

**INDIGENOUS CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS: THE CASE OF
XIIGI-GUULLAA AMONG THE HADIYA, ETHIOPIA**



By: DELELEGN TADESSE

**COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES,
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
JIMMA UNIVERSITY**

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JIMMA, ETHIOPIA**

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BY: DELELEGN TADESSE SAWO

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JIMMA, ETHIOPIA

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University and all sources of material used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Delelegn Tadesse Signature _____ Date: 17/05/2021 G.C

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JIMMA, ETHIOPIA

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GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

<i>Abagazi</i>	Title of war leader
<i>Abagada</i>	Title of local chiefs
<i>Abayyo</i>	Brother
<i>Abaroosa</i>	Family
<i>Adaa</i>	Aunt
<i>Addila</i>	King
<i>Addiluwwa , Danni Addila</i>	The title name for more than two/three culturally respected elders at Gii'll/Giichcho Gassoo level/ Ethnic-Court level leaders.
<i>Agishsho</i>	Slave
<i>Anniabayyo</i>	Uncle (Father Brother)
<i>Anjaanchuwaa</i>	The title name for more than two/three culturally as well as spiritually respected elders among Badewacho Hadiya.
<i>Anna</i>	Father
<i>Amayya</i>	Mother's sister
<i>Ayyidaraa</i>	Locally made beer
<i>Baado</i>	Revenge
<i>Barcuma</i>	Chair
<i>Bagado</i>	Locally made weapon
<i>Dawwa</i>	Communal work
<i>Dinbimma</i>	Alcoholism
<i>Duu'mmancha</i>	Insult
<i>Eshimma</i>	Mother's Brother
<i>Fugakichcho</i>	Potter
<i>Fujoo</i>	Spirit
<i>Fandanano</i>	Traditional religion in Hadiya
<i>Fandano</i>	A person who follows the religion fandano

<i>Gabal gatisimma</i>	Leaving apart of land on the border
<i>Gasse-Seera</i>	Name of traditional institution to rule and regulation among of the Hadiya community.
<i>Giichcho</i>	Higher social class next to sullo
<i>Giira</i>	Hadiya Ethnic group at nation level
<i>Gojanchcho</i>	Evil eye
<i>Gormotaa</i>	People with evil eye
<i>Gufa- kassimma</i>	Putting a grass
<i>Guffa-gudimma</i>	Tied on grass
<i>Guzumoo'o</i>	Compensation
<i>Haqqa kassimma</i>	Planting a tree
<i>Haloo'o</i>	Premeditate killing
<i>Hagayye</i>	Summer
<i>Hidiro</i>	Oath
<i>Heefichcho</i>	Women religious authority
<i>Heemachcha qassimma</i>	Kill a black sheep
<i>Hushanch te'im hindibayyi leho</i>	Unpremeditated death
<i>Ilimuuchcho</i>	A young boy from the family
<i>Kebele</i>	The smallest unit of political Administration in Ethiopia
<i>Kina kassimma</i>	Putting/Planting stone
<i>Kumado</i>	Destroying
<i>Kaba murimma</i>	Simple canal
<i>Ladishsha</i>	Marriage based on mutual consent
<i>Landa gossimma</i>	Abduction
<i>Lagimma</i>	Violate of agreement
<i>Lommana</i>	Elders
<i>Landi-machcha</i>	The dress of women or women belt

<i>Landi-siiko</i>	Women stick
<i>Manna shimma</i>	Murder
<i>Moollo</i>	Higher social class next to minee
<i>Minee</i>	The lowest traditional administrative structure in Hadiya
<i>Ossso</i>	Children
<i>Ora</i>	War
<i>Qaareemma</i>	Birth,
<i>Miini-issimma/Arra-issimma</i>	Marriage
<i>Lehiimaa,</i>	Death.
<i>Qoccancha</i>	Conflict
<i>Seera</i>	Traditional law
<i>Saa'imma</i>	Adultery
<i>Sullo</i>	Higher social class next to moollo
<i>Taankoo'o</i>	Incidental killing or death
<i>Teja</i>	Local beer
<i>Unxaxxi mi 'n lommana</i>	Church elders
<i>Uulla amadimma</i>	Individual borrows land from the owner for the specific Period of time
<i>Wancha</i>	Tanner
<i>Waa'a</i>	God
<i>Woshshaba</i>	Leader
<i>Weesa</i>	False banana
<i>Woqacca</i>	Smiths
<i>Woreda</i>	District
<i>Wonna</i>	The eldest son in family
<i>Xiiga- guullaa</i>	Ritual of purification for blood feud (Homicide reconciliation)
<i>Xiiga</i>	Blood

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CSA	Central Statistic Agency
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FCS	Formal Courts System
HZFEDO	(Hadiya Zone Finance and Economic Development Office 2011)
ICRM:	Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanism
ICRI:	Indigenous Conflict Resolution Institution
KM	Kilo Meter
SNNPRG	Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Regional Government

ABSTRACT

The different ethnic groups in Ethiopia have developed their own traditional resolution mechanisms to deal with conflicts. The Hadiya of Southern Ethiopia are among those ethnic groups with their own conflict resolution mechanisms. The objective of this research is to assess the experience of Hadiya in addressing Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms the case of Xiigi-Guullaa among the Hadiya, by describing a indigenous institutional structure for resolving Conflict among the members of society. The study has employed a qualitative research to meet the stated objectives. To achieve the above objectives, primary data were collected from different informants in Hadiya zone Lemo woreda and Gombora Worede by employ through qualitative data collection tools such as interview, observations, focus group discussions, and case study. The total participants (in KII and FGD) of this research were 48 participated. The secondary data sources were obtained from published and unpublished documents; such as books, journals, and different findings of researches. The findings of this research reveals that the Indigenous conflict resolution particularly Xiigi-Guullaa is one of the ways to resolve homicide conflict in the study area. The study also come up with the major causes of conflict in the study and the traditional means to resolve them through the Hadiyyi seera institution such as Minee, (family) Nafara (Neighbors) Moollo (kinship), Sullo (clan) Giichcho (sub ethnic group) and Giira (Nation level of Hadiya People). The major causes that drive people of the study area in to conflict are excessive alcohol usage, insult, theft, conflict over farm land boundary, conflict over the violation of informal agreement family related conflict, abduction, adultery, revenge and murder. The investigation processes in Hadiyyi seera are eye wittiness or naqaasha, oath taking or hidiro and heemacha-qasimma. This research also expose the role of women in traditional conflict resolution. It also came up with the relationship that exist between ICRM and the formal court system (FCS) in resolving conflict and keeping the societies peace and security. Traditional conflict resolution mechanism primarily focuses on providing conflict resolution services to local communities based on long term and sustainable outcomes.

Key terms: *Hadiya people, Indigenous, Conflict Resolution, ICRM, FCS, ICRI, Gasse-Seera, Xiigi-Guullaa.*

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CHAPER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Conflicts are part of everyday life; they form in our close relations, at a group level and on global level. It has manifested in diverse formats for a long period of time. Though it is almost impossible to avoid conflict in human relations, to reduce its negative consequences people tend to solve conflicts, which we call it conflict resolution Slabbert (2004). Conflicts, according to Fisher (2000), cited in Yewubneh Yemanebrihan, (2016), are facts of life, inevitable and often creative. He further explains that conflicts can destroy existing relationships and bring disaster. He also indicates that conflict could create opportunities for new relationships and change (*ibid*).

In similar context Assefa (2005) Conflict is a common observable fact and quite frequent in human relation. It is inevitable in any community with a different cultural background or within the same ethnic group with the same culture. Conflict can occur between individuals, groups or nations. It can be caused due to the incompatible human need, and the control of scarce resources and the dominance of one on the other. Many scholars hold up the importance of conflict. For instance, for Marxists conflict is the precondition for social change (Seymour-Smith, 1986) cited in Dejene (2002). Here, the concern of this research is not the importance of conflict, rather the way to resolve it.

Obviously, almost all African societies have had their indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution before the introduction of formal system through colonization during the colonial era. In this regards, Tobiko states that before the coming of colonial powers to Africa, customary laws governed almost all affairs of the people of Africa including their customary mechanisms of conflict resolutions Tobiko (2013). The colonial power, however, destroyed the indigenous institutions and replaced them by modern legal systems that have been proved to be ineffective and it fails to bring peace and order in African continent Zartman (2000). There may be many strategies to deal with conflict such as resolution, settlement, prevention, management and transformation. From these, my point of focus is conflict resolution through indigenous mechanisms.

Resolution of conflict is crucial for day to day coexistence as human societies are in constant search of resolution mechanisms of conflicts (Pankhurst and Getachew, 2008). According to Sanson and Di (2007) conflict resolution is a set of strategies which can be used to satisfy human needs of security, identity, self-determination and quality of life for all people who are engaged in a conflict.

In similar context Dereje (2010) explains conflict resolution as the suppression of conflict that has already broken out in the form of searching for solution that would reduce the levels of violence and prevent its intensification either through formally or using customary conflict resolution mechanism. Hence, different societies of the world have developed their own mechanisms to resolve conflict.

Like in other parts of the world, in Africa, people with different backgrounds, cultures, classes, ages and others come into conflict. To manage their conflict, Africans have developed their own indigenous institutions. In other words, those indigenous conflict resolving institutions helped them to settle their conflicts. However, the mechanisms are different from a given society to the other because of the different ways of life.

Ethiopian has a long history of diverse culture and strong social values. The types of ritual ceremonies related to birth, wedding and death, principles of mutual co-operation and communal concerns that emanate from kinship, neighborhood and other types of relationships, as well as traditional ways of conflict resolution, traditional health care practices and many other related aspects attest to the richness in culture and strength of the social value Sisay (2007).

1.2. Statement of the problem

As part of Africa, Ethiopia has also developed its own customary means to address conflict. Ethiopia is believed to be the country of more than eighty ethnic groups, who have their own languages and cultures. Thus, they are developed and employed their own mechanisms to avoid different conflicts. The different scholarly works in the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples 'Regional State also showed that in the region there are different methods of conflict resolution mechanism. For instance, Yewondwossen, Awlache (2006) explains the YeJoka indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms among the Gurage people. Added to that, Ambaye, Ogato (2008) describes the traditional conflict resolution mechanism of the Sidama people. Furthermore, Melese, Mada (2008) explains the role of elders in resolving conflicts among the people of Wolayta.

There are various foreign and Ethiopian scholars who studied the Hadiya language and culture. For instance; Brukamper (1980, 2004) studied the original homeland of Hadiya and the Islamic history of traditional Hadiya, respectively. Erik.H. (1964) studied the influence of Christian Ethiopian Empire on southern Ethiopia including Hadiya. There are also internal (Ethiopian) researchers who have worked on the socio-economic, cultural and political history of Hadiya people. Gedeon (2008) studied "the socio-economic and the cultural history of Hadiya (1941-1991)". Kibamo (2007) studied "the Political History of Hadiya (1890-1941)." Ersido (2006) studied oral literature and its elements that he tried to describe some indigenous conflict resolution riddles, folktales and idiomatic expressions, etc. Adanech (2009) also studied on materials culture and women's teamwork. Handamo Alebachew and Ke'imiso (2010) studied Hadiya people's history and culture they discussed some points of indigenous conflict resolution. The above mentioned external and internal researchers have studied the socio-economic, political and cultural dynamics of the Hadiya in general ways.

In addition, the Hadiya people have their own indigenous conflict resolution based on their own traditions, customs and worldview, which are a little studied (especially the case of *Xiigi-Guullaa*). Thus, there is a gap in studying, a times, terminological error, types of homicide and their resolution mechanism, the case of *Xiigi-Guullaa* among the Hadiya of southern Ethiopia. This research is then aimed at filling this knowledge gap.

In order to give comprehensive information about, the socio-cultural elements and ritual processes employed in the conflict resolution particularly *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice among the Hadiya of southern Ethiopia based on ethnographic field work.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The research has the following general and specific objectives.

1.3.1. General Objective

General objective of this research is to investigate Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanism, the case of *Xiigi-Guullaa* among the Hadiya of Southern, Ethiopia.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of this research are:

- To examine the processes of *Xiigi-Guullaa* practices among the Hadiya,
- To describe the procedures of the Local councils in the handling conflicts including the *Xiigi-Guulla* practices among the Hadiya;
- To explore the role of the *Xiigi-Guulla* in handling conflict among the Hadiya;
- To examine the role of women in the *Xiigi-Guulla* ritual practices among the Hadiya;

1.4. Research Questions

Based on the above objectives of the study the following main research questions are formulated, and the aim of this research is to answer the following questions.

- What are the processes of *Xiigi-Guullaa* practices among the Hadiya ?
- What are the procedures followed by the Local councils in the handling *Xiigi-Guullaa* practices?
- What is the role of *Xiigi-Guullaa practices* in handling conflicts among the Hadiya?
- What is the role of women playing in the *Xiigi-Guulla ritual* practices among the Hadiya?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The research was taken as a modest contribution in conflict management, peace building and conflict resolution attempts in the study area. It was also serve an input for further researchers and other responsible organs in peace making in the area. It is also supposed to serve as a significant and reliable ground for policymakers, legal personnel and development partners (government bodies, non-governmental organizations, etc.) in their activities towards initiating,

executing, handling and supervising the holistic and sustainable development of the study area and other similar localities of the state. It will also contribute to the understanding of the characteristics of these indigenous institutions of conflict resolutions and differences between such institutions in different social contexts.

1.6. Scope of the Study

This research was delimited in terms of the coverage of its topic and study area. The study focused on indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms: the case of *Xiigi-Guullaa* among the Hadiya. Geographically, the study is delimited to four rural Kebele from two Woreda (Lemo, and Gombora) Worede on Hadiya zone, Southern Nations, Nationalities and People's Regional State, Ethiopia.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

To begin with the issue of language as most researchers did, there was no language barrier between the researcher and the studied community. But this does not mean that, this research is not free from any setbacks. These setbacks are the absence of a previously conducted full-scale study on Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms particularly in the Case of *Xiigi-Guullaa*. However, the researcher was dedicated to face this and other limitations throughout the study. The researcher has also tried to make an effort in establishing a good interaction approach with key informants and other primary sources of data. Financial problem was one of serious facing challenges especially during data collection. A time-frame created in advance for the study also paved the way for a successful write-up of the whole study.

1.8 Organization of the Paper

The research thesis “Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms: the Case of *Xiigi-Guullaa* among the Hadiya, Ethiopia” is divided into Six chapters. The first chapter includes the introduction statement of the problem objective and scope significance of study limitation and organization of the thesis. Chapter two explores the literature review of conceptual and theoretical framework. The third chapter discusses about the research methodology and Description of the Study Area. The fourth chapter discusses about Indigenous Institution/*Gasse-Seera* and Mechanisms of conflict resolution. Chapter five discussed about *Xiigi-Guullaa*. Finally, Chapter six, Discussed about Results, Summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This chapter attempts to review the existing literature related to the research question under study. It begins with explaining the conceptual framework on conflict and conflict resolution mechanism; major theoretical schools on the sources of conflict, brief account on the different types of conflict resolution mechanism.

2.1. Conceptual Framework

2.1.2. The Concept of Conflict

Conflict is not a new occurrence in the history of human beings. It always exists as long as human beings live together and it is an inevitable part of human experience or existence (Francis, 2006). As stated Assefa (2001) cited in Yewubneh Yemanebrihan (2016), also notes that, as long as there is the concept of society and the very existence of peoples, there is undoubtedly conflict no matter the extent as well as the source of it. In fact, it is very difficult to separate conflict from humankind. It is impossible to see them independently; they are always together making two faces of the same coin. It is inconceivable to think a society without conflict. Historically, individuals, social groups and societies have disputed and competed against one another over scarce commodities and resources. They have even fought one another and bitterly sought the elimination and/or subjugation of rivals, in order to control these resources and commodities (Baxi and Gallanter 1979; Moore 1985). The realization of these needs and interests by people can lead to conflict. When two groups or individuals pursue incompatible interests and needs which could either be political, economic, social or cultural, they can engage in conflict (Bukari, 2013).

Conflict appears to be an essential element of human performance in diverse activities. The term could be classified based on different criteria and variables, and this creates difficulty in formulating an operational and exact definition. Therefore, different definitions and description on conflict are given by different individuals depending on contexts they consider.

For Coser (1968), conflict is a struggle over values or claims to status and scarce resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are not only the desired values but also neutralizes, injures or eliminate their rivals: the negation of harmonious coexistence of people.

As to Nader (1968), conflict is an inevitable phenomenon in human society's sphere of life since the entire life of humankind is manipulated by the prevalence of conflict within the society when people set opinion against opinion run interest against interests. Boulding also defined conflict as "a situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions and in which each parties wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the others" (Boulding 1962:5). These definitions imply the inherent and inevitable nature of conflict in human existence. It is undoubtedly clear that every human being or groups of human beings have goals or interests which may be different from the goals and objectives of the other individual persons or groups. This incompatibility in goals and interests would result in conflict. Therefore, conflict is mainly perceived as difference and disagreement which give rise to the pursuit of incompatible goal among the parties. According to (Zartman, 1991:370) cited in Yewubneh Yemanebrihan, (2016), conflict unfolds as a result of interaction and contact among people; "an unavoidable concomitant of choices and decisions and an expression of the basic fact of human interdependence". In the various literature's, conflict is basically, understood as the pursuit of incompatible goals between two or more parties. Accordingly, the incompatibility of goals will lead to contradiction where the party with unrealized goals feels frustrated and cause aggression against the other (Galtung, 2004). Therefore, conflict is a common phenomenon manifested in the form of disagreement or difference of opinion in the course of human interaction. Thus, it can be considered as an intrinsic and an inevitable part of a functioning society (Ali, 2006). According to Osipova (1989) cited in (Dejene, 2002 and Yewubneh Yemanebrihan, 2016), there are a number of scholars who have contributed in studying conflicts in a systematic manner beginning from the late twentieth century. These scholars have identified and categorized conflict in various ways. Most of them tried to develop dichotomized perceptions on whether conflict is disjunctive and an abnormal phenomenon.

According to (Schellenberg, 1996 and Gulliver, 1963) cited in Dejene (2002). Contrarily, conflict is perceived as a reaction resulting from a social interaction and a means to resolve an avert fission and thereby preserve development and maintenance of social order.

Conflict is a dynamic process in which structure, attitude and behavior is constantly changing and influencing one another (Jeong, 2000). In this respect, it often undergoes change. The change in structure, attitude and behavior will inevitably trigger the conflict cycle (Galtung, 2004).

Therefore, conflict is viewed from different angles. Thus, there is divergence among scholars to frame a single definition of conflict. Hence, “conflict is a fluid infinitely elastic concept which can easily be twisted into different shapes” (Ademola, 2006). As a result, the nature of conflict may be hidden inwardly as hatred or be manifested overtly, verbally or in physical violence. It may also appear at an emotional stage, reach its climax at violent stage and might disappear and reappear (Galtung, 2004). It is to this effect that conflict results in process of constantly changing. Such changes constitute conflict when the goals of the parties in the interaction remain incompatible. Therefore, conflict is not a static phenomenon rather it is a constantly changing phenomenon. Generally, conflict could be taken as opposition between individuals, groups and institutions that arises because of incompatible wishes or interests. Conflicts could be economic, political, social, cultural, struggles within humans at all levels of interaction.

2.1.3. Conflict vs. Dispute

In the study of conflict, the term dispute and conflict are used interchangeably. For the lawyers, for instance, the two terms have carried the same message. Due to the constant interchanging of the terms, some scholars also substituted conflict for dispute and dispute for conflict. On the other side, there are cases where scholars describe a sharp difference between the two terms.

Conflict by far is different from dispute in many ways. One way is the distinction made by John Burton (1990). He distinguishes conflict and dispute based on two elements. These are time and issues in contention. Accordingly, dispute is a short-term disagreement between groups and is negotiable. Even so, conflict is a long term, deep-rooted disagreement and not easily negotiable. Supports this view saying conflicts are long term ones, in contrast to dispute who suddenly occurs and quickly disappear. Ross (2007) also shows a clear distinction between dispute and conflict. He strengthens his contention in the way that these terms are quite different based on the range in terms of intensity, use of violence, the degree to which they have escalated and resources they mobilize. Besides, Kriesberg (1997) draws out the difference that exists between dispute and conflict. Hence, for him dispute is a struggle over matters that can be agreed and contained elements of compromise.

While conflict is concerned with issues that involve deep-rooted human needs. In addition, dispute is a clash of interest while conflict is a clash over values. It is relatively easy to deal with dispute than conflict Burton (1990).

In support of this, Mayer (2000) suggests that a conflict occurs due to value and interests are more charged and intractable. Therefore, dispute/conflict on people's interest is seen as simple and superficial.

2.1.4. Conflict Resolution

Conflict seems to be present in all human relations and in all societies. From the beginning of recorded history, we have evidence of disputes between different groups. Because of the pervasive presence of conflict and because of the physical, emotional, and resource costs that often result from disputes, people have always sought ways of resolving their differences. In seeking to resolve differences, they have tried to develop procedures that are efficient, that allow them to satisfy their interests that minimize suffering, and that control unnecessary expenditures of resources Moore (1996). Conflict resolution, according to Jeong (2000), is defined as a long term settlement of an underlying long-running conflict. It needs the long term commitment of the actors to solve their differences since the deep rooted conflicts arose over non-negotiable issues. The main target of this mechanism is to resolve the main causes of conflict. Conflict resolution requires a more analytical and problem solving approach and needs to pass through complex processes. Hence, it would enable the contestants to understand their differences exhaustively if they are interested to recognize the underlying causes of conflict.

IPRA (1994) also defines conflict resolution as “a process of decision making whose objectives are to handle, manage, settle or resolve conflicts”. During such resolution of conflicts, the conflicting parties enter into the conflict resolution process either through self-conscious efforts to come an agreement, or they may enter by other means; for example, environmental change, the influence of third parties, victory of one party and the like Schellenberg (1996). Conflict resolution is all about addressing the sources of conflict and the restoration of former relationships between the disputants. During the conflict resolution, Ramsbotham (2005) underlines that behaviors should not be violent, attitudes should not be hostile, and the structure of the conflicts should have been changed. The process of conflict resolution has to do with how indigenous structures and systems ensure action in bringing peace at the individual and community level relationships. In this respect, resolution procedures are generated from general cultural life and daily experiences of living.

In this context, the term 'indigenous' refers to "the structures and units of organization in a community and encompasses the norms, values, beliefs and Cosmos vision that guide social interaction." Kendie and Guri, (2006).

