



COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

**INDIGENOUS CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS: A CASE OF
TIGO GULLA AMONG HADIYA PEOPLE OF SORO WOREDA,
SOUTHERN NATIONS, NATIONALITIES AND PEOPLES REGIONAL
STATE**

By

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**Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms: A Case of *Tigo Gulla* among
Hadiya People of Soro Woreda, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples
Regional State**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Sociology in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements of Master's Degree in Sociology and Social Policy**

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DECLARATION

First, I declare that the thesis entitled “Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms: Case of Tigo Gulla among the Hadiya people of Soro Woreda, SNNPRS, is my original work and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been properly acknowledged. I seriously declare that this thesis has never been presented to any other University or College for the award of any academic degree or diploma.

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GLOSSARY OF LOCAL TERMS

| | |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| Adila | king |
| Ado | milk |
| Albachcha | sex |
| Anjjaancho | traditional title in Hadiya peoples |
| Amo'o | women |
| Beeto | Son/daughter |
| Caakka | light |
| Daanna | head/judge/leader |
| Giichcho | different clans together |
| Giira | whole Hadiya |
| Gira | fire |
| Hiraagaancho | spiritual person |
| Kebele | the smallest administrative structure |
| Leho | death |
| Lommanna | Elders |
| Manna | human |
| Marabo | honey |
| Mare'e | symbol |
| Minaadaba | people |
| Nafara | neighborhood |
| Qaro | relatives |
| Quuxo | problem/disagreement |
| Seera | local organization |

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Sooro | the name of the district |
| Sulla | the combination of different clans |
| Summa | name |
| Tiigo Guulla | purification after homicide |
| Umura | Age |
| Waa'a | God |
| Wijjo'o | Association of women for butter exchange |
| Woreda | administrative unit of government structure in district level |
| Xiiga | blood |

ACRONYMS

| | |
|---------------|---|
| FGD | Focus group discussion |
| KM | Kilo meter |
| N.D. | No date of published |
| SNNPRS | South Nation, Nationalities & Peoples Regional State |
| UNDESA | United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs |

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ABSTRACT

The study was conducted to understand and explore the indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution among the Hadiya people in the case of Soro Woreda with particular emphasis on “Tigo Gulla” practice. In study area, among Hadiya people there are many indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms through which they have been maintaining their peace and stability. Even if indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms have great contribution to resolve conflicts among Hadiya People, its role didn’t address through researches. Tigo-gulla is one of an indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution that is used among the people of Hadiya to resolve conflicts that arise from homicide. It is a kind of blood price payment. The study has investigated the types and causes of conflicts in the study area, the types of indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution, the rituals and the process of conflict resolution in ‘tigo-gulla’ and the role of ‘tigo-gulla’ in achieving long lasting peace in the communities. In investigating these issues, the study used a qualitative approach because the nature of the research questions requires the collection and analysis of in-depth qualitative data. Key-informant interviews, focus group discussions and case studies were conducted with different stakeholders to gather an in-depth qualitative data on the practice of ‘tigo-gulla’. The findings of this study indicate that “Tigo Gulla” has been successful in addressing conflicts in a long-lasting manner. The study concludes that even though it has its own challenges the indigenous institution of “Tigo Gulla” has some significant advantages over the formal institutions of conflict management. The indigenous institution of “tigo-gulla” avoids the recurrence of conflicts by declaring the disputing parties as families and by putting an obligation on them to frequently visit and support one another. The institution primarily focuses on restoring the broken social bond and social relationship with in the community instead of labeling, criminalizing and punishing an offender. The study also indicates that the institution has the acceptance of the local communities and the support of the local formal and legal institutions of conflict management. Therefore, it is the preferred route to resolving conflicts that emerge from homicide. Finally, the researcher recommends that the state creates a legal ground for the practice and promotion of ‘tigo-gulla’ as an integral institution of the Hadiya people.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the Study

The maintenance of harmony is a concern of all societies. Stability is considered to be basic necessities for the satisfaction of various societal goals and individual aspirations in societies (Turner, 2006). Throughout history societies have been plagued by several social problems that caused and exacerbated conflicts and disturb the stability and normal state of affairs. These include: corruption, bad governance, ethnic and religious tensions, boundary disputes, economic crisis and poverty, leadership dilemma, lack of democracy and freedom of expression, etc. (Ikyase & Olisah, 2014).

Curbing the threat that conflict poses which can range from a simple quarrel and disturbance of peace to a complete and full-scale societal destruction has been a challenge that societies seek to ensure growth and better life for their members. Hence, to address this challenge societies across the world have been employing different mechanisms and systems. Some of these mechanisms seek to prevent conflict while others seek to control the consequences and destructions that can happen as a result of conflict (Osaghae, 1996).

However, despite all societies' desire and tendency to gravitate towards maintaining their stability by managing conflicts among their members, conflict has been and will be an ever-present social phenomenon. It is a known fact that the more popular route to dealing with conflicts in today's 'modern' societies is through the formal judicial structures of governments. However, the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms have been serving human societies in addressing conflict for the longest time. In many societies, they are still being used in parallel with the modern judiciary system. The indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are often community based and they reflect a commitment to maintain the harmony of a community rather than just having a goal of controlling conflict by punishing offenders in the name of justice. Thus, indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms have a broader goal of restoring and maintaining relationships by reintegrating offenders into the mainstream society (Boege, 2006; Elechi, 2004; Llewellyn & Howse, 1998).

In most cases, Indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are a blend of socio-economic, cultural and religious customs and traditions of a community. Hence, a number of techniques are always employed in addressing conflict within the framework of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms. These techniques may be mediation, reconciliation, arbitration and negotiation that are used to resolve conflict between disputants. Thus, these techniques and processes are often employed according to indigenous knowledge, values, beliefs, customs and history of the communities (Nwolise, 2005).

As a result, several stakeholders including clan leaders, elders, and religious leaders are often involved in the process of dealing with conflict using customary conflict resolution mechanisms. The indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are practiced starting from the very beginning both in Africa and Ethiopia. However, they were collapsed among the most countries of Africa because of colonization (Esayas, 2015).

Yet, unlike most World countries, a number of indigenous conflict mechanisms have been used for a very long period of time among different ethnic groups and people in Ethiopia. For instance, among the Oromo people the indigenous institutions used include: siinqee, jarsummaa, gumaa, manbadha and qixxee. These indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are still being used in parallel with the formal and judiciary system used by the governing bodies of the areas (Workineh & Dejene, 2016; Dejene, 2002; Jemila, 2014). There are also empirical evidences of a widespread use of indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution in other regions (Solomon, 2014; Mekuanint, 2015).

Therefore, this thesis has studied the potential of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in promoting the wellbeing of communities among the Hadiya People. Specific attention is given to Soro Woreda and the practice of “Tigo Gulla” (Blood Price payment).

1.1. Statement of the Problem

In our country, the formal legal system was introduced in the 1960's in the name of modernizing the control of crime, the delivery of justice and the legal framework. Since then the use of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms has been declining as the formal court system penetrates different regions and communities of the country (Ayalew, 2012).

However, beginning from establishment of new constitution which was from 1995, indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are more frequently used and practiced in rural parts of our country. Even though the formal court system is modernized and newly applicable, it didn't get a chance to reach every part of our country. Hence, lack of resources including infrastructures and legal personnel are factors that limited the formal conflict resolution mechanism in the urban areas and prevented its full-scale expansion into the rural and remote areas of the country (Endalew, 2013).

Rural communities view the formal legal infrastructure as an alien system that is imposed on them. Therefore, the formal legal systems can be considered as an invader of the cultural space of local and rural communities in Ethiopia and other African countries. This is evident from the widespread use of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms that are still being practiced across local and rural communities in different part of the country (Endalew, 2013, Alula & Getachew, 2008).

It is observable that there is a trend whereby societies are favoring the customary mechanisms of conflict resolution while ignoring the formal legal system even though the later have a modernized legal framework. These include the fact that indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms, unlike the formal legal apparatus, are not solely obsessed with punishing offenders. Their overall aim is to restore and maintain a cohesive community by neutralizing the potential disruptions and damages that conflicts present. Besides the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are more participatory of the different segments of the community (Endalew, 2013).

These indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution emanate from the culture and tradition of the community and they are widely considered fair and just and therefore legitimate. Their participatory nature contributes for their widespread acceptance in the face of local communities (Dagne&Bapu, 2013). The fact that they are easily accessible to local rural communities combined with their participatory nature has made these indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms more acceptable among the local communities still in the 21st century (Macfarlane, 2007; Alula & Getachew, 2008; Tsegaye et al., 2008).

However, not all ethnic groups and their indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution are studied in Ethiopia. This is especially true in the case of the Hadiya people and their indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution. As a result, there is no study that focused on the issue of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms among the Hadiya people. The different indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms that are practiced by different communities and societies have their own peculiarities. And there is a need to uncover how each of them operate towards the management of conflict and the maintenance of stability in a society

Thus, this is an important knowledge gap that should be filled by academic researches like this. This current study, therefore, is an effort in this direction. This study makes its own contribution by studying indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms among the Hadiya people (specifically in Soro woreda), emphasizing the practice of “Tigo Gulla”. In so doing, the study attempted to answer the following important research questions:

1. What are the types and major causes of conflicts in Soro Woreda?
2. What are the main indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in Soro woreda?
3. What are the procedures of rituals processes in tigo-gulla practice in the study area?

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The overall objective of this study is to assess the indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution among the Hadiya people in Soro Woreda with particular emphasis on “Tigo Gulla” practice.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

1. To describe the types and major causes of conflicts in Soro Woreda
2. To assess the major indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in Soro Woreda
3. To explore the procedures of rituals processes in Tigo Gulla practice in the study area
4. To examine the contribution of rituals involve in Tigo Gulla practice in the study area
5. To investigate the role of Tigo Gulla practice in terms of achieving long lasting solutions for conflicting parties in the study area.
6. To examine the status and role of women in the Tigo Gulla practice in the study area.
7. To investigate the challenges faced by the Tigo Gulla practice in Soro Woreda

1.4. Significance of the Study

The first significance of this study is its contribution in terms of highlighting the knowledge gap, which suggests the directions for further studies in the future.

Different professionals or practitioners (such as social psychologists, social workers, sociologists, social anthropologist, legal professionals, people in the law enforcement, etc.) might also benefit from the study in terms of getting insight and awareness regarding how to best resolve and manage conflicts. Finally, the results of the study will provide important input for further studies in the area of issues related with conflict resolution and others.

1.5. Scope of the Study

This research was delimited in terms of the coverage of its topic and its study area. Topic-wise, the study focused on indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms particularly on tigo gulla. In the case of study area, the study focused on three kebeles of Soro Woreda, in Hadiya zone, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State, Ethiopia.

1.6. Limitations of the Study

During this research process, there were a few constraints which faced by the researcher. Due to the nature of the issue, the researcher was unable to observe the ongoing ritual activities in the

process of tigo gulla. The other limitation was, as the study is new for the area, there were no secondary sources of data which made me to be limited only on primary sources of data.

