forms of IK of the study area highly assist for environment protection and sustainable development independently or being integrated with MK. Various forms of IN entered the social life as coping strategies being part and parcel of people's cultural practices. However, they are not mutual exclusive in spite of their categories, themes, functions, and distinguishing features. Their functions are closely related to the long year established skills, knowledge, experiences & way of life of the people in specific geographical and cultural settings. Each IK incorporates different specific knowledge and skills to help the community to winning their lives, enhance sustainability and protect the environment. Because of this members of the community demonstrate IK practically in their activities integrating one with the other forms in their secular, religious and artistic lives. The *Heera Gadaa* specific to *Heera Bosonaa* and principles of Oromoo indigenous religion set laws for protecting environment by preserving forests and trees which

represent life under which ritual ceremonies, arbitration, assembly (deliberation) and meeting held on matters related to *gosaa* and *gumii*. The shade of the trees valued as a place for protecting and getting rest their cattle. There is also the basic rules that addresses the entire meadow, rivers and all resources available at the river, Ardaa Jilaa and other subjects of the environment. Due to such cultural practices, Oromoo of the study area have special reverence for forests. On the other hand in the context that crop production requires vast agricultural lands, the experiences of *maagara lafa hidhuu*, *daagaa*, *qorii*, intercropping, animal fattening are the best practices in which members of the community become efficient on small plots land.

Currently, there is high trend of overpopulation and land fragmentation caused serious problem forcing different members of the society to cultivate marginal land. This problem is found to be the major challenges for environmental protection and sustainable development. Most people also disregard IK in order to protect their environment. But yet, some people wisely utilize them harmonizing MK with MN to enhance environment protection and sustainable development. Others people are neither conscious of IK nor fully exploit MK due to complicated problems in their daily life. Especially the serious environmental problems and pollutions related to plastic varieties and *jimaa* byproducts attaching to the culture of *jimaa* ceremony among Hararghe community are not usually treated using IK. But a few attempts are made using MK especially in urban areas. In spite of some bad instances, there are exemplary works deep-rooted in these secular, religious and verbal arts of the societies contributing to environmental protection and assisting sustainable development. Such practices should be passed to learn by other communities as best practices.

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10.Xiinxala Adeemsa Dadhabbi Sirna Gadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Booriifi Haala Haaromsa Isaa

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Axeereraa

Qorannoon kun mataduree “Xiinxala Adeemsa dadhabbi sirna Gadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Booriifi haala haaromsa isaa” jedhu irratti gaggeeffame. Kaayyoon gooroo qorannoo kanaa haala itti sirni Gadaa Oromoo Iluu itti dadhabaa deemeefti itti haaromsame xiinxaluudha. Kaayyoo qorannoo kanaa galmaan gahuuf qoratoonni wixinee qorannoo akkamtaatti dhimma bahaniiru. Qoratoonni aanaalee Godina Iluu Abbaa Boor keessatti argaman keessaa mala iddatteessuu eeruutiin aanaalee shan filataniiru. Odeef-kennitoonni qorannichaa maanguddoota mala iddatteessu eeruufi kaayyeeffataan aanaalee kanneen irraa filatamaniifi miseensota gumii abbootii gadaa Godinichaati. Odeeffannoo meeshaalee funaansa ragaa afgaaffiin fudhatameedha. Gama biraatiin barreeffamoonni mata duree qorannoo kana ibsan xiinxalamaniiru. Ragaaleen karaa meeshaalee funaansa ragaatiin walitti qabaman immoo, adeemsa mala qorannoo akkamtaan qindaa’uun qaaceffamaniiru. Argannoowwan qorannoo kanaa: Dadhabbi sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluuf sababoonni gurguddoon: Inni jalqabaa walsaamicha aangoo gidduu qondaaloota Oromoo yeroo sana turaniifi akkaataa qabsoo isaan mootummaa gonfoo lafa qabachuuf deemurratti gageessaa turan, sababni inni lammaffaan immoo amantiin haaraan Oromoota gidduutti baballachuun duudhaan ture laafaa adeemuu, inni sadaffaaniif dhiibbaa guddaa geessise weerara Impaayeera Mootummaa Minilikiidha. Haalli haaromsa sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu yeroo amma immoo kan inni jalqabee fedhiifika’umsa uummanni aadaa isaa deebifachuufiqabu irraa ka’uun bara 1995 A.L.I ayyaana irreechaa Malkaa Soor Aanaa Mattuu araddaa Koodoo Hiriitti deebisee kabajachuu jalqabe. Kabaja ayyaana Irreechaa kana irraatti hundaa’uun bara 2007 A.L.I bifa haaraadhaan qomoowwan Oromoo Iluu keessaa bakka buufamaniin gumiin abbootii gadaa miseensoota 140 qabu bakka seena qabeessa wiirtuu sirna gadaa kanta’ee bakka Dirree Abbaa Alangaa jedhamu Odaa Dooggiitti hundeeffame.

Jechoonni ijoon: Oromoo, sirna gadaa, salgee Iluu, dadhabbi, haaromsa

SEENSA

1.1 Seenduubee Qorannichaa

Oromoon horteewwan Kush kan gaanfa Afrikaa keessa jiraatuufi saba guddaa Itoophiyaa keessatti argamuudha. Teessuma lafaatiin wal irraa fagaatanii bakka bal'aa irra yoo jiraatanillee, Oromoonni hambaalee seenaa tokkicha qooddachuun, Afaan Oromoo dubbatu (Melba, 1998).

Orommon dameewwan gurguddoo lamatti qoodama ture. Isaanis Booranaafi Barentummaa jedhamu. Boranni hangafa yommaa ta'u, Barentuummaan immoo quxusuu ture. Kanaafuu gareen lamman kun qomoo gurguddoo fi qomoo xixiqootti qoodamanii turan (Melba, 1998). Oromoonni damee Maccaa fi Tuulamaa giddugala Caffee yaa'ii isaanii isa haaraa Odaa-Nabeerratti hundessan. Odaan Nabee, iddoo Haroo walaabuu jedhamutti argama. Bakki kunis giddu galessa hawaasi-siyaasaa fi wiirtuu kabaja amantii Maccaafi Tuulama ta'ee, bakki kunis bakka ayyaaneeffannaan sirna gadaa itti raawwatamuufi lolaaf itti qophaa'aniidha (Mohammed, 1990).

Oromoon damee Maccaa giddugalessa siyaasaafi amantii isaanii Odaa Bisil akka ta'e ibsama (Yaasiin: 2009). Oromoon damee Maccaa kun tumaa Odaa Bisil kanatti tumamuun gageeffamaa turani. Oromoonni Maccaa kun seeraafi qajeelfama achitti tumame kana fudhachuun iddowwan jiraataniifi bakka haaraa qubaniitti hojiitti hiikachaa turan.

Sirni Gadaa jiruufi jireenya uummataa kan akka hawaasummaa, siyaasa, diinagdeefi amantii uummata Oromoo hunda kan of keessatti haammatuudha. Akka Muhammad (2004) ibsutti, Sirna gadaa jechuun seera siyaasaa, diinagdee, seera wajjin jireenyaafi seera aadaa kan Oromoon guutummaatti ittiin buluufi ittiin walbulchu yoo ta'u, madda seera Oromoon gaafa qananiifi gammachuu ittiin wal ijaaraa tureedha. Akkasumas akka hayyuun kun yaada qorattootaa eeruun ibsutti, sirni gadaa bu'uura dimokiraasiifi hundee walqixxummaati. Dabalataan, gadaan sirna jaarmiya heddu of keessatti haammatu waan ta'eef sirna bal'aa jireenyaafi guddina ummata Oromoo waliin walqabatu akka ta'e ibsa.

Haaluma walfakkaatun Warkinehe (2001) yemmuu ibsu, Sirni gadaa dimookirasummaafi walqixxummaa kan of keessaa qabu ta'ee, bulchiinsa hoggansa mataa isaa kan qabu, siyaasa, hawaasummaa, ayyaneeffannaa amantiifi dhimma nagaafi tasgabbi hawaasa Oromooti jedha. Kunis, Gadaan sirna walqixxummaa irratti hundaa'eefi sirna ilmi namaa keessatti ijaaramee

walabummaan ittiin of bulchaa tureedha. Gadaan jaarmiyaa umuriif dhalootaan ijaarame, sirna dimookiraasi uummata Oromootiin uumameedha.

Akka Asmarom (1973) jedhutti, Gadaan yaadrimee jiruu-jireenya ummata Oromoo hunda kan haammatuudha. “Gada is the concept standing for the whole way of life.” Karaa biraatiin hayyuun Joorji Kaarteer jedhamu bara 1967tti yemmuu waa’ee sirna gadaa ajaa’ibsiifachuun barreesse akkas jechuun ture, “Sabni gurraachi sirna ittiin bulmaataa kan namni umrii adda addaa keessatti qooda fidhatu, kan addunyaa kana irratti bakka biraatti hinargamne uume jedha. Gama biraatiin, Melbaan (1988) akka ibsetti, sirni gadaa gurmuu ijaarsa hawaasa Oromooti.

Mohammad (2013) immoo, sirna Gadaa kitaaba isaa Afaan Ingiliziin barreesse keessatti yemmuu ibsu akka itti aanu kana jedha.

The Gada system has been mentioned as a key to the unique heritage of Oromoo political, social and cultural life and it’s cherished by all Oromoos. Indeed there is no single institution that focuses on every aspect of Oromoo life than the gada system. Obviously, gada is such a complex and dynamic institution that presenting the whole system is by far beyond the scope of this material though a general picture could be presented to give an overview of this unique traditional African democracy. (Mohammed, 2013, f. 12)

Akkuma yaada hayyoonni garagaraa dhiheessan kanarraa hubatamu gadaan sirna guddaa jiruu-jireenya ummata Oromoo keessatta bakka olaanaa qabuudha. Jechi “Gadaa” jedhu yaadrimee bal’aa haala jiruu-jireenya ummata Oromoon walqabatu waan qabuuf hima hiika (definition) agarsiisu tokkoon kaa’uun ni ulfaata. Haata’u malee, hayyoonni gocha isaa, daangaa xiyyeeffannaa isaafi kallattii inni ummata Oromoo itti tajaajiluufi ibsuun walqabsiisuun hiika garagaraa laataniiru.

Oromoonni damee Maccaa warri Godina Iluu Abbaa Boor har’aa keessa jiraataa jiran, gara kana dhufanii kan qubatan kallatti lamaani. Innis kallatti Wallaggatiifi Limmuutiin ture (Alamayehu, et.al. 2004). Oromoota Maccaa keessaa lafa yeroo ammaa Iluu Abbaa Boor jedhamu kana irra kanjiraachaa ture gosa Tumme jedhamuudha. Uummanni Oromoo godina Iluu Abbaa Boor keessa jiran harki caalaan Oromoo dame Maccaa yammu ta’uu qomoon tulamaafi Karayyuu muraansis akka jiran ni himama. (Barreeffama WATGIA/Boor bara 2006).

Kana keessaa immoo dursee naannoo kana kan qubate warra Salgee Iluuti. Gosa Tummee keessaa akka abbaa biyyaatti hooganaa kan ture Iluudha. Kan isaan ittiin wal bulchaa turanis sirna gadaa bulchiinsa dimookiraatawaa ta'een ture.

Uummanni Oromoo jaaarraa hedduu eeagalee seerafisirna gadaa wiirtuu tokkotti siyaas-diinagdeefi hawaasummaa isaa gaggaaffataa ture baayinaan dabalaa adeemuufi walirraa fagaatee jiraachuu uummatichaa irraa kan ka'e giddu galli sirni gadaa itti gaggeeffamu baballachaa adeemuu danda'eera. Kanarraa ka'uun giddu galli sirna gadaa Oromoo Maccaa Odaa Bisilitti gageeffamaa ture gara dhihaatti baballachaa adeemuun giddugalli sirna gadaa haaraan Wallaggaa fi Iluu Abbaa Boor akka uumamu ta'eera.

Bu'uruma kanaan ummanni Oromoo yeroo ammaa godina Iluu Abbaa Boor keessa jirachaa jiru ilmaan Tummee (Salgee Iluu) giddu gala sirna gadaa isaanii iddoo duratti 'Macca hinlaattu' jedhamu Laga Seenatti hundeeffachuun akkuma Oromoowiirtuu gadaabiroo sirna gadaatiin gaggeeffamuun siyaasa, hawaasummaa, diinagdeefi amantii isaa ittiin hoogganataa tureera. Giddu-galli sirna gadaa Oromoo qomoo Tummee wiirtuu Laga Seenaa jedhamaa ture kun yeroon booda gara maqaa Odaa Dooggii jedhamuutti jijjiirame.

1.2. Ka'umsa Qorannichaa

Aadaan uummata Oromoo baay'ee bal'aadha. Aadaan kun immoo, sababoota baay'ee irraa kan ka'e gadifageenyaan qoratamee kan barreeffameefi ummanni biraas aadaa kana akka beeku gochuu irratti jalqabbiin yoo jiraatellee quubsaadha jechuun hindanda'amu. Keessattuu qorannoo saayinsaawaa ta'een deeggaramee hojiin gama aadaafi seenaa uummata Oromoo damee Maccaa kan ta'e kan Iluu Abbaa Boor ilaallatu baay'ee laafaa ta'ee mul'ata.

Aadaa boonsaa uummanni Oromoo ittiin beekamu keessaa tokko sirna bulchiinsa Gadaati. Sirni bulchiinsa gadaa Oromoo hunda biratti haala walfakkaataa ta'een jaarraa hedduu irraa kaasee gaggeeffamaa ture. Haata'u malee sababoota iddoowwan bal'aa irra qubachuufi baayinaan dabalaa adeemuu irraa kan ka'ee garaagarummaa muraasni mul'achaa deemeera. Keessattuu walitti dhufeenyi saboota biraatiifi walmakiinsa ruqoolee aadaa biroo wajjiin taasiseen jijjiiramoonni hedduun mulata'aniiru. Jijjiiramoota sirna bulchiinsa gadaa Oromoo keessatti uumamee keessaa tokkoo bulchiinsa mootummaa gonfootiin walfakkaatu sirni bulchiinsa mootii dhalachuu isaati (Mohammad 1990 fi Warqinehe, 2001). Jijjiiramoonni kunniin suuta suuta sirna bulchiinsa gadaa

Oromoo keessatti akka uumamu taasiisuun, keessattu weerara mootii Miniliik II irraa eegalee akka dadhabaa adeemuu taasiisuun isaa hin oolu jedhamee yaadama.

Hayyoonni sirna gadaa Oromoo kanneen biroo qoratan kan akka Mohaammad (1990), Warqinehe (2001), fi kanneen biroo daangaan qorannoo isaanii murta'aa waan ta'eef sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu keessatti sababoota jijjiiramafidaniifi adeemsa dadhabaa deemuu sirnichaa xiinxalee kan gadifageessee qorate hin jiru. Karaa biraatiin haalli qabatamaan uummata Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor keessa ture maal akka fakkaatuufi gooreedhaaniis ta'ee akka waliigalaatti garaagarummaa fi tokkummaa jijjiirama sirni gadaa Oromoo waliigalaafi kan Iluu gidduu jiruu qorannoon agarsiisu hinmul'atu. Waan kana ta'eef, qorannoon qaawwaa kana guutuufi haala dadhabii sirna gadaa Oromoo godina kanaa ibsu barbaachisaadha. Qorattoonnis kanarraa ka'uun sirni gadaa Oromoon Iluu ittiin walbulchaa turan adeemsaafi sababoota ittiin laafaafi dadhabaa dhufe akkasumas haala itti yeroo ammaa haareffamee jiruirratti xiyyeeffachuun qoratani. Kanaafuu, qorannoon kunxiinxala adeemsadhabii sirna Gadaa Oromoon Iluu Abbaa Booriifi haala haaromsa isaa irratti kan xiyyeeffateedha. Kanaaf, qorannoon kun gaaffilee bu'uuraa armaan gadii kanneeniif deebii kan barbaadedha.