Generally, conflict resolution is the process whereby disputants attempt to resolve their conflicts. It involves the end of violence, attitudinal changes to one another and addressing the sources of conflicts. Dispute settlement on the other hand, according to Jeong (2000), contributes to the stability of society with the confirmation of legitimate roles of accepted norms, values, and institution in everyday life. For him, dispute settlement is used to solve interest based disputes out of court or before a court settlement whereas conflict resolution goes through a far more complex process.

Conflict management is largely seen in terms of social control designed to minimize the challenges to the core values of the system Jeong (2000). Thus, conflict management, according to Jeong, helps to reinforce coercive policy by conforming to dominant social norms. According to Lederach (1994) as referred in Jeong (2000) conflict transformation can be regarded as 'the movement from latent conflict to confrontation to negotiation' in achieving the peaceful relationship of a secure community. Ryan (2000) also states that conflict transformation should address issues such as long-term security, economic justice and the culture of violence. According to researchers, the overall field of conflict management is fraught with conceptual and definitional vagueness. The terms of conflict resolution, conflict management, dispute settlement and conflict are often used loosely and interchangeably (Reimann, 2006). However, for the purpose of this study, the concept of conflict resolution as well as is used as a mechanism of conflict intervention or handling approach in the study area.

2.1.5. Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanism

Indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution, according to Abera (2003) and Pankhurst and Getachew (2008), are made by the people and derive their legitimacy from participation and consensus of the community and these mechanisms are long-persistent social practices, rooted in local cultural setting, aiming at resolving conflicts, reducing tension, and rebuilding social relationships. Besides, Pankhurst and Getachew (2008) defined it as "localized institutions and its legitimacy is limited to particular ethnic group." The above definition entail that indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution are practices that are derived from the tradition, custom and worldview of the society.

In this study, an indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution refers to the conflict resolving institutions that are practiced outside the formal court system.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

The various social conflict theories are attempted by scholars to provide frameworks for the understanding of conflict, the condition under which conflict occur, and sometimes the condition for their resolution. This research work used four theoretical works and concepts drawn from them as a theoretical framework to guide the analysis of the data from fieldwork. The theories are: Symbolic Interactionism, The Functionalist School, Structural Functionalism approach and Historical Particularism:

Symbolic Interactionism; According to this theory, society, its larger social structures and social institutions must be understood through studying social interactions that are based on shared understandings, languages, and symbols. Thus, symbolic interactionists tend to employ more qualitative rather than quantitative methods in their research (Turner, 2001). Several studies conducted in Ethiopia give indications that there are symbolizations and rituals that are involved in the processes of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms that have their own meaning for the communities that practice them. There are also other several rituals and ceremonies of oath taking and swearing that are typical of ICRM and that have their own meaning. When we see the works of the different researches include (Megersa et.al, 2016) there are many kinds of ritual practices which involve during the conflict resolution through indigenous mechanisms. It is based on this recognition that symbolic Interactionism is used as a theoretical framework to study. The researcher convinced that Symbolic Interactionism, with its emphasis on studying symbols, rituals, the creation of meaning, and process of social interaction, will help me study '*Xiigi-Guullaa*' and the processes and rituals that accompany it.

The Functionalist School: The functionalist school had huge influence on the disciplines like sociology and anthropology. Ember, Ember and Peregrine (2011; 21) mentioned that functionalism 'looks for the part (function) that some aspects of culture or social life plays in maintaining a cultural system'. Langness (1974; 87) mentioned that: "In somewhat simpler terms: just as an individual human being constitute a finite system with a distinctive structure each organ performing a particular activity, the function of which is to contribute to the maintenance of a system as a whole so a human society constitutes a similar system with its distinctive

structure and functions.” In anthropology, the main scholars of this school are A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski. Radcliffe-Brown is recognized as a structural functionalist. According to him, a society has several institutions like economic, social, political and religious. These institutions ensure solidarity and work for integrating the society as a whole (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012). Radcliffe-Brown concentrated on the social structure and suggested that ‘a society is a system of relationships maintaining itself through cybernetic feedback, while institutions are orderly sets of relationships whose function is to maintain the society as a system’ (Mahmud, 2008; 81). He was highly interested in kinship and commented on how kinship can promote order and solidarity: “Radcliffe-Brown suggested that all norms for specific behaviors and obligations among different people in the kinship relationships promote order and stability. Ember, Ember and Peregrine (2011; 21) mentioned that according to Malinowski, ‘all cultural traits serve the needs of individuals in a society; that is, they satisfy some basic or derived needs of the members of a group’. Malinowski concluded that ‘individual has needs, both physiological and psychological, and cultural institutions, customs and traditions exist to satisfy them’ (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012).

Structural Functionalism approach; It is a school of thought deals with relationships between different institutions and their functional relations to individuals and society. According to McGee and Warms, cited in Taye Firdisa (2016), Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of its constituent elements; namely norms, customs traditions and institutions. There are two versions of functionalism, Malinowski’s bio-psychological functionalism, and structural functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown which is an advanced and appropriate approach to this study *ibid*. As Mahmud, cited in Nurazzura M, et.al (2014), Radcliffe-Brown emphasized on the social structure and suggest that ‘a society is a system of relationships maintaining itself through cybernetic feedback, while institutions are orderly sets of relationships whose function is to construct the society as a system’. In other words his argument indicates that society’s order, relationships and existence are structured and maintained by institutions.

When the researcher considers the argument of Radcliffe-Brown regarding culture, there are various cultural institutions which bound community together and they use for several socio-cultural and other related purposes. In the study area there are several cultural elements, social structures and institutions which are functional to the society for different purposes.

I argued that the function of cultural institutions is to maintain the harmony of the society. Therefore, it is in this perspective that the study will be guided structural functional approach theory. Hence, this study has used structural functionalism in order to analyze the role of Xiigi-Guullaa an Indigenous conflict resolution mechanism, towards the maintenance of order and stability among the Hadiya people.

Historical Particularism; the third theoretical work that guided this research work is Historical Particularism which was a dominant theory in anthropology during the first half of the 20thc. The founding father of Historical Particularism was Franz Boaz (1858-1942). The Nineteenth-century Evolutionists explained cultural similarities and differences by classifying societies into superior and inferior categories. Historical Particularism showed that this labeling is based on insufficient evidence and claimed that societies cannot be ranked by the value judgment of researchers (Nurazzura et.al, 2014). Historical Particularism claims that each society has its own unique historical development and must be understood based on its own specific cultural and environmental context, especially its historical process. According to the theory, each culture of each society has its own uniqueness and the society has its own distinctive historical development.

2.3. Types of Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

As part of social life, conflict has to be resolved. Various methods have been used to solve the existing conflicts. All social activities have terminating points within it. But in conflict situation, unless the conflicting parties find mutual solution conflict cannot get its end Coser, (1956) cited in Dejene (2002). On the other hand, scholars agree that in every society, there are different mechanisms of conflict resolution. According to Bohannan, (1967) cited in Dejene (2002) clearly stated that “society is impossible without conflict, but it is worse than impossible without control of conflict.” As also cited in Dejene (2002) Gulliver (1979:1) in his part categorizes the mechanisms of conflict resolution into two: the violent and the peaceful. The violent mechanism includes war, self-help and duel, whereas the peaceful mechanism includes; avoidance, burying the dispute in the symbolic process, negotiation, mediation, arbitration and adjudication.

Of the above two mechanisms peace researchers have suggested and favored the peaceful conflict resolution mechanism. For instance, avoidance is one way of handling conflict peacefully.

To Gulliver (1979), cited in Dejene (2002) this type of mechanism can be successful if there is a possibility for either contestant to leave their rivals behind and move to another place. The pastorals and hunter-gatherers usually employ this type of mechanism because they have vacant places to wonder here and there and subsequently to avoid conflicts. Another peaceful mechanism of conflict resolution is negotiations.

As states in both (Gulliver 1979 and Schellenberg 1996) cited in Dejene (2002), negotiations are a mechanism through which discussion conducted between two or more contestants in order to reach on agreements. In this case no third party is allowed to propose and give decisions. Rather the decisions are given by the disputants“ themselves.

In line with this, Singer (1990), Cited in Dejene (2002) divides negotiations in to two forms: competitive and Collaborative negotiations. In the case of competitive negotiation, either of the contestants in conflict is benefited at the expense of the other. This occurs where there are no valuable relations among the disputants to preserve. Gulliver (1979) states that during negotiation it is the potential of the disputants to gather support from the society, which determines the fate of either of one party to be beneficiary or not but not the legal norms or rules. In the case of collaborative negotiation, one groups gain is not balanced by the loss of the other group or vice versa. Besides, collaborative, often called “problem solving” or win-win negotiation, aims at joint gain of the parties through fair distribution of the pain of losing, an act that favors good future relationship of the parties. According to Barash et.al (2002), sometimes collaborative negotiation is disadvantageous when both disputants failed to be satisfied or when they lost something and spited the pain among themselves.

Mediation; on the other hand, is the other types of conflict resolution mechanism. Mediation, defined by Jeong (2010:45) as a process whereby a neutral third party, acceptable to all disputants, facilitates communication that enables parties to reach a negotiated settlement.

Moore (2003) in his part defines mediation as the intervention in a conflict of an acceptable third party who has limited or no authoritative decision making power but whose role is to assist the involved parties to voluntarily reach a mutually acceptable settlement of the issues in dispute. As mentioned before the mediator doesn’t have decision making authority as a result this fact makes mediation attractive to many parties in dispute as they retain the ultimate control of the outcome. However, according to Moore mediators are not without influence.

Mediation may also establish or strengthen relationships of trust and respect between the parties. The above mentioned definition outlines that mediation is the process of conflict resolution whereby the neutral third party intervenes to resolve conflicts. While mediating, the role of mediators is facilitating conditions for disputants to negotiate and assist the resolution process. The resolution is held without any use of force and the conflicting parties are also not obliged to accept the decisions provided by the mediators.

Arbitration, on the other hand, involves a third party who makes a binding decision based on legal norms, principles and facts. Accordingly, arbitrators have to be impartial, have good conscience and respect for the objectivity of the process (Jeong, 2000).

To Gulliver (1979) cited in Dejene (2002), also argues that arbitration involves a third party helping people by deciding for them. Therefore, the final decision lies with the arbitrator (Nieuwmeijer, 1998). Adjudication, according to Schellenberg (1996), refers to the resolution of conflict by a court. In other words, it is the use of courts to decide conflicts. Adjudication comes in to play when one party goes to a court to demand something from another. In short, adjudication is the conflict resolution mechanism process using courts based on established laws, procedures and structures. In addition, use of adjudication process requires familiarity or knowledge of the established procedures, formality and rules of the system. The other peaceful way of resolving conflict is burying the dispute in the symbolic process. Gulliver (1979:) cited in Dejene (2002) states that when effective, practical means are unavailable, where their use might bring about intolerance complications or threaten social relations, a dispute may be transformed and redefined in symbolic and supernatural terms-witchcraft accusations, performance in the ancestral cult or some other religious systems. Generally, the promotion of harmonious relationship in the wider social environment is often viewed as the goal of conflict resolution (Jeong, 2008). According to Mack and Snyder (1957), societies can differ greatly in their levels of conflict behavior, the way in which conflicts are played out, and the mechanisms for dispute settlement which are utilized to control and direct conflicts when they occur.

2.4. Conflict Resolution as a Social Drama

The concept of “social drama” as conflict resolution was instigated by Victor Turner. Heavily drew on the structural functionalist perspective, Turner points to the concept of social drama while analyzing the Ndembu ritual performance.

Turner's social drama has got four phases and performance is considered as an integral to the social drama's unfolding. Each theory of language and social order draws life as drama as its reigning orientation to understand conflict, crisis, and its resolution. Simply put, the social drama refers to what happens in a community when someone breaks a rule, how the community then takes sides for or against the rule breaker, and how the community works to resolve this problem. At the center of social dramas is thus conflict, unfold in a predictable four-stage process, and involve public forms of communication. In Turner's definition of the social drama too conflict is central.

These four stages of the social drama are the following. The first stage of the social drama is the *breach*, the breaking of a rule by a member of the community. The second stage is *crisis*, and crisis, according to Turner, is "contagious" as a result of broken rules or breach. The third stage is *redress*, or employing procedures to repair or remedy the breach. This machinery of repair can take a wide number of forms: from personal advice or counseling; formal, legal, judicial machinery; to the performance of public ritual. Finally, come *reintegration* or schism. Reintegration or *schism* is the fourth stage of the social drama which entails; if the repair works, then the rule-breaker is reintegrated into the community. Put it differently, the community moves on, back to its normal life. Nevertheless, if the redressing mechanism doesn't work, then the community splits or breaks apart into factions, what Turner calls schism (Moore, 2009). Therefore, in this research an effort was made to employ different methods of conflict resolution mechanism and their interrelations, in order to study the indigenous methods of resolving conflicts among the Hadiya of southern Ethiopia within the perspective of the above mentioned mechanisms.

CHAPTER THREE

3. Research Methodology and Data collection Methods

3.1. Research Methodology

According to Kitchen and Tate (2000), research methodology is a coherent set of rules and procedures that are used to explore a problem within the framework of philosophical approaches. Besides, Mikkelson (2005) also argues that a research methodology includes the tools and techniques of data gathering and analysis.

To examine the ritual role of *Xiigi-Guullaa* practices among the Hadiya of Gombora and Lemo woreda respectively, I employed qualitative research approach. For the reason that, the nature of the topic itself force me to decide to use this approach. In addition, this approach has been used to explore material artifact during homicides purification and re-integration deceased family and slayer family in reconciliation of homicides. To do so, key informant interview, participant observation, focus group discussion and case study were employed to collect data from different sources. In addition to primary sources, the data was collected directly from individual informants and most of the information about the secondary data sources was obtained from published and unpublished government documents, books, journals, different researches, magazines and pamphlets was used. Purposive sampling were used to select the participants for the qualitative data where informants were selected based on their experiences. They were also selected based on knowledge and position in Gasse-Seera institution and community as well. Participants working in Concerning Office of Gombora and Lemo woreda were purposively selected based on the responsibilities they have in their office.

3.2. Research Strategy

As stated above, this study is designed to be qualitative exploratory research. The reason for using such an exploratory method is that the topic needs in-depth exploration and detailed view of the subject matter in its natural setting (Creswell, 1998).

This study was explore what and how of indigenous conflict resolution mechanism in settling conflicts in Hadiya people. According to Kruger and Newman (2006), exploratory research is a research into an area that has not been studied and in which a researcher has to develop initial

ideas and more focused research questions. Exploratory research is also aimed at exploring all sources of information based on the range of evidence and by discovering new ideas and using qualitative data. Therefore, this particular study focused on the Hadiya community in the case of *Xiigi-Guullaa* Practices.

3.3.Data Sources and Data Collection Methods

To achieve the study objectives, I employed both primary and secondary sources. The primary data was gathered through key informant interviews, participant observations, focus group discussion and case study. Secondary data was collected through a critical review of related literature. In order to get the required data for successful completion of this study the following methods of data collection have employed.

3.3.1. Key informant interview:

I have conducted key informants interview selected for the interview on the basis of their level of understanding and knowledge about Hadiya culture. Key informant interviews (KII) have also conducted to collect qualitative data. The purpose of key informant interviews is to learn about people's views on the topic of interest, to learn their terminology, and judgments and to understand their perceptions and experiences (Kikwawila Study Group, 1994).

KII helps the researcher to gather sufficient information about the issue under study and in sharing the experiences of the people. The key informants have chosen on the basis of their knowledge of the culture and their experiences in the indigenous conflict resolution mechanism. Thus, elders of the community (ritual leader, local councils leader, ritual women, religious leaders), peasant administrative body, formal court judges and administrative officials were sources of information. Therefore, in order to get relevant data on past events and circumstances and even on the current reality, Researcher have conducted key informant interview with a few knowledgeable individuals. Hence, this study was employed this method to supplement the obtaining data.

3.3.2. Participant Observation:

As Mack and her colleagues discussed in their book *Qualitative Research Methods*, that using observation in combination with other qualitative methods such as interview and FGD is an integral part of the research process which helps and enables the researcher to facilitate and develop positive relationship among key informants and stakeholders whose assistance and

approval are needed for the study to become reality. Data gathered through observation is also valuable in determining whom to recruit as an informant for the study and how best to recruit them (Mack et al 2005: 16).

Therefore, in order to get reliable data for the successful accomplishment of the research, observation was another major method of data gathering system to get valuable information. Because what peoples say and do may sometimes contradict with each other. Thus, direct observation has the best solution. By using this method, the researcher has observed the actual conflict cases, and the process of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in settling conflicts among the target society.

3.3.3. Focus Group Discussion (FGD):

On some specific issues, different people may have different concerns. Thus, to look at concerns of different individuals and even to explore their level of understanding on some issue the researcher has used FGD as another method of collecting data for this study. There are several reasons, according to Bryman (2004), for using focus group discussion as a data collection tool. Among other things, conducting FGD help the researcher to develop an understanding of transformation of why people think the way they do, members of the focus group can bring forward ideas and the interactions found in group dynamics are closer to the real life process of sense making and acquiring understanding.

Therefore, considering the advantage of conducting FGD and the time given for completing the research, different focus group discussion sessions have conducted with various categories of informants with the aim of accessing different views about the role of indigenous institutions in settling conflicts and collecting a large amount of data pertaining to the issue under study, relatively over a short period of time. The focus group discussions was made with the, elders of the community (ritual leader, local councils leader, ritual women, religious leaders), peasant administrative body, formal court judges and administrative officials were sources of information and other concerned bodies from the Hadiya Zone two consecutive Woreda; Lemo and Gombora Woreda to explore the practice of Xiigi-Guulla or Homicide Reconciliation in the study area.

3.3.4. Case study

Case study method is a form of qualitative analysis where in careful and complete observation of an individual or a situation or an institution is done; efforts are made to study each and every aspect of the concerning unit in minute details,, in order to make generalization and inferences

(Kothari, 2004). Case study was also used in order to generate data on individuals experience in the form of narrations from the disputant's families. This was carried out with the aim of complementing the information obtained by other methods of data collection. For case study two individuals were selected purposely from offender and victim families depending on their willingness to give the information about the incidence of homicide. Those case materials analyzed how the cases of conflicting parties passed through *Gasse-Seera* and the role actors are effective in reconciling the disputant parties in their study area. In addition, this technique exemplary role for other conflicting parties to settle their conflict through *Gasse-Seera* institutions in the *Xiiga-Guullaa* practice.

3.4. Method of Data Analysis

In order to examine, explain and presentation the cultural values of the people in the study area, the researcher have administer a qualitative data analysis method. After collecting the necessary data through the help of the above data collection tools, the next task that needs to have done is categorizing, combining, synthesizing, and thereby present the collected data.

Before the actual demonstration of the data, the collected data have sorted and categorized in accordance with its source and type. For clarity and convenience, some select data collected by each data collection technique was transcribed, compiled and further elaborated into meaningful and patterned information soon after the completion of that particular data collection session.

3.5. Description of the Study Area and the People

3.5.1. Description of the Study Area

Hadiya zone is found South Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). The zone is bordered in the south by Kembata Tambaro (KT) in the west by the Omo River, in the north with Gurage, in the north east by Silte and in the east by Alaba Zone.

Hosanna is the capital town of Hadiya zone. The total population of Hadiya zone is estimated about 1,412,347 (CSA, 2007), and a total land area of 3850.2 sq km which makes the population density to be 366 inhabitants per square kilometer. Hadiya zone is further divided into 13 woreda and 4 town administrations namely: *Lemo*, *East Badewacho*, *West Badewacho*, *Sorro*, *Shashogo*, *Misha*, *Dunna*, *Gibe*, *Anilemo*, *Gombora*, *Miirab Soro*, *Siraro Badewacho*, *Amake* and *Hosanna*, *Shone*, *Gimbichchu* and *Jajura town administration*.

Hadiya zone lies within a height range of 1500 to 3000 meters above sea level. The slope in general declines east to west with most drainage being direct to the Gibe River. The zone has three aggro-ecological / zones; Dega (23.7%), Weyna dega (64.7) & Kolla (11.6%). The annual average temperature of the zone is 22.02 degree Celsius & the mean annual rainfall is 1,260 mm. With regard to land use, the largest area (57%) of the zone is intensively cultivated for annual crops, 12% is covered with tree crops, 7% is a grazing land, 6% is forest land, 16% is covered by others and the remaining 2% is cultivable land. Hosanna town is the administrative and trading center of the Hadiya zone. (*Hadiya Zone* Finance and Economic Development Office 2011).

3.5.2. The Hadiya people Language and Religion

In accordance with the linguistic taxonomy of Ethiopia language (*Hadiyyisa*) belong to the high land Cushitic language families of Ethiopia which in turn belong to Afro Asiatic super language families of Africa. Hadiya language is known for its four language dialects namely *Sooro*, *Badawachcho*, *Lemo* and *Shashogo* currently Hadiyyisa language use the Latin letter (Alebachew and Samuel 2002;8). Similarly Bender (196;232) Hadiya belong to the high land East Cushitic language family high land Cushitic includes Kembata, Tambaro, Alaba, Kabena, Hadiya, Libido, Sidama, Darashe, and Burji. Many scholars tried to both the language and people including Braukumper (1973; 34) themselves the Hadiya and the language '*Hadiyyisa*'. Therefore, Hadiya for the people and Hadiyyisa for the language.

Hadiya is spoken not only by the native speakers, but also by the majority of Kembata, Gurage, Alaba, Silte and some Wolayita ethnic group as their second language. The neighboring groups use the language for naming their children factual and song. Here we can recognize that Hadiyyisa is essential both culturally and linguistically to the neighboring ethnic group. Commonly talking the religions history Hadiya begins with local religion of the people called *Fandanano*. The name of local religion was Fandanano. Even if, there are some who argue the Islam was the first religion of Hadiya. Still it is open to questions that did not have religions belief before the coming of Islam in the 8thc A.D. At any rate Fandanano was the most widely practiced indigenous religion by the people of Hadiya for *centuries*.

Fandanano is a kind of belief in one God locally called '*Waa'a*' which covers the total indigenous religion. According to the religion the idea needs the sun and the moon are

considered to be his eyes which would enable him to see entire world at a time Braukumper (1973; 35). According to my key informant such as religious leaders the religion of *Fandanano* was not present in study area. But according to Hadiya zone culture, truism and government communication sector small number of followers found in *Misraki Badawachcho*, *Siraro Badewacho* and *Mirab Badawachcho*, now a day the major religion of Hadiya is Christianity (Protestants, catholic and orthodox) and Islam.