1.7. Organization of the Thesis

This thesis is organized into five chapters. Chapter one deals with background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, significance of the study and scope of the study. The second chapter is about the literature review relevant to the research topic and contains theoretical frameworks. The third chapter includes methodology of the study including research approach, description of the study area, and sources of data, methods of data collection and data analysis, trustworthiness of data and ethical consideration. The fourth chapter incorporates the results and discussions of the study. The last chapter presents conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Defining Conflict

Identifying a single definition for the concept and social phenomena of conflict which is accepted by all scholars and societies is impossible. This is because the phenomenon is viewed in different ways depending on the schools of thought and the scholars that adhere to them. Different societies across the world also have different view of conflict. Some of them view conflict as a social phenomenon that is induced by day to day social circumstances while others view conflicts from a religious and spiritual point of view. As a result, there are different definitions for the concept conflict (Ikyase & Olisah, 2014). Yet, a lot of similarities can be noted among the different definitions.

For Nicholson (1992), conflict is an existing state of antagonism between two or more actors. The disagreement may be caused because the two parties are following incompatible goals or values to accomplish their interests. And the existing social circumstance may not accommodate the desires of both parties which in turn would set competition and conflict among the two parties. In the same way, Ikyase & Olisah (2014) asserts that conflict entails an expression of the differences among groups, peoples, individuals and others in beliefs, interests, opinion and values that arise as new establishments generated by social change that come up against intrinsic restraints.

Conflict is therefore an inevitable aspect of social change that can also be seen as the pursuit of incompatible interest and goals by different groups (Ikyase & Olisah, 2014). It can also be argued that conflict occur when two or more groups engage in a struggle over values and claims to status, power and resources in which the aims of the opponents are to remove the rivals (Jeong, 2000).

Conflict also implies a diversity of idea or different perceptions, which may not necessarily result in disagreement. In this way, conflict connotes dissimilarity of perception to an issue (Barash and Webel, 2002). Here, it means that an explaining about the world-view differently based on their awareness. Hence, for this, the ways of explanation of the motives depends on religion, customs, beliefs and values of the societies. Such differences may not result in violent confrontation as far as they are managed carefully. However, they can also produce extremely destructive consequences if they are left unchecked and if society does not have an effective way of handling and respecting these differences. Conflict may also connote physical confrontation (Jeong, 2000).

2.2. Conflict Settlement

In today's complex societies the occurrence of conflicts on a daily basis seems to be inevitable. The challenge for every society and community therefore is the systematic resolution of destructive conflicts to ensure the sustenance of peace and stability and of the whole society in general (Bukari, 2013). The resolution of conflict is essential for the day-to-day coexistence of human beings (Alula and Getachew, 2008).

To this end human societies have devised and used several techniques and practices that help control the potential destructions that can result from conflicts. Some scholars, such as Osaghae (1996) divided the peaceful conflict settlement mechanisms as conflict resolution and conflict management making a sharp distinction between the two.

Conflict resolution implies a once and for all treatment of conflicts. Conflict resolution suggests that conflicts can be dealt with in a rational comprehensive way (Osaghae, 1996; UNDESA, 2001). The United States Institute of Peace (2011) defines conflict resolution as efforts to address the underlying causes of a conflict. Conflict resolution includes fostering positive attitudes and generating trust through reconciliation initiatives, and building or strengthening the institutions and processes through which the parties interact peacefully.

Conflict resolution brings an end to a conflict where the disputing parties are satisfied and the conflict is honestly and truly resolved. Many methods and approaches including mediation through a third-party intervention, negotiation, alternative dispute resolution, collaboration, arbitration and conciliation could be used in conflict resolution. The appropriate method may depend to a large extent on the nature and type of conflict involved. Generally, the various methods of conflict resolution are usually a process in that each requires a certain procedure and time and not just a one-way approach (Best, 2006; Bukari, 2013).

Conflict management implies that conflicts cannot be disposed of at once. Conflict management presupposes that conflicts are best approached from the incrementalistic stand point (Osaghae, 1996). Conflict management connote containment of conflict through steps introduced to promote conditions in which collaborative and valued relationships control the behavior of conflicting parties, in other words, conflict prevention (Burton, 1990).

Conflict management is a process of reducing the negative and destructive capacity of conflict through a number of measures and by working with and through the parties involved in that conflict. It is sometimes used synonymously with conflict regulation and covers the entire area of handling conflicts positively at differently stages, including those efforts made to prevent conflict by being proactive. It also involves negotiation, mediation, arbitration and reconciliation (Best, 2012).

2.3. Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

Before the emergence of the formal justice system human societies and communities especially in Africa have relied on indigenous and customary mechanisms of conflict resolution. The marked difference between these mechanisms and the formal justice system is that the indigenous mechanisms were mainly community based as the community was considered as one stakeholder that is involved in the process of conflict resolution. A primary focus is also laid on the restoration of harmony in the communities by the indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution (Aberra, 2013; Llewellyn & Howse, 1998). And these distinct bodies of laws and institutions have been maintained to varying degrees across different societies of the world including Ethiopian society (Badger, 2011; Elechi, 2004).

Hence, to solve the conflicts different methods or techniques are applied in traditional way. The methods used in these customary conflict resolution mechanisms might involve arbitration, negotiations and mediations based on the experience, customs and values of the societies. The process is led by leaders of the community such as traditional chiefs, priests, healers, elders and takes the forms of rituals in which the whole community takes part in it. In traditional African societies, conflict is often resolved using laid down traditions (Bukari, 2013; Nwolise, 2005). This is because the restoration of peace, its maintenance and social harmony are primary requirements for the welfare of the entire society (Bukari, 2013).

Thus, indigenous approaches to conflict resolution aim at restorative justice, restoration of order, harmony and the maintenance of relationships within the community through reintegrating feuding parties for true reconciliation (Boege, 2006). Also, indigenous methods are holistic and consensus-based and often involve the participation of all parties as well as the entire community (Bukari, 2013).

2.3.1. Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Africa

The continued existence of poverty, economic crisis, corruption, ethno-religious factors, bad leadership, non-adherence to the tenets of democracy, boundary disputes and natural resource controls, are among the debilitating factors that breed conflicts in Africa (Ikyase & Olisah, 2014). Conflicts have had either a constructive or destructive outcome on Africa. Its consequences are often determined by the manner in which society handles it. Conflicts that result from competition to enhance production and way of life can benefit a society. But these same competitions can have adverse effect on the society if they are not carefully handled (Fisher, 2000).

For the longest part of their history, especially before colonialism African communities used their own indigenous mechanisms to resolve conflicts. These indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution relied on the wisdoms and knowledge of elders and neighborhood mediators in guiding the whole process of conflict resolution. Knowledge was valuable in the process of conflict resolution and it was not only associated with written words but rather with verbal

ability as most of the customary conflict resolution mechanisms were carried out through unwritten processes (Theresa & Oluwafemi, 2014).

Kariuki (2009: 5) in his case study of the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in Botswana, South Africa, Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya states that conflict resolution mechanisms in these countries rely on the wisdom of their elderlies regarding the values, norms and beliefs of the local communities. Besides, the study indicates that spirituality occupies a central place in the indigenous process of conflict resolution in these countries. The study indicates that “Traditional healers, diviners, herbalists, spiritual seers and healers also play an important role in conflict resolution”. And also, the study indicates that these groups of people support the elders of the communities in getting at the truth.

There are empirical works done by African researchers that claim that the customary conflict resolution mechanisms are the better options in the process of addressing conflicts compared to the formal and modern process that takes place in courts. Several advantages of the customary conflict resolution mechanism are identified by the empirical researches which includes consensus building and the enhancement of order in a society (Theresa & Oluwafemi, 2014).

The values and norms of African societies also play a significant role in facilitating the indigenous conflict resolution institutions and processes. These values that typically characterize African Societies are strong social and communal cohesion, transparency, participation, respect and tolerance. These age-old values that have been at the heart of African communities for centuries still play a significant role in dispute resolution and the sustenance of peace and stability through the indigenous institutions (Kairiuky, n.d.). A number of techniques are also employed by the customary conflict resolution mechanisms to dissolve conflicts in Africa. These techniques include negotiation, reconciliation, mediation and adjudication (Theresa & Oluwafemi, 2014).

2.3.2. Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Ethiopia

Conflicts have been common social phenomena in Ethiopia in the past and currently. Competitions over scarce resources have been main sources of conflict. In addition, people’s

behavior, dilemmas as well as uncertainties over their interests create differences and tensions that lead towards the occurrence of conflicts (Nigussie, 2013).

There are different types of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms which have been practiced by Ethiopian societies based on their norms, values, customs and experiences from the very beginning in different parts of the country. Some of the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms which play great role in conflict resolution among different ethnic groups and people in Ethiopia include: guma, qixxee, jarsummaa, siinqee and manbadh (among the Oromo people); raaga-maaga (among the Mareko ethnic group); dere duleta, gade cima, lappun cima and yaagano (among the Gamo people), Ma'ada (among Afar people) and shimgelina among the Amhara people (Jemila, 2014; Esayas, 2015; Bamlak, 2013)

Even though they are not enough, one can find several empirical researches conducted in Ethiopia regarding the role of customary conflict resolution mechanisms and institutions (Dejene, 2002). One of these ethnographic researches conducted by Megersa, Waktole and Kamil (2016) examined the role of 'Hiikkannaa' which is an indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution that is still widely being used in Oromia regional state, especially among the Macca Oromo. Their study indicates that 'Hiikkannaa' is playing a significant role in dissolving conflicts in the area and in general in maintaining the peace and stability of the communities in Macca Oromo.

One advantage of the local indigenous conflict resolution institutions is that they are "value oriented and embedded in the belief system" of the local community. These institutions emanate from the community and have been used in the communities for hundreds of years. They emanated from the culture and values of the community and they reinforce the same culture and value system that birthed them. They are not a strange and external element imposed on the communities. And the communities accept them as their own institutions. This is the main reason that these institutions have managed to remain in the communities despite external pressures (Dejene, 2002: xiii).

Besides these institutions are also less expensive compared to the formal legislative services offered by governments. Flexibility and tolerance are also other advantages of these institutions

that encouraged local communities to keep employing them in addressing the conflicts they face in their day to day life (Workineh, & Dejene, 2016; Solomon, 2014)

As a result, there is a case for an integration of these indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms into the legal conflict resolution mechanism. This is because the process of integration would help the preservation of these indigenous institutions and values of the communities and it would also help increase the legitimacy and acceptance of the formal and legal institutions of the justice system besides to addressing the shortcomings related to inaccessibility to the remote areas of the country (Workineh & Dejene, 2016).

2.3.2.1. The Current Status of Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Ethiopia

In his study of an indigenous conflict resolution mechanism called ‘Guma’, Nigussie (2013) states that despite an observed their decline indigenous conflict resolution technique still play a significant role in addressing conflicts that have different nature. The conflicts that have been solved through this institution may be intragroup or intergroup conflicts. In addition to addressing the conflicts the institution has been significant in maintaining the community in tact by controlling the potential destruction that conflict poses.

In some instances, the local communities prefer to resolve their issues through the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms instead of the formal legal system and mechanism that is in place. This is due to the fact that most members of the community still uphold communal harmony instead of focusing on their individual rights. As a result, in some cases people totally ignore the formal legal institutions and go to the indigenous mechanisms. One of these indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution that is often used by female members of the *Wayyu Shanana* Oromo is *siinqee*. It is still being used to address conflicts in the area (Jemila, 2014). Similarly, Dejene (2002) also indicates that majority of the conflicts and disputes among the Woliso Oromo of Eastern Macha, currently are resolved by the local institutions including ‘Guma’ (blood price payment).