- Jijjiiramni gurguddaan sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu keessatti mul'ate maali?
- Sababoonni dadhabaa deemuu sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor maali?
- Adeemsi gadaan Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor yeroo ammaatti haareffame maal fakkaata?

1.3. Kaayyoo Qorannichaa

Kaayyoon gooroo qorannoo kanaa, adeemsa dadhabii SirnaGadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Booriifi Haala Haaromsa Isaa xiinxaluudha.

Kaayyoon gooree qorannichaa immoo:

- Jijjiiramoota gurguddoo sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu keessatti mul'atan maali akka ta'an xiinxaluu.
- Sababa dadhabii sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu adda baasuu.
- Haala sirni gadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor itti haareffamee jiru xiinxalu.

1.4. Daangaa Qorannichaa

Qorannoon mataduree “Xiinxala Adeemsadadhabbii Sirna Gadaa Oromoo Iлуу Abbaa Booriifi Haala Haaromsa Isaa” jedhurratti geggeeffame kun gama adda addaatiin kan daanga’edha. Inni jalqabaa qorannoon kun bakkaan daanga’aadha. Kunis sirna gadaa Oromoo wiirtuuwwan adda addaa hedduu keessaa kan Oromoo Iлуу Abbaa Boor qofatti xiyyeefachuun isaa daanga’aa ta’uu isaa mul’isa. Gama biraatiin, qorannoon kundhimmoota hedduu keessaa dhimma “Adeemsa dadhabbii sirna gadaafi haaromsaa isaa xiinxalu” irratti qofa kan xiyyeeffateedha. Uummata Oromoo keessaa immoo Oromoo Godina Iлуу Abbaa Boor keessa jiraatan qofa haammata. Sababni isaa haalli adeemsa dadhabbii sirna gadaa uummata Oromoo keessatti bakkaafi yeroon garaagarummaa kan qabuudha. Waan kana ta’eef, qorannoon kun bakkaan, qabiyyeefi yeroo itti geggeeffamuun daanga’aadha.

Gama adda addaatiin daanga’uun qorannoo kanaas sababoota garagaraa qaba. Sababoota kanneen keessaa isaan gurguddoon yeroofi baajata qorannichaa giddu galeessa taasifachuu irraa kan ka’eedha. Akka barbaachisummaa waliigalaatti adeemsadadhabbii sirna gadaa Oromoo waliigalaa irratti osoo adeemsifamee filatamaa ta’a ture. Haa ta’u malee, osoo haala kanaan haa adeemsifamu jedhamee humna, yeroofi baasii guddaa kan gaafatu ta’a. Kun immoo, humna namaa, yeroofi baajata qorattootaa ol ta’uun qorannichi akka hinmilkoofne taasisuu danda’a yaada jedhuun daangeffame.

2. Malleen Qorannoo

2.1. Saxaxa Qorannichaa

Qorannoon kun qorannoo ibsaa (Descriptive method) ta’uun kan geggeeffameedha. Sababiin isaas qorannoon ruqoolee aadaa kan inniirratti xiyyeeffatu madda ragaa dirreerraa guuramurratti ta’ee malli inni ittiin dhiyaachu qabu ibsaan waan ta’ee fiidha. Qorannoo akkamtaa keessaa, gosa qorannoo addeessaatti dhimma bahame.

2.2. Madda Ragaa Qorannichaa

Qorannoon mataduree “Xiinxala Adeemsa Dadhabbii Sirna Gadaa Oromoo Iлуу Abbaa Boorii fi Haala Haaromsa Isaa” jedhurratti geggeeffame kun madda ragaa tokkoffaafi lammaffaa giddugaleessa godhate. Maddi ragaa tokkooffan namoota dhimmichatti hirmaachuun beekan

yookiin waa'ee dhimmichaa qaroolaan qaban yemmuu ta'u maddi raga lammaffaan immoo, barruuwwan dhimma aadaafiseenaa uummata Oromoo irratti bareeffaman sakatta'uun kan qaacceeffameedha.

2.3. Jamaa Qorannichaa

Qorannoon kun daangaa bakkaan keessatti geggeeffamu waan qabuuf qaama qorannichi ilaallatu kan jamaa qorannichaa ta'uu danda'u qaba. Innis, uummata Oromoo godina Iluu Abbaa Boor keessa jiraatuudha. Uummanni kun sirna kanaan bulaa kan tureefi sona aadaa jiruu jireenya kan qabuudha. Waan kana ta'eef, qaaccessi firii qorannoo kanaan ibsamu uummata aadaa kana keessa jiraatu kan Oromoo godina Iluu Abbaa Boor keessaa, qomoowwan Oromoo Iluuti.

2.4. Iddattoo fi Mala Iddatteessuu Qorannichaa

Qorannoon kun iddatteessuu gosa lamatti dhimma bahuun geggeeffame. Isaanis: mala iddatteessuu kaayyeffataafi eeruuti. Sababni malli iddatteessuukaayyeffataa filatameef qorattoonni beekumsa dhimmicharratti qabanirraa ka'uun kanneen ragaa irraa argachuu danda'an murteessuuf odeeff-kennitoota yookiin madda ragaa qorannoo isaanii itti yaadanii kan filatan waan taheefiidha. Malli iddatteessuu eeruu kan filatameef immoo, namoota odeeffannoo dabalataa caalmaatti kennan hawaasa irraa iyyaafachuun bira ga'uun waan yaadameefidha.

Mala iddatteessuu kaayyeffataa gargaaramuun aanaalee Godina Iluu Abbaa Boor keessatti argaman keessaa: Aanaa Mattuu, Aanaa Yaayyoo, Aanaa Beddellee, Aanaa Daarimuufi Aanaa Buree kan filatamaniidha.

Mala iddatteessuu eeruutiin immoo, gandoonnifi maanguddoonni aanaalee kanneen keessaa eeruun kennaman iddatteeffamuun odeeffannoon irraa fudhatameera.

2.5. Meeshaalee Funaansa Ragaa Qorannichaa

Ragaan qorannoo kanaaf barbaachisoo ta'e meeshaalee funaansa ragaa gosa lama gargaaramuun walitti qabamaniiru. Meeshaalee kanneen keessaa inni jalqabaa afgaaffii yemmuu ta'u, gamisaan caaseffamaa ta'ee maanguddoota waa'ee sirna gadaa ni beeku jedhamuun filataman gad fageenyaan iyyaaffachuun ture. Inni lammaffaan barruuwwan aadaa irratti barreeffaman sakkatta'uun ragaa barreeffama mata duree kanaan walqabataniif fayyadan qaaceessuudha.

2.6. Qaaccessa Ragaaalee Qorannichaa

Odeeffannoon madda garagaraa irraa meeshaalee funaansa ragaan walitti qabamankanneen sagaleen qofti waraabames ta'ee kan suur-saleen fudhataman irra deebi'uun dhaggeeffatamuun hiikni itti laatame. Sanaan booda qaaceffamuun barreeffamuun kan dhihaatedha.

3. Qaaccessaafi Dhiyeessa Ragaa

3.1. Daangaa Bulchiinsa Salgee Iluu

Akka maanguddoonni jedhanitti daangaan lafa Bulchiinsa Salgee Iluu karaa Godina Jimmaatiin Laga Yaacii akkuma ogafaan jechama Abbaa Joobir Guumaa fi Caalii Shoonoo “Mormaa oli Lootii, Yaacii gadii kootii” waliin jedhan jedhu dhugoomsudha. Karaa Wallaggaa immoo, Laga Dhidheessaatiin, akkasumas, laga Birbir Gaalleetiin deebi'ee karaa bulchiinsa Mootummaa Kibbaafi Gaambeellaatiin Baaroo Qallaadhaan deebi'ee kan jiruudha.

Naannoon qabiyyee lafa Salgee Iluu harki caalaan isaa qabeenya uumamaatiin kan badhaadhedha. Qabeenyi uumamaa kunniinis yaa'iinsa laggeen gurguddoo kanneen akka Soor, Gabbaafi Birbir, Dhidheessaa fi kanneen biroo of keessatti kan qabateedha. karaa biratiin fincaawwaan kanneen akka Soor (kan aanaa Bachoo), Abbaa Bakkallee (kan aanaa Deeggaa), Dangawaaji (aanaa Gachii), Gurraachaa (aanaa Sal'ee Noonoo) Ilikee (aanaa algeefi Saachii) Waabeekoo (aanaa Daarimuu) fi kanneen biro heddu of keessatti kan qabateedha. Akkasumas holqawwan kanneen akka Gurraachaa, Dangawwaajifi Haannaa (aanaa Daarimuu) fi kaanneen biro. Gama kaaniin beekumsa qaroolaa kan uummanni jaarraa heedduudhaaf qabuun kan eegame dhaloota har'aatiif ol ka'ame bosona heddummaataa kanneen akka bosona Yaayyoofi Sal'ee isaan angafootadha.

3.2. Caaseffama Gadaa Salgee Iluu

Gadaan olii wiirtuun isaa Odaa Bisil ture. Odaa kana jalatti wal gahaanii seera kantuman bakka bu'oota abbaa gadaa warra Jimmaa, warra Wallaggaa fi warra salgan Iluu turan. Giddu-galeessa kanatti kan hirmaatan bakka bu'oota Jimmaa irraa namoota 15, Wallagga irraa namoota 13, Iluu Abbaa boor irraa namoota 11 turan jedhu maanguddoonni Odeeffannitoonni qorannoo kanaa.

Akka odeeffannitoonni qorannoo kanaa jedhanitti, gadaan inni olii sadan warri Odaa Bisil irratti walgahanii seera tuman sadan isaaniyyuu gara naannoo irraa dhufaniitti yammuu deebi'an gadaa naannoo jedhamu.

Gadaa araddaa ykn qommoo kan jedhamu immoo, akkaataa walitti dhiheenya qomoofi teessuma lafa qabatani jiraniitiin daangaa isaanii laggeen beekamoo taasifachuunkan ittiin duudhaa, hawaasummaa, amantiifi siyaasa isaanii ittiin gaggeeffataa turaniidha.

Akka maanguddoonni ibsanitti wiirtuun Gadaa Salgee Iluu bakka lamatti qoodamu. Isaanis wiirtuu gadaa Naannoo fi wiirtuu gadaa Araddaa ykn qomooti. Wiirtuun Gadaa naannoo kan jedhamu kan gadaan olii wirtuu Odaa Bisil irratti tumame fidanii dabalataanis qomoowwan Oromoo Iluu irraa walitti dhufan haala qabatamaa isaanii giddugaleessa godhachuun tumaa kan mataa isaanii Odaa Dooggii jalatti tumachaa turaniidha. Wiirtuun gadaa araddaa ykn qomoo immoo, kan qomoowwaan gurguddoon bakka adda addaa jiraatan dhimmoota wiirtuu Odaa Dooggii irratti bakkabu'oota qomoowwan Salgee Iluutiin tumame kan akka irreechaa, dhimmoota nageenyaa, hawaasummaa isaanii dhiheenyaatti itti gaggeeffatan ture. Haaluma kanaan wiirtuwwan gadaa araddaa ykn qomoo kanneen sagal turan booda 12 ta'anii tokkoon tokkoon isaanii Odaa kan mataa isaanii qabu turan .

Bu'uruma kanaan Caasaan Bulchiinsa Gadaa Salgee Iluu:

Bokkuu –Tuullaa Afur kan qabu

Tuullaan – Abbaa Millaa jedhama

Xuuxee – itti aanaa Abbaa miillaa

Baataa - gaggeessaa tuuta mana Salgee

Shanee - Mana Shan of jalatti kan gaggeessu geggeessitoota.

Aradda qomoon Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor keessa turan:

- Toobbaadha hanga laga Daabanaatti kan jiru araddaa warra Buunnooti
- Laga Daabanaa hanga laga Gabbaatti kan jiru araddaa warra Cooraati
- Laga Gabbaafi laga Saakkii gidduun kan jiru araddaa warra Iluuti
- Laga Saakkiitiifi laga Soor gidduu kan jiru araddaa warra Hurrumuuti
- Laga Soor fi Gumaroo gidduu kan jiru araddaa warra Mattuuti
- Laga Gumaroo fi Birbir Gaallee gidduu kan jiru araddaa warra Bureeti

- Deegaa fi Doranni gidduu kan jiru araddaa warra Noonnooti
- Warra Noonnoofi laga Mixii gidduutti kan argamu araddaa warra Dooraniiti
- Laga mixiitii hanga Daarimuutti kan jiru araddaa warra Supheefi Daarimuuti.

Araddaa kan jedhamu kun yaad-rimee caasaa bulchiinsa ammaa wajjin tokko utuu hinta'in daangaa baay'ee bal'aa ta'eedha. Gandoonni kunhundumtu akkataa qomoo isaaniitiin araddaa a kan mataa isaanii qabu.

Caaseffamni gadaa isa olii, kan naannoofi gadaa araddaa a gidduu jiru giddu-galeessummaa qabaachuufiqoodinsa aangoo qabaachu sirna Gadaa mul'isa (power decentralization).

3.3. Qondaaloota Gadaa Salgee Iluu

Akka manguddonni (Asfawu Aagaa fi Imaamu Abduu 13/10/2008) ibsanitti caasaa sirna Gadaa Salgee Iluu keessatti aangoo olaanaa kan qabu Yaa'ii Caffee Odaa Doggiitti waggaa si'a lama yemmuu birraan bari'u Sadaasaa fi Arfaasaa waqtii Bitootteessaa tti gaggeeffamuudha. Xumura yaa'ii gaggeeffamaa ture kanaatti irreechi birraa malkaatti, irreechi arfaasaa immoo, Tulluutti bahuun ayyaaneeffachuun raawwatama.