Social organizations

Social organization in Hadiya is carried out both separately and on team basis. Much of the household's everyday jobs form works and other works are performed as private household level. Certain aspects of productive actions, however, demand the pooling of labor. Therefore, there are much group based cooperative works in farming and food preparation. Alebachew and Samuel (2002) Common labor cooperation among the study area is *Gilaaseena*, *Dawwa* and *Gejja*. Each type of labor cooperation is discussed below. *Gilaaseena*: Form of labor cooperation in which an individual requests the labor of his/her neighbors or friends support.

Gilaaseena is a type of cooperative labor activity performed for a limited number of hours in a day usually in the morning and afternoon.

Gilaaseena does require preparation of special food and drink. *Gilaaseena kiisumancho*; is responsible to give to eat the participants (Alebachew and Samuel 2002). *Dawwa*: According to Alebachew and Samuel (2002) the second common large group of individuals which is more elaborated organization is *Dawwaa*.

In *Dawwaa* labors cooperation several family heads or household members become members on particular labor work day. The wives in participate in preparing and providing food and drinks for the participant of *Dawwaa*. Residential house building is also another work that demands cooperative labor.

Gejja: The most common type of cooperative labors in Hadiya people is '*Gejja*.' *Gejja* is organized by neighborhoods that show agreeable manner to support each other or work together in rotational basis, to cooperate and make an activity faster organization in which one person to responsible for arranging and bringing cooperative group of households or individuals to carry out certain activities for close relative or companion with in specified day. The host is responsible for preparing lavish feast .Since the group come voluntarily, the food and drinks are

usually better than any of faster of other labor organization (Alebachew and Samuel 2002;7). At the initial stage, the members are expected to agree as to whom they provide service first and other subsequent members turn-by-turn. If they fail to agree, it is decided by lottery system. The size and types of activities to be done also determine the size of 'Gejja'' but in most cases, the size is less than the 'dawwaa' cooperation

Economic Activities in Hadiya People

Agriculture is the main economic activity and the main source of livelihood for the majority of the population in the study area. Because of the elevation and its climate; Teffi, wheat, barley and sorghum are the most important crops grown based on rain fed farming in Hadiya. Enset or false banana is also one of the most of important crop in Hadiya. Domestic animals rearing are another field of agriculture. In Hadiya is widely well known for cattle breeding and the production of milk and its products. The major livestock include cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, donkeys, horses and mules (Hadiya zone Agricultural office, 2008).

***Miinine'ii Ihiimma* (Marriage Practices)**

Marriage is one of the most important rituals in the Hadiya culture. There are three things the Hadiya consider most important in life. That is:-*Qaareemma* (birth), *Miini-issimma/Arra-issimma* (marriage) and *Leehiimma* (death).

In Hadiya marriage within the same clan is illegal and thus including generation depth for marriage purpose is impossible. In-clan marriage is considered as incest which is locally known as *Zaara te'im shshumo'oo*.

That means one cannot marry a woman with whom he shares up to seven generations either on father's side or on his mother's lineage side. If such an incest marriage takes place, they believe that it brings severe punishments from the God (*Waa'a*) that, stated in Dejene Gemechu (2002:31) a child born to such a union would be harmful, lame, blind, moron, and would not grow up. The pair would be infected with leprosy or suffer early death. Now a day, some of the Hadiya ignored women that traditional counting in seven generation that is *zara te'im shshumo'oo*, especially in marriage because the increasing population and change of life style. According to my informant elders, Hadiya practice different forms of marriage. Among these; *Ladiisima'* by preparation of a highest wedding ceremony in different wedding types, i.e.

Iliimoochcha, *Kiiffaa*, and *Illiganna* (all are the cultural marriage name and types of weeding among the Hadiya people).

Heeranch', types of marriage without weeding ceremony based on agreement of girls and boys)

Gossimma; a type of marriage by force/abdication without girls' interest, *Waai-Miini Ladishsha*; which a type of marriage took place in Church by church man is the major. They are discussed in detail as below: *-Ladiisima*; is the most common, culturally respected and acceptable form of marriage in the area which is mainly arranged by the families of the bride and families of the prepare through negotiation. It relatively demand high amount of bride price compared to other form of marriage.

Heeranch: is a marriage by self-selection without former information of the boy's and girl's parents. If the two agrees, the boy can take her at one time when she is ready to do so. In most cases, the girl takes this form of marriage as a last option when her parents want to connect her to another boy whom she does not want. Recently it becomes the most normally practiced form of marriage among the Hadiya.

Gossimma; or abdication is marriage by force, where the boy abducts the girl without her interest or out of her awareness due to different reasons like when a boy falls in love and she is not aware at all and when a girl's parent are unwilling to give their daughter for the boy. It is one of the causes of conflict between kin groups belonging to the man and the girl.

However, according to most informants, the incidence of its happening is decreased in the area.

Waai-Miini Ladishsha; is the recently developed form of marriage in the area is church marriage, which is arranged by *unxaxxi min lommana* (church elders).

This kind of marriage mostly practice in protestant church. If a boy or a girl fell in love, he/she may inform the *unxaxxi min lommana* or church leaders to bring them together and mediate the issue. Through this processes the *unxaxxi min lommana* or church elders arrange the marriage with the bride but without the interest of parents of both parties. Thus, the marriage ceremony is also organized by the *unxaxxi min lommana* or church elders and takes place in the church, usually in the evening to keep the underground in order not to make it known to the parents of couples.

This usually creates conflict between *unxaxxi min lommana* or church elders and parents of the couples and it is severe when the parents are not member of the church, not protestant.

3.6. Ethical Consideration

Ethical consideration is as essential as other aspects in the process of conducting research for it significantly affects the success of the study. In this regard, a researcher needs to consider the ethical standards of the host community on which the research was conducted. Therefore, I have considered the social and cultural norms of the host community on whom the research was carried out. To do so, first the ethical approval and clearance was obtained from Department of Social Anthropology of Jimma University. The Hadiya Zone governing bodies were is contacts and permission was obtained from them. The objective and purpose of the research have clearly communicated to the participants and let them know to withdraw if they get discomfort in the process of their participation .While writing the report; the researcher refrained from using unnecessary terminologies that might disappoint the participants of the study. Confidentiality and anonymity was ensured and therefore it has impossible to know who said what. The interest of participants was given due place in the process and nothing was made that were harm the participants physically, socially, psychologically. The relationships between the researcher and the participants have based on mutual trust and they were not misused and all the ethical concerns were respected appropriately throughout the process of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. The procedures of Local Councils of conflict resolution among the Hadiya

4.1. Conflicts among the Hadiya

In this chapter, an effort is made to discuss and analyze the causes of conflicts, outcomes of conflict and the role of Indigenous Conflicts Resolution Institution/*Gasse-Seera* among the Hadiya. As in anywhere else, conflicts in Hadiya may perhaps differ from minor disagreements between parties to serious conflicts which in the end lead to killing or homicide. Conflicts defined as disputes or disagreements between two or more individuals, families or groups require a proper mechanism to resolve them so that the parties to the conflict will try to build some level of trust and confidence between themselves. Every society perceives something as to what a conflict is and why it happens. For the people of the studying community, conflict can be regarded as controversy or argumentation or both of the two.

Understanding the contemporary conflict cases in the Hadiya of southern Ethiopia remains crucial in trying to describe and analyze the role of the Hadiya indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution. In order to understand the conflict resolution mechanism in the study area, a brief discussion and analysis of the causes of conflict is presented in the subsection below. The most frequent conflict issues in the study area are conflict in the farmland boundary, theft, abduction, adultery, excessive usage of alcohol, family related conflicts, insulting and conflicts over the violations of agreement, murder and revenge. Anything breaking the rules or any action against the norms, traditions and customs of the society is considered as wrong. Wrong can be an act against the norms, principles set by the community. For instance, to deny the right of others, dishonest to the people and failing to respect seniority is an act of wrong.

4.2. The procedures and Levels of addressing conflict among the Hadiya

According to my informants and FGD participants, the Hadiya people have their own conception on what action is wrong and right based on the social value and norm of the people. According to the culture of Hadiya, as forwarded from the elders, what is wrong among the Hadiya can be seen in terms of violating the firm social norms or principles norms and customs of the society. If someone breaks the values, norms and principles of the society, it is believed among the society that the criminal will face curse from the community.

Therefore, for the people of Hadiya, violating against the traditions, norms, principles and values of the society is considered as the act of bad behavior. This bad behavior or wrong can be resolved or cleaned by the established local councils. These local councils were:- Minee Gaassoo, first level of local court of Hadiya traditional institution, Nafali Gaassoo, Second level of local court of Hadiya traditional institution, Moolli Gaassoo, third level of local court of Hadiya traditional institution, Sullo Gaassoo, fourth level of local court of Hadiya traditional institution, Giichcho Gaassoo, fifth level of local court of Hadiya traditional institution and Giira Gaassoo; last level of local court of Hadiya traditional Court within the Hadiyyi seera conflict resolution institution. According to my key informant and FGD in the study area, there are number of conflict that arises and resolved through local level councils system termed as traditional law or 'seera'. In details discussion discussed about each level of local councils and its authority level involving on the conflict issues in the study area community (discussed in section 4.4).

An individual rather has to start the case from the bottom minee and continue to the six hierarchies of power step by step. After the 'Giira' as to the informants, there is no other institution that an individual has the right to appeal; he/she accepts the decision passed by this local level councils as there is no institution to go further for extra appeal. An individual has the obligation to accept whatever the decision passed in favor or against him in this last step of conflict resolution institution. The 'Giira' is highly respected and considered by the society as fair and committed for those who are unfairly treated. Besides this, the Danna is also responsible for taking and giving cases from one of the hierarchies of power to other.

As described by the informants, when people often want for further justice or feel unsatisfied with the decisions passed by the Local councils at the bottom the case of appeal will be brought to the other higher hierarchies of conflict resolution institution by Danna. However, if one fails to accept the decision passed by the Giira institution, he will be cursed, out caste and isolated from the community. He/She will get no more social services such as burial or funeral wedding worshipping etc. This process is locally called *yaayimma*. His refusal to the law of the people will be made public so that each of the community members know and isolate him from any of the social interaction and relationship. In the end, within a short period of time the names of the rebellious offender his takes and the decision passed by the Seera on him and his

disloyalty to the decision will be isolated in the community and further analysis under the topic of the Mechanisms of Law Enforcement during the *Xiigi-Guullaa* in Chapter five (5)

4.3. The Causes of Conflict

The Hadiya communities define conflict in different ways. The people in Hadiya do not have a single word that defines conflict. The informants indicated that the word conflict (*Woccanchcha*) *xumma hogimma teim xummi bee'ima* means (absence of peace) and war (*oraa*). Generally, the informants defined conflict as disagreements, quarrels and fights between individuals and groups of people.

4.3.1. Abaroosa te'im Miine'e Woccanchcha (Family Related Conflicts)

According to my key informants, conflict within a family mainly caused by property management, resource distributions like land and cattle, over division of labor. Such conflicts can be between brothers and sisters, parents and children, husbands and wives. Conflict within a family also involves relationships between nephews, cousins and uncles. Mostly the settlement of family related causes of conflict will be made at (*minee*) family councils. This *Minee* institution is a part of local courts or *Hadiyyi seera* institution. It involves the spouses parents and very close relatives from both sides. But there are some instances where a family related cause of conflict also goes to either in the formal system or in the indigenous conflict resolution mechanism.

4.3.2. Lagoo Qoccamo Woccanchcha (Inheritance conflict)

The conflicts between brothers and sisters may arise due to inheritance of property up on the death of their father and mother.

According to the culture of the study area, as to the informants such as judge, police officers and family leaders, the family who have the right of inheritance to their father's and mother's property or money. Unfair property distribution in Hadiya can be the source of conflict. It says that when the father or mother dies, the sons inherit especially the cattle, land, money and other materials. According to Hadiya culture the youngest or the last boy who has the right inheritance home and its surrounding area is locally called '*illimucho*'.

This is mainly due to the fact that the society believes that as the son is the last children he should be given to lead his future life as they remain sons are thought to be inherit the rest land and materials.

On the other hand, the last son is believed to take the accountability of watching and taking care of his father and mother. The eldest son locally called '*Wonna*' has the right to inherit his father's property.

As to the informants, in this kind of property inheritance, the eldest son from the family inherits his father's assets like chair pillow (*barcumma*), local weapons lance (*bagado*) and *barqasha* a gift given as amoral compensation. This is because it is believed that as the elder son is their first, he has to inherit property and take the father's accountability responsibility when he dies. There are also other instances where fathers in the study society may give their properties to their sons based on their will to whom they like most which can make one son different from others in terms of property ownership. As to the informants such as farmers, women and clan leaders this situation may create problems in the future when the other sons know that they are given lesser property than others. On the other hand, females are excluded from property inheritance among the Hadiya in the past. As FGD women and elder indicate conflicts between girls and their families over inheritance of resources, especially land is an emerging issue in the study area. This is mainly due to the disagreement between current government's women inheritance right and the indigenous women inheritance right practiced in the society since a long time.

Culturally, girls do not have the right to inherit land. Because it is believed that first, if a girl is given a land, she will bring a man who is out of the family to the land through marriage. Secondly girls go away from their families land through marriage. So, the father does not hand over land to his girl. Even if the father wants to include her in the inheritance of his land, her brothers may not agree or allow her to establish her own family and live on that land.

This problem happens not only in the case of land inheritance but also other resources such as cattle and other materials.

According to my key informant and FGD such as police officers religious leaders judges, women and farmers currently, women also have the right of inheritance to their father's and mother's property and money. Any way of the normal division development, sometimes opposition over inheritance may cause conflicts among the (sons) siblings.

After the end of the arbitration, the contestants will get their share based on the recognized system of the society. If the problem would not get solution in this process, it will move to the Hadiyyi seera conflict resolution institution. According to my key informants and

FGD such as judge, farmer, family leader and religious leader, the other conflict inheritance conflict becomes mixed if the father is polygamous. It is most complex and common conflicts over inheritance usually happen among family members, especially when father dies without handing over his land to any of the family members. In this case, conflict may take place between the widows, the widows and their husband's brother/s, children and their stepmother, or between step brothers.

According to informants, it is difficult to resolve this type of conflict in the formal court and usually indigenous institutions are ideal as they concerned with later connection of the members. Conflicts over property inheritance can also take place between brothers when the elder and younger brothers are not satisfied with fair distribution of land and other properties handed over to them by their family. It can also arise between children and step-mother especially, when the step-mothers are without the right over the resource they inherited from their husbands.

As clearly described claims of inheritance and property distribution between families members can be the cause of conflict among the Hadiya People. The above case also reveals that, in the study area wrongly distributing property and inheritance between children could be the cause of conflict. In addition, a case narrated in the above statement also discloses that indigenous institutions of conflict resolution are still possible to settle conflicts which was caused by property and inheritance claims under family related conflicts among the people of Hadiya community .

4. 3.3. *Dumaancha Qoccamo Woccanchcha (Insult)*

According to my key informant interview and FGD participants, insult (*Duumaanch te'im gameelanch*) is the other cause of conflict which is found in the Hadiya society. Insult (*Duumanch te'im gameelancha*) is an offending which can irritate people and will result in the rise of disagreement and later to conflict. In the Hadiya community, as explained from informants, people insult one another using offensive words.

These words are said to be insulting a person who exclude the member of that group such as: *Agishsho*; Slave, *Gojanchcho*; Evil eye, *Fugaa*; Potter, *Waanchcha*, *Woqaccichcho*; Blacksmith and *Gamancho*; Theft. According to my Key Informants and FGD participants all these types of insult are viewed as bad insult that may result in serious of conflict between individuals and groups. For example , if someone insulted a person who is not belongs to his clan saying Potter,

Smith and Slave (*fuga, woqaccaa and agiddo*) it possibly will initiate among the insulted clan and may result for the eruption of severe conflict between groups or clans which can end in heavy consequences from both sides. Therefore, people often dislike to be connected with this name in any form of their social life and discrimination of the other society, for example, would ignore them from taking part in any of the social relations and association that other members have not agree to make marriage relationship. If the insult is bad and directed against clan or the social status of an individual or lineage as Evil eye (*gojaanno*) is also one of the other cause of conflict among the Hadiya . Because such type of insult would outsider an individual from the people or family. Therefore, people would make no social relationship with evil eye (*gojaanno*) and he is in the discrimination of a given family or person from the society. So, to insult someone as evil eye (*gojaancho*) would consequence in conflict. In order to avoid these bad names, as to the informants, clan members would fight to assurance their cleanliness from the name that they have been given wrongly. As a result, peoples from both sides may face serious damage or loss of life or heavy destruction of property might happen. In addition, the person that belongs to a certain group who has forwarded the insult would be punished according to the values and traditions of the local courts. The punishment is decided by the elders which includes high amount of money. The proverbs or sayings are familiarizes with the Hadiya community were;

<u>Hadiyyissa</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>Daayyi daarbiinee;</i>	Birds of the same feather flock together or a group of people nearly/closely with the same interest,experiences,opinion,etc.
<i>Annaa bee'e laakkii aniggaa iqqookko;</i>	Something which is not fundamentally experienced.
<i>Ajjaarenne anishshimma;</i>	purifies (washing) with gray color.
<i>Hiileeffi issimme Eddiirassin guddise yookko;</i>	Inferiority complex

4.3.4. *Lagiimminne Qoccamo Woccanhcha* (Conflict over the breaking Agreement)

According to my key informant and FGD, conflict over violation of agreement is one of the common sources of disagreements between individuals and groups. In this case is based on the borrowing of money or property between the individual, groups and other. The borrowing of property can be described in the form of cattle or land. Besides property and cattle, the practice of borrowing of money is also a common task among the Hadiya society.

In the study area, all of my key informants explained, people borrowing money to one another and pay back at the time agreed upon by the group especially in *Meskel* festival. However, the one who borrowed the money may fail to return on time or deny his/her having borrowed the stated money. Hence, the lender and the borrower will come in to conflict; this is due to the fact that much of the time agreements between parties are made with verbal agreements rather than legal agreements.

As to the informants, people can lend or borrow property for the sake of helping one another in times of difficulties. It can be manifested when either of the parties (borrower or lender) benefits from what they borrowed or lent. For instance, an individual borrows land from the owner for a specific period of time based on the equal sharing of what the lender has produced what is locally called ‘*uulla amadimma.*’ When the ‘*uulla amadimma*’ expires the lender is obliged to give back the land to the owner and depending on the interest of the owner and ‘*uulla amadimma*’ agreement will continue for another years depending on the interest of both lender and borrower.

According to my key informants such as elders’ women animal lending or borrowing is also common in the study area. People can give or borrow cattle for during the festival of meskel. When people give cattle for them interests their means both side agreement to replaces the money after three–five months. This process locally said to be *gittawwa (interest base)*. Commonly, cattle like oxen , are lent to somebody else for a specific period of time. However, animal or property may be partially or completely damage.

At this occasion, the lender demands the normal one than the damaged one. On the other hand, the borrower purposefully misappropriates the property not to return it back to the owner. Finally, these situations lead the parties to disagreements or problems.

The rise of conflict in between these parties is then inevitable. The following is an example of a case related to the farmland contract as described by my informant. It was narrated as follow:

Case one (1)

Mr Shanqoo Fayissa and Mr Shonkolo Darelo are living in Hadiya zone Gombora Woreda Wondo kebele. They made the agreement of farm land contract. The agreement was made in 2009 E.C between the land owner Mr Shanqoo Fayissa and Mr Shonkolo Darelo (contractor/farm yield share holder).

Mr Shonkolo Darelo was appeared with hold labor-intensive. The contract agreement was made for three years i.e. until 2011 E.C. based on the equal sharing of products which will be produced from the farmland. Only a year after the contract, disagreement was happened. The source of disagreement was misusing and cheating of yearly yields by Mr Shanqoo Fayissa (land owner) and Mr Shonkolo Darelo has opposing to the agreement. Elders in the neighborhood interfered in the case and the problem was resolved after the owner of land admitted his faults. Then Mr Shonkolo Darelo allowed him to continue with the contract that has been agreed previously. However, Mr Shanqoo Fayissa engaged in his former mistakes once again and become a source of disagreement between them in the following year. Mr Shonkolo Darelo irritated and asked him to give his share from the products. But, Mr Shanqoo Fayissa refused. In the exchange of words both individual fought together and even the fight became intense as children from both sides took part. In the fight, Mr Shanqoo Fayissa was injured and Mr Shonkolo Darelo leg was broken. During quarrel, Mr Shonkolo Darelo warned him that he wants to kill him.

Fearing the further consequence, elders in the community called the two parties in conflict for reconciliation. Finally, after a long discussion, the contestants were agreed and solved their problem.

According to my key informant and FGD, people usually make informal agreement on different issues. These sorts of agreement include agreement on land exchange, land sell, land rent, and borrow money and agreement on share crops.

The main purpose of this practice is to help each other. As clearly showed in the statement above as narrated by one of my informants, the violation of such agreements between two individuals can be a source of dispute.

Most of the time people make informal agreement and lend money or materials to be returned on specified date. However, some individuals may too delay or may not return what they have borrowed and even break the agreement. When either party breaks the agreement or conflict may arise. This type of conflict cannot be resolved at a formal court as it lacks formal agreement or evidence.

From the above case it is possible to understand that people may break the agreement they make with each other and the effective institution to resolve such type of conflict in the study area is *Hadiyyi seera* institution. This type of conflict cannot be taken to the formal court, because of the absence of formal agreement in both sides that used as evidence. Since local courts institution does not only formal agreement and require evidence or witness statement to deal with conflict and the possibility of speaking truth at *Hadiyyi seera* or grand rule for all Hadiya people in different level of local court institution is high, as the Hadiya society fears the punishment by *Fujoo* or spirit.

4.4. The role of Local Councils and conflict resolution among the Hadiya

4.4.1. Local Council Institution and *Xiigi-Guullaa*

According to functionalists a social system must regulate the interrelationship of its component parts to sustain its harmony and overall existence. This refers to the importance for a system to manage the interactions and conflicts that may happen among its members. In anthropology, the main scholars of this school are A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski. Radcliffe-Brown is recognized as a structural functionalist. According to him, a society has several institutions like economic, social, political and religious. These institutions ensure solidarity and work for integrating the society as a whole (Scupin and DeCorse, 2012). Radcliffe-Brown concentrated on the social structure and suggested that ‘a society is a system of relationships maintaining itself through cybernetic feedback, while institutions are orderly sets of relationships whose function is to maintain the society as a system’ (Mahmud, 2008; 81). He was highly interested in kinship and commented on how kinship can promote order and solidarity.