Several factors are identified for today's increased acceptance of the indigenous institutions. One of the reasons is that the indigenous institutions are able to address disputes in a relatively shorter period of time compared to the formal legal apparatus. In addition, the formal institutions in the area are not well established and organized. And also, people in the area are forced to incur a larger sum of money to get their issues and conflicts addressed through the formal legal institutions. Another main factor for this case is the fact that the main purpose of the indigenous institutions of conflict resolution is not just to identify a 'winner and loser' of the litigation process. Instead it is to achieve a long-lasting peace and the restoration of their communities which is in line with their ways of live (Dejene, 2002).

In their study of the 'jigaa' institution which is an indigenous conflict resolution mechanism among the Jimma Oromo Megerssa and Dejene (2015) indicate one significant characteristic of indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolutions. Their study indicates 'jigaa' has persisted to be an integral aspect of the conflict resolution practice of the Jimma Oromo even though it has been threatened by the emergence and introduction of external cultural elements from the expansion of Islam and the Ethiopian Monarchy. The culture and the society were able to preserve the institution until this day because "it is highly embedded into the value system". However, other studies indicate that such indigenous institutions are still under a threat from external forces such as the formal institution of the legal system and the difficulty that conflicting parties face in order to pay the compensation for the wrong doing that they performed (Nigussie, 2013).

Another study on the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms among the 'Borena Oromo' by *Desalegn, Mukand, Ashim & Sileshi, (2005)* indicates there is a very weak collaboration between the formal governmental apparatus of conflict resolution and the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms that have been used to resolve these conflicts for the past hundreds of years. There is a recognized failure on the side of the government to appreciate the role of these indigenous institutions of conflict resolution and protect and preserve these institutions as they have the respect and acceptance of the local community in the area.

Recognizing the role that indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms play in peaceful resolution of conflicts in Ethiopia Workineh & Dejene (2016) strongly argue for an integration of these indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms into the legal conflict resolution mechanism. The

indigenous institutions of conflict resolution deserve recognition for the role that they are playing in resolving conflicts in a peaceful manner. Besides, there has to be a mechanism for an integration of the two routes to conflict resolution. Such integration would address the shortcoming of the legal institutions in relation their accessibility in addition to preserving the culture and custom of local communities. Besides the integration would have the added advantage of increasing the legitimacy of the formal and the legal institution of conflict resolution.

2.3.2.2. Actors Involved in Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Ethiopia

One characteristic of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms and institutions seems to be their reliance upon the elderly people's wisdom and judgments in dealing with conflicts. In his study of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms among the Haro Limmu Oromo of Northwest Wollega, Gonfa (2014) indicates that two types of elderly people are involved in the process of conflict resolution. These are elders of reconciliation and church elders. The elders of reconciliation are chosen to serve as mediators of conflicts on the basis of their knowledge of the community's customs, norms and values as well as on the basis of the quality of their personal traits such as honesty and oratorical skills. The involvement of the church elders in the resolution of conflicts is a recent phenomenon.

However, in some areas of the country for instance in North Wollo zone and among Sodo Oromo there have been instances where women were involved as plaintiffs, defendants and mediators (Mekuanint, 2015; Teressa, 2016).

2.3.2. 3. Processes and Practices Carried out in Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Ethiopia

A number of studies indicate that two processes are fundamental aspects of the conflict resolution process. These two aspects are compensation and purification (Tasew, 2016; Solomon, 2014; Nigussie, 2013). The compensation is primarily aimed at restoring the relationship between the disputing parties by compensating the loss experienced by the victim. The process

of purification on the other hand is aimed at bringing forgiveness and the reintegration of the community.

The purification ceremony often involves the shading of an animal's blood which varies from culture to culture. 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. This is considered to be the final process of indigenous conflict resolution that signals the dissolution of the conflict and the dispute among the two parties.

Another practice that is observed among some of the indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution is Appealing. Decisions made in the conflict resolution process are not considered final and conflicting parties have a right to appeal the decision to other actors and elders or to the formal government structure. As a result, to create great intimacy between the disputants there are certain rituals that took place in the process of conflict resolution. These rituals are often dramatized to indicate the resolution of conflict and the restoration of peace in the community (Gonfa, 2014).

According to Gonfa (2014) there is a system of appealing the decisions given by one 'jigga' to another one indicating a principle of democracy. By bringing the roles that the institution play into attention Megerssa & Dejene, (2015) argue that there has to be a move towards the preservation of the indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution).

A number of techniques are used in the process of conflict resolution including negotiation, reconciliation, arbitration and mediation. These techniques may be used simultaneously in a single proceeding. The specific type of technique to be employed by the indigenous conflict resolution is determined by the nature and type of conflict that is under consideration (Solomon, 2014).

2.3.2.4. The Overarching Aim of Indigenous Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in Ethiopia

The distinction between the indigenous conflict resolution technique and the modern one begins from their overall aim in societies. The modern and formal one by its nature sets a short-term goal that focuses on the immediate resolution of conflict between the parties. The indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms on the other hand tend to set a broader goal of restoring the harmony of a society or a community. This is because the local communities view conflict as an evil doing that harms the values of the society which are awed and respected by every member of the society. The focus is on ensuring a genuine reconciliation of the conflicting parties by allowing all parties to have an equal participation so that they will be happy and satisfied in the whole process. Thus, it can be argued that indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms have been serving the dual purpose of ensuring justice and the maintenance of the stability and integrity of a society and its value and moral bases (Dejene, 2002; Theresa & Oluwafemi, 2014; Megerssa et.al, 2016).

Teressa (2016) indicates that conflicts that occur in the community are the collective concern of the whole community regardless of the number of people that are affected by the conflict. Conflicts are seen as a threat to the social structure and the stability of the community and as a result every member of the community seeks to see the resolution of the conflict.

Nigussie (2013) indicate that ‘Guma’ as an institution focuses on sustaining a better future instead of overemphasizing on the past wrong doings and conflicts. The primary expected outcome of the institution is to ensure the recovery of the conflicting parties from and the victims from socio-psychological crises such as trauma and agony. As a result, restoring the damage that conflict causes on the social, moral and psychological fabric of the society is the overarching goal of the institution.

Therefore, several studies indicate that indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution have several significances including the provision of restorative justice, family reintegration, rebuilding and strengthening social relationships, addressing the inadequacies of the formal legal system of the government, and the provision of rehabilitation from the loss of a family member

or a loved one. Besides it also removes the sense of guilt and sinfulness from the person who committed the homicide. It finally establishes reconciliation by declaring the reintegration of the conflicting people into the mainstream community (Tamene, 2013; Solomon, 2014)

2.4. Theoretical Framework

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, structural functionalism, historical particularism and conflict theory

Symbolic Interactionism

Several scholars have conceived human societies and communities as symbolic interaction. These include scholars as Charles Horton Cooley, John Dewey, and George Herbert Mead (Hier, 2005). 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. A symbol is “something that stands for, represents, or signifies something else in a particular culture” (Ritzer & Smart, 2003; p.218). Symbols can be anything—gestures, words, objects, or events—and they can represent any number of others things, ideas, events, or emotions.

Symbolic interactionists argue that we are able to interact with others because we create symbols and learn to interpret what those symbols mean in our interactions. Thus, symbolic interactionism is sometimes referred to as interpretive theory (Turner, 2001). To Weber and other symbolic interactionists, the concept of *verstehen*, or subjective understanding, was central to explaining human behavior. Weber felt that we have to be able to take someone else’s position mentally, to stand in their shoes, so to speak, to understand their actions. From our own perspectives, we may not understand why a person acts in a certain way, what that behavior means to them, or the purposes it serves for them (Cuff, Sharon & Francis, 2005).

Herbert Blumer, who coined the term "symbolic interactionism," set out three basic premises of the perspective (Ritzer & Smart, 2003, P.218):

1. "Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings they ascribe to those things";
2. "The meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with others and the society"; and,
3. "These meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he or she encounters."

It should also be noted that symbolic interactionists advocate a particular methodology. Because they see meaning as the fundamental component of human/society interaction, studying human/society interaction requires getting at that meaning. 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. Many studies indicate that there are two central customary rituals that happen in indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms that signify a progress towards an effective resolution of conflicts. These are the payment of the compensation for the victim or for the victim's family and a cultural ceremony in the purification process. The purification ceremony often involves the shading of an animal's blood. 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. This is the final aspect of the process of indigenous conflict resolution that signals the dissolution of the conflict and the dispute among the two parties. There are also other several rituals and ceremonies of oath taking and swearing that are typical of IMCR and that have their own meaning. When we see the works of the different researches include (Megersa and Dejene, 2015; Dejene, 2002; Workineh & Dejene, 2015; Nigussie, 2013; Tasew, 2016; Solomon, 2014; Teressa, 2016; 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 'Tigo gulla' and the processes and rituals that accompany it.

Functionalism

Functionalist theories view conflict as a threat to the maintenance of the stability of a society and as something that emanates from a lack of moral regulations in societies (Gidens, 2006). For Parsons, socialization and social control are the main mechanisms that allow a social system to maintain its equilibrium. Socialization is important because it is the mechanism for transferring the accepted norms and values of society to individuals within the system (*Ritzer & Smart, 2003*).

Despite the conformity induced by lifelong socialization, Parsons noted that there is a wide range of individual variation in the system. The question is: Why is this normally not a major problem for the social system, given its need for order? For one thing, a number of social control mechanisms can be employed to induce conformity. However, as far as Parsons was concerned, social control is strictly a second line of defense. A system runs best when social control is used only carefully. For another thing, the system must be able to tolerate some variation, some deviance. A flexible social system is stronger than a brittle one that accepts no deviation (Cuff, Sharook & Francis, 1999).

Parsons believes that there are four functional imperatives that are necessary for (characteristic of) all systems: adaptation (A), goal attainment (G), integration (I), and latency, or pattern maintenance (L). Together, these four functional imperatives are known as the AGIL scheme constituted by taking the first letter of each functional prerequisite. In order to survive, hence, a system must perform these four functions. Among these integrations implies that a social system must regulate the interrelationship of its component parts. It refers to the importance for a system to manage the interactions and conflicts that may happen among its members. It is believed that

integration and the management of the relationships among the elements of a system will contribute for the maintenance of the stability of a system (Cuff, Sharook & Francis, 1999).

Different societies and communities maintain their integration by creating different mechanisms. Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms can also be considered as societies' and communities' way of dealing with the threat of conflict and satisfying this integration requirement. Traditional conflict resolution mechanisms seek to establish a moral regulation that will enforce order and stability in a society. Hence, this study has used structural functionalism in order to analyze the role of "*Tigo gulla*", 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 twentieth century. 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 Particularisms 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.

Conflict Theory

Finally, conflict theory employed to elaborate on the nature and mode of conflict among the people of Hadiya. Conflict theory can be seen as a development that took place, at least in part, in reaction to structural functionalism and as a result of many of the criticisms forwarded against structural functionalism. The theory posits that competition over scarce resources (money, leisure, and so on) is at the heart of all social relationships (Cuff, Sharook & Francis, 1999).