Aangoo olaanaa kan qabu yaa'ii caffee Odaa Doggii kanneen bakka bu'oonni isaanii gadaa araddaarraa akkaataa baay'ina qomoo (ilmaan) isaaniitiin walitti bahan ta'ee akka hoji raawwachiiftuutti kan tajaajilan qondaaloota Sagal qaba. Isaaniis:

- ❖ Abbaa Bokkuu (Abbaa Gadaa Fiixee).
- ❖ Abbaa Bokkuu (Abbaa Gadaa Kontomaa 1^{ffaa} = Ittaanaa 1^{ffaa})
- ❖ Abbaa Bokkuu (Abbaa Gadaa Kontomaa 2^{ffaa} = Itaanaa 2^{ffaa})
- ❖ Abbaa Caffee - geggeessaa yaa'ii (Walgahii)
- ❖ Abbaa Seeraa - Kan seera tumu.
- ❖ Abbaa Alangaa -Kan murtii kennu.
- ❖ Abbaa Duulaa – hoogganaa Waraanaa
- ❖ Abbaa Malkaa- hoogganaa Irreechaafi ayyeeneffannaa.
- ❖ Abbaa Sa'aa – qondaala diinagdee

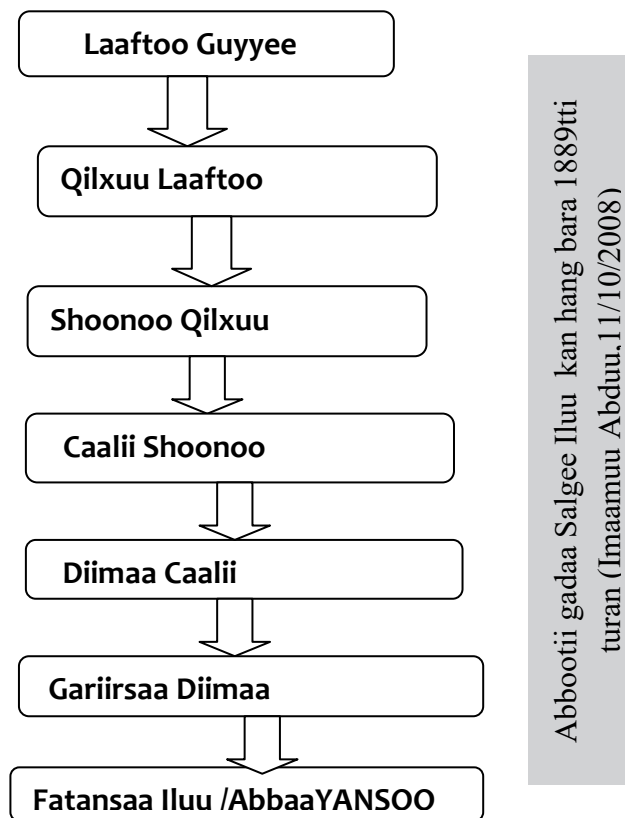
Abbaa Bokkuu(Abba Gadaa Fiixee) Abbaa gadaa kontomaa 1 ffaa fi Abbaa gadaa Kontomaa 2^{ffaa}n geggeessitoota gadaa Sadarkaa Olaanooti.

3.4. Iluu Abbaa Booriifi Bulchiinsa Sirna Gadaa.

Moggaasa maqaa “ Iluu Abbaa Boor” jedhu ilaalchisee ibsa lamatu jira. Inni jalqabaa Abbaa Gadaa naannoo lafa Iluu (Yaayyoo) keessatti bulchaa kan ture Shoonoo Qilxuu jedhamu wajjiin walqabata. Kunis mormaa aangoo isaa kan ta’ee Yaayyaa Bakkee namni jedhamu sababa ilmaan torba jalaa dhumaniif Shoonooti baacaa waan tureef, ilmi isaa Caaliin guddatee “Abbaa boorii”, yookiin ilma booree baasu ta’uu isaa bifa qeequutiin Yaayyaa Bakkeetti dubbate (Asfaawu Aagaa fi Tasammaa Mulunaa, 13/10/2008). Kanuma irraa maqaan Abbaa Boor jedhu moggaafame jedhu. Yaadni inni lammaffaaniif kan maanguddoonni baay’een itti waliigalan garuu, aadaa Oromoo naannoo Salgee Iluu kanaatti namni maqaan isaa Caaliijedhamu yeroo baay’ee maqaa kabajaa Abbaa Boor jedhamuun waamama. Caaliin hidda dhaloota Iluu keessa qomoo warra Hadheessoo keessa dhalate. Caalii Shoonoo/Abbaa Boor/ abbaa gadaa/bulchaa warra Iluuti. Maqaa kabajaa isaafi maqaa hidda dhaloota isaa Iluu walitt fiduun naannoo bara 1903 irraajalqabe Iluu Abbaa Boor jedhamee waamame. Bara kana fuula dura immoo Araddaa Laaftoo Guyyee jedhamaa waamamuudhaan sirna gadaatiin bulaaf walbulchaa turani (Imaamu Abdu-Yaayyoo 11/10/2008). Maqaa Moggaasa Iluu Abbaa Boor Iluun maqaa ilma Oromoo dame Tumme keessa tokko kan ta’e Abbaa ilmaan sagalii kan yeroo durii naannoo “Macca hin laattu” jedhamu kan yeroo amma Bakkee abbaa alangaa/Wixatee jedhamu jiraachaa turee dha. Kanaafi maqaan Moggaasa Iluu jedhu maqaa kanaan kan walqabatu yommaa ta’u, Abbaa Boor kan jedhu maqaa abbaa gadaa Caaliisshoonoo jedhamu wajjiin kan walqabatuu dha. Akkuma beekamu Oromoon Maqaa kabajaa “ abba Abalu “ jedhauun akkuma walwaamu bara itti Caalishoonoo Abaa gadaa tureettis ta’e isa booda namni maqaa Caalii jedhamu maqaa kabajaa “ Abbaa Boor “ jedhamu qaba ture.

Karaa biraatiin erga bara gadaa Caalii Shoonootii kaasee hanga bara dadhabbi mootummaa Dargiitti maqaan lafa Oromoota naannoo Odaa Dooggii “Iluu Abbaa Boor” jedhametu waamama ture. Haata’u male, bara 1991 booda “Iluu Abbaa Booraa” jedhamee waamamuun isaaka’umsi isaa waan hinbeekamneef maqaa sirriin “Iluu Abbaa Boor” kan jedhu akka ta’e manguddoonni ni dubbatu (Imamu Abdu, Suleman Abdiisaafi Asfaawu Gosaa, 13/10/2008).

Abbootii gadaa Salgee Iluu kanneen giddu galeessa Odaa Doggiitti geggeessaa turan hunda argachuun yoo hin danda'ammellee beekumsa maanguddoota Imaamu Abduu fi Asfawu Aagaa, 13/10/2008 bara bulchiinsi Iluu Abbaa Boor ilmaan isaa keessaa bahan qofaan bulaa itti turan isa dhumaa kan ta'e Fataansaa Iluu irraa kaasee gara boodaatti kan turan.



Abbootiin gadaa Olitti tarreeffaman kunniin duudhaa fi seera sirna Gadaatiin giddu galeessa isaanii Odaa Dooggiitti tumamuun bulchaa turani. Hata'u malee, walitti dhufeenya mootummaa Gonfoo Kaaba Itoophiyaatiin wajjin tureen, muuxannoon isaanitiin gargaaramanii warra kaan fakkachuufi darbee darbee maqaa mootii jedhamutti fayyadamuu jalaqabuu isaanii dubbatu maanguddoo (Imaamu Abdu, 13/10/2008)

3.5. Dubartootaafi gadaa salgee Iluu

Qaama Uummataa keessaasi Gadaa keessatti kan qooda fudhatan sadarkaa ijoollee irraa kaasee hanga sadarkaa gadoomaatti ijaaraamuun muuxannoo gabbifachaa adeemuun abbaa gadaa ta'u.

Dubartoonni gadaa keessaatti ni hirmaatu, keessattu Odaa jalatti wal gahuun waaqa sagaduu gara malkaa dhaqanii irreeffachu keessattis garee hundaafuula dura bu'anii faarffachaa kan deeman dubartoota jedhame dubbatama (Asfaawu Ayyaansoo, 13/10/2008).

Kanaafuu haati warraa Abbaa gadaa, haadha siiqqee jedhamtee kan waamatuu fi gadaa dubartootaa kan hooggantuu dha. Keessattu lolli cimaan yommu gaggeeffamu dubartiin siiqqee qabatee gidduu yoo dhaabatte gareen lola keessatti hirmaachaa jiru hundu battalumatti lola dhaaba. Kunis kabaja dubartoonni sirna gadaa keessatti qabaniifgahee isaan nageenya tasgabbeessu keessatt qabanmul'isa.

3.6. Hirmaattoota Gadaa Odaa Dooggii

Ummanni Oromoo kan yerroo ammaa godina Iluu Abbaa Boor keessa jirachaa jiru akkuma Oromoota warra godinaalee adda addaa keessa jirachaa jiruu, sirna gadaatiin gaggeeffamuun siyaasa, hawaasummaa, diinagdee fi amantii isaa hanga yeroo itti sirna nafxanyinaatiin dhorkameetti ittiin of gageessaa tureera.

Ummanni Oromoo Saglee Iluu Giddu galli sirna gadaa isaanii Odaa Doggii jalatti walgahuun karaa dimookiraatawaa'a ta'een walbulchaa akka turan maanguddoonni kan akka Imaamuu Gosaa fi Imaamuu Abduu ni ibsu.

Odaa Bisili irraa fagaataa deemaniin giddu-galeessa sirna gadaa kan Oromoota qomoo Tummee wiirtuu isaanii laga Seenaa jechuun kan moggaasan irratt hundeessan. Gara booda irra Lagni kun maqaan isaa gara laga Doggitti jijjiirame. Kanaafuu wiirtuun Oromoota Iluu achirratti ta'e.

Gadaan Oromoo tokko yoo ta'e iyyuu giddu gala Oromoo Maccaa kan ta'e odaa Bisil irraa bahuun Oromoonni dame Maccaa kanneen duratti Araddaa laaftoo Guyyee irraa turan (booda Ilu Abbaa Boor) giddu galeessa isaanii Odaa Dooggii taasifatan.

Odaan Dooggii laga Dooggii Cinatti kan argamu ta'e giddu gala gadaa naannooti Gadaan naannoo kan duratti akkaataa baa'yina qomootiinsagal ture booda gara 12 tti ol guddate .

Salgan Iluu kanneen jedhaman ilamaan Iluu kan ta'an Salgan kan of keessatti qabu kanneen akka Hadheessoo (angafa), Sapheeraa , Iggu, Bachoo, Lagoo, Biibirsoo, Mageelaa, Bonda'oo fi

yaayyaa yammuu ta'an isaan kun hunduu bakka tokkotti gadaa Araddaa tokko ta'aanii daangaan lafa isaanii laga Gabbayii fi laga Saakkii gidduu dha.

Bakki warri Salgan Iluu kun itti walga'anii Sirna gadaa itti gaggeessan duratti bakka Haroo Jamee ykn Birbirsaa Jamee jedhamu ture, booda gara bakka "Abbaa Alangaa" jedhamuutti jijjiirame jedhu maanguddoo Imaamuu Abduu.

Salgee Iluu kanneen jedhaman

- Iluu ilmaan **Sagal** kan qabu.
- Cooraa ilmaan **saddeet** kan qabu
- Bunnoo ilmaan **torba** kan qabu
- Naannoo ilamaan **jah** kan qabu
- Hurrama (Hurumu) ilmaan **shan** kan qabu
- Mattuu ilmaan **afur** kan qabu
- Doorannii ilmaan **sadii** kan qabu
- Suphee ilmaan **lama** kan qabu
- Bure ilma **tokko** kan qabu

Salgee Iluu kanneen jedhaman bakka bu'oota baay'ina qomoo isaaniitiin walitti dhufuun Odaa Dooggiitti "Yaa'ii Caffee Salgee Iluu" geggeessu turani. Daangaa Wallaggaa irra kan qarqara qubatan warri "Daarimuu Sadii" sirni gadaa giddu galeessa Odaa Dooggiitti gaggeeffamu erga jalqabe gadaa 3^{ffaa} irraa eegalee bakka bu'oota isaanii 3 yaa'ii Caffee Odaa Dooggiitti hirmaachisuu jalqaban. Akkasumas, warri Guumaa bakka bu'oota 3 gadaa afraffaarratti, warri diiduu Laaloo immoo gadaa shanaffaatti bakka bu'oota isaanii shan (5) hirmaachisuun miseensa yaa'ii Caffee Odaa Dooggii 45 irraa gara 56 ol guddise " *Warra Sagalee Salganii mataa 45* " duratti ture gara warraa Sagalee kudha lammanii fi mataa 56 tti olguddiseera.

Sagal ykn kudha lama kan jedhame kunmataa qomoowwanii yommuu ta'u 45 ykn 56 kunniin bakka bu'oota ilmaan qomoo gurguddoo 9 ykn 12 kanneeniiti. Lakkoofsi bakka bu'oota kanneenii baay'ina ilaan qomoon tokkoon tokkooni of jalati qabutiin kan murta'ee dha.

3.7. Yaa'ii Caffee Odaa Dooggii

Yaa'iin salgan Iluu kan gaggeffamu Caffee Dooggii (Yaayyoo) keessatti argamutti ture. Sirni gadaa iddoo kanatti gaggeeffamaa ture kunis seera tumum fi gadaan buttaa achumatti raawatama ture. Iddoon kun bakka “Abbaa Alangaa” jedhamee beekamuudha. Miseensoonni Caffee kun warra sagalee Salganiifi mataa afurtamii shanii jedhamanii waamamu. Miseensoonni yaa'ii Odaa Doggii baa'yinni isaanii afurtamii shan yammu ta'u sagalee sagal qabu turani. Isaan warri sagalee salgani kun akka hojii raawachiiftuutti kan ilaalaman yammu ta'u, yaa'ii guutuun Caffeechaa teessuma 45 kan qabuudha. .

Abbaa Gadaa salgan Iluu keessaa, angafummaa, ga'umsaafi dandeettiin erga filamee booda eebba warra qaalluutiin sirni isaa ni raawwatama. Qomoo salgee warra Iluu keessa warri Sapheeraa jedhaman akka qaalluutti kan tajaajilan yammuu ta'uu aangoon kunis dhaalaan kan darbuudha. Abbaan Gadaa kan filamu ulaagaalee gahumsaafi dandeettii guutuun filatamuun dirqama. Akkasumas sirna buttaa qalee kabajachuun eebbaa Qaalluutiin sirnichi xumurama. Namni abbaa gadaa ta'ee filamuun muudamuu sadarkaalee sirna gadaa shanan hunda keessatti jeechuunis Rogee umurii 8-16, Guula 16-24, Birmajjii 24-32, madaalmeed dirqama isa irraa barbaadamuu fi naamusa irraa eegamu hunda guutuun sadarkaa lubaa (gadaa) yammu waggaa 40 ol ta'u baallii fudhachuun waggoota 8 itti aananiif bulcha. Waggoonni 8n sunis bara gadaa abaluu jechuun maqaa nama aango fudhatee bulche sanaan waamama.

Abbooti gadaa kanneen keessaa baay'ee beekama kan ta'ee Caalii Shoonoo ykn Abbaa Boor jedhamu turan. Abbaan Boor qomoo warra “salgee” Iluu keessa angafa kan ta'an warra Hadheessoo keessaa filataman. “Salgee” Iluu kan jedhaman Hadheessoo, Sapheeraa, Igguu, Bachoo, Lagoo, Birbirsoo, Badii, Bonda'oofi Adaamii.

Uummanni Oromoo duraanii osoo amantiiwwan biro hin fudhatin dura jarmiyaa amantii “Qaalluu” jedhamu kan seera waaqaa hojiitti hiikuufi Ayyaana jedhamu qaba jedhu maanguddoonni. Hayyoonni akka jedhanitti qaalluun gaggeessaa hafuuraati (Mohaammad 1990, Asmeroom 1973).