Conflicts are undesirable but, they are also inevitable Social systems, therefore, are expected to have a system of managing conflicts to prevent their devastation. Conflicts that emanate from homicide have a potential to spiral as a result of punishment and be destructive unless they are checked and managed from the start.

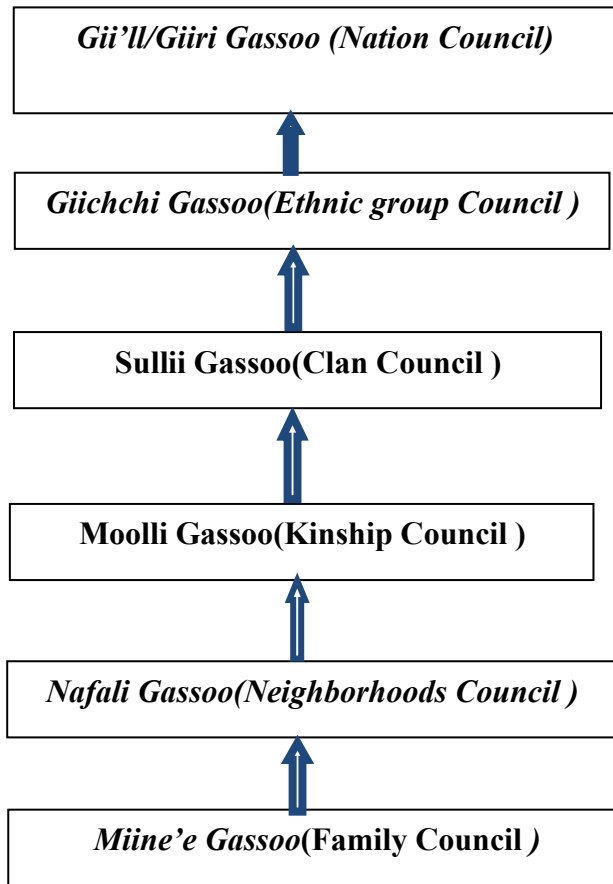
However, the formal institutions do not attempt to attend to the emotional state of the actors involved, especially those of the family and relatives of the deceased. Thus, the family and relatives of the victim of homicide may still be restless to seek revenge on the family members of the killer even though the killer is imprisoned in a prison.

Therefore, when it comes to *Xiigi-Guullaa* there is no possibility of revenge or of the recurring of the conflict since the two disputing parties will be declared as one family and therefore they will be forced to act as one. The focus of the legal institutions of conflict resolution is narrower than those of the indigenous institutions of conflict resolution. Legal frameworks focus on the short-term alternative to addressing conflict. The process of conflict resolution in formal institutions ends by punishing the offender which may anger up to capital punishment. Restoring the broken social relationship and social bond is not a typical characteristic of the formal institutions. Indigenous institutions on the other hand focus on maintaining social stability and restoring the social relationships of disputing parties.

According to my key informant and FGD, the Hadiya people have developed their level of local council institution. This body of traditional institution established rule and principle to people of Hadiya. Hadiya society as to the elders, have long history of peaceful coexistence among themselves and with other peoples outside of their boundary. Therefore, based on the data obtained from the study site clearly shows *Hadiyyi seera* (Local councils) institution as institutions of conflict resolution among the Hadiya of southern Ethiopia. This institution processes conflict and conflict related issues based on the worldview of the people and power vested on them by the customary law. In the study area, *Hadiyyi seera* served as traditional mechanism that can maintain peace and security for its people based on the values and world view of the people.

Hadiyyi seera conflict resolution institution is the forms of traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution in the study area. As the data obtained from the informants, the *Hadiyyi seera* system is a structural and this system for sees a peaceful and common resolution of conflict between individuals and groups for long period of time.

This structure is shown in lower to higher in the following figure given below;



Source: Hadiyya zone cultural, truism and governmental affairs department (2011).

The Hadiyyi seera traditional conflict resolution system has its own characteristic features. Its system and structure of power where differs from one institution to the other. Hence, based on the data obtained from elders, this system of conflict resolution is structured in to six hierarchical institutions powers. These are the people start the disputes from bottom local court level to top (i.e. *Miine'e Gassoo-Gii'll/Giichcho Gassoo*/Family court-Ethnic council) process if they are unsatisfied with the decision, at family court level, then they go to the *Nafara/Neighbor* local court level and court level in order to find better justice.

If the person once again feels unsatisfied with the decision passed by the clan court (*Sullii Gassoo*) he will then go to the upper (next) level of local courts. Besides gathering on the *Hadiyyi nafara* and tree yard as underscored by the elders the people in this time also gather in front of elders.

The overall process begins when the leader of the *Danna* gives an opening speech for what reason the gathering is called. When the meeting is on, each party in conflict is asked to give his or her account of what reason led them to the conflict before the making decision process takes place. The procedures of the taking dispute case to higher level of local courts by unsatisfied persons took *Hiigibagny* and decision makers (i.e. lower level court leaders/ *Minee Woshshaba*) who took responsibility to report next level of local courts what decision make low level court. The *Minee Woshshaba/Danna* have confirmed to upper courts leaders, which, the detail issue it decision making. The Ethnic council (*Gii'll/Giichchi Gassoo*) is the highest and final authority to resolve the conflict in the study area.

As FGD participants, explained, this local level court institution holds the highest authority as compared to the leaders' title and spiritual names; *Dannuwwa*:-the title name for more than two/three family local courts leaders, *Maharano*:-the title name for more than two/three respected elders, *Abagaduwwa*:-the title name for more than two/three culturally respected elders, *Abagazuwwa, Barkafattuwwa, and Daanna* ; the title name for more than two/four Lemo Hadiya, *Mesmassi* minority group, and *Endagegn* minority respectively. *Dadachchuwwa, Gaarraddi, and Hagg-Gaarraddi*: the title name for more than two/three culturally respected elders and with tradition of counting cattle's hundred/thousands among Sooro (Booyamo) Hadiya. *Anjaanchuwaa*;-the title name for more than two/three culturally as well as spiritually respected elders among Badewacho Hadiya.

Addiluwwa and *Danni Addila*;-the title name for more than two/three culturally respected elders at *Gii'll/Giichcho Gassoo* level/ Ethnic-Court level leaders. All local courts institution and community where highly respects all those title name culturally in the study area. According to my informant such as women, religious leader and family leaders the traditional conflict resolution mechanism in the study community is directly linked to the existing socio-political organization of the society. According to FGD participants such as elders and key informants the Hadiya society has been organized in to six socio-political institution. The same words is true for the specific studied community them from the smallest to the biggest in terms of their power and inclusion of member from among the Hadiya community traditional ruling institution called *Hadiyyi seera*.

Those who participate in the institutions would often meet to conduct conflict resolution processes under a tree yard or an open place called *Hadiyyi Nafara* or *Hadiyyi hafaa* for the Hadiya community. Thus, as a place of gathering each institution has depending in *Hadiyyi seera* and it is believed that is a place where truth is spoken and differences are settled among the people. In generally *Hadiyyi seera* has the entirety of unwritten body of rules and procedures binding the community members in their relationship though it is unwritten. It is lawful and constitutes goodness and sense of right and wrong of the community and its members. It have practiced and governing the society for a long period of time. These six structures of Local Councils (*Gasse-Seera*) among the Hadiya peoples are discussed below;-

i) *Miine'e Gassoo* (Family Council)

This level of administration includes brother and sister, family member and also it is the smallest socio-political organization which consists of members who belong to the same family such as a wife, a husband and their children and other close family members. It is a family judge (*mi'n daanna*) who is living in a cooperative kinship relation and understanding manner in the *surrounding* family and it's the smallest level of administration system. The judge family leader (*mi'n daanna*) has responsibility of keeping peace disputes that could arise among the 'minee' members.

Therefore, according to informants, family leader Hadiya tradition case of minee or intensity which involves members of the same house family is seen and resolve at the house family level. Among other family (*minee*) can transform conflict which are of less serious natures such as disputes between husband and wife boundary conflict among the bordering and consultation service for those members of family (*minee*) transferring the top level recommendation to lower level etc. A person under this level was considered to be friendly and each of them has moral obligation to respect the interest of the other and concluding on number of issues.

ii) *Nafari'l Gassoo* (Neighbors' Council)

According to the structure of the local institutions of Hadiya *Nafara*, is an institution which comes in the next higher order above Minee. *Nafara* is formed from 30-40 *Miinee* (*Minuwwa*) and other neighboring non-Hadiya groups, which based on the number of community, settled in limited geographical distribution area. *Nafara* is different from the rest of institutions by the following characteristics. First, it is an inclusive institution i.e. its members are not only from the

Hadiya community; rather it includes the minorities and other outsiders. Second, the elders that represent the institution should not be necessarily from the Hadiya ethnic group/clan. Instead they consist of mixture of Hadiya and non-Hadiya groups, can be from the ethnic-minorities or other groups of the *Nafara*. Third, heads are not necessarily from elders rather any individual who is able to manage problems, administer and guide the members can be head of *Nafara*.

In addition the institution has many sub- institutions under it. These include *Idir* or locally *Idiro*, *Equb* or *Huquba*. Therefore, the institution is identified as an inclusive institution that brought together the Hadiya and the non-Hadiya groups. *Nafara* is established mainly to create brotherhood unity and inter-group collaboration between Hadiya community and the non-Hadiya groups, and to show the tolerance of Hadiya community to other groups (Alebachew and Samuel, 2010). *Nafara* manages different types of disputes that may arise among the members. According to the tradition of Hadiya, any type of conflict including land-related conflict should be resolved based on the hierarchy of Hadiya indigenous institutions. For example, the issue of a given conflicting groups will not be seen by *Nafara* institution before it has been discussed and reported by the lowest dispute management institution i.e. *Minee*. But if the disputants are from different *Minuwwa* (two and more *Minee*), then the dispute will be brought for mediation for *Nafara*. So as to make the dispute manageable head of *Nafara* performs various activities.

These include asking *Minee* leaders to convince the disputing parties, inviting influential elders from the members *Nafara* institution.

The objective of incorporating the influential elders of *Nafara* is mainly to assist the head and to make the decision fair as much as possible. Ordering the two disputing groups to have enough ground for their argumentation and mediation cost locally '*Amaxxa*' is also the other job of the head of *Nafara*. Having these, the disputants are allowed to appeal their arguments. In addition to verbal presentation of ideas, their cases, eye witnesses or locally *Nakashsha* will be invited by elders from one of the disputants or both. The head of *Nafara* and the assigned elders will evaluate the already gathered sources and what they know about the dispute. Having these, the institution will reach a decision making stage.

Decision making or judgment passed at the *Nafara* level may be strong. It is because the institution has the authority to pass strong social sanctions over the members who are not ready to accept its decision. These include exclusion of members from *Idir* (death, marriage) banning from use of communal lands, etc.

Due to such influences the conflict groups have no ground to hide the reality; rather they are forced to expose it and agree to resign the conflict. Decision making by *Nafara* includes: **i)** Exhaustive evaluation of the conflict and the area of conflict; **ii)** Decides the exact boundary which is going to be made between the two conflicts, **iii)** decides the type and amount of punishment which the crime is going to present; **iv)** Imposes sanctions on the conflicts parties who refused to accept the decision of *Nafara*, the sanction is based on the level of conflict. **v)** Refers the issue to the upper institutions if it is necessary. For example, when there is murder due to border conflict.

iii) *Moolli Gassoo* (Kinship Council)

Kinship (*Moollo*) is the second socio cultural organization which is composed of more than one family or 'Minee' that traced their origin and group to the same ancestor members of kinship (*Moollo*) often live close to each other Kinship (*Moollo*) institution is in terms of power hierarchies in the institution of conflict resolution where the people often begin their case from family (*mine*) to kinship (*Moollo*) institution in their village. Some cases Kinship (*moollo*) often live close to each other ,some cases which are concerned here is conflict are transferred to each other and some cases which are concerned here is conflicts which happen of clan level. Hence, some social problems like high level conflict are transferred to this clan judge Kinship leader (*Moolli daanna*) who must be elected only from the member of kinship (*moollo*).

The requirement for the leadership position are kinship (blood–relationship) relationship includes the individual intellectual ability of analytical understanding and explanation and community and ability to apply the respective rule and principle of this level of administration gives equality of economic political social and human right the member of the kinship (*moollo*) administration can be case of small scale like boundary conflict between the member of the *iddir* and *equb* and resource competition within the village administrative. Kinship leader (*Moollo daanna*) has the power of controlling the family or mine level administration. They cooperate in marriage, death and other social ceremonies. For instance, if the type of conflict is simple or a conflict between relatives or neighbors on simple issues, the resolution process will take place at this institution.

In this regard, informants, stated that to deal with simple conflicts case would be seen in kinship (*moollo*) institution. However, if this institution could not be able to manage such cases, the issue would be transferred to the clan (*sullo*) institution. Like that of the clan (*sullo*) this institution is found in almost all places in the community. When disagreement or conflict arises within the community, the institution firstly sees the case before it transferred to the next step. If the case is not able to be resolved or the person is not satisfied with the decision with this institution, the sub-ethnic group (*Giichcho*) institution allows an individual to go to ethnic group (*Giira*).

iv) *Sullii Gassoo* (Clan Council)

Clan (*Sullo*) is also one of the conflict resolution institutions among the Hadiya community. It is also the third socio-political organization of Hadiya. Clan (*Sullo*) is consists different village (*moollo*) who has the same ancestor. This institution sees conflict cases that are not resolved in the family and village (*moollo*) institution of conflict resolution. This institution can be found in almost all places in the study area. Therefore, they can be easily accessed by the community. The requirement to elect the leaders of clan (*sullo*) is similar to that of village (*moollo*) leader. At the level of village (*moollo*) and clan (*sullo*) there are war leaders with titles *Abagada*, *Abagaza* and *Asmache'e* (there are still some elders with these social titles though they are not war leaders). In these case researcher have an opportunity to interview Dagne Zewde Salemu in *Muuraa Osso* clan the conflict between village (*moollo*) of some clan' (*sullo*) adjustment that are presented by the villages (*moollo*) in an application form will be settled and decided in the clan (*sullo*) level.

But if the person whether accuser or accused is not satisfied with the decisions passed by the institutions found in his respective area, he has the right to go to the place he thinks will provide a better justice. As informants explained, people often want to go to these institutions seeking for better justice camper to family (*minee*) and village (*moollo*).

v) *Giichchi Gassoo* (Sub ethnic Council)

Sub ethnic group (*Giichcho*) is the fourth socio-political organization of *Hadiyyi seera*. Hadiya has different clan (*sullo*) who claim the same ancestor. According to the Hadiya tradition the leader of sub ethnic group (*Giichcho*) could have title like *Gichchi danna gadaphph gradda* for Boyyamo includes *Sooro Badawachcho* and *Shashogo Asha'n garaad* for *Lemo* and others like

Wexo giraa some leaders title also *Addila*. To be a leader of ‘Giichchi’ one is expected to have wisdom of investigate and synthesize issues or case, prophetic gifts (*hiraago*) and wealth. The leaders are responsible to keep place in Hadiya. Sub ethnic group (*Giichcho*) is part of the administration body that includes more clans (*Sulluwa*). As my key informant the leader of *Giichcho* name as *Anjanchcho*, *Danna*, *Garaad*, *Addila*, *dannadilla*, and *Magaaba* the main one. The sub ethnic group (*Giichcho*) elected based on the following characteristics the capacity to investigate defuse and understanding conflict the capacity of vision and reflection the conflict cause, wealthy, large village and beautiful guest houses and *hiraago*. Here it is court for appeal and case which can be seen directly that shall happen between clans and people who live in different territory shall be directly related.

vi) *Gii’Il/Giira Gassoo* (Ethnic Council /whole Nation level of Hadiya People)

Among the Hadiya community the highest socio–political organizations were the combination of different ethnic group (*Giira*) and this encompasses the entire Hadiya community. Different sub ethnic group i.e. (*Giichcho*, which comprises *Mine*, *Moollo*, and *Sullo* leaders elected correspondingly society) the Hadiya people ordered to elected the representative from each ethnic group of the community would make up the Hadiya ethnic (*Giira level*) institution of conflict resolution are able to deal with conflict cases caused by, bad insult like homicide cases, adultery and also sees other cases of conflict if it was not resolved by the bottom local councils i.e. from Family-*Giichcho* institution. In this institution each and every conflict cases can be resolved but the most usually seen conflict cases are homicide cases and bad insult. But this does not mean that other conflict cases are not seen by this institution. According to my informants, of the community problems which are considered a threat to the well being of the society would be carefully watched and resolved in the end ethnic group or *Giira* level.

4.5. Selection criteria of the elders and their roles in conflict resolution

According to my key informant and FGD, different mechanisms are employed to select elders to participate in the conflict resolution institutions in the community, elders who are elected for the local court institution are in between ten and twelve whose purpose is to resolve the different types of conflicts existed in the study area. The criteria used to select elders as a conflict resolution process takes various issues in to consideration.

As argued by the elders, the selections of authorities to the Hadiyyi seera institutions follow a certain rule and requirements based on the norms and traditions of the communities. These are; **i)** *Clan membership* is one of the criteria for electing an elder as a conflict resolution institution. According to my informants such as leaders and women it is believed that members of the Hadiya clan are considered by the society as despised and impure. As a result, a man from this clan cannot be able to become an elder in the institution. **ii)** Also, an individual who in his *birth* time followed the natural way to come out from his mother's womb is only eligible to become an elder in the conflict resolution institution. According to the culture and tradition of the Hadiya, as the data obtained from informants and, during birth if a man was born in unusual way than the usual or the natural one what is locally called *wonna* (first son). **iii)** The issue of *age* is also the other criteria in the selection of an elder for being a member of *Hadiyyi seera* (local courts). This means, as argued by the informants, the elders must incorporate characteristics such as well informed, tolerance, wisdom, patient, being truthful and the like. **iv)** The other recruitment criteria for the elders are the *acceptance* of elders in the community and how much the elders are refrained themselves from those considered by the society as unethical activities, i.e. being drunk, adulterous, interference in the affairs of other individuals and the like. **v)** The recruitment criteria to elect the elders are the *indigenous knowledge* that the elders have regarding the *Hadiyyi seera* conflict resolution process. An elder who have good knowledge on the process of conflict resolution based on the world view of the people are preferred and usually elected. Besides knowledge, ability and experience is the other issue in the process of selection. **vi)** The other criterion in the selection of elders for *Hadiyyi seera* conflict resolution is the *personal quality* of the individual. Based on the context of the studied community, as to the elders, the personal quality is all about elders' honesty, neutrality, conduct and the status the elder has in the community. **vii)** In general, the recruitment of elders to the *Hadiyyi seera* institutions relies on the commitment, respect and willingness of the elders. Elders play an important role in the society to properly administer and harmonize the people. Every matters of the society are managed by these elder. The council of elders requests the disputants to handle their problems in a set of expression as saying: "*Maggannatta*". *Maggannaitta* literally means complain made by one of the disputant parties to the council of elder's mediators of their choice to reconcile them. In fact, when electing mediators, they could also include from among the council of elders up on agreement.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. XIIGI-GUULLAA AMONG THE HADIYA

5.1. *Xiigi-Guullaa*

The word *Xiiga-Guullaa* is create from two words of Hadiyyisa language. These are *Xiiga* and *Guullaa*, which means; *Xiiga* is equivalent to blood and *Guullaa* is also equivalent to cleaned or purified from the homicides. The *Xiigi-guullaa* has contain involve a set of practices, procedures and rituals from the first stage where an incidence of homicide is reported to happen right until it is successfully resolved to the satisfaction of the parties involved and the whole population in general. This section of the thesis will identify and discuss in detail these practices and rituals that happen within *Xiigi-guullaa* in the chapter six (6).

5.2. *Manna Shimma'aa Manni Shanna Haggera (Homicides and Types of Homicide)*

5.2.1. *Manni Shimma'aa (Homicide)*

Homicide among the Hadiya is a serious crime. It is not culturally acceptable to kill a fellow Hadiya man or even it is highly forbidden to attempt to kill a person who is a member of the society is also pointing against the people, the culture and the tradition of the society. Having the blood of other is a prohibited among the people and needs a complex process to reconcile and integrate between the conflicting parties and very difficult to integrate with the society with out ritual purification. As to the informants, this is due to change in awareness and the expansion of modern education and religion in the study area.

5.2.2. *Mann Shanna Haggera (Types of Homicide and Xiigi-Guullaa Practices)*

As an interviewed elder says, homicide is examined and disposed in five ways among Hadiya especially in study community.

That is: 1) *Halloo'o*; premeditated killing, 2) *Taanko'o, o*; incidental killing or death due to accidental conflict and 3) *Hushanch teim Hindibayyi leho*; unpremeditated death. 4) *Dammiiqqaa te'im Hassanii Shanna*; purposive killing, due to the reason of undermined the deceased family by the slayers, 5) *Baado Miqqishshi Shanna* (revenge killing).

Halloo'o Shannaa (premeditated killing); is a premeditate killing such crime settlement is known as *Butta'aa* is a measure taken as revenge by killing and by taking properties. If possible it would also take away the property.

At the time of conflict, indigenous respected elder *lommana* who representing clans intervene to avoided and stop broad conflict between two parties. Thereafter, the relatives of the victim bring their complaint before *Molli Lomanna* who are respected elders and clan leader conciliators or arbitrator.

Taanko'o te'im Hannta'lli Shannaa (disturbance); is the incidental killing or death due to accidental conflict is one of homicide type. If the murder is committed with in kin's expenses like funeral expense born by relatives of the murder person would be fully compensated by the relatives of the murdered Hadiya the conciliators or arbitrator literally *Molli Lomanna or Dannuwwa* decided on not to take and receive blood money (*gumme'ee/ xiiqqi-diinnattee*). The only give and receive the cost that they expended for medical, funeral and other expense. The expense money was putt crops place and the same family took on the expanded money. This is done to assure not take excess money expected the expense. The conciliators order the offender to help and support victim family in his full life time take the place crops place does not give and receive (*Gumme'e diinnattee teim Xiiqqi-diinnattee*) blood money. According to Hadiya culture this is strong belief, if the give and restive the blood money another evil was happens again.

Hushanch te'im hindibayyi Shannaa (Unpremeditated death), this kind of murder is without any intention to kill such person who mistake on fact or err appreciation. The murder committed in such way would never require revenge between the kin of the deceased and the murder. Even if '*Dannuwwa*' would not decide the payment of funeral expenses up on killer but, elimination of blood enmity process is mandatory within the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practices.

Dammiqqii te'im Hassanii Shannaa (purposive killing); purposive killing due to the reason of undermined the deceased family by the murder. This is a forbidden and culturally inexcusable or intolerable among the Hadiya people. This type of homicides is creating a bright future to deceased relatives than slayers' family based on the *Hiiragaanoo* (ritual man manifestation).