Dahrendorf is the major exponent of the position that society has two faces (conflict and consensus) and that sociological theory, therefore, should be divided into two parts, conflict theory and consensus theory. For him, consensus theorists should examine value integration in society, and conflict theorists should examine conflicts of interest and the coercion that holds society together in the face of these stresses (*Ritzer & Smart, 2003*). Thus, the study applied conflict theory to analyze and describe the nature and modes of conflict among the people of Hadiya.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. The Study Approach

This study used a qualitative approach because the natures of the research questions require the collection and analysis of in-depth qualitative data. Experts in the field of research recommend that qualitative research methods should be used when a researcher wants to study processes, community's beliefs, attitudes, opinions, and relationships; aspects of social life, and meanings individuals and groups ascribe to social phenomena. In addition, if the issue under investigation has not been studied before, a qualitative research is recommended for deeper understanding of the social phenomenon (Walliman, 2011; Babbie, 1999; Creswell, 2009).

3.2. Study Population and Study Area

The Hadiya is an Ethiopian ethnic group and categorized under Cushitic language speakers. They number around one million people and more than 90 percent of them live in rural areas (Hadiya zone finance and economics department ,2016). The people are found in Hadiya zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State in Ethiopia.

The study area, Soro woreda, is one of the woredas located in Hadiya administrative zone and the vast majority of its inhabitants are rural peasants whose livelihood depends primarily on subsistence agriculture and livestock breeding. Soro woreda is located 32 Km far from the zonal capital of Hosanna town; 194 Km from regional city, Hawassa; and 235Km from Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. It is bordered by Lemo woreda in the East, Duna woreda in the North, Gombora woreda in the South and Oromia National Regional State &Yem Special woreda in the West. The administrative center of this woreda is Gimbichu town. The woreda has a total population of 241,577 of which 120,307 (49.8%) are males and 121,270 (50.2%) are females (Soro Woreda Finance & Economy Development Office, 2016).

Figure 1: Administrative map of Hadiya Zone

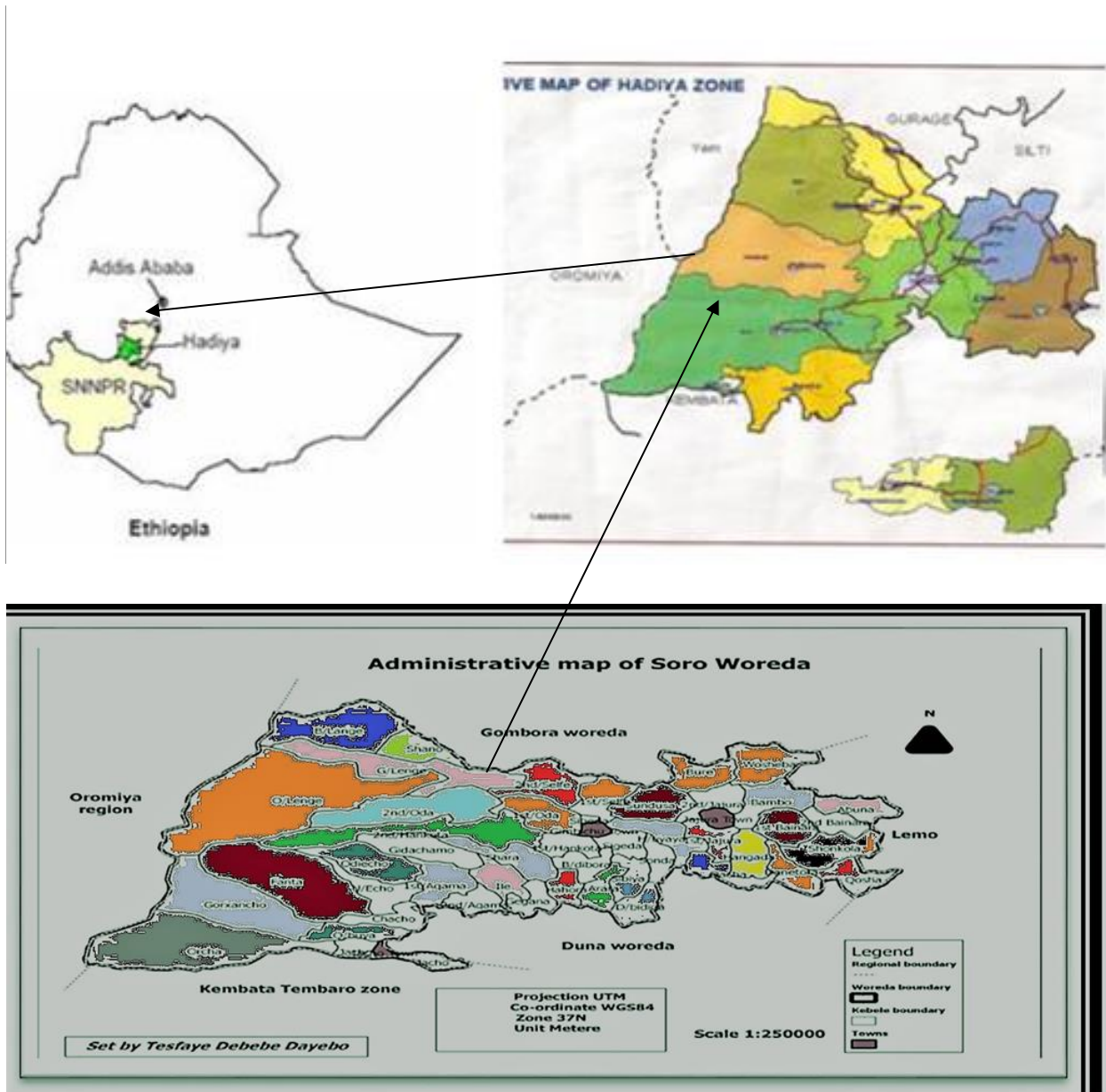


Figure 1:Administrative map of soro woreda

3.3. Participants of the Study

Among the *kebeles* which are located in Soro Woreda for this study 2nd Hankota kebele, Sundusa kebele and Danetora kebele were selected purposively based on the criteria of presence of experienced individuals on tigo gulla practice, recent occurrences of the *tigo gulla* practice, and more frequently use the tigo gulla practice.

Participants of this study included different people from various segments of the community: involving elderly people, ritual leaders, clan leaders, women and experts from Soro Woreda Culture and Tourism office. Besides, court judges were also interviewed to get data about the importance of *tigo gula* practice in resolving the conflict in the study area.

To select participants for this study purposive sampling was utilized. The Woreda Culture and Tourism office, Kebele officials and the community police were consulted regarding the selection of these informants from selected kebeles. In this case, knowledgeable and experienced people in conflict resolution were selected to participate in the study.

3.4. Procedure of Data Collection

Before engaging in the data collection activities, the researcher made sure that the necessary preconditions were met. That included firstly building a rapport with the local government and the community and get the trust, permission and approval of the local government to collect the data.

Data was collected by contacting participants at their community and holding the interviews, case study and FGDs at places of their preferences. All of the interviews, case study and FGDs were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim.

3.5. Data Sources and Methods of Data Collection

The sources of data for this study were primary sources. The following methods of data collection were used to gather data from primary sources: key informant interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs) and case study

3.4.1. Key Informant Interview

Key informants interview was carried out in selected kebele's with knowledgeable elderly people (6), ritual leaders (6), clan leaders (3), women (3) and experts from Soro Woreda Culture and Tourism office (1), court judge (1) and totally 20 key informants were interviewed. For these key informants, interview guides/guiding questions were developed and used. Here the researcher probed to get detailed responses from the informants about the issue. And also, note taking and tape records were also taken during the interview.

3.4. 2.Focus Group Discussion

FGD was held with members of the community. Totally 6 FGDs were conducted in this study. The classification for FGDs group formation was based on the sex of the participants. In this case, the number of participants in each FGD's was between 6 and 8. Here each member forwarded his/her opinion, idea and experience on the issues turn by turn. These discussions took between 60 and 90 minutes.

Here the researcher facilitated the pre-conditions for discussions and the guiding questions were presented for each group of discussants separately. And also, posing the questions when needed was facilitated by the researcher. In addition, the participants' experience, ideas, opinions, and attitudes what they forwarded about issue were tape- recorded and notes were taken from their discussions.

3.4.3. Case study

Case study was also used in order to generate data on individuals experience in the form of narrations from the disputants' 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 and how it was handled with in the family, about their relationships with the other disputing party, about the way the conflict was resolved, generally about their feeling, idea, and interest for the tigo-gulla practice.

3.6. Methods of Data Analysis

The data were analyzed thematically using the following procedure. After data collection, the qualitative data were organized based on their types, i.e. interview, FGD and case study. Then the data were transcribed verbatim in the local language (for audio-recorded data). Next, the data were translated from Hadiyyisa into the English language.

Here, efforts were made to keep the originality and clearness of data while translating it into English. After that, the data were read thoroughly to have some insight into the general picture of the situation. Hence, data which is collected from the field through qualitative methods was analyzed manually through careful interpretation of meanings and transcribing and summarizing the issue under investigation. Finally, these results are discussed in relation to theories and other research findings

3.7. Validity and Reliability of Data

Attempts were made to ensure the trustworthiness of the data. First, peer reviews of the guiding questions of the interview were checked with some of my class-mates and corrections were made accordingly. The researcher also created good rapport with the participants of the study so that they could give genuine answers. The researcher met some participants again (more than once) for clarification of their responses. In addition, when the data are presented, divergent ideas of participants were quoted. The researcher also tried to be conscious of his biases and viewpoints. It is also important to note that different types of data collection tools (key interviews, FGDs and case study) were used in this study for the purpose of triangulation.

3.8. Ethical Consideration

In this research, the researcher made sure that the ethics of research are followed and study participants are protected. Accordingly, the following important points were given attention: informed consent/permission at different levels; anonymity of participants; confidentiality of information given by participants; and avoidance of possible harm to participants as a result of participating in the study.

Permission and consent to conduct the study and to collect data was secured at different levels from different parties. The first was from Jimma University which reviewed the proposal of this study for approval. The second level of permission was gained from each kebele (and/or its community leaders or gatekeepers) that were selected for this study. And, finally, each individual participant was asked for his or her informed consent.

The nature and purpose of the study was explained at all levels of permission before consent is secured. In addition, the issue of anonymity and confidentiality was assured for all participants. In this case, participants were assured that the researcher would never use any information that could expose them. To do so, participants were not asked to tell their names in the interview/focus group discussions because of their unwillingness to tell their names. In addition,

pseudonyms/ code numbers were used to present results of the study. Furthermore, Participants were also told that they could withdraw from the study anytime they want.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1. Conflicts among the People of Hadiya: Nature and Resolution

4.1.1. The Nature of Conflicts in Hadiya

Based on the in-depth data gathered from the participants of this study, types of conflict that occur in the study area are classified into four categories. The causes of conflict, the scope of the conflicts and the actors that are involved in the conflicts are the main criteria in classifying conflicts into the four broad categories. These categories are Interpersonal Conflicts, Marital conflicts (Conflicts with in a family), Inter-Group conflicts and Communal Conflict.

4.1.1.2. Inter-Personal Conflicts

This is a type of conflict that occurs between individuals. According to my informants, this type of conflict is the most common type of conflict that occurs in the study area. The participants told me that it always happens as a result of personal disagreements and quarrels as people interact with one another on a daily basis. But even though these conflicts may result from minor disagreements they usually grow into more destructive conflicts that affect the lives of people involved in them. These types of conflicts may begin from disagreements among two individuals but when they are left unattended they would grow to involve other individuals, family members and groups or even communities around the two-disputing people. So, these conflicts have the potential to transform into other forms of conflict such as inter group conflicts.