Akka maanguddoonni jedhanitti, Oromoon Salgee Iluus sirna gadaa keessatti duudhaa jiru keessaa tokko kan ta'e sirna waaqeffannaa qaba ture. Aadaafi sirni waaqeffanna kun kan gaggeffamu

iddoowan jiidha qaban kan akka malkaa fi tulluutti bahuun waaqa isaanii galateeffatu turan jedhu maan guddoonni (Imaamuu Gosaa fi Imaamu Abuu11/10/2008).

3.8. Sababoota dadhabaa adeemuu Sirna Gadaa Salgee Iluu

Akka Warqinehe (2001) fi Mohammad (1990) ibsanitti sababiin suuta dadhabaa deemuu sirna gadaa Oromootiif gumaachan gurguddoon kanneen kana gaditti eeramaniidha;

Walsaamicha gidduu Oromootaatti tureefi qabsoo isaan sababa lafa qabannaa mootummaa gonfoo irratti gageessaa turaniif. Kana irraa kan ka'es qondaaltoonni gadaa aangoon irraa mulqamee(dhiisuun) mootii jedhanii of moggaasuu(aangoon bulchiinsa isaanii)labsuuisaaniiti. Sababni inni lammaffaan amantii haaraa kan akka kiristaanaa fi amantii Islaamaa wajjiin Oromoonni wal baruu(fudhachuu jalqabuu) isaaniti. Inni sadaffaan, akkaataan jiruufi jireenya Oromoota hedduu tikfattummaa irraa gara hojii qonnaafi horii horsiisuun walmakuutti jijjiiramuu isaati

Halli uummata Oromoo iddoo addaa adda irraa jiraachaa turan kun hundi Ummata Oromoo sirna gadaa salgee Iluu jalatti ofiin of bulchaa tures kan qunname ta'uu isaa maanguddoonni godina kanaa haala kanatti aanee jiruun ibsuu; sababoonni olitti eeraman kun kallattiinis yookiin karaa alkallattiitin dadhabii sirna gadaa salgan Iluu ni ilaallata jedhu maanguddoonni odeefkennitoota qorannoo kana.

Akka maanguddoonni jedhanitti dadhabii sirna Gadaa Salgan Iluutiif sababa kan ta'an walitti bu'iinsa aangoon abbooti gadaa warra salgee Iluu gidduutti ka'ee fi babal'ina sirna nafxanyaati.

Wayita Mootichi Miniliik daangaa mootummaa isaa babal'ifatu keessa Orommoon naannoo salgee Iluu sirna gadaatiin bulaa utuu jiranuu walitti bu'iinsi aangoon abbooti gadaa salgee Iluu keessatti uumame. Kuniis kan uumame bara gadaa itti aanuutti baallii ykn aangoon fudhachuu kan qabu Waacilaa Caalii ilmaa Abbaa Boor ta'ee utuu jiruu isa ajjeesuun ofiin kaka'uun abbaan ayyaansoo ykn Fatansaa Iluu kan jedhamu aangoon fudhate. Haalli kun waan isa aarseef ilmi isaa Bungul waacilaa bakka bu'aa mootii Minliik kanta'e, Tasammaa Naadoo wajjiin ta'uun Fatansa Iluu waraanuutti gara gale. Sirna gadaa Oromoo keessatti aangoon abbaa gadaa dhaalaan kan kennamu hinturre. Haata'u malee, walitti bu'iinsi kun yammuu kana kan uumame yoota'ee iyyuu kanaan dura aangoon dhaalaan keennamaa dhufu isaa Laaftoo Guyyaa irraa kaasee kan dhufe fakkaata.

Haall walittibu'iinsaa kun sirna gadaa keessatti kan hinbeekamne yoota'eeyyuu Fatansaa Iluu waggoota murasaaf Iluu Abbaa Boor bulcheera. Walitti bu'iinsi gidduu isaaniitti uumame kun bablina sirna nafxanyaaf carraa gaarii uumeera. Karaa biraatiin dadhabbi sirna gadaatiif gahee olaanaa taphateera jechuun ni danda'ama.

Sababni inni lammaffaaniif inni guddaan baballina sirna nafxanyaati. Oromoonni Odaa jalatti walitti qabamanii tokkummaan sirna gadaatiin wal bulchuun, duudhaa isaanii gaggeeffachuun Mooticha Miniliikiin waan sodaachiseef tooftaa adda adda uumuun suuta suuta sirna gada dadhabsiise. Haata'uu malee, uummanni Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor sirna gadaatiin bulaa ture, sirna nafxanyaa humnaan isatti dhufe kana tole jedhee karaa nagaatiin akka harka hinkennine maanguddoonni ni dubbatu. Sirna nafxanyaa, Tasammaa Naadootiin hoogganamu of irraa deebisuuf ulaa shaniin kunis:- Toobbaa, Buunnoo, Deegaa, Supheefi Bureetiin of irraa lolaa akka ture ni himama. Keessattu warraanni ulaa Buree irratti gaggeeffame baay'ee hammaataa akka ture maanguddoonni ni dubbatu. Sirna nafxanyaa humnaan isaanitti dhufe kana tole jedhanii karaa nagaatiin fudhachuu didanii of irraa loluun isaanii sirnigadaa Iluu Abbaa Boor keessatti raawwate akka badu akkasumas uummatachi utuu aadaa boonsaa qabu akka waan aadaa hinqabneetti akka inni ilaalamu taasisiera.

Walumaa gala, Sirni gadaa uummanni Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor bara dheeraaf itiiin wal bulchaa ture, hawaasummaa isaa ittiin gaggeeffataa ture, siyaasa isaa ittiin falaasamaa ture sababoota kana lammaniirraa kan ka'e naannoo jaarraa tokkootiif addaan cite tureera.

Sirni gadaa Oromoo kan salgee Iluu wiirtuu isaa Odaa Dooggii taasifachuun geggeeffama ture. Haata'uu malee bara (1886 -1892) weerara mootummaa Gonfoo Minilik irraa eegalee bulchiinsii fi Sirni gadaa laafuu eegale. Keessattu naannoo bara 1911 A.L.A dadhabbiin isaa yeroo itti Sadarkaa guddaa irra gahee dha. Kunis ta'uu kan danda'e Miniliik weerara isaa xumuree Caasaa Sirna bittaa isaa tooftaa dhaan diriirsuun bulchiinsa sirna gadaa dadhabsiisuu jalqabuu isaati.

Tooftaa Miniliik ittiin Sirna gadaa dadhabsiisee karaa lamaani. Inni tokkooffaan; bara jalqaba bulchiinsa isaatti tooftaa ofiin of bulchuu fakkaatu diriirsuun. Inni lammaffaan immoo, walitti hidhamsa guddaa mana Amantii Ortodooksii wajjiin taasiisuun (Imaamu Abduu fi Tesfaye Ejerso).

Tooftaa Miniliik ofiin of bulchuu fakkeessee uummata Oromoo naannoo kanaa ittiin goyoomsuun Sirna bulchiisa isaa diriirse Sirna jecha “Yehagerun Serdo Bahageru Bare” jedhuun ture.

Miniliik jalqaba irratti yommaa Sirna bulchiinsa *Nafxanyaa* diriirse aluma tokkoon Sirna bulchiinsa gadaa fi Caaseeffama isaa diiguun hin ture. Kana jechuun Caasaa Sirna gadaa Oromoo Ilu Abbaa Boor kan ta’e “*Shanee*”, abbaa lagaa, Tuullaa, Qaroo fi k.k.f fakkaataa kan isaan siyaasa, fi hawaasummaa isaanii ittiin gaggeeffatan akkasumas sirna bulchiinsa qabeenya isaanii utuu hin diigiin yeroo dhaaf akka itti fufu akkasumas abbootii gadaa naannoo adda addaa irra turan akka isaan fincila guddaa sirna nafxanyaarratti hin kaasene isanumti bulchiinsa isaanii duranii akka itti fufan eeyyamu fiidhaan. Kana dhugaa fakkeessuufis bulchitoonni naannoo gibira lafaa ofuma isaaniiti akka isaan sassaabanu taasisuun kara lafa jalaatiin immoo harkaa guuruu dhaan.

Karaa biraatiin walitti qabamuun namoota hedduu tarii bulchiinsa isaaniirratti mariyatani fincila akka hin kaafneef cidha, daboo ykn du’af yoo ta’e male akka bakka tokkotti walitti hin qabamne akkasumas eeboo qabatani, cuphee hidhatani akka hin deemne dhorkaa fi balaaleeffachuu isaa itti fufe jedhu odeeffekennitoonni.

Naanno adda addaatti manneen barnootaa Sadarkaa Iffaa kan akka daagmaawii Miniliik Buree, Yekkii Bunguul waacilaa, Mattu Goobaabaa Daacii, Bedellee Tasammaa Naadoo bansiiseera. Mana barnootabanuun waan gaarii tokko ta’e moggaasi maqaa garuu tooftaa ittiin aadaa fi seenaa uummatichaa ittiin booressuuf Carraqanii dha jedhu (Obbo Asfaawu Agaa, 13/10/2008).

Gama diinagdeetiin tooftaa sirni nafxanyaa ittiin gargaaramaa ture bulchiitoota naannootiin “ isinumtii gibira sassaabaa jedhee erga funaansiise booda saanduuqa gurguddaa qopheesse furtu isaa tokko dhoksaan of harkatti hambisuun erga keessa hammarsifatani booda immoo bulchitoota naannootiinnamoota **keetu keessa hammarate** jechuun uummataafi isaan gidduutti wal amantaan akka hin uumamne taasisu ture.

Tooftaan lamaffaan nafxanyaa itti fayyadamaa ture dhadannoo *Andi Hager andi hayimanot* jedhuni. Jechi kun walitti hidhamsa gudda bulchiinsa siyaasa mootummaa gonfoo fi mana Aman taa Ortoodooksii gidduu bartoota sanatti ture guddaa ta’e argarsiisa. Kunis karaa tokkon uummanni cunqurfame sodaatee caasaa mootummaa jala akka bulu manni amantii ni barsiisfti, karaa biraa mootumman immoo lafa duraan uummanni sirna gadaa itti gaggeeffataa ture fuuchuu bakka laga

Ximqataa fi *bataskana* akka itti hundeeffatan mirkaneessee kennaafii duudhaan fi bakki seenaa uummaticha akka badu taasisaa ture.

Abbootiin gadaa naannoo fi araddaa a kanneen duraan bulchiinsa sirna gadaa keessa turan uummata ganuun Caasaa bulchiinsa nafxanyaa jala waan galaniif abbaa gadaa, abbaa Bokkuu, abbaa Qoroo fi abbaa lagaa fa'iin mucaa keessan nuuf kenna kiristinnaa kaafanna jechuun michooma uumuun ijoolleen isaanii duudhaa, aadaa fi barsiifata sirna gadaa aka isaan maatii isaaniirraa hin baranne gochuunis tooftaa aadaan dhalootaa gara dhalootaatti akk hin dabarre gochuu dha.

Geggeessitoonni bulchiinsa gadaa keessa turani uummata ganuunis haat'u fedhii dhaan caasa bulchiinsa nafxanyaa keessa galan ijoollee isaanii barnoota ammayyaa barsiisaa, siyaasaan bilchaataa paarlaamaa keessatti dorgomanii gala, qbeenyaan duroomaa gama hundumaan uummataa isaaniira fagaachaa adeemani.

3.9. Fatansaa Iluu fi bulchiinsa isaa (1875-1889)

Fatansaa Iluu bulchiinsa isaa utuu baka hin bu'iin dura miseensa qondaaloota gadaa Salgee Iluu Odaa Dooggiitti hojjetu keessatti abbaa Duulaa ta'e tajaajila ture (Asfaw Aagaa 13/10/2008) Haata'u malee, walitti bu'iinsa gidduu Waacilaa Caaliitiifi garee gaggeessaa sirna nafxanyaa kan ta'e Tasammaa Naadoo gidduutti jalqabame sababeeffachuun, aangoon ilma Waacilaa Bunguliif utuu hin taane Anaaf ta'a jechuun FatansaaIluu fedhiifi murtii uummataa fi akkaataa aangoo qabannaa seera sirna gadaa malee aangoo qabate.

Sababni walitti bu'iinsa Bungulii Waacilaa fi Fatansaalluu aangoo qabachuuf fedhii jiru irraa kan ka'eedha. Bungul Waacilaa gochaa Fatansaa kanatti haaloo qabachuun badeewaraana Raas Tasammaa Naadookan Wallaggaan jirutti makate. Leenjii loltummaa kan fardaa Arjoorratti ji'a jahaaf erga fudhaate booda loltoota Tasammaa Naadoo hooganuun duraan Darmaa (Yaayyoo) irratti injifatamanii waan turaniif karaa biraatiin dhufuuf murteessan. Fatansaa Iluu haloo bahuuf karaa Daarimuu, Barooyii Gabbisaarraan kutanii gara Goreetti ce'uun naannaa'anii Fatansaa Iluu Waraanuuf gara Mattuu Iddoo Gaawoo Giillaa booda Qarsaa Googillaa jedhame irratti waraana babani.

Qarsaa Gaawoo Giillaa (Googillaa) dirree waraana loltoota Raas Tasamma Naadoo fiOromoota Iluu gidduu ture. Waraanni Tasammaa Naadootiin hoogganamu deeggarsa Bungul Waacilaafi meeshaa

waraanaa ammayyaa hidhate ture Fatansaa Iluu jabeessani harka Caalmaan waan lolaniif harkaa miliqee bakka dhokate ture Barrooyi bakka Alгаа Gurraachaa jedhamu eessuma isaa bira dhokate bakka jirutti dhukkubsate du'uu isaa manguddoonni kan akka Imaamuu Abduufi Asfaawu Aagaa ni dubbatu.

Hooggansa Ras Tasammaa Naadoo jalatti loltoota waraana Minilik hoogganuun Jimmaa irraa kan ka'e gareen Dajjazmaach Beshii Abooyeetiin dursamu Bedelleerra qubachuun achirraa ka'uun humna Tasammaa Naadoo cimsuun Fatansaa Iluu injifachurratti deeggarsa taasiiseeraf. Ummannis "Lubaan bulla malee qubaan hin bullu" jechuun fincila isaa riphee itti fufu iyyu sirni nafxannya jabeesse aangoo isaa waan cimsateef dhuma irratti harka kennuu danda'e.

Bu'uuruma kanaan injifannoo diree waraana Qarsaa Googillaarratti argateen caasaa bulchiinsa Miniliik II diriirsuun Tasammaa Naadoo giddu galeessa bulchiinsa isaa magaalaa Goree godhachuun sirni gadaa Salgee Iluu suuta suuta akka dadhabutaasise.

Tooftaa gareen raas Tasammaa humna Fatansaa Iluu dadhabsiisuuf hojjete kan biraan itti aanaa isaa kan ta'e Diimaa Tamboo Wajjiin Walitti buusuu dhaan ture. Kunis kan ta'e Fatansaa Iluutiif qawwee digdama, Diimaa Tamboo tiif qawwee kudha- jaha kennuufiin Tasammaa dhaan aangoositu caalati Naannoo kee jahan kaasiiti Iluutti gali jedhiin jedhee garaa lammootaa addaan baasee gidduu isaanii gale. Gorsa haala kanaan kennameen walitti buusuun Bungul Waacilaa tiifi Diimaa Tamboo irraatti ijaaruu humna Fatansaa Iluu dadhabsiise.