Baado Miqqishsha Shanna (Revenge killing)

According to my KII and FGD participants, in the context of the Hadiya revenge is not strictly personalized in the sense that it always directs itself exclusively against the killer. The people in the study area certainly first want to take revenge on the person who committed the crime, but if he cannot be found it may instead be directed against some of his close kin and relatives: father, brother and so on.

However, in several instances, younger or elder brothers are also targeted for revenge. Besides targeting on the slayers kin, properties like home, agricultural products and cattle are also targets of attack.

According to the informants, the first step in the process of taking revenge in the absence of the murderer is the burning of the slayers home, the taking away of properties, the killing of cattle and the cutting down of live agricultural products. Before the revenge takes place, both the killer and his close families have to run away the area to other neighboring ethnic groups until their problem is resolved through indigenous means of conflict resolution. According to key informants, if someone commits a kill crime, the slayer first told to run away to another area. The slayer will stay outside of the society until the elders told him to come back for resolution. This is for the sake of avoiding the probability of revenge by the dead family. This process of ending enmity hostility between the parties is locally called *Xiiga-Gulimma*. As practice show if human life is dead in the above mentioned five ways homicides in the study area and there is a mechanism to eliminate blood enmity between killing and deceased relative. This indigenous dispute settlement mechanism is called *Xiigi-Guullaa*. This practice is exercised to avoid revenge between the relative of the killing and the deceased.

5. 3. *Xiiga-Guulla* process in Hadiya

The data obtained from key informants and FGD participants indicated, after securing the agreement of the family of the deceased the next task is to determine the number of elderly people that will oversee the process and rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa*. This group of the elderly people will comprise of elderly people from both sides of the conflicting families. The elders may not be a member of the nuclear family of the deceased and the killer. They are in most cases respected elders from the relatives and neighbors of both sides. This elderly group will be responsible to manage the whole view of *Xiigi-Guullaa* including those aspects that took place before the date of the ritual. Procedures in the case of homicide committed by one or some individuals on one or more member(s) of the other group, the transgressor with Hadiya seeks shelter with *lambe'i lomancho*. Beginning from the day of the crime up until the *Lambe'i lomanchi* officially organize for reconciliation with the family and clan of the deceased, which may range from few months to a year, the transgressor lives at *Lambe'i lomancho*.

As to my informant and FGD participants, the unwritten and binding rules and indigenous beliefs based on *Xiigi-Guullaa*, *hidirro* (oath) and *Dunichcha* (curse) are the most protective and

controlling mechanisms for the avoidance of social evil. Homicide is criticize agave crime among the Hadiya society. It is for most duty of the indigenous arbitrators *Lommanna* that is honorable elder to identify the condition of murder indigenous arbitrators' focus up on avoiding criminal conflict and revenge when a person is killed in the society.

According to my key informant before the ceremony of *Xiigi-Guullaa* the killer purchased a gray sheep, white honey in pot or jar, complete cloth for father and mother or wife of the deceased *Buluko'o* it is double layer cloth would also be purchased for the *Xiigi-Guullaa* process. After all preparation the *Moolli Lomanna* announced the date of the ceremony to the relative of the deceased. They are fixed the day to started the reconciliation programme, facilitated by the *Moolli Lomanna* with communicate both side (deceased family and killer family). When coming to the place of resolution, the elders usually bring the family of the deceased and their relatives for reconciliation readiness/preparation by saying blessed the word like;

Hadiyyissa

English

Xummi daaddoonna;

May long lasting peace be with you all!

Wooccii lai'ihoonna;

May any conflict be resolved !

Xiiga awwonitittee;

May our God make this homicide be ceased!

Ka qaarancha xuumihee;

May these generation have long lasting peace!

In the meantime the *Lambee'e Lommanna*/elders keep and watch carefully the deceased family not to take revenge against the slayer and his family. Due to, there is stated or sayings the power full and culturally accepted speech's at hall Hadiya nation/ethnic level to served as binding and protective cultural rule to avoiding any revenge activities during the *Xiigi-Guullaa* processes in the study area, those common rules/speech's was stated based the forthcoming out comes to the violators to this rituals process of *Xiigi-Guullaa*.

Hadiyyissa

English

Kuu xiigi kaa miine awwonokko;

The same situation might continue if you were not volunteer to list to what we saying.

Hantarra awwonokko;:

Unless you were able to remind, the same *act (i.e, Killing and been killed)* would be persistent.

Siiree chiigookko/biiookko;

Unless you confessed you would be perished or extinction

The resolution between the two parties concludes with the ritual ceremony that aimed at integrating the parties. A person should go through a ritual ceremony to purify himself. It is believed that the ritual ceremony will purify the slayer and facilitates his relatives. On the appointed date of evening (close of the day and early part of the night) and it is the time, the producers of conciliation was starting at river offshore and it decide by *Hiiragaanoo/* spiritual man and negotiators between 20 to 50 relative of the deceased would go to the house of the killer. There after they go to the reverse, the relative of the killer shall over pass on left side, where as the relative of the deceased shall go on the right side. Both parties meet at the river side (the river side place is consider as one ritual place for conciliation of conflicts and crossing the river is also one of the typical oath system for reconciliation). Then, the first speech started by elders /negotiators' and killer side relatives saying;

Hadiyyissa

English

Kaa Xiiga beedee;

May this kind of blood shed be ended!

Kaa Xiiga awwonitittee;

May this kind of blood shed not be persisted!

That means, the blood hostility should be cooled by slaughtering the black sheep and opening its stomach. On other hand the black sheep is slaughtered by the relative of the deceased. Because of this show that he is no more interested in revenge and forgotten everything which happened in the past. He also declares that there shall not be any ill will here in after. The relative of the deceased would also do the same and the slaughtered black sheep and knife should be forgotten here the river. Thereafter, the relative of the deceased the *Lommana* and the relative of the killer would respectively go to the house of the deceases.

Women of the both side (killers and deceased) also sprinkle grass at each other. Their face are covered until they enter home these people under darkness and the home where the fire is covered and seal on thereafter the fire would be opened to reflect its light. This covering the face is intended to avoiding shocks from the deceased family and to protect any felling of revenge. The *Moolli lommana* tell both side saying, uncover your face. Then all of them would uncover their faces. Thereafter, the mead called *kobee'e* is served to both parties. Both sides spill the mead on the ground and exchange through the elders.

Thereafter, the relative of the deceased slaughter the Grey ox the relative of the deceased pass the night at the ceremony on the morrow the prepared food like *buulo*, *Atakanna* and other food with *wassa* which is made by false banana or Enset. Both the above mentioned clan's leaders agree on such a ritual of pronouncement and promise is called *Heemacha-gullimma*. *Heemacha* means black and *gullima* means purification. *Hemachiguullima* is understood to reconciliation with complete understanding and acceptance. There after gray sheep or gray Ox would also be slaughtered and served to eaten by deceased, killed family and negotiators commonly. At the end white honey is served in the culture cup *humbulo* is served to the relative of the deceased by the relative of the murder as well as by the relative of the deceased also both sides serve each other because to make pace between them. Finally, the resolution processes were completed by traditional elders blessing.

This will resolve the conflict between the two families. There is different procedures based on the types of homicides mentioned above but using black animals is not for all slayer type of homicides. It depended on the guidance of spiritual men (*Hiraagaancho*). There also, payments take to consider types of homicides and also use ritual purification and ritual place is obligatory to all *Xiigi-Guullaa* processes. The binding rule was to accept the decision of *Xiigi-Guullaa* among the Hadiya people is very crucial without precondition in both sides (deceased and killer family) because of fear the outcomes after the black animal's slayers culturally. That is a grand rule to accept the decision. The actors for this were the ritual men, cultural elders and negotiators.

As my key informant, who is an elder in one of the communities in the study area describes these consequences that families of a deceased face if they are not willing to follow to the custom of Hadiya people as follows: This does not always happen. It always takes months before a family agrees to proceed with carrying out *Xiigi-Guullaa* rituals.

But sometimes some families and people will persist in their unwillingness to accept the request to come to the indigenous conflict resolution process. In such cases the family will be discriminated and the elderly who will be mad at the family will curse them. In most of the times the families that refuse for several times will be cursed and discriminated ask the forgiveness of the elderly and the people in general and proceed to follow the conflict resolution process.

The Case two of these studies can be considered as an illustration that getting the willingness of a victim's family to resolve the issue through *Xiigi-Guullaa* is a difficult task. The elderly people, who often assume this responsibility, had to repeatedly and with patience visit the family and present their request in a gentle and caring manner. Initial refusals therefore do not result in a curse or in any form of marginalization. Due to, the homicide was unintentional event. The family of the deceased is given a number of chances considering the significance of giving them a proper time to sorrow the death of their member.

Case 2: Argago Kebato (Killer)

On the morning of Jun 26, 2019 Argago Kebato and Talore Bufebo were living in Hadiya Zone Lemo woreda in Masibira kebele and both are plow on their own farm land. Midway through their work they began to argue regarding the border between their farmlands. Hearing the arguments between the two men the family members of Talore Bufebo came out to the farmlands. After spending sometime quarreling about the border they couldn't reach an agreement regarding the borders. The arguments escalate and a fight breaks out between them. Talore Bufebo was killed by stone on the farm land. After learning that Talore Bufebo was lifeless. Argago Kebato, the killer, approached the neighborhood elderly people and requested them to resolve the issue through the indigenous mechanism of Xiigi-Guullaa ritual practices.

After commit the homicide, the killer lived with the elderly hiding from the family of the deceased in an attempt to prevent a revenge and further loss of life. His family members also lived with relatives that are far away from the family of the deceased to avoid being victims of revenge. The elder lies then frequently asked the family of the deceased to agree to resolve the resulting conflict through the Xiigi-Guullaa practice since day of the memorial service ceremony that took place after a couple of days since the homicide was

committed. From the first meeting up to fourth meeting between the elder lies and the family of the deceased were not successful because the family members of the deceased were not willing to accept the request of the elderly. They agreed to use the Xiigi-Guullaa practice on the fifth meeting between the family and the elderly. They agreed to use the indigenous institution by realizing that any other option wouldn't be any more helpful than the indigenous practice of Xiigi-Guullaa. The killer said that I was very joyful on the decision of the elders through Xiigi-Guullaa practice. This is because Xiigi-Guullaa practice made free and I understood myself as rebirth. The homicide case was not purposely or intentionally happened that helped me to have friendly relationship with deceased families.

According to my key informants *Xiigi-Guullaa* is successful in getting the willingness of the parties involved to handle their issue through the local indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms/institutions. This is because the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practices is respected and accepted as the correct route to resolve conflicts of homicide. The claim of such studies such as (Dejene, 2002; Megerssa & Dejene, 2015) that indigenous institutions are embedded within the culture and value of the communities that employ them is observed in the case of *Xiigi-Guullaa* as well. The fact that the indigenous conflict resolution mechanism of *Xiigi-Guullaa* is deeply embedded within the culture of Hadiya people helps achieve the targeted goal of resolving conflicts that result from homicide and maintaining social order and stability among the people of Hadiya in a sustainable manner.

5.4. Investigation of Hidden Homicide Case in *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice

According to my key informant and FGD, the investigation procedures of the homicide in Hadiya are not that much different from those practiced by other ethnic groups. When a person is killed, and there is no information as to who did the crime elderly persons from the aggrieved party take the case to the elders in the village, the clan leaders and those participating in the institution of Family as well as *Nafara* local courts.

There by inviting the aggrieved party to present their or its case before the group so that everybody understands the issues of the case well. After that, the elderly men begin their investigation procedure there and then at the meeting.

They ask everyone if there is anyone who has done or heard the crime done usually, if happens that there was nobody who reports that he has done or has heard about the crime at once. Therefore after the discussed the badness of the criminal, they agree to have another appointment, in which day, every member of the promises that he was report the crime if he hears anything related to the crime.

In the mean, if is warned that non-participation is the meeting of the next day might cause the elderly persons to think the non-participant as being the doer of the crime. My key informants told me, the investigation procedure should go; the first responsibility the elderly persons carry is to convene the whole village in which the homicides is committed, man or woman, child or old, to meet on ‘*Hadiya Nafara.*’ Each person meet comes with his bare stomach early in the morning to discuss about the matter that happened in the village, expressing his wish that the one who did the crime be caught.

Then, if it is through that a good number of people convened have come in order to start the meeting, one elderly person from among the begins the meeting by blessing the community, who have tell truth; this is called *Massi Faattee’e* (saying of blessing);

Hadiyyissa

English

Macci gaatte;

If you told us what you heard,would you be healthy in your ears!

Illi gaatte;

If you told us what you saw ,would you be healthy in you eyes!

Qaarranchi gaatte;

If you testified what you knew, would your family be saved!

Who have informed and hidden this crime the elderly person begins by stated publicity saying called *Dunnichchi Faattee’e* (statement of swear);

Hadiyyissa

English

Kii maccinnaa gaare;

If you hid what you heard,may your ears be deaf!

Kii illina gaare;

If you hid what you seen,may your eyes be blind!

This is done with a view to initiating the members of the team to come for the meeting of the next day. In the appointed date, the people convene meet again, and the some kinds of procedures that is blessings in Hadiyyisa language;

Hadiyyissa

Huunddamm hafaaf yiihee;

Siiree fiikaanisse;

Kiidoo Joorree Waa'ii Eegree; :

The swear stated in Hadiyyisa language;-

Hadiyyissa

Mollaa maxxitoo yontaree kii illina garee;

Kii qachchina inna kii miininna garee;

Kesse ku uulli iyoonee;

English

May your generation be blessed! or May our
God bless your generation!

Survive your genesis becomes fertilized.

God keep from this kind of harm.

English

It left to your eye you may see and hide.

It left to your families and your households.
earth or land cannot be holding you.

The prayers and so, *i.e.* are followed as in the first date except that there is no need that the aggrieved part, presents its case again then, an elderly person from among the team presents oratories saying he (the quality) might hide his crimes from the living, but not from the dead very obviously, these kinds of oratories do have very significant roles in investigating the homicide, because the people fear the *Fujoo* (spirit) of the dead elderly persons more than the living ones. After they finish the oratories, the elderly person asks the team about the fact as to who is being assumed of who did the crime or that the criminal has not admitted himself, the elderly person's stress that, it is not good for a person by explained in Hadiyyisa language by *Faattee'e Lommanna* as bellows;

Hadiyyissa

Kii shumoo'i massi siire'ee ihookko;

Dunnichchi garroyyoo kii shumoo'onee;

Woshshi anni hanqqanee beedookko;

English

May your genesis became blessing.

May curse has not descent to your generation.

May be the issue has run under our cultural
perspectives.

The team discusses the matter again and also takes another date to give a chance for the suspect or hear says from the numbers if the team.

The rules of this oratories and curses by the elderly persons should not be under emphasized in the traditional lives of the Hadiya, because every member in the Hadiya society believes that

what the elderly person say will never fall on the ground in unsuccessful. The third appointment is appointed after the three week or one month after funeral ceremony, which based on the situation how calm down to run issue a little bit different from the previous two in that when everybody fails to find out the person responsible for the crime or that the criminal cannot admit it one elderly person from among warns to the person who has done the crime or heard the crime being done telling him that he is going to pass away together with his kinsmen for not exposing himself or anybody else as being the perpetrator of the crime to the elderly persons so that the latter can resolve it. That elderly person emotionally continues his speech-making saying that the elderly persons would not be responsible for any outcomes of the curses stated from the elderly men bellows;

Hadiyyissa

Qaaranchi gaatitte;

Beyyi bee'e biee'e;

Ccuummi kesse'e waamme;

English

May disbelieve long with genesis.

May be disappear/cancelled without position.

May be ants bury you.

He further details the consequences of his evil acts among the Hadiya society in doing the crime. By doing so, the elderly person is in a way making initiations so that the person responsible for the crime exposes himself. According to my key informants and FGD participant, the Hadiya has developed different kinds of evidences production mechanism those are Eye witness (*Nakashsha*) Oath taking (*Hidiro*) cursing (*Dunichcha te'im Faattee'e*) and killing a black animals with as appearance of *heemachcha-qasimma*. These evidence production mechanism are discussed below

5.4.1. Naqaasha (Eye witness)

According to key informants, this is the initial of evidence collection method of elders whenever a wittiness come to the elder by no means the elders accept the word of witness as it is rather the ask him /her it his answers are sounding. If not they reject him and search another method of investigation. Among the studied community lying is also believed as it has sacred effect. As a result, probability of telling fraudulent thing in front of elders is rare case.

5.4.2 Hidiro (Oath taking)

The word Oath taking or *Hidiro* as key information narrowly translation means oath but it has much more meaning. It is applied at time when individual or group of people plan to undertake

or have already committed miss actions such as homicide, fire-starting, abduction, theft and other Any indirect attempts to act contrary to what has been laid down by *hidiro*.

Whenever facts could not be affected to by eye wittiness the victims or group of victims appear before elders and explain in detail what their objections are and they suspect for the case up on hearing. The a command elder enquire whether the matter has been handled by the claimants own clan and deliberate exhaustively the reason being that such accusation are to handled and treated by a clan before they are brought to elders for public capacity of hearing.

Hadiya societies have their own conflict investigation processes among that the *hidiro* is the most one. *Hidiro* is still highly feared and honorable *Lommana* usually succeed in identifying coding by requiring them to take an oath, those oaths are widely recognized among the Hadiya community.

Hadiyyissa

English

Moonuumooyyoo nii ill qooqonna;

If you hid what you saw, may your eyes be blind!

Maccenisuumooyyoo nii maccii gaawoonna;

If you denied what you heard, may your ears be deaf!

Ku saam I qachina I shumoina afee

*If you hid what you knew, may the same fate get my Sons
and daughters!*

Kabuchcha woccee;

May our land speak!

Waa'a maree uwee;

May our God show any augury!

Researcher observed within the study society there is strong belief that swearing falsely leads to misfortune and result in affection not only for the person but also for their offspring and even for many generations. According to most of my informants elders are successful in identifying who committed the murder through oath taking mechanism. It make 'heart appeals' to the relatives to speak the truth because if taken and if they do by mistake it will be very devastating to their coming generation.

If the truth is find out and then the matter is easily settled if it is reported to the elders for appropriate action such as imposing paying at damage mode and reconciling the parties if the suspected denied the act, there is no hint as to who was the person responsible for of the said crime, the people call up on appeal before the *lommana* and explain their failure in finding out the criminal responsible for the alleged crimes and perhaps they were wrongly suspected. If at any time, however, it is found out that the alleged crime was committed by other person or

individual other than the suspect applicant pay compels action for else accusation and deformation. He or she is also accusation innocent persons or groups and made them take the oath. In generally the Hadiya community gives maximum or last position to *Hidiro*.

5.4.3. *Dunichcha* (the Swearing)

The Swearing (Curse) as to informants, would result in bad consequences or misfortunes on the person, his property his family as well as on the whole community. For instance, according to my informants such as respect local elders and women and religious leader if someone violates the culture of the society or commits wrong, and failed to clean his wrongdoing in front of the '*Hadiyyi seera*' it is believed that God (*Waa'a*) will bring danger not only on the person who committed wrong but also on the whole family and,

The individual in front of the society minor insults, not to tell the truth, failing to respect seniority, disrespecting elders, unwilling to accept the command of the family and so on. As further explained by the informants, it is thought among the society that once an individual is cursed and remain unclean it will cause bad consequence and epidemics on the individual and among the society. So, the violation of societal norms and principles which supposed to bring disaster on the wrong doer and on the whole community can be resolved by the traditional courts of conflict resolution which is known as the *Hadiyyi seera*.

5. 4.4. The Heemachcha-qasimma Tradition in *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice

When the criminal could not identified or the case remained unidentified by any one mechanism mention above. Certain serious kind of or deal are needed to prove and stand for pureness. But, if the suspected will be freed and search other suspect go on. This method of investigation has been one of the effective methods of truth finds among the study community.

Heemachcha-qasimma (Kill a black animals) is a common term in Hadiya community with the same meaning to the killing of black sheep. This is one of the mechanism investigation killings. The tradition has complex ritual procedures and strong symbolic representation of purification of the curse and reconciliation of conflicting individuals/groups. The *Heemachcha-qasimma* tradition is performed not only as a mechanism of purifying the curse from the responsible but also as a method of conflict resolution. Through the ritual processes, the accountable and his clans would be reconciled with the relatives and clan of the offended. The tradition works both in resolution of inter-personal as well as inter-group conflicts.

There would be a serious of prohibitions on his day-to-day activities, as he would be excommunicated from his groups, not allowed to get his hair cut *i.e.* hair unshaven limited contact with family or relatives etc. *Lambe'i lomancho* officials send delegations to the clan leaders, selected elders and other *lambe'i lomancho* arranges a specific day and place for the tradition where families and relatives of the guilty and the dead appear on their part accompanied by their respective Leaders and local elders. For the ritual ceremony of the tradition, the transgressor provides a black sheep. Before the process of slaughtering sacrificial sheep is started the guilty appears in front of the public getting his hair shaved and his face decorated in black and fingers cut. After wards the transgressor accompanied by the elders and the relatives of dead march to the river side where the transgressor cross the rivers stand in the river bank while the slayer family stand just opposite to the transgressor.

At this stage the slaughtering the black sheep begins with oath guided by the blessing and cursing procedures performed by *lambe'i lomancho* leaders or member elected; elders pour the blood of the sheep on both parties' faces. Pouring the two parties with blood symbolizes the purification of the curse from the guilty and his family. Another symbolic process is breaking a bone of the sacrificed animal. The two parties hold each tip of the meat by the blunt edge of the knife through its opposite side to its sharp edge. Meat cutting symbolizes removing (breaking) the hostility between the groups.

The meat of the sheep is not eaten instead given to the castes group who are mainly potters are called *Fuga*. The transgressor and the slayer family moves to the family of the former where white or Grey sheep is being scarified for making them to eat and drink together, which represents reconciliation and restoration of friendship. The house is expected to be dim lighted or dark and ladies pour honey made drink in the face of the transgressor .and the slayer by saying let the peace come among you and avoid conflict finally, the *Lomanna or elders* concludes the ceremony by blessing the peace to be durable and at the same time cursing any attempt of revenge. There is no compensation in money for the crime but excommunicating the transgressor from social life until the time of the reconciliation is regarded as punishment. A strong punishment would be elongating the time of the *guda-isimma* ceremony as there is a belief that some misfortunes then would happen to the family of the guilty or to the transgressor .Similar ceremonies will be Undertaken for encompassing the larger groups but it differs in that the first step is ending the conflict before the reconciliation or purification process.