4.1.1.3. Marital Conflicts (Conflicts with in a Family)

According to key informants, this is the second type of conflict in the study area. It includes conflicts that occur among family members. Several causes result in a conflict with in a family. Two of these causes result in serious conflicts among members of families. Based on the information from my informants, these causes are extramarital affairs and disagreements over

settlements of inheritance. Other causes also result in conflicts of less severity with in families. These causes include disagreements over management of resources, mechanisms and systems of child rearing and religious differences. The data obtained from FGD participants and key informants indicated that, the more serious conflicts among members of a family usually require the interference of elderly people from the neighborhood to settle the conflicts among members of a family. The mild conflicts that result from minor day to day disagreements among members of a family are usually left for the family to address them.

4.1.1.4. Inter-Group Conflicts

This is a type of conflict that happens between groups. The groups may be socially organized groups such as friendship groups or they can also be families. The participants of this research indicated that several factors can result in conflicts among groups. These factors include boundary disputes, disputes over resources, theft, homicides, rape, and abduction. Minor disputes and quarrels among individuals usually grow into inter-group conflicts unless they are settled early on.

4.1.1.5. Communal Conflicts

This is a type of conflict that happens with in a community such as a religious community and within other formal as well as informal organizations in the study area. These conflicts mainly result from disagreements regarding how things should be done in those communities. The participants of the study indicated that this is the least violent conflict because its communal nature opens an opportunity for more people to be involved in the process of settling it.

Besides, there are always systems and mechanisms of addressing such conflicts. The formal organizations have their own regulations through which they settle issues and recurring conflicts. Similarly, informal association and communities rely on the wisdom of the elderly and the age old indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution to address the conflicts that emerge with in them.

According to my informants, among Hadiya people there are different types of conflicts and different causes for each conflict which raised in the study area. Besides behind of each conflict there is its own causes and it should be solved and change should be come.

Conflict theory states that conflict is an inevitable phenomenon in a society. Regardless of societies' efforts to handle conflict, conflict has been one of the most persistent feature of societies across the globe. There is conflict in our economic institutions, in the political institutions, in the religious institutions and in all the other social institutions and social endeavors. As one looks to uncover the nature of conflict in society across the social spectrum it is inevitable that conflicts occur in different modes and 'textures'. Most of the conflicts are basic and harmless. They occur on a daily basis and can even happen among family members. The others involve a large number of people and groups and present a graver threat to the social fabric unless they are checked (Cuff, Sharon & Francis, 2005).

4.2. Major Indigenous Mechanisms of Conflict Resolution in Hadiya

There are a number of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms among the people of Hadiya. According to key informants, these indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution are used to resolve conflict at three different levels. These levels are interpersonal, local associations and elderly groups. These levels are hierarchical in that the most intense conflicts are addressed through conflict resolution mechanisms that have a group of respected elderly at their center. Minor clashes that occur on a day to day basis are expected to be addressed at interpersonal level as per the custom of the people of Hadiya. Therefore, the various indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution are presented in this section according to the level to which they are applied to resolve conflict.

4.2.1. "Ixxiwinna'i Ixxuwi Quuxo Ti' llancha" (Conflict Resolution at Interpersonal Level)

According to my key informants and FGD participants, "Ixxiwinna'i Ixxuwi Quuxo Ti' llancha" or the process of resolving conflict at interpersonal level is the most basic cultural practice of conflict resolution that exists among the Hadiya people. According to them, it is usually applied in order to resolve minor conflicts that occur as a result of differences that arise as people interact on a day to day basis. This cultural practice of conflict resolution gives the actor involved in the conflict the responsibility to settle their conflict. On this cultural practice, there will not be any intermediaries that try to settle the conflict.

According to my informants the culture and custom of Hadiya strongly teaches that every person should be fair to everyone and the community. The custom of Hadiya people expects every person to stand for truth and be honest when they deal with each other. Therefore, whenever conflicts happen it is always the responsibility of the conflicting parties to try to settle their differences fairly. A 59 years old key informant who is an elderly among one of the communities in the study area describes this level of conflict resolution as follows:

Not all disputes are brought to elders and community leaders. Conflict always happen in our lives. Conflicts happen among friends, among siblings and among neighbors. Such disputes may not be violent. And they are inevitable. You cannot avoid them. When such disputes happen, every person involved in them is expected to manage them fairly and honestly. Our culture teaches everyone to be fair, honest and respectful of one another. That helps to control such disputes that happen every time.

But not all interpersonal conflicts can be effectively resolved at this level. Some conflicts and differences between people are very difficult to be managed only by the actors involved in the conflict. Hence, People's desires to maximize their interests always intensify conflicts and the actors involved in it fail to settle their conflicts and differences in a way that satisfies both actors. Anger, frustration and emotion that accompany disagreements and differences often boil conflicts to get out of control.

As the information from participants shows, in such instances managing the conflict would require the involvement of a neutral third party that mediates the resolution of the disputes. Whenever minor conflicts intensify and get out of hand among the people of Hadiya the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms of next levels will be employed in order to settle the conflicts.

4.2.2. Seerinne-guullima (Conflict Resolution through Local Association)

According to my informants and FGD participants “*Seerinne-guullima*” is the second level of indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution. At this stage conflicts among the people of Hadiya will be resolved through the local social associations. These local associations are organized around more than two or three neighborhoods. The members which organize under this local

association voluntarily and it has more power than that of “Nafara”, this is because of “seera” has great contribution during the time of death and it holds many members. These associations bring the different people and families of Hadiya together to organize resources and assets to assist one another in times of social and economic crises.

However, unlike “Nafara” its organization is depending on social classes. The “*Seera*” in all the communities in the study area is one that is formed by members of a neighborhood or a village to provide psycho-social and economic assistance to a family who is mourning the death of a member. Members, who are often families, make a monthly contribution to provide financial and material assistance to the mourning family and accompany the family for days or even weeks to provide emotional support.

My informants reported that, these associations also serve as one of the indigenous mechanisms through which conflicts are resolved among the people of Hadiya. According to them, these neighborhood social associations that are locally known as “*seera*” have an elected judge that is responsible to oversee the overall operation of the associations. A 58 years old key informant, who have also been a judge for a “*Seera*”, said that whenever conflict among two or more members of a “*Seera*” occur the role of mediation is given to the “see’l daanna”.

My informants and FGD participants told that, disputes and conflicts through “*Seera*” are resolved in the presence of the members of the seera. Therefore, the role of the see’l daanna (judge) is facilitation as to how the disputes should be handled instead of passing decisions. It is always the responsibility of the crowd gathered to make the verdict on the disputes. Both of the disputing parties are brought before the crowd and will be given the chance to present their cases followed by several questions from the judge of the “*Seera*”.

The crowd will follow the whole process of conflict resolution as the judge asks a number of questions with the intent of clarifying the truth. Depending on the case, members of the “*Seera*” will be given the opportunity to ask questions and testify as witnesses. Sometimes the process of conflict resolution may take days and weeks. However, those disputes that couldn’t be solved through the process in “*Seera*” will be brought to one of the third level of the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms which are differentiated from the first two in that they are handled by the elderly people. Like “*Ixxiwinna’i Ixxuwi Quuxo Ti’ llancha*” which is the first level of conflict

resolution which is indicted above, most of the disputes brought to the “seera” are those conflicts that are mild in severity and less violent. Conflicts that happen in people’s day to day social relations which were not resolved at interpersonal level are often the types of conflicts that are handled at this level. Conflicts of extreme severity that can turn out to be violent and deadly are often left to be handled by indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms of the third level which are presented below.

4.2.3. “Lommonni Gullimmaa” (Conflict Resolution through Elders)

According to my informants, this is the third level of conflict resolution among the Hadiya people. Based on the information from key informants and FGD participants, it is different from the first two in that it strictly relies on the wisdom of elderly people that are selected to mediate conflicts according to the custom and tradition of the Hadiya people.

My informants said that “Lommon Gullimmaa” can be considered as an umbrella term for a number of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms that rely on the wisdom of a group of elderly people to resolve conflicts among the Hadiya people. These indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms are hierarchically organized from the grassroots upwards. And are also an integral part of the different levels of social organization of the Hadiya people.

The data from the focus group discussions and the key informant interviews with the elderly people who have been involved in conflict resolution mechanisms indicate that the most basic one is used to address conflicts with in an extended family of three generations while the broadest one is employed to resolve conflicts at the level of clans. The severity of the conflicts also increases as one move upwards the hierarchy. However, minor conflicts are handled through the indigenous mechanisms at the lower level of the hierarchy as the more violent and intense conflicts are usually handled through the indigenous mechanisms at the top of the hierarchy of the social organization.

According to focus group discussants, elderly people are given an immense amount of respect among the people of Hadiya. Hence, they are often consulted whenever communities are faced with challenges regarding any issue. The indigenous wisdom and knowledge that they accumulate is immensely drawn upon by the people of Hadiya in order to organize and facilitate

the day to day endeavor of the people. Most conflicts that pose a threat of destruction on material and on the lives of people and present a challenge to the age old social order of Hadiya people are handled through a number of indigenous institutions of conflict resolution that rely on the wisdom of the elderly. According to my informants, there are different level of indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution that are led by the elderly among the people of Hadiya.

4.2.3.1. Mine (family level)

According to my key informants, this type of mechanism which is known as “Mine” is the smallest and the most basic of the indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution in the study area. According to them, “mine” basically refers to an extended family members that live under one grand parent. Focus group discussants also explained that, it is a social organization that is comprised of three generations of an extended family that live in a very close proximity occupying a shared geographical space and sharing resources together.

According to the custom of the Hadiya people the right to govern this social organization and make the most important decisions is often left to the oldest person within the social organization. In times when the oldest person in the social organization is unable to fulfill the role due to factors such as illness and disability the responsibility will be bestowed upon the next oldest person who is considered to have wisdom and knowledge of the custom and culture of Hadiya people.

According to my key informants and focus group discussants, “mine” is responsible to address social and economic issues within it and conflicts that occur as members interact on a daily basis and which are considered to be mild in severity. As they told me that, the responsibility of mediating and settling conflicts within the social organization is left to the oldest person in the social organization who is known to have wisdom, fairness and knowledge of the Hadiya custom and culture. Disputes and conflicts among a husband and a wife and among neighbors in a community are usually resolved through “Mine” or are at least firstly brought to this social organization. Two or more “Mine” may also cooperate and come together when their members engage in disputes. By jointly investigating matters they work to settle conflicts among their members.

Based on the data from participants, in Hadiya people, when and/or if conflicts brought to “Mine” are found to be difficult to be successfully resolved they are often brought to the second indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution which is known as “Nafara”. “Mine” is also involved in the process of conflict resolution by the other social organizations higher up in the hierarchy. It is involved in investigating cases, testifying in cases and in enforcing the decisions passed on by the institutions of conflict resolution above it in the hierarchy.

4.2.3.2. Nafara (neighborhood)

According to my key informants, “Nafara” is the second mechanism in the hierarchy of indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution that rely on the wisdom of elderly people to address conflicts. Based on the data obtained from key informants and focus group discussants “Nafara” like “mine” can be considered as a social organization around which people’s lives are patterned and resources are shared.