Diimaa Tambo waan Tasammaa Naadoo lafa isaa irraa isa buqqisuuf Miniiliikiin bira dhaqee erga iyyate booda lafa isaarratti hafee. Haata'u malee, Tasammaan ammas mala daangaa lafa Oromootu sarbamejedhu qopheessuun Diimaa Tamboo gara Noonnoo Sal'ee geesse, warra daangaa sana irra jiraniin immooyommuu Diimaan dhufu ajjeessaa jedheen. Kun milkaa'uufii waan dideef ofuma isaatii waancaa Booka itti dhuganitti summii naqsiisuun Obaase ajjeese (Asfaawu Aagaa, 13/10/2008)

Fatansaa Iluu, Abbaa Bungul, Waacilaa Caalii kan silaa aangoo bulchiinsaa fudhatee itti fufu waan jalaa ajjeeseef gumaa abbaa isaa bahuuf jecha waraana raas Tasammaa Naadootti makate. mo'amu Fatansaa Iluu booda, Bungul Aangoo qabate biyya bulche utuu hin taane gara dirree waraana

Aduwaatti bara 1896 ergamee eega deebi'ee booda aangoo bara sana ture gaggeesitoota sirna *nafxanyaa* biraa “Qanyaazimaachummaa” argate.

Ras Tasammaanis waraana isaa Jireen irraa gara Bedelleetti ceesisee iddoo qabate itti aansuu dhaan yeroo sanatti qomoo Oromoo Buunnoo bulchaa kan ture ShuuramAbbaa Waggaa ture. Shuuramu abbaa Waggaa goyoomsanii lafa isaa irraa fudhachuuf *amantaa isaa gara* Kiristaaanaatti akka jijjiirratu gochuun maqaa isaa Hayilemariyaamtti moggaasuun sadarkaa (gulantaa) aangoo *Fitaawuraarii* (dura bu'ee kan weeraru) kennaniif.

Haata'u malee Shuuramu Abbaa Waggaa Sirna *Nafxanyaa* irraatti lafa isaa fi aangoo bulchiinsa isaa dabarsee hin kennu jedhe fincila kaase. Lolli itti hammaannaan gara biyya Gurraa Fardaa jedhamuutti yeroof baqate. Booda deebi'ee sirna nafxanyaarratti fincila kaasuu isaatiin bakka Magaalaa Bedellee jedhamu irratti fanniifamee akka du'e himama (Tarfaayee Ejersoo, 2015).

3.10. Sirna Gadaa fi Ilaalcha Biqiltuu Kununsuu

Akka maanguddonni ibsanitti Oromoon Sirna gadaa isaa keessatti ilaalcha guddaa naannoo Uumama isaa kunuunsu irratti qaba. Kunis beekumsaa fi muuxannoo jaarraa hedduu dhaaf qabatee dhalootaa dhalootatti afaanii himamaa gochaan mirkanaa'ee har'a gahee dha jedhu. Kanas dhugoomsu kan danda'u ilaalcha uummanni naannoo Sirni gadaa salgee Iluu itti gaggeeffamee ture keessatti qabiinsa biyyee gabbataa, burqaa bishaanii fi bosona magariisa bonaaf ganna lalisee mul'atu kana kunuunsee dhaloota har'aa fi egeriitiif qusatee ol kaa'uu danda'uu isaati. Kanaaf raga kan ta'u Bosona Yaayyooti.

Uummanni Oromoo naannoo gadaa salgee Iluu kana kessa jiraachaa ture/jiru seeraa fi safuu sirna gadaa keessatti barateen bosona madda qorannoo fi qo'annoo garaa garaatiif ooluu danda'an kan of keessatti qabuu fi yeroo ammaatti “Cultural heritage” addunyaa ta'ee beekame kan jiru kan akka bosona yaayyoo of keesaa qaba.

Bosonni Yaayyoo kan inni argamu giddu galeessa seenaa, aadaa fi siyaasa Oromoo salgee Iluu kan ta'e Odaa Doggii /bakkeeDirree Abbaa Alangaa jedhame kan beekamu marseetu. Kun kan inni dhugoomsu ilaalcha ummanni oromoo aadaa isaa tiifi naannoo uumama isaatiif qabu kun beekumsa qabatamaa fi muuxannoo jaarraa hedduuf kuufame jiraate fakkeenya guddaa addunyaa

qarooma jette garu immoo ho'a daran dabalaa jiru *Global Warming* fala gochaan mirkanaa'ee kan addunyaan irraa barbaachuu qabuu dha.

3.11. Haaromsa Sirna gadaa Oromoo kan Salgee Iluu

Sirni gadaa Iluu sababoota ijoo armaan olitti ibsamaniin dadhabaa hangabara Mootii Hayilesillaasee tokkooffaa (Tafarii Mokkonniin)tti itti fufeera. Keessattu duudhaan fi safuun sirna gadaa sammuu ilmaan Oromoo keessaa gonkumaa badu hin dandnye jedhu maanguddoo(Asfaawu Ayyaansoo, 13/10/2008). Gochaanis ta'u fakkeenyaaf gumaa araarsuun, daangaa darbame qajeelchuun, horiin yoo du'ee bakka buusuunii fi yoo midhaan horiin akka tasaa nama jalaa nyaatte deebisiisuun seera sirna gadaatiin raawwatamaa ture waan ta'eef sirni gadaa salgee Iluu keessaa guutumaa guututti badeera jechuun hin danda'amu (Tasammaa Mulunaa 2016)

Uummanni aadaa fi duudhaa isaa bade deeffachuuf carraaqii gochaa tureen aayyaana irreechaa iddo addaatti kabajuu itti fufeen akka fakkeenyaatti irreecha malkaa Soor kan araddaa Koodoo Hirii Aanaa Mattuu keessatti kabajamu bara 1999 A.L.I. irraa jalqabee ayyaaneeffatamu jalaqabe. Bu'uuruma kanaan fedhii fi kaka'umsa uummata keessa tureen immoo Sadaasa bara 2007 Aanaa Yaayyoo araddaa Wixatee bakka seena qabeessa Odaa Dooggii/Dirree Abbaa Alangaa jedhamtti gumiiin Abbootii gadaa salgee Iluu filatamuun haaroomsi taasifame.

Kaayyoon haaromsa gumii Abbootii gadaa tokkummaa Oromoo Salgee Iluu dudhaa, Safuu fi seera tumaa sirna gadaa Oromoo dadhabee /laafee ture deebisuun hojiirraa oolchuu dha (Tasammaa Mulunaa, Asfaawu Aagaa fi Imaamu Abduu, 13/10/2008). Miseensi gumii kanaa bakka bu'oota qomoo jiran keessaa kan fo'aman namoota afurtamii saddeet(48) yommuu ta'an yaa'iin Caaffee immoo miseensoota dhibba tokkoofi afurtama (140)qaba, kunis miseensota gumii afurtamii saddeet (48) irratti dabalataan dargaggoo dhiiraafi dhala kudhan(10) haadha Siiqee (dubartoota) kudhan (10) , ijoollee hanga Waggaa kudhanii, kudhan (10) maanguddoota kudhan (10), hayyoota digdamii afur (24) fi miseensoota waggaa jahtatamii afurii (64) fi saddeettama (80) gidduu kan jiran yuba dabalateeti.

3.12. Gufuuwan Haaromsa Sirna Gadaa Salgee Iluu

Hojiin haromsa gadaa kanaa kan ittii fufee jiru yommuu ta'u gufuuwan kanatti aanaanii jiran warra ijoo dha. Kunis haala Sadarkaa ammaa uummanni aadaa fi saba adda addaan walmakee jiruun

duudhaafi seeroota hojiirra oolchuun ulfaataa ta'uu isaa, uummata hunda bira gahuu dhaaf galii dhaabbataa dhabuu, Waajjira dhabuu, deeggarsa dhabuufi sodaan qaamoolee adda addaa bira jiraachuu dha (Tasamma Mulunaa,13/10/2008). Furmaata rakkoolee kanneenii ta'a jedhanii miseensoonni gumii kanaa karoofatanii jiranu inni jalaqabaa uummanni aadaa, duudhaa fi seeroota gadaa fi eenyummaa isaa baree akka kabaju fi hojiirra oolchu gochuuf dhaloota hara'aa barsiisuu, waraqaa eenyummeessaa miseensummaa qopheessuun galii irraa argachuu, deeggarsa tola oltummaa jaallattoota gumii/gadaa kanaa biraa sassaabuu dha.

Bu'aan Haaromsamu gadaa kanaa uummanni wal danda'ee akka waliin jiraatu, waan hundumaan dhaloonni akka of danda'u fi dorgomaa ta'u akkasumas eenyummaa isaa beekke aadaa isaatiin akka boonu taasisuu danda'udha jedhu miseensoonni gumii kanaa.

4. Cuunfaafi Yaboo

4.1. Cuunfaa

Oromoon hawaasa aadaa, duudhaa, sirna bulchiinsaa, haala waaqeffannaa... mataa isaa bal'aa ta'e qabuudha. Sonawwan kanneen keessaa qorannoon kun mataduree **“Xiinxala AdeemsaDadhabbii Sirna Gadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Booriifi Haala Haaromsa Isaa”**jedhurratti kan geggeeffameedha. Gaaffileen bu'uura qorannoon kun deebii barbaadef immoo, Jijjiiramni gurguddaan sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu keessatti mul'ate maali? Sababoonni dadhabaa deemuu sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor maali? sadarkaa gadaan Oromoo Iluu yeroo ammaa irra jiru maal fakkaataa ?kan jedhan turani. Kanaaf, kaayyoon qorannoo kanaa, haala itti sirna Gadaa Oromoo Iluu itti dadhabaa deemee fi akkaata itti haaromsame xiinxaluudha.Kaayyoo qorannoo kanaa galmaan gahuuf qoratoonni ragaawwan funaanuuf mala qorannoo akkamtaatti gargaaramanii jiru.

Akka odeeffannoo qoratoonni odeeffennitoota irraa funaanuun qaaccessanitti adeemsi bulchiinsa sirna gadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor kan haadhoo tokkorraa babal'ina caffeetti taasifameerraa dhufe ta'uun hubatameera. Oromoon Iluu wirtuu Odaa Bisil irraa babal'chuun Odaa Dooggitti wirtuu gadaa isaa akka bu'uureffate odeeffannoon argame ifa godha. Bakki argam odaa kanaas aanaa Yaayyoo bakka dirree Abbaa Alangaa jedhamuun beekama.

Oromoonni godina Iluu Abbaa Boor — Salgeen Iluu caasaa bulchiinsa sirna gadaa isaanii bakka bu’oota qomoo/balbala balbala irraa walitti babahan keessaa filachuun diriirfachuun walgeggeessaa turaniiru. Haata’u malee, yeroon booda sababoota kallattii gurguddoo lamaan dhufaniin akkuma naannoo biraatii laafaafi bulchiinsa sirna biraan bakka bu’aa dhufe laafaafi dadhabaa dhufe. Sababoonni kunneen inni jalqabaa, waliigalteefitokkummaa dhabuu akkasumas walsaamicha aangoo geggestoota/qondaaloota Oromoo yeroo sana turan gidduu tureedha. Kunis bulchiinsi sirni gadaa laafee dafee harka sirna alagaatti akka kufu taasisuu keessatti shoora guddaa qaba. Inni lammaffaan tooftaafi humna sirni nafxanyaa cimsatee itti deemuudhan sirna mootummaa gonfoo diriirsuun sirni diimookiraatawaa uummata Oromoo akka dadhabu ta’eera. Sirna kana sababii walmakuu ruqoolee adaa biraafi haala yeroo ammaa uummatichi irra jiruun guutuu guutuutti deebisuun ulfaataa yoo ta’elle yeroo ammaatti irreecha ayyaaneeffachuuniifi gumii abbootii gadaa bakka bu’oota qomoowwaan Iluu Abbaa Boor keessaa kan bakka bu’aniin Gumiin abbooti gadaa tokkummaa Oromoo jedhamuufi Caffeen hunda’uun iddoo seena qabeessa Odaa Dooggiiti waggaa waggaaan ji’a sadaasaatti adeemsifamuun isaa jaarraa tokko booda boqonnaa isa haaraadha.

5.2. Yaboo

Sirni gadaa bu’uura duudhaa, seenaa, hawaasummaa fi siyaasa Oromoo hundaati. Sirni gadaa Oromoo Iluu Abbaa Boor bara dheeraadhaaf gargarcitee turee deebisanii akka inni ittifufu gochuunyaalii guddaa kan gaafatuudha. Kana karaa qabsiisuuf gaggeessitoota gadaa bifa haaraadhaan filatamuun gumiin abbootii gadaa tokkummaa Oromoo uumuufi duudhaa, seera, barsiifata sirna gadaa deebisuuf gahee olaanaa taphachuu kan danda’uudha. Beekumsi sirna gadaa dimookiraatawaa ta’ee afrikaa keessatti beekamu kun jabaatee akka itti fufu taasisuuf uummatadadammaqsuun, dhaloota haaraa waa’ee sirna gadaa barsiisuun, duudhaalee gaarii ta’an itti fufsiisuun carraa gaarii amma jirutti fayyadamuun kandanda’amu waan ta’eef qaamni dhimmichi ilaalu hundumtu tumsuu qaba.

- Gumiin Abbootii Gadaa jilawwan aadaa jiran garagaraa irratti hubanno sona aadaafi sirna gadaa isaanii hawaasaa dhaloota haaraa kana hubachiisuuf duudhaa kana keessatti tiksuun barbaachisaadha.
- Ogeeyyonni waajjiraalee aadaafi turizimii adeemsa sirna gadaafi murnoota sadarkaalee gadaa keessatti gahee tokko tokkoo namaarraa eegamu karaa garaagaraan hawaasa waliin jajjabeessaa deemuun gaarii ta’a.

- Ogeeyyonni barnootaa yaadrimee sirna gadaa barsiisuufi barattoonni isaanii maanguddoota irraa akka iyyaafatanii baran, galmeessaniifi xiinxalan abbaltiifi hojiiwwan adda addaan qajeelchuun faayidaa qaba.
- Akkasumas, qorattoonni gadi fageenyaafi bal'inaan qo'atanii kalattii garagaraan addunyaatti beeksisuun barbaachisaadha.

Galata

Qorannoon kun milkaa'ina amma irra ga'e kana bira ga'uuf gumaachi kallattii kara garaan namoota adda addaan taasifame gahee qaba. Kanaaf, dhaabbileefi namoota dhuunfaa gama garagaraatiin gumaacha taasisaniif galanni qorattoonni qaban guddaadha. Kessattu qorannoon kun aadaa uummataa xiinxaluun baasee ibsa jechuun baajata barbaachisaa ramaduufiin kan tumsa godhe Yuunivarsiitii Mattuutiif galanni qabnu guddaadha.

Akkasumas, miseensota gumii abbootii gadaa yeroofi haala barbaanne irratti argachuun odeeffannoo barbaachisaa ta'e qusannoo malee nuu gumaachaa turaniif galanni keenya guddaadha.

Dabalataanis maanguddoota aanaalee irraa odeeffannoo bu'uuraa nuffiifi dadhabbi tokko malee sa'aa dheeraa fudhatanii nu gargaaran maraan bakka jirtanitti galanni keenya olaanaadhaa ulfaadhaa jennaa.