5.5. *Xiigi-guullaa* and role of Women

Women among the community and the people of Hadiya are respected in general. However, when it comes to the practice of *Xiigi-Guullaa* their role is very much restricted to carrying out the preparation of food and other aspects that are needed for a ceremony that takes place on the evening of the day the rituals take place. According to women discussants, women prepare the bread, the liquor and the mixture of honey and milk that are used in every *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice. The data from male focus group discussions indicate that women in both of the disputing families also play a vital role in credible the male members of the families to accept the request of elders to resolve conflicts according to local customs.

The women focus group discussants also assured that, women calm the male members of their families to refrain from taking any kind of action aimed at revenge which leads to a loss of more life and destruction. They also push the elderly people to quickly facilitate the process of conflict resolution. Women are also involved in the final ritual of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice. Any event which shows contain happiness among the people of Hadiya involves putting butter on top of people's heads. When it comes to *Xiigi-Guullaa* butter will be put on top of everyone's head to signify the termination of the conflict through the peacefully in the practices of *Xiigi-Guullaa*. My key informants told me that, what women say is feared and acknowledged as final according to the custom of Hadiya.

The data obtained from FGD participants also assured that, it is following such a custom that the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice will be finalized by the ritual of women putting the butter on top of everyone's head. This practice signifies that the conflict has been resolved and that everyone involved is now calm and the community is at peace. This ritual of putting butter on everyone's head is not just an ordinary task that can be done by anyone. This ritual and its practice are left for women to signify the tension placed upon the need to sustain harmony and peace in the community. As mentioned above, women are greatly respected and their orders are accepted. As to my key informant, who is a local elderly in one of the communities in the study area, reflected upon this aspect of the ritual that involves women as follows:

Any occasion among the people of Hadiya involves putting butter on the people's head. The butter is put on the head of people that are found on the event. That activity is done by women. The event may be a conflict resolution event or a community meeting to address a problem that

we face. At the end of the event the women will put butter on people's head to determine that a consensus has been reached regarding the decisions that is accepted on the event. Butter signifies quietness and neatness. It is put on the deceased and killer families head because we respect and admire what our women say like;

<u>Hadiyyissa</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>Landi-machcha magano kaa Xiiga siigee;</i>	For the sake of our women's leathers dress, may this severe or bloodshed conflict be ended!
<i>Landi-sikkoo magano kaa Xiiga siigee;</i>	For the sake of our women's Stick, may this severe or bloodshed case be ended!
<i>Landi-Heefichcho magano kaa Xiiga siigee;</i>	For the sake of our women religious authority, may this blood become ended !
<i>Landi-Iditta magano kaa Xiiga awwonitittee;</i>	This blood not occurring again in your family.

When the women are satisfied with the outcome of the event they agree to put the butter on top of our head to say that we shall all accept that outcome and decision.

5.5.1. Landi-machcha a, (Women belt and Xiigi-Guullaa Practice)

Landi-machcha' in Hadiya people is one of the women's role in the conflict resolution is *Landi-machcha*. Women pass judgment disputes by a process also known as *Landi-machcha*. The women interfere in the dispute that the male elders have failed to resolve. The collective women holding a grass individually go to ask peoples involved in dispute to settle and their difference. If one party agree to negotiate and the other declines the women frequently ask the relevant person to come on agreement. If he or she still decline the women sit down with their backs to him or her by showing frustration and about *Landi-machcha*. It means the person was condemned more often than not the unwilling person represents such repenting is called *Hafaa*. The women are also involved in rituals that encourage people to confess to crimes without a witness during hidden homicide.

If the person does not confess, the women *Guuffaa-gudda* (tie a tuft at tall grass) usually used for that cause the person and his or her relatives and women have the authority to resolve any ongoing conflict by saying *Landi-machcha magano* and also it is a way of conflict resolution mechanism through moving among the conflict. Here, therefore, they play role of advisory and begging by using her respect and valve. That this type of women role in *Xiigi-Guulla* practiced among the Hadiya peoples.

5.5.2. Landi-sikkoo, (Women stick and xiigi-guullaa Practice)

That women stick (*Landi-sikkoo*) the institution of women that recommended women to hold a special thin stick that is refunded stick after marriage. In Hadiya tradition this stick indicates authority to those women. This stick is used as conflict management by putting the tree beyond conflicting individual or groups.

She has the power with this tree to bring peace and security within the community when there is hot conflict among the member or out of groups women clan or sub clan of women lay down their special stick (*Landi-sikkoo*) in between the conflicting members or groups stop their conflict. Hence, no one of either party goes to conflict cross the *Landi-sikkoo* laid down and continues with conflict.

Here, therefore, women are power in handling *Xiigi-Guulla* (reconciliation of homicide) by using her respect and value of the community. This is the role of women in *Xiigi- Guulla* (homicide purification) processes among the Hadiya.

5.5.3. Landi-Heefichcho, (Women religious authority and xiigi-guullaa practice)

Heefichcho is the women religious authority and given to the women within husband relatives. The women of one clan community can collectively praying to face natural and man-made hazards like drought, conflict and other. In generally institution of Hadiya can organized from lower to higher and the hierarchy dependently among the member of the society. It is another form to conflict resolution through group action in such cases women who are married and have offspring making a family to *Giira* to stop the conflict.

5.6. Permanent Solutions for Homicide Cases in the Xiigi-guullaa practice

After the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice, the case and the conflict will be settled. The relationship between the two parties will be restored and strengthened through different customs and norms that are considered to be elements of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* apparatus. These customs of *Xiigi-Guullaa* and their practice effectively ensure that there will not be any form remaining disputes and bad blood between the two families in the future. The implementation of these customs guarantees that *Xiigi-Guullaa* resolves the disputes in a long-lasting manner and permanently.

The first of these customs in the practice of *Xiigi-Guullaa* has to do with declaring the two conflict parties as one family. One of the customs of *Xiigi-Guullaa* and Hadiya people related to declaring the two parties as one family dictates that members of the two families will not marry

each other for up to three generations. This is because as mentioned above the practice of *Xiigi-Guullaa* declares that the two families have become one family once the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice is finalized. Even though the two families do not have any blood relationship the institution and the custom of *Xiigi-Guullaa* will make them a new family. Marriage between the two families is strongly forbidden because it will go against the custom of *incest taboo*. This custom of declaring the disputing parties as becoming one family is an indication that *Xiigi-Guullaa* plays a very significant role of restoring and mending social relationships between disputing families. Besides after *Xiigi-Guullaa* is carried out the killer may even support the victim's family whenever they need labor assistance or in any other way.

The reverse is also true. The family of the deceased is also expected to assist the family of killer when the family needs social and economic support. The goal here is to bringing up a friendly relationship between the two disputing families by placing on them an obligation to look out for each other and provide support for one another. The support may be providing labor assistance during a farming season or sharing and borrowing assets. That, the killer and his/her family members will have a responsibility to assist the family of the victim whenever the family of the victim faces any kind of social or economic challenge.

They will be expected to look out for them and check their status in case they needed any kind of support. This also implies that the family members of the perpetrator will frequently visit the family of the deceased to assess overall their situation and offer assistance in a way they can. A set of expectation on the side of the killer and his/her family as follows: The family of the killer is expected to continue their assistance for the family of the deceased. The two families will become like relatives. They visit each other frequently. They ask and inquire about the well being of the family of the deceased. Therefore, they will have a strong social relationship. But they are also inevitable Social systems, therefore, are expected to have a system of managing conflicts to prevent their demolition.

Conflicts that emanate from homicide have a potential to spiral as a result of revenge and be destructive unless they are checked and managed from the start. This study proves that *Xiigi-Guullaa* has been instrumental in settling such conflicts in a long-lasting manner. By placing its main focus on the sustenance of the integration and harmony of the communities *Xiigi-Guullaa* has been successfully managing conflicts associated with homicide.

This study it supports the argue prepared by a number of studies conducted in Ethiopia (Dejene, 2002, Workineh & Dejene, 2016; Solomon, 2014) regarding the role of indigenous institutions in maintaining order and stability in a sustainable way. *Xiigi-Guullaa* helps prolong a permanent peace and stability in communities through the recognition of various customs and norms that declare disputing parties as one family. This is the first fundamental difference between an indigenous institution of conflict resolution such as *Xiigi-Guullaa* and the formal legal institution of conflict resolution.

The difficult challenge when it comes to conflicts that result from homicide is that they present a grave threat on the lives of many people unless they are controlled very successfully. Compared to the indigenous institutions of conflict resolution the legal institutions do not guarantee that the conflict would be addressed in a long-lasting manner. The killer may be imprisoned. However, the formal institutions do not attempt to attend to the emotional state of the actors involved, especially those of the family and relatives of the deceased. Thus, the family and relatives of the victim of homicide may still be agitated to seek revenge on the family members of the killer even though the killer is imprisoned in a prison. However, when it comes to *Xiigi-Guullaa* there is no possibility of revenge or of the recurring of the conflict since the two disputing parties will be declared as one family and therefore they will be forced to act as one. The study also accepts the claim of the researches that the role and primary focus of indigenous institutions is restoration of social relationship and social bond.

This is a marked difference from the main focus of the legal institutions of conflict resolution. The focus of the legal institutions of conflict resolution is narrower than those of the indigenous institutions of conflict resolution. Legal frameworks focus on the short-term alternative to addressing conflict. The practice of conflict resolution in formal institutions ends by punishing the offender which may rage up to capital punishment. Restoring the broken social relationship and social bond is not a typical characteristic of the formal institutions. Indigenous institutions on the other hand focus on maintaining social stability and restoring the social relationships of disputing parties. This is a broader goal compared to that of the formal institutions (Dejene, 2002; Theresa & Oluwafemi, 2014; Megerssa, et.al, 2016). Besides the indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution does not label killers as criminals or as convicts.

This is the other advantage of *Xiigi-Guullaa* that helps easily to re-integrate the killer into the mainstream society and social life. After accomplishing the rituals and after the conflicts are resolved the performer will be just another member of the community. He/she will not be labeled as a killer or a murderer and treated in a different way.

5.7. The Mechanisms of Decision Enforcement during the *Xiigi- Guulla*

Based on the works of Max Gluckman (1955), the traditional communities do not have written rules and regular institutions to enforce a decision. Yet, they have maintained the unity of their customary laws and norms without breaking up. The traditional law among the Hadiya recognizes the mechanism of law enforcement based on the norms and traditions of the elders, the *Hadiyyi seera* enforce laws by means, of exclusion curse and social sanctions. As elders explained curse is one of the vital means to enforce the decision turn into by the traditional institutions. According to the culture of the Hadiya as informants curse may cause illness or death to an offender and also a future threat to his family and property. The effectiveness of the curse has been proved from the harm it brought to the offender on one hand and his family and property on the other. Due to this fact, all the community members know the power of curse and refrain from going against the norms and principles set by the people.

In the social context of the community, the other sanction to the rebellious offender is the exclusion of an individual from the community. If an individual opposes the decision and thinks the decision unfairly decided on him and if he wants to go to the next higher authority. The leader (*woshaaba*) facilitates the case by bringing the case from the former hierarchies of power that he brought the case to the next. According to the elders, if someone is against the norms and principles of the people and unwilling to accept the decisions of the '*Hadiyyi seera*' the people excludes the offender from any of the social interactions and relationships.

The traditional ruling will usually declare the ruling out of any collaboration to defiant by the community at large. As noted by the informants, the community at large usually respects and enforces the decisions of the ritual elders. As a result, the community will exert pressure on the defiant by alienating him/her from common social usages and interactions. The authorities will make announcement to the effect that the act of the offender is rebellious act to the values traditions and norms of the people.

Hence, they will declare that any member of the community have to refrain from having interactions with the rebellious offender. There is a mechanism by which the announcement of excluding the rebellious offender will be distributed to the public at large. In this regard, the various social organizations are used in distributing the words of the announcement. According to my informants due to the severity of the enforcement mechanism, it is rarely to happen. However, at the current time, due to the implications of the various socio-economic developments, enforcing the mechanism is becoming difficult.

Among the study community the offender different type of judgment and execution the elders which include from the simplest to the highest from excursion. Accordingly if the homicide is unintentional, which is to mean it is happens accidental at game play and the like the reconciliation is concluded simply by for givens and literally known as *Haafi yaqanisimma* such type of reconciliation does not involve serous compensation and punishment in the *Xiigi-Guulla* practice. Were as if homicides are committed intentionally and characterized by different features the carrying out would be followed by different forms of penalty.

5.6.1. *Daambussa* (Broad and Sudden-Meeting) calling by authorized elders

According to *Gasse-Seera* of Hadiya *Daambussa* is the process of taking serious measure on the charged individual who ignores to accept two or more calls of *Gas-Seera* institutions. *Daambussa* is an enforcement of decision on individual group or lineage by the local institutions when the suspected group has failed to respect/accept the decision/call. The conduction of *Daambussa* has its own procedures. These include, convincing the group or individual so as to accept the decision for a given period of time before the implementation of the measure on the criminal. Following the refusal of the individual or group, highly respected and locally authorized elders (*Maharano* and *Dannuwwa*) will be assigned, necessary logistics will be prepared, especially horse, and area of conduction will be decided. It is made usually at the compound of the criminal. Having these, large number of elders will go to the area of the individual or group who/which is suspected as a crime. Their journey is conducted suddenly without the knowledge of the criminal.

After the elders arrived at the compound they site outside the house by turning their back to the house of the crime, mainly at the get way. They remain silent, no body to speak with each other or with crime. All the horses are left as their mouth tied, not to eat the grasses of the criminal. The above measure is considered as a terrible act that highly threatens the accused individual or group. So as to escape from this serious measure the accused group will evaluate/repeatedly think about the dispute/issues. Accordingly, the individual or group will be advised to accept any decision of the elders and send representatives. Then the elders order them to present a heavy compensation, it may be money or in kind *Moora* (big Ox) *Harach Marabo* (a pottery of honey), etc. After the compensation has been paid the elders will be asked for excuse and to prepare conditions to resolve the dispute. Then the dispute will be managed easily due to the submission of the criminal (Alebachew and Samuel, 2010).

5.6.2. *Kumado* (Destroying the property of the offender)

This type of punishment are imposed if the offender is not willing to settle the dispute peacefully and when he shows inflexibility to the crime the committed, which is already winterized by the investigation of council of elders. The destruction process is usually supervised by the council of elders so as to not exceed the estimated level of the crime. Particularly this mechanism consider socio economic background of individual and this penalty is under taken in single man mean fore only not married person.

5.6.3. *Yaayimma* (social exclusion)

The word *yaayimma* could literally by taken for moral obligation. But according to the all informants it means a lot more in the sense that it is feared by all and considered as something spiritual which could cause misfortune. It is often heard when people say so and bound by *yaayimma*. According to Hadiya culture *yaayimma* is equal to *uulichchane leehaka waamanchcha*. which is literary to mean no better than death or which death before death is.

In addition the social exclusion includes the individual who commit the crime and his families are not allowed to participate in any social affairs. People are fear *yaayimma* at any time they fear hear the name *yaayimma*.

According to KII the law of *Yaayyima* includes collective attack of the offending denied he or her avoidance of exchange and from all social gatherings and social dealing due to such facts *yaayimma*. It is unwritten code and it has strong social binge on political behaviors of Hadiya people. However, according to the culture if the criminal wants to ask for excuse he would call his relatives for reconciling him compensating what he was expected to do then the criminal would provide money put in front of the legs of the elders would excused. The aspects of the arbitration process that took place before the date of the ritual are often carried out in a neutral place a place that is far from the houses of both parties involved in the dispute. These aspects of the arbitration process have to deal with making crucial decisions regarding setting the date for carrying out the *Xiigi-Guullaa* rituals.

The rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* are often carried out and completed within two days. It begins early in the night and continues the whole night and it ends on the second day early in the morning. Another decision made at this stage of the conflict resolution process is the amount and type of compensation that should be paid for the family of the deceased. Compensations are often made both in kind and in money. The amount is expected to be settled at this phase before date of the rituals of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice. My key informants who mediated cases in *Xiigi-Guullaa* indicated that the compensation falls within the range of 50,000 and 200,000 depended on the types of homicides. According to the key informants and focus group discussants, the elders often take some issues into consideration before deciding on the amount of compensation that a killer provides for the family of the deceased. These include for instance, if the killer and the deceased are relatives the compensation is often smaller than the average amount of compensation. In addition, if the homicide was deliberate and revengeful the compensation is also higher than a compensation decided for a homicide that was resulted from an accident. Also, the past conduct of the killer also affects the amount of compensation he is asked to provide for a victim's family.

If the killer is a habitual a trouble maker the elderly will decide for a higher amount of money to be given as compensation than for a killer who is not known to repeatedly engage in conflicts and disturbances in the community.

According to key informants, at this time, the involvement of the formal legal system in the resolution of such conflicts that result from homicide is rare. The security apparatus in the area and the police have been creating platforms where they provide awareness on the roles that indigenous institutions of conflict resolution play. A judge in the study area who is also a key informant for this study has informed me that once a case has been agreed to be resolved through indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution, the legal institutions and the police would not interfere on the matter. The data from the participants of the study indicated that the communities are not forced to ditch the indigenous mechanisms by the police or any other judicial institutions and use the informal institutions and its mechanisms of conflict resolution. Focus group discussion reflected upon the issue as follows:

The police and courts support our use of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice. We have never been forced to handover cases of homicide to the police. We have never seen that happening among our community. Sometimes families of victims press charges at first but they often drop the charges being fearful of the denouncement and the discrimination of the community. Sometimes the police are involved when killers try to take off from the area after committing the murder.

Some cases of homicide are brought to the police for different reasons and families of a victim of homicide may select to press charges. There have been instances where some families want to follow the legal judicial process instead of the indigenous practice of *Xiigi-Guullaa*. The Case three of this study is one example of situations where a homicide incident was brought to the police. But after facing the threat of *Dunichcha* (swearing) and *yaayimma* (marginalization) from the community in which they live in the family decided to drop the case.

Case 3. Deceased family (husband of the deceased)

Friday March 30th of 2018 (2010 EC) was a market day. At mid of the day or 6:60 a.m. Anulee Bokore was walking back to her home from the market place. She was from Wondo Kebele. She was hitting and killed by a Motor bicycle that was owned and driven by Mamush Tafessa on the date of the incident. He also from the same kebele.

The family of the deceased brought the case to the police after refusing the request of the elderly to address the issue through the indigenous practice of *Xiigi-Guullaa* resolution.

But after being told that they will be swearing and they will be marginalized from the rest of the society, the family of the deceased backed down from their firm position and decided to accept the elder lies' request to follow the procedure and the practice of *Xiigi-Guullaa*, then they dropped the police charge. The mediating elderly initially decided that a compensation of 70,000 birr should be paid by the family of the killer to the family of the deceased. However, the family of the deceased was decided to unaccepted any payments or compensation from the family of the killer. Because, the homicide was accidental (*Taankoo'o Leho*). He (husband) of the deceased explained about significance of *Xiigi-Guullaa* it is very important mechanism to forget the case and nothing I consider when I contact with the killer because the elder's oath made me strong. And I was happy on elders' decisions and we have good relationship with killer families after the rituals.

CHAPTER SIX

6.DISCUSION, SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1. DISCUSION AND RESULT

6.1.2. Initiation of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice among Hadiya.

As mentioned in previous sections of this research conflicts that arise from homicide among the people of Hadiya are dealt with through the indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution that is known by the name *Xiigi-guullaa*. *Xiigi-guullaa* is one of the reconciliation of homicide conflict resolutions where the elderly in Hadiya play a very fundamental role in settling conflicts.

Whenever one person takes the life of another among the people of Hadiya, it is considered to be the responsibility of everyone to request the initiation of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice. According to, communities among the people of Hadiya are given the initial responsibility of making sure that things do not escalate into violence as the family members and in general people related to the victim of homicide may seek and try to take actions to avenge the death of their loved one.

This primary suppression of conflict from going out of control is a common phase that occurs before the process of *Xiigi-Guullaa* sets in motion. This is because the practice of *Xiigi-Guullaa* usually begins after the family of the deceased is given some time to mourn the death of their member. There is no fixed or specifically agreed upon length of time given to the family to mourn their loss. But during that time elders from the families of both parties will meet and discuss about what the process should look like. Further, to avoid the loss of more life due to revenge the communities will be responsible to hide and protect the families of the killer.

Usually the families of the killer will be made to reside in a far-away place with relatives until the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice is initiated by the elderly selected to guide the process of conflict resolution. There is a belief among the people of Hadiya that a person who committed a homicide once will go on to commit up decent to seven more homicides in life.

They believe that there is a blood on the hand of a person who commits a homicide. Therefore, that person has to be cleansed through the traditional customs and rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* to control further destruction and loss of life in the hand of that person. Such a belief is widely accepted among the people of Hadiya. As a result, whenever someone commits a homicide he/she will come forward by himself seeking the help of the elderly and of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* rituals. As group participants elder described this belief as follows:

A person takes the life of another person that is not the end. That person will have a blood on his hand. He will also kill others in the future. Also, when one person kills now it means that he has killed another person in the past. He kills now because he is not cleansed from the past killings. The spiritual leader will identify these things. The rituals of Xiigi-Guullaa and other rituals are needed to cleanse the killer to stop him from killing others. Therefore, killers come forward to prevent destruction in the future.

There is another belief that is related to the one mentioned above among the people of Hadiya. That is, if someone commits a homicide and takes the life of another person there is a belief among that the occurrence of such an event can be traced to a lingering wrongdoing committed by one or more ancestors of the one that committed the homicide. Therefore, the *Xiiga-Guullaa* practice also carries out a process of cleansing that age old and lingering wrong doings and transgressions that are passed down from the old generation. The task of tracing that root wrong doing committed by the killer's ancestors in the past is given to the spiritual leader and interpreter of prophecies. The spiritual leader is known as *Hiraagaanchcho*. The process of managing conflict through the *Xiigi-Guullaa* is initiated right after an incidence of homicide. Elders from the families of the killer usually approach their counterparts from the family of the deceased. If one member of a clan kills another person among the people of Hadiya then the elders from among the family and relatives of the killer will approach elders from the family, relatives and neighbors of the deceased to handle the incidence according to the norm of the Hadiya people.