As a social organization “Nafara” includes people and families that are found in the same neighborhood. Everybody who lives in the neighborhoods are the members of “Nafara”. And the number of the members of Nafara includes from 20-30 houses. Therefore, “Nafara” is a neighborhood social organization. Like “Seera” it includes all people and families that reside in the same village as members regardless of whether or not they are related by blood and regardless of whether or not they are Hadiya. Besides, both “Seera” and “Nafara” can be considered as a result of the integration of Hadiya people with other people from different ethnic groups.

According to both men and women focus group discussants, there are other neighborhood social organizations such as “Wobexa” and “Wijjo’o” are usually found within the “Nafara”. “Nafara” is different from such neighborhood social organizations in it is inclusive of all regardless of ethnicity and social class. As a result, “Nafara” is not found in all the communities among the people of Hadiya; which is true for urban community of Hadiya. An elderly from one of the communities in the study area who was 61 years old key informant describes this social organization as follows:

“Nafara” is our neighborhood association. We come together to help one another when a family need some kind of assistance. Every member of a village who lives in the residence can be a member of “Nafara”. And we assist one another when we need support regarding farming and when a member of a family is dead. Members contribute their labor and money depending on the situation that needed the assistance. Membership is always based on settlement/residence where the area who is live. In some places, there are no “Nafara”.

According to my key informants the main responsibilities of “Nafara” include the maintenance of peace and order in the neighborhood. Disputes and minor differences within communities are addressed within “Nafara”. Most conflicts that are handled through “Nafara” result from disputes about boundaries, grazing land, theft, and debts. Like most social organizations “Nafara” has a leader that is responsible to facilitate the respect of its rules and regulations. The leader is known locally by the name “Nafal Daanna” and it is elected by the members of the “Nafara”. Wisdom and fairness are the main qualities that a person should possess in order to become a “Nafal Daanna”. “Nafal Daanna” is always elderly people. The elderly among the Hadiya people are considered to be fair and smart to manage conflicts and disputes among the members of a “Nafara”. A 58 years old key informant described the types of conflicts that are handled through the “Nafal Daanna.”

Disputes are also resolved in “Nafara”. Disputes among members of a village or between families and neighbors are solved in “Nafara”. Disputes may result from people’s disagreements about boundaries, grazing land, debts and sometimes extramarital affairs. The “Nafal Daanna” and members will gather and solve conflicts fairly based on our custom.

4.2.3.3. “Moollo” (In family Level)

According to the informants and focus group discussants “Moollo” is the third social organization of conflict resolution among the people of Hadiya. According to them “Moollo” is formed when more “Mine” came together. In Hadiya those multiple “Mine” that form “Moollo” usually share the same bloodline. My informants said that, even though it has changed today it

has been a norm among the people of Hadiya for centuries that people and families belong to the same “Moollo” live in proximity sharing the same geographical location. The migration of people of different ethnic groups has inevitably changed this pattern of settlement among the people of Hadiya. “Moollo” is led by the “Mooll Daanna” that serves as an arbitrator of disputes and a leader of the social organization.

The “Mooll Daanna” is an elder who is elected to be a leader based on his charisma, fairness, and knowledge of the culture and custom of the people. Like the other social organizations “Moollo” is expected to handle disputes that happen among its members. Besides, it is also expected to manage conflicts that couldn’t be handled through “Mine” and “Nafara”. It is also responsible to oversee the relationship among the “Mine” themselves. Since the “Mine” that are the members of the “Moollo” share the same geographical locations disputes tend to happen due to resource distributions including farming and grazing land and other conflicts which can be controlled in this level. “Moollo” is responsible for handling the management of such issues.

4.2.3.4. “Sulla” (More than two mollo together)

This mechanism of indigenous conflict resolution is the fourth social organization among the Hadiya people. It is comprised of two or more “Moollo” who share the same bloodline. The leader of “Sulla” is known as “Sull Daanna”. It is elected based on his character and ability to sustain peace and stability within the social organization.

Based on the data collected from my focus group discussants, “Sulla” is mainly responsible for settling disputes that occur among individual members. According to them, it also settles conflicts and disagreements among member of “Moollo”. “Sulla” is the first social organization of the Hadiya people where conflicts that result from homicide are handled. But it is allowed to settle such conflicts only if the members belong to the same “Sulla”. It is also responsible to settle conflicts that couldn’t be settled in “Moollo”. Disputes among “Sullas” are also the sole responsibility of this social organization. Disputes among “Sullas” usually happen as a result of disagreements over the utilization of shared resources such as grazing land and forest. It also has a mandate to look into conflicts that result from homicide. Such conflicts that has the potential to

cause immense destructions on the life of people and material are considered to be the responsibility of the whole population. Therefore, they are resolved with utmost care and caution

4.2.3.5. “Giichcho” (More than two sulla together)

According to my key informants, “Giichcho” is the fifth social structure of the people of Hadiya at which conflicts are handled through the elderly people. A “Giichcho” is formed when a number of “Sulla” living in the same geographical space and who trace their lineage from the same distant ancestor come together to share resources and support one another. Like the other social organizations discussed above “Giichcho” also has its own leader that is elected for its wisdom and ability to enforce harmony within the social organization. According to my FGD discussants and Key informants the ability to understand the meanings of prophecies is also considered one quality that leaders of a “Giichcho” should possess. The leader is usually named “Giichchi Daanna”.

My focus group discussants said that, Cases and disputes that couldn’t be resolved through “Sulla” or any other social organizations are brought to “Giichcho”. Therefore, it has the responsibility to look into the appeals of disputants that are not satisfied by the decisions of lower level social organizations. “Giichcho” is also responsible for ensuring that disputing parties respect the final decisions passed to resolve conflicts according to the custom and culture of the people of Hadiya. Those that disrespect the decisions that are made according to the custom and rituals of the people are often discriminated from the social life of the population.

This threat of facing discrimination and ridicule always forces disputing parties to abide by the decisions passed in the processes of the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms. And those that fail to follow the norm and face the inevitable consequence of discrimination are expected to ask the forgiveness of the “Giichcho” and abide by the decisions passed and rejoin the community.

4.2.3.6. “Giira” (In Whole of Hadiya Level)

According to my key informants and all FGD participants, “Giira” has been the largest social organization among the people of Hadiya. According to them, it includes the whole population of

the ethnic group. Also, they explained that for centuries, this social organization has been responsible for making the most important decision affecting the lives of the Hadiya population. Decisions regarding war, conflicts with other neighborhood ethnic groups, tax, distribution of resources and relations with other people are made through this social organization. A leader for “Giira” is often selected from among the leaders of “Giichcho” who is named Giir Daanna. The leader is often known by the title “Adila”

4.3. The Process of Conflict Resolution in ‘Tigo-Gula’

4.3.1. Initiating ‘Tigo-gulla’

As mentioned in previous sections of this thesis 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 Tigo Gulla. Tigo-Gulla is one of the indigenous institutions of conflict resolution where the elderly in Hadiya play a very central role in settling conflicts. As a mechanism of conflict resolution, Tigo-Gulla involves 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 with in Tigo-Gulla.

According to my informants, 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 Tigo-Gulla practice. According to them, 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 Tigo-Gulla sets in motion. This is because the practice of Tigo-Gulla 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.

Besides, 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 distant place with relatives until the Tigo-Gulla 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 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 tigo-gulla 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 Tigo-gulla rituals. A 66 years old key informant described this belief as follows:

When one 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 tigo-gulla 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.

In addition, 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 Tigo-gulla 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 institution of “tigo-gulla” 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.

Before approaching the family of the deceased to secure their willingness to carry out the rituals of tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla practice. A 69 years old key informant who had participated in the process of resolving conflicts associated with homicide indicated that the request to initiate Tigo-Gulla is usually made as follows:

ki ‘nno’i beet foor ni anggane hiigaakko

Kuki nees tiinna esinumbee’i luwaa

Hushanchannem Afu luwwa.

Eebikkina Hadiyyi woganne gula’inoommo

Woshsha niina uwwehe

This is translated as

“Your son/daughter’s life has been taken at the hand of our son/daughter

This was an unfortunate circumstance

Our son/daughter did that unintentionally

Therefore, lets resolve the dispute 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 tigo-gulla. 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 tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla the elders will also console the family and provide social and emotional support to slowly overcome the rage 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. A 72 years old key informant who is an elderly and participated in a number of tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla ritual to prevent future 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 tigo gulla.

My informants said that, when the family members of the deceased agree to handle the issue through the traditional rituals and customs they usually respond as follows: “Hadiyi wogannee seerannee beeddona iittinaammo, ni 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 deviate 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 tigo-gulla practice in such cases, the elderly people will condemn and maledict 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 tigo-gulla. A 71 years old 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 comply 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 tigo-gulla 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.

Case 1 of this study can be considered as an illustration that getting the willingness of a victim’s family to resolve the issue through tigo-gulla is a difficult task. The elderly people, who often assume this responsibility, had to repeatedly and patiently 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. The family of the deceased is given a number of chances considering the significance of giving them a proper time to mourn the death of their member.

Case 1: Killer (Temesgen Arficho)

On the morning of March 21, 2015 Temesgen Arficho and Detamo Menamo were both

plowing on their own neighboring farm land in Danetore kebele. 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 Detamo Menamo came out to the farmlands. After spending sometime arguing about the border they couldn't reach a consensus regarding the borders. The arguments escalated and a fight breaks out between them. Detamo Menamo was killed by stone on the farm land. After learning that Detamo Menamo was dead. Temesgen Arficho, the killer, approached the neighborhood elderly people and requested them to resolve the issue through the indigenous mechanism of tigo-gulla.

After committing 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 elderlies then repeatedly asked the family of the deceased to agree to resolve the resulting conflict through the tigo-gulla practice since day of the funeral ceremony that took place after a couple of days since the homicide was committed. The first three meeting between the elderlies 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 tigo-gulla practice on the fourth 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 tigo-gulla. The killer said that I was very happy on the decisions of the elders through tigo gulla practice. This is because tigo gulla practice made free and I assumed myself as rebirthed. The homicide case was not intentionally happened that helped me to have intimate relationship with deceased families.

According to my key informants 'tigo-gulla' 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 institution 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 'tigo-gulla' as well. The fact that the indigenous conflict resolution mechanism of 'tigo-gulla' 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.

Being deeply embedded in the culture and value of the people proves to be the key through which tigo-gulla is able to enforce the decisions made to resolve the conflicts that are often in parallel with the age-old custom and practice of tigo-gulla. This is significant beginning from the first phase where the elders that mediate the conflicts and the rituals make their effort to solicit both disputing parties to be willing to address their matter through the indigenous institution and not purport to violent reactions.

The data from this study indicate that the refusal to accept the request to use tigo-gulla is a common response that elders face from the family and relatives of the victim who are often at first angered and emotional and tempted to look for revenge. When elders face consistent unwillingness, the consequence is that the family of the victim will be marginalized and face being cursed by elders. This is an indication that conflicts that arise from homicide are not just the issue of the two disputing parties. Rather it is something that the whole population of a community gives attention to.

People that deviate from the norm or ignore the custom and attempt to handle the situation in any other unacceptable way will be met with the ultimate consequences being an outcast from the people and the culture. Therefore, the indigenous mechanism is not a standalone conflict resolution mechanism. It is rather participatory in that everyone in the communities plays a role in ensuring that conflicts that arise from homicide are resolved through the indigenous institution/mechanisms.