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11. Some Gada Values in Oromoo Literary Works: A Pragmatic Analysis of Oral Poetry (Folksongs) of Tulama Oromoo

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Abstract

The study is aimed at exploring the roles of Gada values in composing oral poetry in Tulama Oromoo. In the study, the oral poetry (folksongs) of Tulama Oromoo was analyzed in context of Gadaa system (Oromoo Democracy) which is unique in its approach to Gadaa system and oral poetry as well. It deeply analyzes how Gada values or concepts employed in oral poetry to get the message across successfully. The researcher has collected the songs during extensive fieldwork his PhD research from Tulama Oromoo via observation, interview and focused group discussion. Observations were made at different occasions at which the songs were performed and interviewed some known cultural singers and elders to collect the songs and get the meanings of the Gada values that used in the songs (oral poetry). In the focused group discussion elders have played crucial role to decipher cultural concepts (Gada system principles) that employed in the oral poetry and to give sound meanings about the Gada values. The result shows Tulama Oromoo has used Gada values in composing oral poetry to get its message through and to give power to the literary work. Additionally, oral poetry served as a source of some Gada values which were dismantled because of different reasons in the community. The pragmatic analysis of the oral poetry yielded social, cultural and linguistic meanings of the genre that deep rooted in Gada system values. Accordingly, some Gadaa values such as the division of power, the roles of age-sets, the concept of marriage, legislative assembly, the values of keeping secret (family or nation), and concept of 'Truth' and 'Safuu' were revealed in Tulama Oromoo. So, oral poetry could contribute as a source of information in reconstructing Gada system in general and its values in particular.

Key Words: Oromoo Gada Values, Tulama Oromoo, Oral Poetry (Folksong), Pragmatic Analysis

1. Introduction

Gadaa system, the indigenous Oromoo democracy, is grounded itself on different values, principles and conventions that set to ensure the total welfare of Oromoo society. In the Oromoo's Gadaa system checks and balances, division and sharing of power, balanced representations of clans, accountability of leaders, settlement of disputes, and respect of basic rights and liberties are the basic values or principles that made it democratic system or witnessed the Oromoo nation as democratic republican (Lemmu, 1992, 2004; Asafa, 2012; Asmarom, 1973, 2006).

The practice of the Gadaa system in Tulama Oromoo, Oromoo clan that lives in areas that surrounding the capital of Ethiopia i.e. Finfinnee; in most areas of North and East Shoa zones and in some woredas of West and Southwest Shoa or central Ethiopia (Alemayehu, 2009), is nearly-abandoned because of external and internal forces that faced the entire Oromoo society in the 19th century (Asafa, 2010). Clapham in Lemmu (1992) explained that Gadaa rule among the republican Oromoo nation at the time of Shoan conquest was either down-played or dismissed. However, still some Gadaa values exhibited in different social practices such as religion, folk-literature, culture related activities and others. According to Asafa (2012) even though some Oromoo accepted Islam or Christianity, Oromoo prayers, blessing, and greetings manifest the Oromoo worldview. In this study, oral poetry (folksong) was analyzed to reveal some Gadaa values, principles and conventions in Tulama Oromoo.

Folksong or oral poetry, as Finnegan (2012) called it, is a song that composed, improvised, transmitted, and performed orally. It is often related to national culture. In many countries and cultures people commemorate historical and personal events on certain days of the year mostly accompanied by folksong. In addition to this, weddings, birth days, and funerals may also be noted with folksongs and dances Cuddon (1999).

In Oromoo community also the ability to express ideas, feelings, emotions, and thoughts in oral poetry was among the qualities that expected from an Oromoo. In Gadaa system's age-sets, at Ittimakoo and Foollee stages (the second and third respectively) the boys practice singing as mandatory activity (Asmarom, 2006; Dirribi, 2011). Oral poetry (folksong) has been frequently practiced and one of the abundant literary works in Tulama Oromoo. The life of a member of the community was accompanied by folksongs from birth to death. By the folksong, the society

expressed its social, political, psychological, historical and cultural aspects at different occasions. Poetry (oral or written) is influenced by social, political, and religious entities of the community that created it (Assefa, 2003).

Oral literature of Oromoo in general and oral poetry in particular recently became the subject of academic world or research institutions. But, it is not to the expected level as compared to its abundant presence in the society. Some research works were carried out on Tulama oral poetry and Gadaa systems of Oromoo people. But, specifically, treating oral poetry in context of Gadaa system made this study unique and different in approach.

2. Methods and Materials

Data of the study have been collected while during my extensive field work in Tulama Oromoo (North and East Shoa Zones) for my PhD dissertation between 2013 and 2015 for two solid years. In this study observation, semi-structured interview and focus group discussion were used as tools of data collection. The researcher has observed different occasions at which the folksongs were performed by the community. To mention some: religious ceremonies, wedding, work related occasions (plough, harvesting, threshing), holidays (New Year, Masqala), Culture related occasions (Goobee, Foollee, horseracing), and market days (minstrels perform folksongs to collect money) were visited to collect folksongs. In addition, interviews and focused group discussions have been used to collect the folksongs; more importantly the meanings or messages of the folksongs were collected from the elders (hayyuu, wise men, culture experts or knowledgeable about Gadaa system) during interviews and focused group discussions.

The participants or elders were selected based on their cultural, religious and Gadaa system's knowledge in the community. For this study, the researcher has selected seven folksongs which have themes related to Gadaa system; specifically those dealt with the military and legal (laws) wings of Oromoo Democracy because Gadaa system emphasizes military and legal matters of Oromoo society.

For analytical approach, pragmatic analysis was used to extract contextual meanings of the folksongs. Regarding this Jafari (2013) expressed that pragmatics realizes the importance of context in showing the meaning underlying a certain expression. Linguistic or literary expressions are the

total product of social, cultural and psychological aspects of the society that created it. Specifically, poetry is influenced by social, cultural, political and religious entities of the society (Assefa, 2003). Hence, in analysis of literary texts context plays a great role to reach at sound meanings of the texts. According to Finnegan (1992), “context is the broader environment (linguistic, social, psychological...) to which text responds and on which it operates.” It is believed that the language of oral literary works is not the text only, as that of written literary works, but it is also the context. For Jackson (1987) any one can read a fiction if s/he understands its language, but for a folksong the language is not only the text but also the context. He concluded that context is the life of text. In this study, the folksongs (texts) of Tulama Oromoo were analyzed under the light of Gadaa system (context) to understand what the songs telling us about the Gadaa system.

In pragmatic analysis, three factors are very important in discovering the meaning of any given text. According to Udofot in Johnson & Josiah (2012) the situation in which the utterance is produced, the shared knowledge or common cultural background of the speaker and the hearer and the linguistic context in which a particular utterance occurs are crucial to get negotiated meanings of the utterance among the participants. Therefore, to discover the meanings of the Tulama Oromoo folksongs the background for the production of the songs was vital. The elders with the knowledge of the culture, norms, history, religion, and Gadaa system of the community played great role to understand some Gadaa values that embedded in the folksongs.

As the knowledge of Gadaa system and its values were faded from the memory of the community, it was crucial to consult some important authorities (books, articles, and some recorded materials) on Gadaa system in general and on its some aspects in particular. According to Eshete (2008) in the study of Oromoo verbal art, it is important to use objective approach that gives attention to the interplay between culture, history, politics and the verbal art. He also argued that the cultural milieu, the historical period during which the oral tradition was narrated, the geographical and ethnographic setting could determine the choice of linguistics. It is believed that literary work is a social discourse which is in varying degrees defined and controlled by the social institutions within which it is embedded (Odebode & Odesanyi, 2015).

In general, pragmatic approach follows the practical analysis that gives more emphasis to context than text itself. In Robison (2006) it is clearly stated:

Pragmaticians study how people use words in context, analyzing how the ways people use words are shaped by what they know about the physical and social world in which they live, by their personalities, alone and in groups, and by what they know about time and place in which the speaker spoke the words or the writer wrote them.

(Robinson, 2006:42)

During analysis, the original text (Afaan Oromoo version) was presented, and then the translated (English version) text followed below the original one. The analysis and interpretation of the folksongs were followed immediately after the songs.

3. Results and Discussion

The following song was collected from cooperative work (harvesting barley) occasion ‘Daboo’ in Afaan Oromoo, when the famers were singing at home of ‘Daboo’ holder in the evening. In the song, the famers have praised cattle and son being in group. In Tulama Oromoo praise songs, sons were frequently praised. I asked the elders, why the community praised sons regularly at different occasions? Their answer was simple: Gadaa system. Here is the song.

1 Shaayii: Ilmaafi loonii, ilmaafi loonitu qe’ee abbaa tocha! Yaa gorba koo

Jalaa qabdoota: Ilmaafi loonii

Shaayii: Ilmaafi looni hinjettuuree?

Jalaa qabdoota: Ilmaafi loonii



Leader: Homestead is lively because of son and cattle,

Because of son and cattle, you my folk!

Chorus: Son and cattle!

Leader: Say son and cattle!

Chorus: Son and cattle!

To understand the meaning of the song, the listener/audience should have the knowledge of Oromoo Gadaa system in general and the role of sons in Oromoo Gadaa system in particular. Most of the Gadaa laws, rules, conventions and regulations were set based on the law of nature. The Oromoo people abided to the principle that declares all human laws should not violate the law of

nature (Dirribi, 2011). So, the division of labor in Oromoo society was gender-based in line with natural features of women and men (Dereje, 2012). Among the basics principles of the Gadaa system, division of power and labor were the crucial ones (Lemmu, 2004). In Gadaa system only men allowed to pass through age-sets and age- generations (Asmarom, 2006). The passage of age-sets and age-generations in Gadaa system requires tough, physical labor and demands being muscular in nature. Specifically, Gadaa demands tough military and hunting exercises which are the basic natural characteristics of men.

According the elders or participants, Oromoo people have the culture of praising anything (living or non-living) that has special role in their entire wellbeing. Sons were praised because in the community they had the role of: protecting country or family from any danger, making the roles of his father to continue in the society and staying at the homestead of his parent after marriage. In the focused group discussion, an elder expressed that in Oromoo society; *ilmi sadi: tokko kan biyyaa, tokko kan biyyee, tokko kan abbaa* which roughly means; ‘better to have three sons: one for country, one for natural death, one for parent’. The saying clearly shows the importance of having son in the society.

In another folksong *Tulama Oromoo* also stated crucial role of sons or males in Oromoo society. This song will also help our understanding of the above song practically. Here is the song.

Minishirii dheeraa qapheetan, gabaabaa galche,

Erga hinduullee, abbaan kee maaliif si dhalche?



I preferred the long rifle ‘Mannlicher’ to the short one,

If you didn’t go to war front, why your father begot you?

The above song served as the volunteer recruitment during the Dergue regime. In the song, the oral poet has used Gadaa principles to convince the individuals to volunteer. In Gadaa system, every member of the society has responsibility and obligations that assigned to him/her from birth to death. Particularly, Oromoo males are involuntarily recruited to both age-sets and generation-sets as newly born infants (Asafa, 2012). It was unacceptable to resist the responsibilities or obligations in Gadaa system.

In the song (line 2), the poet explained the roles of males in Oromoo society in relation to war. In Gadaa system, for Oromoo males, it was mandatory and obligatory to defend the society from any aggression and to participate in war campaigns that are launched or declared by the authorities. According to Asmarom (2006), in Gadaa system Oromoo males begin physical exercises such as swimming, horse riding, and some adventures as early as nine years old(known as ‘Ittimakoo’ in Tulama Oromoo) which leads to others tough military exercise. Lemmu (1992) more claimed that Oromoo males were trained the art of warfare from the ‘dabballee’ stage. In De. Salvial(1901)

...the Oromoo is animated with warrior spirit in the highest quality. The vitality and durability of this people, who have traversed centuries, maintaining its autonomy and the integrity of its customs, are due to the bravery to the energy which it deployed in the struggle...*Every Oromoo is a soldier*(emphasis by author). The warrior temperament is born with him.

(De. Salvial, 1901: 308)

According to the song (line 2), there is no reason for an Oromoo male to be begotten by his father but to defend the Oromoo nation. Baxter (1979) clearly states:

...young men [Qeerroo] are also trained to become junior warriors by taking part in war campaigns and hunting large animals; they learn the practical skills of warfare, military organization and fighting so that they can engage in battle to *defend their country and economic resources*(emphasis by author).

(Baxter, 1979:78)

Again, oral poet has used Gadaa value to witness chronic problems that faced Tulama Oromoo. The community experienced unusually incident (bribery) which is against Oromoo norms, laws and values. Let’s look at the song.

Caffee bu’e Gammachuun caffee bu’e,

Dhugaan dhibbaan bakka bu’e,

Warri harkaa hinqabne du’e.



Left for Legislative assembly, ‘Gammachuu’ left for the assembly,

Truth was bribed for hundred birr,

Poor was sentenced to death.

In the folksong, there are two basic concepts that have special place in the life of an Oromoo: ‘Dhugaa’ which literally means ‘Truth’ and ‘Caffee’ which literally means ‘Assembly’. To understand the meaning of the song, it is important to look at what do ‘Truth’ and ‘Assembly’ mean in Oromoo society.

According to participants (elders) from Tulama Oromoo Truth is a son of God or Truth belongs to God; in Afaan Oromoo ‘Dhugaan tan Waaqati’ or Dhugaan ilmoo Waaqati. In Assefa (2003) the poetry of Jaarsoo Waaqoo (the late solider of Oromoo Liberation Front, a Boran) that presented in dialogic form with ‘Dhugaa’ ‘Truth’ in English also showed the Oromoo’s view about ‘Truth’.

Dhugaa	Dhugaa
-yee	-yes
-at’ ta’eennuu?	-where do you belong?
-ta waaqaa	-to God

(Assefa, 2003:102)

In the dialogue, the ‘Truth’ itself responded by saying, to God, to the question that asked; where it belongs. As the poetry was from Borana Oromoo where Gadaa system still functions, the value of Truth in Oromoo people is deep rooted in Gadaa system.

When we look at the lyric of the song (line 2) somebody or judge has taken hundred birr in expense of somebody’s truth. In Oromoo worldview, it is believed that if somebody’s truth or justice is jeopardized, it is meant that the Truth of God is also jeopardized. According to Maammoo Gadaa (my research informant) and other participants, denying anyone his/her truth (justice) disturbs the harmony relationship between ‘Uumaa’ and ‘Uumamaa’ literally means ‘God’ and ‘Creatures’ respectively. Hence, for elders ‘Jaasolii Biyyaa’, the first and the most important issue is finding out truth or to make justice to those who lost it. In conflict resolution hearings ‘Jaarsummaa’, the term ‘Dhugaa si argine’ yookiin ‘Dhugaa Waaqaa lafaaf argine’ which literally means ‘we found out your truth’ is the most important decision that the accuser wants to hear. Nobody cares about the punishment.

In Oromoo Gadaa system serving truth or justice to an individual is not the matter of the individuals' right but it is the matter of welfare of Oromoo society in particular and for the harmony between 'God' and 'Universe' in general. According to Aspen & et al (2009) in Oromoo Gadaa system speaking false statements (lying) is 'Safuu'. 'Safuu' is a concept that is used to represent things, behaviors, actions and others that are forbidden or taboo (don'ts) in Gadaa system.