Early approaching the family of the deceased to secure their willingness to carry out the rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* and ensure that they would not make any attempt to avenge the loss of their member, the elderly from both sides will themselves come together and discuss the matter. They are expected to reach a consensus regarding when to present their request to the family of the deceased and try to understand how the incident happened by speaking to the killer and witnesses if there were any. Then the elders from both sides of the disputing families will approach the family of the deceased person and ask for the dispute to be resolved through the tradition and rituals of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice. As who had take part in the process of resolving conflicts associated with homicide indicated that the request to initiate *Xiigi-Guullaa* is usually made as follows:

Kii 'nno'ii beeti tei'em ki'nnee landichokii foor nii anggane hiigaakko, Kuuki nees laannqqaa esinum bee'i luwaa, Hushanchannem Afuu leeho. Eebikkina Hadiyyi woganne guulliinoommo, Woshsha Lommaniinna uwwehe;

This is translated as;- Your son/daughter's life has been taken at the hand of our son/daughter. This was an unlucky condition, Our son/daughter did that unintentionally. Therefore, let's resolve the conflict using the custom of the Hadiya people.

Sometimes the families of the deceased may refuse to accept the elders' request to resolve the issue through the indigenous institutions of conflict management. In some cases, the families of the deceased people may opt to handle the incidence through the formal and legal system that is put in place by the government. When the elders face such refusals, they will always repeatedly ask the family to reconsider their response and accept the offer to address the issue through *Xiigi-Guullaa*. The elders will persistently present their offer to the family of the deceased, sometimes up to three or four times. It is common that the families may refuse to accept the request to use *Xiigi-Guullaa* in the first couple of requests because they will be immensely sad and the natural feeling at this stage is to come to terms with the unfortunate death of a loved one instead of being concerned with dealing with an outbreak of another conflict.

Therefore, during these times while requesting the families to accept the use of *Xiigi-guullaa* the elders will also advise the family and provide social and emotional support to quickly overcome the tendency to seek revenge. In doing so they will bring the custom and norms of the Hadiya people into attention and they will strongly advise them to calm down. Who is an elderly and participated in a number of *Xiigi-Guullaa* rituals described his experience of the responses of family members of deceased people as follows:

We know that people often say “No” when we first ask them to be willing to carry out the Xiigi- Guullaa ritual to prevent outgoing conflicts. Losing a loved one to death is hard. We all know it. And when they are killed by someone it is often much more hard. We seek revenge. We don’t want to see or talk to the person who killed our family member.

I have seen this from a father whose boy, the only child in the family, was killed by another person. Therefore, we give them time to calm down and mourn their loved one and we also repeatedly ask them to reconsider. So, it may take a long time for them to calm down and agree to carry out the issue through Xiigi- Guullaa ritual practices.

That, when the family members of the deceased agree to handle the issue through the traditional rituals and customs they usually respond as follows:

Hadiyyi wogannee seerannee’e beeddonna iittinaammo; Nii minaadaphphi wogiinsi fillaa xannoommoyyo; this is translated as: “we are willing to resolve the issue through the tradition and ritual of the Hadiya people, we cannot go away from the custom and tradition of our people”.

But in some cases, where the families of the deceased people persistently refuse to comply to the custom of the Hadiya people that legitimizes the use of *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice in such cases, the elderly people will condemn or denounce them. They will also be discriminated from the community and the rest of the population.

Afraid of the condemnation and the curses of the elderly people which are believed to be bound to happen, the family of the deceased will accept the request to resolve the conflict through the traditional conflict resolution institution of *Xiigi- Guullaa*. The families of a deceased face if they are not willing to follow to the custom of Hadiya people as follows:

This does not always happen. It always takes months before a family agrees to proceed with carrying out *Xiigi-Guullaa* rituals. But sometimes some families and people will persist in their unwillingness to accept the request to come to the indigenous conflict resolution process. In such cases the family will be discriminated and the elderly who will be mad at the family will curse them. In most of the times the families that refuse for several times will be cursed and discriminated ask the forgiveness of the elderly and the people in general and proceed to follow the conflict resolution process.

6.1.3. Beginning the Inter-Mediation in Xiigi- Guullaa Process.

The aspects of the arbitration process that took place before the date of the ritual are often carried out in a neutral place; a place that is far from the houses of both parties involved in the dispute. These aspects of the arbitration process have to deal with making crucial decisions regarding setting the date for carrying out the *Xiigi-Guullaa* rituals.

The rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* are often carried out and completed within two days. It begins early in the night and continues the whole night and it ends on the second day early in the morning. Another decision made at this stage of the conflict resolution process is the amount and type of compensation that should be paid for the family of the deceased. Compensations are often made both in kind and in money. The amount is expected to be settled at this phase before date of the rituals of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice. The mediators of cases in *Xiigi-Guullaa* indicated that the compensation falls within the range of 50,000 and 200,000 depended on the types of homicides.

The elders often take some issues into consideration before deciding on the amount of compensation that a killer provides for the family of the deceased. These include for instance, if the killer and the deceased are relatives the compensation is often smaller than the average amount of compensation.

In addition, if the homicide was deliberate and vindictive the compensation is also higher than a compensation decided for a homicide that was resulted from an accident or unintended. Also, the past conduct of the killer also affects the amount of compensation he is asked to provide for a victim's family. If the killer is a habitual a trouble maker the elderly will decide for a higher amount of money to be given as compensation than for a killer who is not known to repeatedly engage in conflicts and disturbances in the community.

At this time, the involvement of the formal legal system in the resolution of such conflicts that result from homicide is rare. The police and actors in the legal system in the study area have recognized the role of *Xiigi-Guullaa* and they tend to prefer not to interfere with the indigenous mechanisms and institutions of conflict resolution. The security apparatus in the area and the police have been creating platforms where they provide awareness on the roles that indigenous institutions of conflict resolution play.

A judge in the study area who is also a key informant for this study has informed me that once a case has been agreed to be resolved through indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution, the legal institutions and the police would not interfere on the matter, this is because of the great contribution of indigenous mechanisms on conflict resolution. Also, he said: We recognize that our people have their own tradition and mechanisms of addressing conflicts and disputes. Xiigi-Guullaa is one of those mechanisms that have been used to address conflicts and disputes that emerge from homicide. As a member of the people of Hadiya, I know that it has been practiced for a very long period of time among our people. So far the police and members of the legal system do not interfere when the people try to handle cases through the indigenous institution. We even encourage the people to rely on these institutions/mechanisms to address their conflicts.

That the communities are not forced to ditch from the indigenous mechanisms by the police or any other judicial institutions and use the informal institutions and its mechanisms of conflict resolution. Focus group discussant reflected upon the issue as follows:

The police and courts support our use of the Xiigi-Guullaa practice. We have never been forced to handover cases of homicide to the police. We have never seen that happening among our community. Sometimes families of victims press charges at first but they often drop the charges being fearful of the denouncement and the discrimination of the community. Sometimes the police are involved when killers try to take off from the area after committing the murder. Some cases of homicide are brought to the police for different reasons and families of a victim of homicide may select to press charges. There have been instances where some families want to follow the legal judicial process instead of the indigenous practice of Xiigi-Guullaa.

6.1.4. Hidden Cases of Homicide and the Swearing Ritual in Xiiga-Guullaa Process

Sometimes the communities may not know who committed a homicide. Or sometimes the killer may hesitate to identify himself a murderer and come forward to initiate the process of *Xiigi-Guullaa*. When such situations happen, the elders will carry out a ritual of cursing beginning from the date of the funeral ceremony prepared for the deceased. This ritual of cursing will be carried out to ask God to reveal the identity of the person who committed the homicide.

Throughout the funeral ceremony the elder lies will shout *ka Xiiga at muuntaa firee Waa'a kabeet Xiiga at garaqqe* which means "Oh you God let us know who spilled the blood of this deceased person." This also implies that the elder lies and the leaders of the clan instructing the blood and the spirit of the deceased to reveal the person who committed the murder. In the weeks after the incidence of homicide, if the killer does not identify himself and not approach local elderly people to initiate the rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* and if there are no suspects and accusation from the family of the deceased on anyone in the community, the cursing ritual by the elderly will be the only thing that is done. The elderly people will curse the killer and pray that God would do the justice.

In some cases, there may simply be suspects of a homicide and the killer may not be known for certain. If there were no witnesses when the homicide was committed and if no one approaches the elderly admitting he/she committed a murder, the killer will not be known and therefore the rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* cannot be carried out.

In some cases, however, the family of a victim of homicide or anyone else suspects someone of committing a homicide based on the past relationships between the accused and the deceased. When such accusations are brought to the elderly people, a separate set of rituals will be carried out.

The accusations are often brought by the family of the victim to the elderly people that are selected to handle that particular case. Then the accused person will be summoned by the elderly and is asked if he/she is responsible for the death of that person by saying: *faroo fiissehe'e, biiraa yiillehe'e, Xiigi gaaroonne'ee*. This is literally translated as, Reveal your wrongdoing, or make public what you hide and take the blame for it. If he denies committing the homicide, the elderly will summon him/her up to three times to discuss the grounds of the accusations and the consequences of lying and failing to reveal the truth when it comes to homicide. If he/she still denies committing a homicide and claims he/she is innocent, he/she swears and testifies saying;

Iikki anggii lokkii fayya'a ki'nnuwwi yitakkem luwwaa/qaararee agoommo.

This is literally translated as: my hands and my legs are free and clean from such form of wrong doing by talking any ritual practices..

After that a date will be chosen for a cursing ritual in case the accused is still lying about committing a homicide. The family of the deceased will be instructed by the elderly to bring a black sheep/goat, a barren woman, a blind person, and a handicapped person who couldn't walk on the day of the cursing ritual. The accused on the other hand will be instructed to bring his/her spouse and their eldest child. On the day of the cursing ritual the accused will be instructed by the elderly to slay the black sheep brought by the family of the deceased. While, slaying the sheep the accused swears, and *shammoolas i'iidme'ii i qachichi idime'ii ka gereechchi idime'isa guundde*. which is literally translated as: "Let my life and my family's life end in such meaningless way as this sheep's life if I committed a murder." At the same time as the accused is slaying the sheep's neck, his wife is instructed to attempt to cut the sheep's stomach as will be asked to swear "*ixxi kakka issaakkoolas igoddabi kagereechchi godaphphesa diihehe*" which is translated as "Let my children be empty if my husband has taken the life of an innocent person".

And his eldest child will be instructed to stab the sheep's eye and swear "*iyyan shukkossa la'ummuyyam maxammolas li illi li'illag tuunsse*" which is literally translated as: "Let my future be dark and Let my eye be blind, if my father has taken that person's life."

While, these three people do these things the infertile women, the blind person, and the handicapped person who can't walk would move close to them and curse them if the accused really committed the homicide and take the life of the deceased. If a number of people are suspected and accused of committing a homicide the same rituals will be carried out in different days. The aim of these rituals is to investigate hidden cases and homicides by triggering the fear factor in people's mind.

Besides there is also a strong belief among the Hadiya people that God will curse the family members and off springs of a person who committed a murder. The rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* in part are aimed at cleansing the wrong doing and bad spirit to prevent the curse.

6.1.5. The Closing and Purification Rituals of Xiigi-Guullaa Practice

A major recurring theme among studies of indigenous institutions of conflict resolution in Ethiopia is the ideas that these institutions involve different types of rituals that make use of several symbols (For example, Dejene, 2002; Workineh & Dejene, 2016; Megersa, Waktole and Kamil, 2016; Jemila, 2014; Nigussie, 2013; Solomon, 2014). Symbolic Interactionism states that social interaction is impossible without meaning. And symbols are used to convey and exchange meaning. *Xiigi-Guullaa* is one indigenous mechanism of homicide reconciliation, where rituals and symbols play a very significant role in facilitating the process of *Xiigi-Guullaa* practices among the Hadiya peoples. The rituals and the symbols are both spiritual and social in that they indicate the cleansing process and the restoration of social relationships. The rituals are very powerful and decisive in addressing the conflict and the disputing parties accept them. The ritual is accomplished in less than two days and still very successfully addresses the conflict that result from homicide. The concluding and the major rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* take place on the night of the date selected by the elderly and it is finalized on the morning of the second day. These rituals are central to the conflict resolution process in *Xiigi-Guullaa*.

They are carried out in an order presented below following the guidance and order of the elderly people who mediate the case. The rituals involve numerous symbols and meanings that play different roles in the conflict resolution process. According to, the significance of the rituals in *Xiigi-Guullaa* is reflected in what they represent or signify in the process of resolving the conflicts that resulted in homicide. The practice of these rituals is fundamental in resolving the conflicts and bringing the conflicting parties back together. Some of the practices have spiritual components and meanings that are attached to them. The others have social meanings and are vital in addressing the psycho-social damage that homicide and the accompanying conflict poses. The meaning and the implications of the rituals is fundamental in curative broken hearts and social relationships with in the communities. The social meanings of the rituals as they are used in the process of conflict resolution and their meaning and significance's in addressing the threat of conflict are duly recognized and appreciated by the communities among the people of Hadiya. A step by step description of these rituals and a discussion of the symbols and their meanings in each ritual are presented below:

After the disputing parties agree to resolve the conflict through the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice and after the date and time has been fixed the family of the killer will be instructed to buy the necessary materials for the rituals. These materials include *heemachcha* (black sheep), a bull, *Ajaara* (mousy sheep) and several food items including Teffi, wheat, honey, milk, etc. After that the families of the deceased and the elders will come to the family and house of the one who committed the homicide. The rituals often start when it is dark. They usually begin at 8:00 pm. or a little after that. That, the cleansing and concluding rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* are carried out in two different places. The first place is a river. The rituals on the river focus on cleansing. Hence, I have named these rituals the purifying rituals. The mediated conflicts in *Xiigi-Guullaa* the selecting a river for the first major ritual has a significant symbolic meaning. According to, the aim of the rituals in *Xiigi-Guullaa* specifically and of the whole institution of *Xiigi-Guullaa* in general is to manage conflict though cleansing wrongdoing instead of punishing an offender.

It is in line with this aim of cleansing that a river is always the first place where the first sets of rituals take place. The river cleanses and washes away the wrong doing and the bad spirit away from the killer and his/her family. It is believed that the river and the rituals that take place on it

will wash and keep away the bad omen that is believed to happen to a person who takes away the life of another. The river selected for the ritual is often a river that flows throughout the year.

The second place is the residential place of the person who committed the homicide. The second part of the rituals takes place in the residential place of the killer because the purpose of these rituals is to cleanse the killer of the wrong doing and violations that he has committed. And these second rituals focus on re-integrating the disputing families and parties and repair the two relationships between the disputing families. Hence, these rituals named as the reintegrating rituals. The rituals often begin right after the rituals on the river are finished and end on the morning of the second day. If there are binary killers who committed a homicide, the rituals will be carried out in one of the killer's house. The elderly people will consult the killers to choose who should hold the rituals. But all the killers and their families will be responsible to share the costs needed for the rituals and for the compensation to be paid for the family of the victim. On the other hand, in some instances there have been cases where one killer commits a homicide and murders multiple individuals at once. When such rare situations occur he/she will be forced to pay compensations for the families of the victims. Here he/she will also hold single or multiple rituals for each victim and their family separately or together. But it is based on the decision of *Hiraagancho*.

1. The Purification Rituals in Xiigi-Guullaa Process

On the date, chosen to carry out the rituals the elders always arrive first and wait for the family members of the deceased in the compound of the house. According to, the family members of the deceased come to the meeting place by covering their faces using any black cloth available. They are all expected not to show their faces according to the custom of the people until the later stages of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* practice. The first aspect from the series of cultural rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* is the trend whereby the family members of the deceased person come to the residential place of the killer by covering their faces using black clothes. Covering their faces in clothes signifies that the families of the deceased are going through sorrow and sadness as a result of losing a family member. Besides, covering their faces in clothes indicates that they still have a sense of animosity towards the family of the slayer. Covering their faces shows that they are not willing to come face to face with the family members of the killer. They cover their face throughout the *Xiigi-Guullaa* ceremony until a later phase of the ceremony where they will be

instructed by the elderly people to lose their covers. Therefore, the covers signify their sadness, sorrow and a negative emotion and feeling that they have towards the killer and his/her family. It is accepted among the people of Hadiya that the *Xiigi-Guullaa* ritual cleanses the sadness and sorrow felt by the family members and relatives of a person who is a victim of homicide.

The covering of their faces using black clothes and later on losing the covers signifies this role of *Xiigi-Guullaa* in repairing broken hearts and social relationships between the two families and their kin. However, it is the custom of *Xiigi-Guullaa* that at this phase the family of the deceased will not enter the house of the killer. After the family of the deceased come to the meeting place for all involved in the process of conflict resolution, which is the residential house of the killer, the elders will summon the family of the killer to come outside their compound and join them and the family of the deceased. Then all family members of both parties will be instructed to march towards the nearest river where the first ritual of cleansing will be practiced. The river that is selected for the purpose of the ritual has to be a river that flows throughout the year. Another aspect of the first cleansing ritual in *Xiigi-Guullaa* that has a symbolic significance in the process of conflict resolution in the institution is the type of river chosen. Often, the river that will be chosen will be a river that flows throughout the year. The river therefore cannot be a seasonal river that flows for some months of the year. This is because, the purpose of this cleansing ritual that takes place on the river is to resolve the conflict in a long-lasting manner.

Therefore, a river that flows throughout the year is selected to signify that purpose of the ritual and of *Xiigi-Guullaa* in general. Seasonal rivers flow for some months following their roots and disappear for some time to come back when that season comes again. Such rivers are not selected for the ritual of cleansing because the continual or recurring of the conflict is against the aim of the ritual. Therefore, a river that flows throughout the year is selected because they want to cleanse and rid of the conflict and the bad blood once and for all. They want to make sure that such an event would never happen again between the two families.

The choice of such a river signifies that desire in *Xiigi-Guullaa*. While the families of both parties' march towards that river the person that committed, the homicide is instructed by the elderly to carry the black sheep that he bought for the purpose of this aspect of the ritual and follow them. According to, the killer carrying the sheep is expected to be the last person of the crowd.

That, a sheep is an element of this and other rituals in *Xiigi- Guullaa* because among the people of Hadiya, a sheep is used to characterize the attribute of being innocent, ingenuous, and frankness. Using a sheep in the rituals symbolizes the desire of everyone for the whole practice to be genuine. Prior to the day chosen to carry out the *Xiigi- Guullaa* ceremony the killer will be instructed by the elderly people mediating the conflict resolution process to prepare a number of things one of them being a black sheep. The killer then will be ordered to carry the black sheep and be the last person following the two disputing families and the elders as they march towards the river. He is expected to be the last person because he is considered as a deviant from the norms and values of the Hadiya people in that he has taken the life of another.

He is considered as a wrong doer that transgresses the custom of the Hadiya people. The traditional custom and practice of *Xiigi-Guullaa* also dictates that the elders that arbitrate the case between the two conflicting parties remain between them as they march towards the river. Therefore, the two parties will go to the river separated by the elders. They do not to merge, walk together, sit together or have a conversation until the later part of the process of *Xiigi-Guullaa*. The mediated a *Xiigi-Guullaa* ritual, the two disputing parties do not mingle at this stage of the ritual because the cleansing task is not yet carried out. The cleansing rituals have to be carried out until a later phase of the practice for the two parties to unit and integrate among each other. This is a significant indicator that shows the value of the rituals in reintegrating the two parties physically and psychologically.

When everyone reaches the river, the elders will instruct the killer to cross to the other side of the river bank and slaughter the black sheep right on the edge of the river bank. And then, he will cross the river while still carrying the black sheep and slaughter it right on the edge of the river bank and let the blood flow down along with the river stream. Therefore, the person who committed the homicide holds the head of the sheep right above the flowing water on the edge of the river bank and the other part of the body will remain on the solid land. He then slays the sheep on the edge on the river stream and makes sure that the blood of the sheep will directly flow into the river stream. The first ritual of *Xiigi- Guullaa* is to slay the sheep on the edge of a river bank that flows through out a year. The sheep is expected to black. This is because the color black among the people of Hadiya represents the bad blood that exists among the two conflicting families. It will be slayed on the riverbank and left there.

But before that the killer will be ordered to cross to the other side of the river carrying the sheep. He crosses to the other side of the river because he has violated the culture and custom of the Hadiya people in essence he is viewed as standing in opposition to the rest of the population. The killer himself is the one that will slay the sheep right on the edge of the river bank while the rest of the two families and the elderly people watch from the other side of the river bank. Then he will let the blood flow along the river stream and leave the dead body right where he slayed it. This is an important phase of the ritual in that it signifies the cleansing of the bad blood and hate that exists between the two disputing families. Letting the blood into the river stream specifically signifies the cleansing or the washing away of the animosity that happened as a result of the homicide committed by the killer. After that the dead sheep will be left on the spot where it was slaughtered. Going away the dead sheep right where it was slayed has a significant symbolic meaning in the process of conflict resolution through the *Xiigi-Guullaa* ritual. The meaning here is that the wrong doing and the violations that the killer has done when committing the homicide are left away from the community and everyone to be cleansed.

When the killer leave the dead sheep right there to cross back the river and join the rest of the people that are gathered there, he is also adhering to the expectations of the community not to repeat such a transgression in any form. Then the killer is also instructed to shave his head and cut his nail on his hands. Two slightly different versions regarding this ritual. The first version of the story is that the killer will cut some of his hair and nails on his hand. The second version is that the killer will shave all of his hair and nail and leave it where he/she slaughtered the black sheep. However, it indicated that there is also a significant symbolization here regardless of whether the killer shaves all his/her hair and nails or only some of it. Here, by shaving his/her hair and cutting his nails the killer is showing that he/she too is saddened by his/her action and by the death of a fellow Hadiya in his/her hand. And leaving the hair and nails right there along with the dead sheep is also a very significant symbol in the ritual that has its own fundamental meaning when it comes to relieving the killer of the sense of guilt and emotional instability that many murderers experience.

As the killer shows his sorrow and sadness for his action by shaving his/her hair and cutting his/her nails, being instructed by the elders to leave it along with the dead sheep indicates that he is also expected to lay off and leave the sense of guilt as he emerges into a new life.

Therefore, leaving the hair and nails is a cleansing ritual targeted to get the killer to discharge the sense of guilt and cumbersome emotional instability that comes with slaying someone. Then the killer is instructed to cross back to the other side of the river and join his family. But he will be instructed to cross back in a different direction than he initially crossed the river to slaughter the sheep. Therefore, if he/she crossed carrying the sheep in one spot he is expected to leave the dead sheep right where he/she slaughtered it and walks up wards the river and cross that river. He is either not expected to walk down wards the river and cross back. After slaying the sheep and letting the blood into the river stream the killer will cross back and join the gathering of the three groups of people, the two families and the elderly. But he will be instructed to cross back to the other side of the river in a different direction. He will be told to walk a few meters towards the upstream and cross from there towards the gathering of people.