4.3.2. Beginning the Arbitration in ‘Tigo-gulla’

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 tigo-gulla. This group of the elderly people will comprise of elderly people from both sides of the disputing 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 aspect of tigo-gulla including those aspects that took place before the date of the ritual and those that took place on the date of ritual.

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 tigo-gulla rituals.

The rituals of tigo-gulla 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 'tigo-gulla' practice. My key informants who mediated cases in 'tigo-gulla' indicated that the compensation falls within the range of 30,000 and 50,000.

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 intentional and malicious the compensation is also higher than a compensation decided for a homicide that was resulted from an accident or is unintended. Besides, 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 police and actors in the legal system in the study area have recognized the role of 'tigo-gulla' and they tend to prefer not to interfere with the indigenous mechanisms and institutions of conflict resolution. The government also supports the traditional institutions and encourages the people to use the traditional

mechanisms of conflict resolution such as tigo-gulla to manage disputes that occur among people.

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. Tigo-gulla 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.

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 discussant 6 reflected upon the issue as follows:

The police and courts support our use of the tigo-gulla 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 afraid of the condemnation and the discrimination of the community. Sometimes the police are involved when killers try to flee 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 opt to press charges. There have been instances where some families want to follow the legal judicial process instead of the indigenous institution of tigo-gulla. Case 2 of this study is one example of situations where a homicide incident was brought to the police. But after

facing the threat of curse and marginalization from the community in which they live in the family decided to drop the case.

Case 2. Deceased family (husband of the deceased)

Tuesday January 20th of 2015 was a market day. Around 11:00 a.m. Ashure Batemo was walking back to her home from the market place. She was from Sundusa Kebele. She was hit and killed by a vehicle that was owned and driven by Birhanu Bogale on the date of the incident. 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 mechanism of conflict resolution. But after being told that they will be cursed and they will be marginalized from the rest of the society, the family of the deceased backed down from their firm stance and decided to accept the elderlies' request to follow the procedure and the practice of tigo-gulla. Then they dropped the police charge. The mediating elderly initially decided that a compensation of 50,000 birr should be paid by the family of the killer to the family of the deceased.

However, the family of the deceased decided to accept 30,000 birr and returned the remaining 20,000 birr to the family of the killer. (He) husband of the deceased explained about significance of tigo gulla 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.

4.3.3. Hidden Cases of Homicide in 'Tigo-Gulla' and the Cursing Ritual

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 tigo-gulla. My informants told me that, 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 elderlies will shout “Katiga at muuntaa firee; Waa’a kabeet tiigo at garaqqe” which means “Oh you God let us know who spilled the blood of this deceased person”. This also implies that the elderlies 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 ‘*tigo-gulla*’ 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 ‘*tigo-gulla*’ 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 of 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 “faro fiissa’e; biiraa yihe.” This is literally translated as” Reveal your wrongdoing, reveal 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 testify saying “Ikki anggii lokkii fayya’a ki’nnuwwi yitakkem luwwanne agoommo.” This is literally translated as “My hands and my legs are free and clean from such form of wrong doing”.

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 "an shamoolas i'iidme'ii i qachichi idime'ii ka gereechchi idime'isa gunde" 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 stab the sheep's stomach as will be asked to swear "ixxi kaka issaakkoolas igodab kagereechchi godaphphesa diihe" which is translated as "Let my children be barren 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 shukkosa la'ummuyyam maxammolas I illag tunsse" which is literally translated as "Let my future be blind if my father has taken that person's life". While these three people do these things the barren 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.

According to my key informants 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 'tigo-gulla' in part are aimed at cleansing the wrong doing and bad spirit to prevent the curse. My key informants told me that, there have been some events where these rituals have been successful. A 73 years old key informant who have been involved in mediating conflicts associated with homicide, describes his observation regarding these cursing rituals that are carried out when the killer remains hidden or unknown.

I remember being involved in a cursing ritual as a mediator before two years. The killer refused to identify himself as a perpetrator at first. He killed a fellow community member whom he was engaged in a verbal argument with in local liquor house on two occasions. There were no witnesses when the homicide was committed. The family of the deceased came to us, the elders, to present their suspicion because they were tipped about a verbal argument between the two men days before the incidence of the homicide. Such similar tips about arguments and minor differences between the deceased and other people were given to the family and a number of people were considered as suspects. We then approached every person that is suspected of committing the homicide and asked if they consider themselves innocent. They all claimed that they are not murderers. Dates were chosen for every suspect to carry out the cursing ritual. Some of them, I don't remember their exact number but may be two or three of them stood their ground and proceeded with the cursing ritual. In the middle one of the suspects sent a message for the elderly through his relative instead of bringing himself and his family members to the event of the ritual. The person admitted on his message that he indeed has committed a homicide to kill that person on one drunken night. He must have changed his mind to take responsibility for his action. The 'tigo-gulla' ritual was then carried out and the compensations were provided for the family of the victim.

4.3.4. The Concluding and Cleansing Rituals of Tigo-gulla

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.

'Tigo-gulla' is one indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution where rituals and symbols play a very significant role in facilitating the process of conflict resolution. 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 *'tigo-gulla'* 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 *'tigo-gulla'*. They are carried out in an order presented below following the guidance and order of the elderly people who mediate the case. According to the key informants, the rituals involve numerous symbols and meanings that play different roles in the conflict resolution process. According to them, the significance of the rituals in *'Tigo-Gulla'* 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 healing 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 significances 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 is presented below.

After the disputing parties agree to resolve the conflict through the *'tigo-gulla'* 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 *'teff'*, 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.

My informants told me that, the cleansing and concluding rituals of tigo-gulla 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 cleansing rituals". According to my elderly key informants who

have mediated conflicts in ‘tigo-gulla’ the selecting a river for the first major ritual has a significant symbolic meaning. According to them the aim of the rituals in ‘tigo-gulla’ specifically and of the whole institution of ‘tigo-gulla’ in general is to manage conflict through 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 mending the two relationships between the disputing families. Hence, these rituals named as “the re-integrating rituals”. The rituals often begin right after the rituals on the river are finished and end on the morning of the second day.

According to the key informants and focus group discussants, if there are multiple 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 “hiraaganchcho.”

4.3.4.1. The Cleansing Rituals

The data obtained from key informants and FGD participants indicated that, 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 them, 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 tigo-gulla practice. The first aspect from the series of cultural rituals of tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla in repairing broken hearts and social relationships between the two families and their kin.

However, it is the custom of tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla 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, according to all my key informants, 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 tigo-gulla 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 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 tigo-gulla.

According to my informants and focus group discussants, 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 them, the killer carrying the sheep is expected to be the last person of the crowd.

As information from my informants shows that, a sheep is an element of this and other rituals in 'tigo-gulla' because among the people of Hadiya, a sheep is used to characterize the traits 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 tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla 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 mingle, walk together, sit together or have a conversation until the later part of the process of tigo-gulla.

According to my informants who have mediated a '*tigo-gulla*' 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 mingle amongst each other. This is a significant indicator that shows the value of the rituals in reintegrating the two parties physically and psychologically.

My informants told me that, 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. According to them, 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, as my informants told, 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 tigo-gulla 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 disputing 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. According to my key informants leaving the dead sheep right where it was slayed has a significant symbolic meaning in the process of conflict resolution through the '*tigo-gulla*' 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. My informants have told me 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, my informants 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 from my informants and focus group discussants, 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 vowing 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.

4.3.4.2. The Re-integrating Rituals

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. According to my informants here the sheep will be a mousy color but black to signify that the

two parties' relationships are progressing 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 tigo gulla 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 elderlies 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. According to my informants, 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, as my informants and focus group discussants said, the elders will give another order. They will instruct “Waa’i caakki fooqooyone”. 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 renewing 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 dilloyyunnihee”. 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.

The data obtained from key informants and focus group discussants indicated that, 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.

According to my informants, 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 *'tigo-gulla'* 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 elderlies 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:

Shumnni lambe'neeh lehumannni lambe'ennee Haxxanchiii gereerochchii hee'oone

Tummi ki'nnuwwi lambe'enne ihona

This is translated as

Let there be no bad blood and competition among you

Let there be peace and harmony among you

Another is

Ki'nnuwwi shummo'i haraaaree

Let you have many more children.

Ki'nnuwwi lambe'iiniss manna ittaansoo qachchi firee

Let your children be the ones who will resolve conflicts and disputes

Kiido'nne lehi la'meka ki'nnuwii lembeenne afoone

Ki'nnuwa tummi awwaane

Let such a tragic 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 tigo-gulla 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.

According to my informants, 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.

According to key informants and FGD participants, 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

Nilanbe'enne yoonntti giira ka giil'llesa xoo'e

Nillaambe'enne yoonntti giirraa kaba siigge

This is translated as

You the fire of hate that is between us leave

You the fire 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. My informants said 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 temperedness caused by the conflict between the two parties.

According to majority of FGD participants and key informants, 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 'tigo-gulla' 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 'tigo-gulla. This is one of the basic differences between 'tigo-gulla' and other indigenous institutions of conflict resolution that are being practiced among different people in Ethiopia

According to my key informants, the final ritual that announces the resolution of the conflict is the phase where the elderlies that mediate 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. My key informants who have mediated conflicts through ‘*tigo-gulla*’ 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 onflict spill that mixture of honey and milk they say

Ki’nnuwwi mateeyyoomi ka maraphhesaa axxesaa xee’e

Ki’nnuwwi Ka maraphhesaa wa’inaa manninaa tee’llehe

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

According to my informants and focus group discussants, this ritual of combining milk and honey signify the aim of Tigo-gulla conflict resolution mechanism which is the unification of conflicting families and the restoring of social bond and the brotherhood among the families. According to them, 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 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 ‘*tigo-gulla*’ 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 tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla is able to uniquely function as an indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution.

The data generated for this study from the elderly, members of communities in the study area and families that were involved in disputes that result from homicide indicates that the focus of the tigo-gulla 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 an 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.

4.4. Tigo-gulla, Re-integration and Long Lasting Solutions for Disputes

After the '*tigo-gulla*' 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 ‘*tigo-gulla*’ mechanism. These customs of *tigo-gulla* and their practice effectively ensure that there will not be any form lingering disputes and bad blood between the two families in the future. The implementation of these customs guarantees that ‘*tigo-gulla*’ resolves the disputes in a long-lasting manner and permanently.

The first of these customs in the practice of ‘*tigo-gulla*’ has to do with declaring the two disputing parties as one family. One of the customs of ‘*tigo-gulla*’ 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 *tigo-gulla* declares that the two families have become one family once the *tigo-gulla* practice is finalized.

Even though the two families do not have any blood relationship the institution and the custom of *tigo-gulla* 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 *tigo-gulla* plays a very significant role of restoring and mending social relationships between disputing families.