In the song, the above Gadaa values were under attack or missed in the legal service of the so called modern (?) system. This phenomenon forced the Abbaa Gadaa of that local community to leave for assembly i.e. legislative assembly. We better understand the song after we explain what is legislative assembly or 'Caffee' i.e. 'Seera Caffee Tumaa' in Afaan Oromoo 'the enacting of laws' in English. According to Alemayehu (2009) the unresolved social, political, and economic issues at the lower level of the 'caffee' were transferred to the higher 'caffee'.

In Gadaa system laws are made at assembly 'Caffee' which presided by Abbaa Gadaa or Abbaa Bokkuu and practiced by officials at their locals. After the expansion and recovery of Oromoo or buttaa wars in the 16th century, different local groups established their own government and used to govern by Gadaa system (Asafa, 2012). These local groups created their own 'Caffee' or a place to meet together to make laws basically under 'Odaa' shade. The elders 'hayyuu' at the locals control its implementations. Minor problems or conflicts in the community were dealt with by elders or officials in the local areas. The assembly or 'Caffee' is concerned with major issues of the community. Of course, at local or 'gosaa' level there is also 'Caffee Gosaa' which literally means 'Assembly/Council of Clan' a place where local Abbaa Gadaas meet to discuss social, political and religious aspects of the clan.

In the above song (line 1), the official of the local community 'Abbaa Gadaa' left for assembly which indicated the community has faced curial problems or one of the values of Gadaa system under threat. According to Lemmu (1992) Gadaa system emphasized two major roles: the military and the legal. As we can see from the song, the legal service of the community was not in accordance with Gadaa system. 'Safuu' was violated and basic rights and liberties of an individual were not respected. As it was mentioned in the song, the practice of bribery is alien to Gadaa system. In Gadaa system any elected individual serves his/her nation without payment or salary including Abbaa Gadaa (Lemmu, 1992).

In the following folksong, Tulama Oromoo also raised the issue of marriage, the right and duty of wife and husband. The song was based on story of a husband and wife who were in conflict because of polygyny. It was narrated by a minstrel in a bar on a market day.

1 Yaa dhirsa koo yaa maraataa,

Qooda ammadhufaa, natti hodhsiiftu,

Qooda konjiiti bittee na ragachiiftu,

Hamma Burtkaan fiddee, na wajagsiiftu,

5 Hoolota bittee, nu hinhorsiiftu?

Hamma daa'imni, abidda keessa nu ciciiftu.

Abbaa manaa, malli maali yaa namana?

Maaliif dhaante, haadha manaa? Niitii goraa ganamaa

Itillee afuu didde moo?

10 Si bira rafuu didde moo?

Aaxrii bobeesite moo?

Misixirii odeessite moo?

Dhirsa koo gaattiraa bituus hindinne,

Sibira rafuus hindinne,

15 Sittan daallachaa'e malee,

Sanyiin olkaa'e malee.

Koottuu gali yaa dhirsa koo,

Dhirsa goraa ganamaa,

Siin jette haati manaa.

20 Namana deemi gali yaa namana,

Kanuma ani baadhu baatti teetis haati manaa,

Siin jetti sunis haati manaa,

Waaquma goraa ganamaa.



1 You my husband, you crazy one,

Rather you bought me fashion clothes,

Rather you bought me 'Konjiitii' and made me dance,

Rather you brought 'Burtukaan' and made me crazy

5 Why did not you buy us sheep for breeding?

Why our children slept at the fireplace?

You husband, what is the solution you man?

Why you beat your wife?, wife of 'Goraa Ganamaa,'

Did she refuse to make a bed?

10 Did she refuse to sleep with you?

Did she use the fence for firewood?

Did she leak secret?

You man, your wife said to you:

"I didn't refuse to make bed, my husband,

15 Also I didn't refuse to sleep with you,

But I kept seed for farm,

Please come back home my husband,

My first husband, husband of the first 'Toddalia asiatica'"

Your second wife also said to you:

20 "Go to your home, you man!

Your wife also holds what I hold" (the same pussy),

In the name of God of 'Goraa Ganamaa'.

The meaning or the message of the song lies in the Oromoo's view about a family. According to elders divorce is impossible in Oromoo community. Family institution is taken as the basic for the wellbeing of Oromoo nation. The community cares for the whole family members not for right of husband and wife. It was believed that in Gadaa system (Oromoo Democratic Republic) group rights are prioritized over individual rights. Hence, the song warned that it was against the communities' value to abandon wife or family. In the song (lines 19 & 20) the husband who left his first wife to marry another woman was advised to go back to his home or family.

The other important Gadaa value that was mentioned in the song, is the right of wife; specifically, the first virgin wife in Oromoo society. In Oromoo society, men practice polygyny in different areas. In such cases, for example, the senior wives enjoy many privileges than junior wives (Jeylan, 2004). According to elders, it is 'Safuu' to divorce from the senior or first wife in Tulama Oromoo.

Even when the first married woman is infertile or barren, the husband will marry another wife, but the first born child will be given to the first wife i.e. the barren one. In Gadaa system, ‘Seera Rakoo’ is a law that protects females and children in marriage, has to be respected by males. A male who fails to respect ‘Seera Rakoo’, would not be given responsibilities in the society (Alemayehu, 2009)

Moreover, in Oromoo society wife is taken as ‘Safuu’ by herself. So, it is forbidden to beat or to disrespect your wife. According to Ostebo (2009) in Arsi Oromoo; wife, ‘Siinqee’, virginity of females, women’s religious and political roles were taken as ‘Wayyuu’ which means ‘Safuu’. In the song (lines 10 & 25) the virginity of the wife when she married to her husband presented as a value to be respected by the husband. According to the participants, in Oromoo society in general and Tulama Oromoo in particular when someone marries for the first time, the ceremony of the marriage is very planned, participatory (relatives from both sides), recommended (by elders, spiritual leaders), and costly. It is not about the matter of two individuals’ love (bride and bridegroom) but it is about the building of the nation and generational continuity. Most members of community have responsibility in creating good family in Oromoo Gadaa system (Alemayehu, 2009).

So, the senior wives in the community play important roles to make the nation stable. This is what the wife in the song was claiming for. In Kuwe (1997) it was clearly stated that in Oromoo society women are respected and revered by people because it is believed that God made them to be respected and revered. According to Gadaa system or Oromoo worldview violating women’s rights and scared authorities is regarded as violating the Law of God and ‘Safuu’ of Oromoo people (Ibid).

The above folksong also witnessed another Gadaa values or principle i.e. secrecy or confidentiality of Oromoo people as a nation. According to elders, it is ‘Safuu’ to leak the secret of family and nation in Oromoo society. As we have discussed above beating or disrespect wife is ‘Safuu’, but according to the song the wife can be beaten when she leaked the secret or confidential information (line 13) of the family. Among the reasons for the success of Oromoos in their Buttaa Wars, being secrecy or confidentiality within the ethnic group played a great role. The confidential information was shared only among authorized individuals or concerned body. Nobody knew where and when

to begin offensive except the participants of the campaigns. It is believed that working against Oromoo people would immediately result in loss of ‘Oromummaa’ or discrimination from the people. In most literatures about Gadaa system the issue of confidentiality or how to handle confidential information is missed or not treated well. Specifically, when any group or people are labeled as enemy of Oromoo or ‘diina’ by Abbaa Gadaa; all Oromoo people also label them as enemy and leaking any information about Oromoo organization against them is ‘Safuu’.

The following dirge song which was sung on the funeral of ‘Kifluu Gammadaa’; Abbaa Gadaa of Jidda district in North Shoa or ‘Salaalee’ witnessed the organization of Gadaa system in local areas. After the expansion or recovery of Oromoo from one center to different areas in present Ethiopia, Gadaa system was again established at their own local areas to be governed by (Asafa, 2012; Lemmu, 1992).

1Gali yaa Kifluu Gammadaa,
Kifluu Gammee Mangashaa,
Eenyutu seera hima,
Odaa Nabee nagaatti,
5Biyya Jiddaatis nagaatti,
Ana makiinatu balleesse,
Jidda waajjiniin nyaadhe,
Jidda eebbiseetan dhiheesse,
Nagaatti yaa Jidda koo,

10Jedhe Kifluu Gammadaa.



1 Good bye; ‘Kifluu Gammadaa’,
‘Kifluu’ son of ‘Gammee Mangashaa’,
Who will proclaim the law?
Goodbye! Odaa Nabee,
5Goodbye! My country ‘Jiddaa’,
‘Kifluu Gammadaa’, said:
“I was killed by a car,
I spent a lot with ‘Jiddaa,’

I left 'Jiddaa' blessed,

10 Good bye my country, Jiddaa;"

In the above song, there are two important Gadaa System's concepts: 'Seera himuu' which roughly means proclaiming law and 'Odaa Nabee' which is one of the five scared Sycamore Trees under which laws are made. It is important to discuss the concepts in relation to Oromoo Gadaa system and the Tulama Oromoo's practice of Gadaa system.

According to different literatures Oromoo people were forced to wage wars to expand or to recover their land, as population and livestock increment left them in shortage of living and grazing land in the 16th century around 1522 (Asafa, 2010). They fought twelve 'buttaa' wars (which were launched every eight years when power is transferred from one Gadaa party to the next) between 1522 and 1618 and succeeded in expanding and establishing Oromia to its present boundaries (Asmarom, 1973).

The expansion resulted in difficulty to govern from a single centralized Gadaa government from east to west and south to north. In the process of their continued expansion into various regions, different groups established autonomous Gadaa governments (Asmarom, 1973). The Borana wing (Macca and Tulama) that led the buttaa wars in direction of north and west has established their center at 'Odaa Nabee' around the present 'Duukam' in East Shoa about 30kms from Finfinnee (Asafa, 2010). In Oromoo society 'Odaa' or Sycamore Tree services as the central office of Gadaa government and the center of religion (Asafa, 2010). Due to the expansion of 'Maccaa' clan more to west, they separated from Tulama and formed their own center at Odaa Bisil between Gedo and Gibe River.

'Odaa Nabee' is still serving as the center of assembly (for political and religious) to Tulama Oromoo, even if Gadaa system is not functioning fully at the moment. The Gadaa leaders (Abbaa Gadaa) from different local areas used to come to 'Odaa Nabee' to make laws and to take back the laws to their local areas. According to the participants, the 'Qaalluu' (the spiritual leaders) from Jiddaa District in North Shoa have been travelling to 'Odaa Nabee' regularly to fetch laws. These Qaalluus have double roles: as 'Abbaa Gadaa' and 'Abbaa Ayyaanaa' (political and ritual leader respectively) in the community. According to Asmarom (1973) in Oromoo assembly 'Abbaa Gadaa' proclaims laws and also could act as ritual expert. In Tulama Oromoo some values of Gadaa

system are survived by ‘Qaalluu’ institution in practicing ‘Waaqeffannaa’ i.e. Oromoo religion. Most of the people in the area practice or follow Waaqeffannaa i.e. Oromoo indigenous religion and Coptic Orthodox religion simultaneously.

In the above song, the dirge singer ‘boochiftuu’ in Afaan Oromoo witnessed that in Tulama Oromoo Odaa Nabee has been servicing as a center of assembly where laws are/were made. In the lyrics of the song (line 3 & 4) clearly expressed that Odaa Nabee is ‘Caffee’ of Tulama Oromoo since the arrival of Oromoo to the place. In the song, the death of ‘Kifluu Gammadaa’ in car accident (the ‘Abbaa Gadaa’ and ‘Ayyaantuu’) of ‘Jiddaa’ District left the locals without representative at Odaa Nabee’s assembly and the singer directly asked who is going to fetch and proclaim the law (line 3).

In Gadaa system’s age-sets (the division of male based on their age), every age-set has its own roles and activities in the community. In the following song the roles of ‘Foollee’, the third age grade from 17-24 years old young males, were presented.

Daalacha Foollee Looniin lagdani,
Hayileen seene sagaraa, mee Taliila balaccuu agartanii.
↓
Cattle sold to buy ‘Daalachaa’, a horse of ‘Foollee’,
Haile entered into (hid) himself in Latrine, please have you seen bald Talila?

The above song was collected from Bosat district in East Shoa via interview from elders. The story in the song was a true story and the name of the people in the story was also real persons or residents of the area. Both men were married and they violated the norm of the community in marrying widows illegally. In the community such practice or the people who practice it is known as ‘Sigabaa’. ‘Foollee’ regularly condemns people who practice Sigabaa in their local area via songs. Whenever or wherever (at market places, bars, different occasions, or on the road...) Foollee meets these people, the group insult them and also could cut their clothes into pieces.

The person who hurts other person, who violates the culture, breaks the norms, harasses the daughters and mothers, who takes the wife of someone by force, the person who disrespect and beats the intelligentsia and elders will leave the country or

search for the solutions through reconciliation; otherwise ‘Foollee’ will cut (Dirribi, 2011:222).

As it was expressed in the above song (line 2), the ‘Sigabaa’s would try to escape or hide themselves from the Foollee. Accordingly, Mr. Hayilee hid himself in latrine while Talila escaped from the Foollee.

In Gadaa system, Foollee is taken as agent of social justice, norms and customs (Dirribi, 2011; Asmarom, 2006). According to Dirribi (2011) the ‘Foollee’ sing by using the words demonstrating disrespect, anger and their disappointment, when ‘Abbaa Gadaa’ fails to practice good leadership and others violate the norms of the community. At this stage they practice singing ‘geeraruu’, swimming, horse riding and spear throwing, hunting, and shielding (Dereje, 2012).

In the song the Foollee were very disrespectful to the Sigabaas. In the line two of the song, Taliila’s male pattern baldness (losing hair at the front head) was regarded as ‘balaccuu’, the term that used for cattle (ox and cow) to indicate the white hair on head of black cow or ox. The hiding of Haile in the latrine also expressed as he entered or fell into feces.

The participants explained that the philosophy behind prohibiting someone from marring or loving widows is to protect the children or family and property of the deceased person from exploitations by others or ‘Sigabaas’. This view revealed in the following ‘Foollee’ song.

Eege daalacha Boruu Qaaxillaa,
Sigabaa tabatti dhahee, keessaa hurgufe qincee maashillaa.

↓
Tail of ‘Daaalchaa’, a horse of ‘Boruu Qaaxillaa’,
‘Sigabaa’ vomited porridge of Sorghum, as I (Foollee) hit him at hill.

In the song (line 2), it is indicated that the ‘Sigabaa’ had the porridge of sorghum at the house of widow (his illegal wife according to the community or Gadaa system) and became burden to the family of the deceased person. This could lead the children of the deceased person to starvation. Seera Rakoo (the law of marriage) is significant not only for couples but also good for the security of children to be born (Alemayehu, 2009). A man has to fulfill ‘Seera Rakoo’ to marry a woman. So, the community has to protect the family via ‘Foollee’ by punishing Sigabaas psychologically

and physically as shown in the above songs. The songs showed the roles of ‘Foollee’ in Gadaa system as they were practiced in Tulama Oromoo.