Based on information, I acquired this signifies that the person will start a different journey in life, a life that takes him/her in the direction of reunification with the whole society. Crossing back the river in a different direction shows that the killer is taking another direction in life as well. Changing the direction of crossing the river symbolizes that the person is assurance not to get back to becoming the former person he was. The two paths symbolize the change that is taking place in the killer's personal and social life. Coming back to the other side of the river, the killer will join his family and the other people that are attending the rituals. After the killer crosses, back and join his family everyone will get back to the residential place of the family of the killer. Like they did when they march towards the river the two parties will be separated by the elderly who walk in the middle of the two parties. The family of the deceased will also still cover their face in a black cloth.

II. The Re-reunification Rituals in Xiigi-Guullaa Process

When the deceased family and the elders reach the gate or the compound of the killer's family, the killer will be instructed to slay another sheep. This time the sheep will not be a black one. Here the sheep will be a mousy color but black to signify that the two parties relationships are succeeding and are no more characterized by animosity. It has a significant value in starting the healing of the psychological state of the two disputing parties. In addition, a sheep is slayed near the door steps of the family of the killer because they are expected to step on the sheep's blood and enter the dark room.

It is the custom of *Xiigi- Guullaa* that they will forgive the killer after stepping on the blood. Hence, it signifies that they are ready to forget the bad blood between the two families. And unlike the black sheep slayed on the river bank this one will be feasted upon on a ceremony that will take place on that night after another ritual. Right after slaying that sheep the elder lies and only the families of the killer will enter the house leaving the family of the deceased outside the house. One room will be chosen to hold the ritual prior to entering that room chairs will be arranged in several rows and the light in the room chosen for this stage of the ritual will be off. So, the room will be totally dark. In this ritual, the room is dark to signify the state of feeling and emotion that the family members of the deceased experience and the resulting state of relationship between the two families. It shows that darkness has entered into the lives of both sides of the families and the people of Hadiya in general because of the loss of an individual member of the community. Upon entering the room the elders will look for their seat at the back of the room. The family members of the killer will enter the room and take different seats with in the room. But they will not be seated together. They will be instructed not to sit next to each other. They will be seated randomly by leaving spaces between them. Open seats will be left between each of them.

Therefore, at that moment the room will entirely be dark. Then the families of the deceased, who are waiting outside the house, will be summoned by the elderly to enter the house and take seats. They then enter the dark room and look for empty seats which are left unoccupied between members of the family of the killer. Then every member of one of the families will seat next to a member of the other family. Therefore, this will be the first time when the two families join together after the homicide and the conflict that happened between them as a result of the homicide. This is the first time that the two families will come to close proximity and sit together. According to them, they will mingle and no two members of the same family sit next to each other. But still the faces of the family members of the deceased are covered with black clothes. After everybody is seated, the elders will give another order. They will instruct *Waa'i caakkii fooqooyyoneh*. This is literally translated as "Let the light of God shine bright." Then every member of the two conflicting families will respond to that order saying *fooqihona* which roughly translates as "let it shine." After that the light in the room will be on again and the dark room will be no more. As the light comes on in the room the elders will bless both families. Here the light represents peace and love. At this stage both sides of the family will start reviving their

relationships. This will give both families a chance to physically and psychologically contact each other and sets off the healing process of the broken social relationship.

After the light is on, the elders will again pass another order from the back of the room saying *Gunguull'im dilloyoonihee*. It means "loose the clothes that cover your faces." This is because the faces of the family members of the deceased are still covered. Following that the family members of the deceased will lose their covers and show their faces. Then the elders will instruct the conflicting parties to greet and kiss each other. Members of the two families who are now sitting next to each other and who see each other face to face for the first time after the homicide; now stand from their seats to greet each other by shaking hands and by kissing each other on the cheek. Every member of both families will move and walk across the room to greet each and every other member of the other family. This aspect of the ritual establishes the physical reintegration of the two disputing families. It renews the relationship between the two families. After every member of the killer's family greets every member of the family of the deceased, they all get back to take their seats.

Again, each member of the killer's family will sit next to a member of the family of the deceased. Following the greeting ritual members of the two disputing families will be given beverages and bread. But they will be instructed to share the glasses of beverage and the bread after testing. Therefore, a member of the family of the deceased shares one glass of beverage with a member of the family of the killer that is sitting next to him/her. One will take a sip of the beverage and pass the glass to the person sitting next to him/her. Every person will be instructed to do that and share the beverage and the bread. Since the members of the two disputing families are sitting next to each other they will be forced to share drinks and bread. This will further strengthen the restoration of the social relationship between the two families because it brings two members of the families very close to each other through such an intimate practice. Sharing a single plate and a glass of beverage is a common practice among family members and relatives of the people of Hadiya during conflict resolution and in other ceremonies in order to strengthen long lasting relationship and to show happiness. This ritual of sharing plates and glasses of beverage is carried out here to signify the desired goal of *Xiigi- guullaa* in renewing and strengthening the relationship between two families together.

After this step some members of both parties will exit the room along with some of the elder lies to give blessings before the bull prepared by the family of the killer is slayed. Some of the common blessings that they say at this stage are as follows:

Shummanni lambe'nnee lehummannni lambe'ennee Haxxanchiii gereerochchii hee'oone
Xuummi ki'nnuwwi lambe'enne ihhoonna,

This is translated as: Let there be no shocking blood and rivalry among you, Let there be peace and harmony among you.

Another is; *Ki'nnuwwi shuumo'i barekkatte te'im haraaaree.* Let you have many more children.

Ki'nnuwwi lambe'iiniss manna ittaansoo qachchi fiiree; Let your children be the ones who will resolve conflicts and disputes

Kiido'nne lehi la'meka ki'nnuwii lambe'enne afoonee, Ki'nnuwa xuummi awoonse,

Let such a disastrous death never occur between you again, May peace follow you wherever you go.

After blessing the members of both families, the bull will be slayed. Here the bull is slayed to ask forgiveness and blessings from elders, ritual leaders, from everybody who participated in rituals practices, from his relatives and from the deceased family itself, because the killer has caused them pain and sorrow by taking their beloved one. When they slay the bull its blood will be kept for another ritual that will be carried out in the next morning. But on that night, the families of both parties will feast and share the food and beverages prepared for the event. So, it will be a very big ceremony on the night. Everyone will spend that night on the same house of the family of the person who committed the homicide. Thus, the family members and any relatives of the deceased that were present on the *Xiigi-Guullaa* ritual will not be returning on that night. Beds and resting places will be prepared for everyone. This will help nurture the restoration of the social relationships between the two disputing families. On the next morning, every person will come outside and sit around a fire. According to them, two highly respected elders from both families will be selected. One will be a male and the second person would be a female. The first two from the first family will sit on one side of the fire and the other two will sit on another side of the fire. Next to the fire, the families of the killer will prepare a combination of fresh milk, honey and the blood of the bull that was slayed the night before.

Then the four persons selected (two from each side, two males and two females) will be instructed by the elders to fetch from the pot containing the mixture of milk, honey and the blood and pour it on the flaming fire. Here the fire represents the hatred, animosity, conflict and the grudge that the families have for each other. And also, the combination of milk, honey and blood represents love, peace and brotherhood. That mixture of milk and honey will be poured on the fire with the intent of putting it off. This ritual of pouring the liquid mixture of honey and milk into the fire signifies that love and peace is replacing the hatred and animosity between the two families once and for all. After setting the fire off by pouring the mix of honey and milk some amount of the same mixture will be left for the elderly to later spill it on every member of both families. And while pouring it on the fire the elderly people mediating the rituals say;

Nillaambee'enne yoontti Xiigaa ka giil'llesa xoo'e

Nillaambee'enne yoontti Xiigaa kaba siigge

This is translated as: You the blood of hate that is between us leave and you the blood of hate that is between us get cold.

Then after the fire is completely off, the women in both sides of the families will be given a butter to put on head of every person that is gathered there to attend the rituals. That, the butter is put on their head to bring internal calmness and stability and to make them free from hate. It represents the desire to dispose of the hot temperatures caused by the conflict between the two parties. Butter is considered to be a final part of any endeavor among the communities of Hadiya. According to them, it is used to signify calmness, peace, order and happiness. It is also put on the top of people's head by women because women are respected in the communities among the people of Hadiya. What women feel and say is greatly respected in the communities. And one of the concluding rituals of *Xiigi- Guullaa* involves this practice that places women at its center. In this practice butter is put on top of their head to signify the need to calm any remaining hot temperedness and a need to bring a peace of mind to the people involved. And it is done by the Women to stress the seriousness of the goal of *Xiigi- Guullaa*. This is one of the basic differences between *Xiigi- Guullaa* and other indigenous conflict resolution that are being practiced. The final ritual that announces the resolution of the conflict is the phase where the elder lays that mediates the conflict spill the mixture of honey and milk towards every seated person on that event.

As a concluding ritual, this practice of spilling the mixture of honey and milk has a significant meaning. This ritual announces that the conflict has been resolved once and for all and the bad blood, animosity and negativity is cleansed and replaced by peace and love.

The mediators of conflicts through *Xiigi- Guullaa* told me that;

This concluding ritual is also a call for everyone to get back to their day to day life by replacing the animosity and sadness with peace and happiness. As the elderly people that mediate the conflict spill that mixture of honey and milk they say;

Ki'nnuwwi mateeyyoomi kaa maraphhiisaa xee'e

Ki'nnuwwi Kaa maraphhiisaa wa'inaa manninaa xee'lleehe

*This is translated as: Let the unity between you be as sweet as this honey and milk,
Let the unity between you be as sweet as honey for other people and for God.*

This ritual of combining milk and honey signify the aim of *Xiigi-Guullaa* conflict resolution mechanism which is the unification of conflicting families and the restoring of social bond and the brotherhood among the families. After all the rituals are accomplished in such order and after the conflict is effectively resolved the elders will announce the two conflicting parties as members of one family. As a result, it will be forbidden for members of the two families to get marry each other for up to three generation. This is because the two families have been announced as one family and for their members to marry each other would violet the societal rule of the prohibition of incest.

The theory of Historical relativism is significant in elaborating how significant the customs and rituals of *Xiigi-Guullaa* are in ensuring that conflicts that arise from homicide are resolved in an efficient and effective way that would finally declare and unite disputing parties into becoming one family. This is a unique phenomenon and stands very contrary to what is normally observed about the relationship of two parties that address their conflict through the modern and formal institutions of conflict resolution. Historical Particularism claims that each society must be understood based on its own specific cultural and environmental context, especially its historical process. According to the theory, each culture of each society has its own uniqueness and the society has its own distinctive historical development. That is why the theory introduced the concept of 'cultural relativism' and disregards the prevailing ethnocentric views (Harris, 1968).

To understand how *Xiigi- Guullaa* turns disputing groups into a family that frequently visit and assist one another, we need to accept the principles of historical Particularism and look into the values and norms of the Hadiya people from a historical perspective. One needs to stand on the people's show and evaluate how murder and conflict are perceived. Doing that shows how *Xiigi-Guullaa* is able to uniquely function as an indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution. The members of communities in the study area and families that were involved in disputes that result from homicide indicates that the focus of the *Xiigi-Guullaa* is not about punishing an offender. Rather it is about cleansing an evil act and restoring the social order and stability. When someone kills another person the culture of the people of Hadiya associates that murder with unresolved or lingering murder that was committed by the same person in the past or by the ancestors of that same person. There is such a spiritual explanation of murder that is made when a homicide is committed. Therefore, the target is not punishing the offender rather cleansing a lingering wrongdoing. And declaring the two parties as one family is also considered as a mechanism of ensuring that they would not fall back into seeking revenge and perpetuating the conflict.

6.2.SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.2.1. SUMMARY

In so far presentation, it was clearly mentioned that conflict is a natural observable fact and happens in every society across the world. In a similar way, the Hadiya of southern Ethiopia also experiences different types of conflict between individuals or groups in the society. Such a conflict has its own means to address the problem which was developed by the society. The Hadiya of southern Ethiopia has gave due emphasis for the existence of peace and stability and for the maintenance of order thus, they often resolve their differences or the conflict situation by peaceful means. In other words, the people have its own means to resolve disagreements or conflicts when it arises in the society. Thus, they exhausted abundance of time and effort in conflict resolution and peacemaking among themselves. The *Xiigi-Guulla* practices is primarily focuses on providing conflict resolution services to local communities based on long term and sustainable outcome. The *Xiigi-Guulla* practices, also tries to combine truth and mercy as well as peace and justice through forgiveness, tolerance, peaceful coexistence, apology and compensation.

It equally focuses on the past and the forthcoming relationships of the parties in conflict. Thus, such a mechanism in Hadiya is effective in addressing conflicts and brings permanent peace between parties in conflict. Homicide related conflicts have been successfully addressed among the people of Hadiya through indigenous practices of *Xiigi-Guulla* (reconciliation). This is because *Xiigi-Guulla* is that rely on the understanding of the elderly people in the process of addressing conflicts that result from human death. The mechanism has been outstanding in hold up stability and in reconstruct social bind among communities. The *Xiigi-Guulla* also remains to be the chosen mechanism of addressing homicide related conflicts by the people of Hadiya. As mechanism of conflict resolution *Xiigi-Guulla* practices has several dimension that makes it a essential aspect of Hadiya people's culture. One of the most important magnitude of *Xiigi-Guulla* is that its aim is not about demanding offender. The objective of the *Xiigi-Guulla* is not restricted to identifying the perpetrator and then punishing him/her. *Xiigi-Guulla* is mainly about restoring social relationships among people and maintaining the harmony and stability of communities. The other basic characteristic of *Xiigi-Guulla* is that it is participatory and gives all parties of the conflict including the community a role in addressing the conflict. Both parties are seen as equal, as members of a community. The social or the economic status of the disputants does not affect how the process of conflict resolution proceeds. As an indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution the case of *Xiigi-Guulla* also removes the sense of shame and sinfulness from the person who committed the homicide. It finally establishes reconciliation by declaring the reintegration of the conflicting people into the normal community.

Dispute parties are often declared as one family and the mainstream community in general will view them as such once the rituals are carried out. Therefore, the perpetrators will no more be viewed in terms of the wrongs that he committed. Rather he/she will be back to his former social status in the community. The rituals that are carried out as part of the process of conflict resolution in *Xiigi-Guulla* play a significant role in removing the sense of blame and sinfulness that perpetrators face. The rituals are carried out to signify the sanitization process of wrong doings. The purification ceremony often involves the shading of an animal's blood which in most cases is an Ox or Sheep. This signifies the removal of the hostility that is brought by the conflict of the two parties. The family members and everybody that is involved in the conflict and the process of resolving it will come together and have a feast of the slayed animal. Therefore, the killer is free from any kind of blameworthy feeling. All these are factors that

contribute for the persistence of the conflict resolution mechanism of *Xiigi-Guulla* practice of reconciliation. Volker Boege (2006) argues that indigenous conflict resolution systems present alternative practical institutions around which new 'statehood and political community' can be formed. These political communities that are formed around indigenous institutions are assumed to have the potential to easily facilitate conflict transformation and peace building than the current formal state apparatus. The indigenous approaches and institutions which so far have been overlooked and underestimated also provide a wider approaching into the process of conflict transformation.

6.2.2. CONCLUSION

In their long existence, the people of Hadiya have developed their own indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms which serve as indigenous solutions for conflict where the restorations of relations and meaningful trust and reconciliation succeed between parties in conflict among all the concerned members of the community. Based on the data obtained from interview, observation and focus group discussion show that conflict is activated by different cause in study site. In the study area, indigenous conflict resolution mechanism of reconciliation or *Xiigi-Guulla* practices plays a extraordinary role in resolving conflicts which arises between different groups and individuals in the community. Therefore *Xiigi-Guulla* has been fundamental in secure peace and maintaining social order among the people of Hadiya for centuries. It has been able to successfully deal with conflict associated with homicide by eliminating any chance for the conflicting parties to engage in revenge to perpetuate conflict and more destruction. This indigenous institution has also been able to relieve killers from the psychological and emotional burden of having to feel guilty by reintegrating the disputing parties and establish a strong relationship between them. Recognizing these benefits of *Xiigi-Guulla* the state should create a legal ground for the recognition, practice as well as the promotion of this indigenous institution of conflict resolution. This study has proved that *Xiigi-Guulla* has several advantages when it comes to managing conflicts in a sustainable manner. Creating the legal ground for the recognition and practice of *Xiigi-Guulla* would contribute to the effort to manage conflict in a sustainable manner and to prevent the destruction of material and loss of life. Currently the local government and the legal framework among the people of Hadiya are not prohibiting the use of *Xiigi-Guulla* in resolving conflicts associated with homicide. But to ascertain the sustenance of this indigenous institution as an integral part of the people of Hadiya the state should formally

recognize and integrate the institutions along with the formal institutions of conflict resolution. When homicide conflict are committed, elderly women in the community together in an open field at dawn to perform *Guuffaa-gudda*, that means tie a tuft of tied grass. They invite the unknown evil doer you who did this evil, come deal or it to and the community. The guilty person is expected to send representative to confess to the crime on his behalf. Thus women come together early in the morning following the conflict resolution a single woman and tied on grass known as *Guuffaa-Guddimma* by which practices to conflict will not directly cross the tied grass and a result shall be forced to think of the peaceful way to solve their conflict. From the above reflection the role of women is circumscribed to preventive role and conflicts resolution. However, in matters such purification rituals. Women facilitate the final ritual by preparing local food and drink to participants during *Xiigi-Guulla* practice. The elder's women and religious leaders reflect that have started transferring knowledge and experiences next generation on traditional conflict resolution mechanism and promoting important lessons and practices to neighboring.

From this finding more over they will become to serve as elders (*Lomanna*) for young people. In general women have roles to play in conflict resolution in the Hadiya society. Women to symbolize their status and honor, to protect their rights, to resolve conflicts, And also, Women use *siiqqee* to curse, to bless, too. Currently, *siiqqee* exists as; a ritual stick connoting the irresistible religious and moral authority of women. It could be employed on certain ritual occasions including that of pleading for mercy after homicide Dejene Gemechu (2002 ; pp42-44,57-60). Researcher found '*Hidiro*' and '*Heemacha qassimma*' was another effective in today among the Hadiya. Anthropologists have viewed such ritual as a social drawer that plays the role of enhancing and restoring social order (Turner 1957), ritual also express the superiority not the groups over the individual *Xiigi-Guulla* ritual among the Hadiya is dramatized and symbolically signifies the purification of homicide and the advantages of resolution of peace and agreement. My research create conformation with the view that ritual. Researcher argued with the view of Turner the ritual among the Hadiya also has the role in controlling the growth of conflict by reducing the feeling of the injured and it plays an important social role in corrective the injuries sustained by the relatives of the deceased. These works keep the societies peace and security

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APPENDIX
JIMMA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
POST GRADUATE PROGRAMME.

Guiding Questions

Dear respondents:

First of all, I would like to forward my sincerely greetings and appreciation to you for your willingness to share your understanding/experience for this questionnaire. This questionnaire is designed to gather data on the Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanism: the case of Xiigi-Guullaa among the Hadiya. The study is carried out as a partial fulfillment of the requirement for the master of “Social Anthropology”. To achieve this purpose and to deeply investigate the case, your response to the questions given below has a crucial value. Therefore, you are kindly requested to read the questions carefully and give accurate and real data which exists on the ground. The response that you reply will not be used for any other purpose other than this research work, so be free and give your honest and genuine response. Finally, I would like to thank you very much for your cooperation and dedicating your valuable time for my request.

Thank you for your cooperation in advance!

Sincerely,
Deleegn Tadesse
March,2020

Background of the informants

Name/code _____

Age _____ Sex _____

Occupation _____

Status _____

I. Interview Guidelines

II. Questions for KII

- ✚ . What are the types and major causes of conflicts in your area?
- ✚ What are the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms which you know in your area?
- ✚ Have you ever participated in indigenous conflict resolution practices?
- ✚ In which type of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms you participated?
- ✚ What is the importance's of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms, like Xiigi- Guullaa practices?
- ✚ Who play the mediating role in indigenous conflict resolution, like Xiigi- Guullaa?
- ✚ How do you see the role of Xiigi- Guullaa practice in resolution of homicide conflict?
- ✚ Do you believe that Xiigi-Guullaa practice achieve long lasting solution between the conflicting parties?
- ✚ Have you ever participated on its practices?
- ✚ How about the compensation, is it fixed or not? Is it in kind or in cash?
- ✚ Why do you choose the Xiigi- Guullaa practice of mechanism rather than formal court?
- ✚ Is there any other indigenous mechanism that firstly looks the issue of murder before Xiigi- Guullaa?
- ✚ Is there any difference between sex and social status during the ritual practices of Xiigi- Guullaa?
- ✚ What are the significance's of rituals processes in Xiigi- Guullaa practice?
- ✚ Who is the actor of ritual processes? What are the objects?
- ✚ Do women actively participate on Xiigi- Guullaa practice?
- ✚ What is the role and status of women in Xiigi- Guullaa practices?
- ✚ Do you think that the judicial court system judges accept the decisions passed by the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms during conflict resolution processes?
- ✚ Does the government provide any support for indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms for its sustainability?
- ✚ What are the challenges faced by Xiigi- Guullaa practice?

III. Questions for FGD

- What are the type's major causes of conflicts in your locality?
- What are the major indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in your area?
- Have you ever participated in indigenous conflict resolution processes?
- Have you ever participated on Xiigi- Guullaa practices?
- Are there any other indigenous mechanisms that firstly look the issue of murder before Xiigi- Guullaa?
- What are the procedures of rituals taken over on Xiigi- Guullaa practices?
- Do you believe that Xiigi- Guullaa practice can bring long lasting sustainability between conflicting parties?
- How do you see the decisions given by the concerned indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms?
- Who play great role on indigenous conflict resolution process, like Xiigi- Guullaa practice?
- Is there any variation during ritual process due to social status and sex, particularly in Xiigi- Guullaa practice?
- What are the significance's of rituals process involved in Xiigi- Guullaa practice?
- Who is the actor of the ritual practices?
- What is the status and role of women on Xiigi- Guullaa practices?
- Unconditionally homicide case is happened among your relatives, which mechanisms of conflict resolution you prefer? Judicial or informal resolution mechanism? Why?
- What are the advantageous that you obtain from Xiigi- Guullaa practice rather than judicial conflict resolution mechanism?
- How do you see the degree of interaction with opposite parties during conflict and after reconciliation?
- Does the government encourage the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms? In What way?
- Is there any challenges faced by Xiigi- Guullaa practices?

Thank you for your cooperation!!

March,2020