4. Conclusions and Recommendations

The study shows that some values, principles and characteristics of Gadaa system are exhibited in the folk literature of the Tulama Oromoo. The pragmatic analysis of the folksongs indicated oral poetry serves as the source of some Gadaa values which are almost obsolete at the moment in Tulama Oromoo. As it was revealed in the folksongs, in Gadaa system males were the central and integral players of the society. In Oromoo society defending Oromoo nation and participating in war campaigns are the mandatory as well as obligatory responsibilities of the males. It is also concluded that Tulama Oromoo instructed its members that ‘Truth’ belongs to God or child of God in its folksong. So, it has to be obeyed by an Oromoo through his/her life. Abbaa Gadaa has to follow up the Truth or justice of society not to be jeopardized in any circumstances. In the study it was also pointed out that Tulama Oromoo has used folksongs to instruct, comment and preach some values of Gadaa system such as respect for marriage, roles of husband and wife in family making, duties of legislative assembly and the roles of the ‘Foollee’ age-set. Again, it can be concluded that even if Gadaa system is not functional or dismissed in Tulama Oromoo, some of its values are embedded in oral poetry of the folk group. Thus, in the process of reconstructing of Gadaa system (Oromoo Democracy), it is advisable to use oral literatures in general and oral poetry in particular as sources of information. It is also recommended to carry out extensive researches across the region or Oromoo nation to explore Gadaa values in literary works of Oromoo people.

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12. Revitalization of Some *Gadaa* Institutions in West Arsi, Oromia: The Experience from Dodola District, a Historical Overview

Kefyalew Tessema Semu⁸⁷

Abstract

This paper seeks to reflect on an exhilarating initiative of revitalization of some Gadaa institutions in Dodola District, narrow the gap and call up on scholars to augment on it. In-depth interviews and document surveys were conducted, analyzed and evidence they convey have been crosschecked in the interpretation. Finding indict that socio-cultural institutions with indigenous knowledge play a pivotal role for sustainable development. The Gadaa system, an intangible World Heritage, is one of such institutions consisting of many complementary institutions. The Arsi Oromoo practiced a Gadaa system modified to operate at clan level until it was suspended in 1886. Subsequently, an ignominious rule with gunpoint was installed. Consequently, a society, which is skilled enough not only to solve complex inter-clan conflicts but also to heal the hearts of the conflicting parties through gumaa and fixata was depowered to litigate in corrupted alien courts over simple cases. This led to the widespread of revenge, divorce and breach of social norms that were uncommon in Arsi society. Thus, revitalization of Gadaa institutions like yaa'ii abbooti gadaa, gumaa and jarsuummaa has been yearned by the public in West Arsi, where encouraging steps have been undergoing. In Dodola, a predominantly Muslim inhabited district, Culture and Tourism Office has designed the structure of yaa'ii abbooti gadaa, from district to village levels to operate in consensus with the formal administrative and legal systems. It has bokkuu and hookkaa with jurisdiction over some civil and criminal cases through gumaa and jaarsuummaa practices. The experience from Dodola district could shed light for other parts of Oromia. Yet, despite wider social acceptance of these institutions, there are gaps in their autonomy and harmonizing them with state apparatuses due to mistrust and myopia. Therefore, promoting indigenous wisdom embedded these institutions could be a remedy to create awareness.

Key words: *revitalization, gadaainstitution, yaa'ii abbooti gadaa, gumaa, jaarsuummaa.*

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Introduction

“Dhiltee dhina! Dhiltee dhina!” The Arsi asks for blessing and permission at a start.

“Ofkalaa! Hobayaa! Irraa hafaa”⁸⁸ The reply is “be blessed! Be successful!

In Ethiopia, a nation taken for free Africa when most nations in the continent were succumbed under colonial hegemony, local domination is not accorded the status of homegrown bondage. For a society, who was denied of a comprehensive socioeconomic and politico-cultural institution that governs all aspects of its livelihoods, the *Gadaa* System, how is life different from colonialism? The way out from such injustice, which was at expense of costly sacrifices in terms of life and resources, is not meaningful unless it revitalizes this indigenous institution for a sustainable development. In addition, more than the importance of indigenous wisdom and institutions built based on it for progress, it is the how to revitalize, harmonize of it with the contemporary systems and curb challenges it faces, that needs thorough investigation. But, these issues are either less studied or not well disseminated so far.

The Arsi are the first of all Oromoo speaking people to appear in both Christian and Muslim scribes. These sources witness that the Arsi practiced a typical *Gadaa* system, which was a secret of their standing prowess, proud and free until their defeat mainly due to ‘the firearm factor’ in 1886 (Legesse, 2000: 64). Then, their *Gadaa* was banned. Since the termination of the *Gadaa* system, the Arsi people have been subjected to a number of social economic and cultural crises. Particularly, havocs in the legal system, for a society who did not understand the language of courts, were both harrowing and amount a cultural genocide (Tubiana, 1983: 27). This fact looks to have been jeopardized further by silence and today many people including some scholars do not aware that the Arsi used to practice the *Gadaa* system.

Therefore, oral and literature research has been done to see the material roots of the above problems and try to narrow down gap it implied. Sources of oral data are knowledgeable elders that have been identified by snowball and purposive techniques in the period of the last six years. Key informants, who are well organized in their memory of the past and have participated in the *Gadaa* system, were selected for in-depth interviews. It yielded vital oral data on the subject. Research on written materials has been conducted at the levels of district (Dodola, Adaba, etc.), Zonal, national

⁸⁸ This is Arsi tradition of asking for blessing at the start of a task and end by thanks giving and Praise of *Waaqa*.

depositories of archives and secondary sources on the occasion of several research duties including for doctoral program. Evidence from these oral and written data have been analyzed, crosschecked, corroborated, objectively interpreted and synthesized with the aim to: investigate the significance the *Gadaa* as an institutions to the Arsi society before its conquest; highlight how the Arsi responded to the suspension of *Gadaa* institutions; explore successes and challenges of initiatives undergoing to revitalize *Gadaa* institutions such as *gumii abbootii Gadaa*, *gumaa* and *jaarsummaa* in Dodola district of West Arsi Zone; to reflect and augment on the experience of Dodola district so as it may shed light for other interested areas of Oromia. The finding is discussed as follows.

Some Features of the Arsi *Gadaa* System: a Bird's Eye View

Before, during and after their movement of the 16th century, the Oromoo had their own political, economic, social and religious institutions known as the *Gadaa* system, which is long way to be recognized a masterpiece of humanity inscribed as World Heritage. It is an indigenous system of social engineering that fascinates social scientists but rendered little attention of the authority until lately. By definition “the *Gadaa* system is a system in which *Gadaa* classes (*luba*) succeed each other every eight years assuming military, political, social and cultural responsibilities in the Oromoo nation” through free, merit based, direct and competitive election (Legesse, 1973: 8). As to Elders, representatives all the Oromoo had participated in the process of *Gadaa* renewal at Madda Walabu.⁸⁹ Then, after the split of the Oromoo into subgroups, each major Oromoo groups have made some modification to upgrade its applicability to new socioeconomic and political settings (Mindaye, 2005: 28). Such amendments seem to have been the fundamental reason for regenerative capacity of the *Gadaa* System. Any time when new development happened in the life of the Oromoo Society, new *Gadaa* laws meaning *seeraGadaa* were endorsed by the *Caffee* (general assembly) and declared to the people by the *hayyuu* (scholars). Likewise, the Arsi *Gadaa* has gone through this process during the movement and came to have the following features (Legesse, 2000: 32-33).⁹⁰

Discussion of the Arsi *Gadaa* in such limited space of an article is a nonstarter. So, the intention here is to brief only three distinct feature of the Arsi *Gadaa*. One, Arsi *Gadaa* was improved in

⁸⁹Informants: Robe Mamma; Adam Tinna. These are two of my most organized informants. See their data in the reference.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

series assemblies on the process of the movement of the society. It has changes and continuity before becoming a functional social system. The case in point resulted in mobility and military prowess of the Arsi Oromoo, which is also known as “the warrior” (Hassan, 2015: 150-53). Arsi tradition has it that the return from Madda Walabu (in lower Dallo) into the old *Bali*, where Doldola and Adaba districts are located, was preceded by series of assemblies of the Arsi. It involved war against Christians and Muslims (including Muslim Oromoos) in the old state of *Bali*.⁹¹ Informants state stages and assemblies attended in the process of the expansion as follows:

Gloss	English
1 “Oromooon Walaabuutti gura waraanate	Oromoo renewed the Gadaa at Walabu
Arsiin Miidhagduutti Gadaa miidhagfate	the Arsi improved the Gadaa at Midhagdu
Kurkurutti Kukura qalate	At Kurkurru they slaughtered a thin bull
Dallootti loonitti dalleesse Dallaa falate	made ritual for cattle fertility at Dallo
5 Odaa Roobaatti seera tumatee	then made Gadaa laws at Odaa Rooba
Baaleeti baalli goodame	In Bale they shared powers of the Gadaa
Baalee mataan bahee gadaa quufaan gahee	then they set out on the top Bale prospering Gadaa
Kattaa kootoote Mariibootti Marii fixee	then climbed the cliff and assembled at Maribo
9 Waakkannaatti diina waakkatee ⁹²	Oromoo vowed to the enemy at Wakanna allegiance

According this tradition, which cannot give any specific time of the movement, at first, (line 1) the Oromoo renewed the *gadaa* at the general council of all Oromoo groups at Madda Walabu then (line 2) the Arsi had their own separate council at Midhagdu followed by (line 3) a *buttaa* ceremony at Bareddu Kurkurtu and (4) they had chosen a central Kraal at Dallo (a camp probably for the cattle of whole group) all three sites are in Dallo Manna region moving from the southwest to northeast direction. The establishment of the central Kraal or camp and the *buttaa* are unmistakable indicators the beginning of the attack on *Bali*. (5) The retaking of Odaa Rooba in Ginnir District, which was near a stronghold of the Christian forces in defense of *Bali*, served them as strategic place and symbol of success for their further expansions. The division of *baallii* (ostrich symbolizing power) in Bale indicates the decentralization of power (6) and territorial appropriation among themselves by controlling the whole of Bale (7). Then they descended down the Kattaa, cliff of Wabé River (8) and crossed it at a ford known as Malka Wakkanna literary means the ford where

⁹¹The medieval Bali included large area of Bale Zone and parts the present Arsi and the West Arsi zones. There are traditions of war between Muslims Oromo and the non-Muslim Baarentu over *Sheik* Hussein and Sof Omar shrines.

⁹² Informants: Robe Mamma; Burqaa Cuqurru.

they swore allegiances of fraternity and redefined their enemies after completion of the occupation of Bale (9). Redefining enemy means to describe new identities of the already known enemy or to add new ones.⁹³ This is in line with Martial De Salviac's statement that the Oromoo had categorized both "Muslims and the Abyssinians have no right to the unction" indicating none Oromoo roots of these groups (Salviac, 1901: 183). Mohammed Hassen cited some of the places in this tradition like Bareeddu (Midhagdu) Kurkurtu and Odaa Rooba are also mentioned as important centers of Oromoo assemblies (Hassen, 2015: 150).⁹⁴ Braukämper added a *Caffee* known as Koss located in *Bali* (Braukämper, 2004: 86).

Two, a special feature of the Arsi *Gadaa* system was that it operated more efficient at clan level in which each clan was autonomous over its internal matters. Each clan had its own council or assembly of eight members known as *saddeeta* and *shanee* (the five), which was responsible to announce decisions and laws endorsed by the former. Head of the *saddeeta* known as *AbbaaBokkuu* meaning possessor of scepter and his vice is called *hookkaa* were elected every eight years. As mentioned earlier the Arsi had their central assembly at Odaa Rooba, attended by 32 Arsi clans (Østebø, 2005b: 22). But, eventually more localized *Gadaa* centers at the level of individual clan or in some cases a common council for neighboring clans was opened, as we shall see in the case of Dodola district. Terje Østebø writes that the Arsi Oromoo practice five *Gadaa*-classes namely *birmajii*, *bultuma*, [*horataa*], *robalee* and *bahara* (Østebø, 2005a: 27-29). Each class exercise power for eight years and succeeded by another when their time is done.⁹⁵

According to informants of Dodola area, names of these *Gadaa* classes have origin in Arsi tradition. Robe Mamma and Burqaa Cuqurru state that each name was derived from a shortened form of particular *milkee* (fortune) that those first members of each class were said to have observed when their respective *Gadaa* was on power.

Gloss Implication for the name of the *Gadaa* class

⁹³ Informant: Adam Tina. He state that the process of describing the enemy is called "*Diinsuu*".

⁹⁴ Hassen stated many sites were used a centers of *caffee*.

⁹⁵ According to Østebø these *gadaa* classes have order of seniority. The order by informants, *Birmaji*, *Bultuma*, *Horata*, *Bahara* and *Robale* varies on the last two given by Østebø. The third is also Horata, not Waraata. In previous western districts of Bale, Such as Dodola, Kokkossa, Adaba and Nansabo, currently the *gada* is reinstated and on revival.

*Biramaduun*⁹⁶ *beeraaf tolte quufa gabbina* *Biramji* was fortune of women in marriage and for it
to last longer

Bultii fi bultumnii bidaa beeraf tola *Bultuma* was fortune of life good for fertility of women

Hormaatni tole loon horee hora obaase *Horata* implied cattle fertility and availability of
mineral water for their herds

Bahaara beelan ture Beeltuti kurkura qale *Bahara* showed recovery from drought and slaughtered tin bull at
Kurkurtu in Beeltuu?

Robalee gadaan gabbina roobee qubse *Robale* showed the availability of rain for their herds

In the gloss expression, words in the beginning of each sentence are modified to the name of *Gadaa* class. Mindaye Abebe observed related tradition used in ritual blessing during *Gadaa* ceremonies in Bale highlands, where the concept of the *Gadaa* is basically not different from that of Gadab region where Dodola is located (Mindaye, 2005: 28).

Three, unlike most Oromoo groups, the Arsi do not have single chief that preside over the *Gadaa* system. In the case of Arsi, there are a number of *Gadaa* areas with slightly different rules corresponding to territories of moieties. But, in each *Gadaa* areas, the *bokkuu*, head of the *Gadaa*, has more power than any other Oromoo groups (Haberland, 1963: 783-4). On other hand, there are two robust social institutions that have been used to bind the interrelationship among the descendents of Arsi and rejuvenate solidarity among its moieties. One of this is known as the *Arsoma tradition*, which is a strong sense of belongingness and brotherhood among all Arsi clans (Kefyalew, 2004: 37). Even there were cases in which none Oromoo groups can be adopted and come to have all rights, duties and privileges that the rest of the Oromoo possess (Ibsa, 2007: 18-19). The second one is known as Allo Arsi, which was formerly an element of the *Gadaa* system, but, in time it came to be a set of legal codes that regulate interrelationship of the Arsi Oromoo. It is a law of all the Arsi people in Arsiland (Abdurahiman, 1991: 1).⁹⁷ Therefore, these are some of the key features of Arsi *Gadaa* that one needs to take into account.

⁹⁶ *Birmaduu*, according to Arsi Oromo accent, means first wife and she is honored due to her ritual symbolic role in *Gadaa* ceremonies alongside the *AbbaaGadaa* and other top *Gadaa*. Even some offices aren't held without her.

⁹⁷ Arsiland is a term coined by Ulrich Braukämper to denote all the territories inhabited mainly by the Arsi Oromo.