Besides after ‘*tigo-gulla*’ is carried out the killer may even support the victim’s family whenever they need labor assistances 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 nurture 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. A 59 years old key informant described the relationship between disputing parties after the conflict has been resolved through the *tigo-gulla* practice as follows:

When the ‘tigo-gulla’ is carried out it is with a desire to bring peace, stability and also to assist the family of the deceased as they struggle with sorrow. When conflicts remain unresolved they always destruct our lives in general. If the family of a victim avenges and kills another person, that will be dangerous for many people in both sides. To prevent that tigo-gulla works to bring back love and friendship between the two families. At the end of the ritual the two families will become one family. That’s how tigo-gulla works in

every dispute in our history. Sometimes the relationship and the love between the two families may even grow to become better after the ritual than it was before the conflict happens. This is because before the ritual they may relate and know one another like every other community member. But after the conflict and the ritual they will be expected to strongly assist and support one another. They will visit each other very often. They will even share labor and work for both family farms.

The accomplishment of tigo-gulla also puts an obligation on the family of the perpetrator to look out for the family of the deceased. My FGD participants and key informants explained 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 69 years old key informant described such 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 wellbeing of the family of the deceased. Therefore, they will have a strong social relationship.

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. Functionalism states that integration and the management of the relationships among the elements of a system will contribute for the maintenance of the stability of a system (Cuff, Sharook & Francis, 1999).

And functionalist theories view conflict as a threat to the maintenance of the stability of a society and as something that emanates from a lack of moral regulations in societies (Gidens, 2006). Conflicts are undesirable. But they are also inevitable. Social systems, therefore, are expected to have a system of managing conflicts to prevent their demolition.

Conflicts and disputes that emanate from homicide have a potential to spiral as a result of vengeance and be destructive unless they are checked and managed from the start. This study proves that '*tigo-gulla*' 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 '*tigo-gulla*' has been successfully managing conflicts associated with homicide.

This study and the data that it generates supports the claim made 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. Tigo-gulla helps sustain a lasting 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 tigo-gulla 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 '*tigo-gulla*' 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 process 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 '*tigo-gulla*' 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 perpetrator 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.

4.5. Women and 'Tigo-gulla'

Women among the community and the people of Hadiya are respected in general. However, when it comes to the practice of tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla practice.

The data from male focus group discussions indicate that women in both of the disputing families also play a crucial role in convincing 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 '*tigo-gulla*' practice. Any event which shows contains happiness among the people of Hadiya involves putting butter on top of people's heads. When it comes to '*tigo-gulla*' butter will be put on top of everyone's head to signify the culmination of the conflict through the peaceful and indigenous mechanisms of '*tigo-gulla*'. My

key informants told me that, what women say is feared and accepted 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 'tigo-gulla' 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 stress placed upon the need to sustain harmony and peace in the community. As mentioned above, women are greatly respected and their orders are accepted. A 74 years old 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 event [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 ascertain that a consensus has been reached regarding the decisions that is passed on the event. Butter signifies calmness and orderliness. It is put on the deceased and killer families head because we respect and revere what our women say and do. 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.

4.6. 'Tigo-gulla' and the Challenges it is Facing

Financial challenge is the first thing that threatens the tigo-gulla practice among the people of Hadiya. Families of individuals who commit homicide face financial strains to provide for the compensations that are made in any tigo-gulla practice. There are often two forms of compensation that are carried out in tigo-gulla. These are financial compensations and compensation in kind. The decision to choose between the two forms of compensation will be made by the elderly people that arbitrate that particular tigo-gulla practice. According to key

informants, if there is a disagreement among the elderlies regarding which compensation to be made and its amount, they will take the issue to the “hiraagaancho”.

The “hiraagaancho” is a spiritual person that addresses such disagreements among the elderly people and any other persons in the communities. This person will take the final decision as to which type of compensation should be provided. But in most cases families of a person that commits a homicide will be challenged in both ways regardless of the form of compensation chosen to be provided for the family of the victim.

Besides, the custom of tigo-gulla states that the killer is not allowed to use other people’s resources to bring what the elders require for the rituals and for the compensation. He/she is expected to solely rely on his/her resources and/or his/her family’s assets. If he/she is not able to come up with the amount of money required to pay the compensation and fulfill the requirements of the elders, he/she will be allowed to use the resources of close relatives. If he/she still couldn’t come up with the compensation, he/she will be allowed to beg from the community.

And also, if the killer is dependent and economically too poor, the rituals can be run on by little amount of compensation and requirements. However, borrowing money from other people to purchase the requirements of the ritual is forbidden. People are expected to rely on their own assets or the assets of their own family and close relatives to meet the needed requirements. This strongly accepted custom has put its own pressure on economically disadvantaged families who couldn’t afford to provide for the requirements of the ritual and the compensation to be made for the family of the victim of homicide. So far killers and their families are relying on their social network and relatives to come up with the compensation that they are required to pay for victims’ families.

However, this looks to be an obstacle that is going to challenge the practice of ‘tigo-gulla’ in the future. The compensation to be offered often varies from one case to another. This is because the elderlies that mediate cases of homicide vary from one case to another. But the compensation often falls between 30,000-50,000 Ethiopian Birr. The exact amount depends on the subjective judgment of the elderly people that mediate the case. A key informants interview carried out with three elderly people that had mediated cases of tigo-gulla indicate that their judgment of the amount of compensation is often made based on a number of factors such as the economic

capacity of both disputing families and the relationship between the two families. A 69 years old key informant describes his experience in this regard as follows:

If there is a big difference between the two families in terms of economic capacity and assets we will try to balance our decision based on it. For example, if the family of the victim is at a lesser economic position than the family of the perpetrator we may decide to make a higher amount of compensation. If the family of the perpetrator is found on a lesser economic position, we will try to decide a lower compensation. The role of the deceased in the family in the past and the resulting gap created in the family of the victim is also considered. If the person is killed is a breadwinner and if the family is going to have a difficult future, we will also try to raise the compensation to assist the family of the deceased. Also, if the two families are relatives the compensation is often lower than the compensation decided for cases that involve two or more families that are not related by blood.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. CONCLUSION

Conflicts of different nature and types happen among the people of Hadiya. Depending on the scope of the conflicts and the actors involved in the conflict this study classifies conflicts among the people of Hadiya into four: Interpersonal conflicts, conflicts with in a family, inter-group conflicts, and communal conflicts. These conflicts are often resolved through indigenous practices, systems and institutions of conflict resolution at different levels. The indigenous institutions of conflict resolution are categorized into three groups depending on the involvement of actors that are involved in addressing the conflicts. These groups are indigenous conflict resolution systems and practices at interpersonal level, through local associations and through the involvement of elderly people.

Homicide related conflicts have been successfully addressed among the people of Hadiya through indigenous institution of Tigo-gulla. Tigo-gulla is categorized under the third group of indigenous conflict resolution systems and institutions. This is because tigo-gulla is among the indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution that rely on the wisdom of the elderly people in the process of addressing conflicts that result from homicide. The mechanism has been instrumental in maintaining stability and in restoring social bond among communities. The mechanism also remains to be the preferred mechanism of addressing homicide related conflicts by the people of Hadiya.

As mechanism of conflict resolution tigo-gulla has several characteristics that makes it a fundamental aspect of Hadiya people's culture. One of the most important characteristics of tigo-gulla is that its aim is not about punishing perpetrators. The objective of the mechanism is not restricted to identifying the perpetrator and then punishing him/her. Tigo-gulla is mainly about restoring social relationships among people and maintaining the harmony and stability of communities. The other basic characteristic of tigo-gulla 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 tigo-gulla also removes the sense of guilt and sinfulness from the person who committed the homicide. It finally establishes reconciliation by declaring the reintegration of the conflicting people into the mainstream community. Disputing 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 tigo-gulla play a significant role in removing the sense of guilt and sinfulness that perpetrators face. The rituals are carried out to signify the cleansing process of wrong doings. The purification ceremony often involves the shading of an animal's blood which in most cases is an Ox. 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 guilty feeling. All these are factors that contribute for the persistence of the conflict resolution mechanism of "Tigo Gulla".

Volker Boege (2006) argues that indigenous conflict resolution systems present alternative viable 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 insight into the process of conflict transformation.

5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

'*Tigo-gulla*' has been fundamental in securing 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 of conflict resolution has also been

able to relieve killers from the psychological and emotional burden of having to feel guilty by reintegrating the disputing parties and establishing a strong relationship between them. Recognizing these benefits of '*tigo-gulla*' 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 '*tigo-gulla*' has several advantages when it comes to managing conflicts in a sustainable manner. Creating the legal ground for the recognition and practice of '*tigo-gulla*' 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 is not prohibiting the use of '*tigo-gulla*' 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.

In addition, the study also recommends that more researches be done on the psychological and social experiences of killers and the families and relatives of victims of homicide. Such investigations will provide an in-depth knowledge of how '*tigo-gulla*' operates in such a unique manner and how it is able to permanently resolve such destructive conflicts that emanate from homicide

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APPENDIX:

GUDING QUESTIONS

Jimma University College of Social science and Humanities

Department of Sociology Post Graduate Program in Sociology and Social Policy.

Introduction

This interview guides are prepared by a post graduate student in Sociology and Social policy program in Jimma University for partial fulfillment of master's degree in Sociology and Social policy. The guiding questions are prepared to collect data related to Indigenous mechanisms conflict resolution among the Hadiya people in the case of Soro Woreda with particular emphasis on "Tigo Gulla" practice, which is basically academic in purpose and will be analyzed incognito and you are not exposed to any harm because of the data you give. Dear my informants, the information you provide is believed to have a great value for the success of this research. Hence I kindly request you to participate actively and voluntarily in all the processes of providing response and sharing your experience as well as in the discussion on the issue to be presented for discussion. Because, the quality of this study will greatly depend on your genuine response. Therefore, I would like to ask your consent and I highly appreciate in advance for your kind cooperation in providing the necessary information

General background of the informants

Name/code _____

Age _____

Sex _____

Occupation _____

Status _____

I. Interview Guidelines

II. Questions for key informant interviews

1. What are the types and major causes of conflicts in your area?
2. What are the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms which you know in your area?
3. Have you ever participated in indigenous conflict resolution practices?
4. In which type of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms you participated?
5. How do you see the process of conflict resolution in indigenous way?
6. What are the importance of indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms, like tigo gulla practices?
7. Who play the mediating role in indigenous conflict resolution, like tigo gulla ?
8. How do you see the role of Tigo gulla practice in resolution of homicide conflict?
9. Do you believe that Tigo gulla practice achieve long lasting solution between the conflicting parties?
10. Have you ever participated on its practices?
11. How about the compensation, is it fixed or not? Is it in kind or in cash?
12. Why do you choose the tigo gulla practice of mechanism rather than formal court?
13. Is there any other indigenous mechanism that firstly look the issue of murder before tigo gulla?
14. Is there any difference between sex and social status during the ritual practices of Tigo Gulla?
15. What are the significances of rituals processes in tigo gulla practice?
16. Who is the actor of ritual processes? What are the objects?
17. Do women actively participate on Tigo gulla practice?

18. What is the role and status of women in Tigo gulla practices?
19. Do you think that the judicial court system judges accept the decisions passed by the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms during conflict resolution processes?
20. Does the government provide any support for indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms for its sustainability?
21. What are the challenges faced by Tigo gulla practice?

III. Questions for focus group discussions of community members

1. What are the types major causes of conflicts in your locality?
2. What are the main indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in your area?
- 3.. Have you ever participated in indigenous conflict resolution processes?
4. Have you ever participated on Tigo gulla practices?
5. Is there any other indigenous mechanism that firstly look the issue of murder before tigo gulla?
6. What are the procedures of rituals taken over on Tigo gulla practices?
7. Do you believe that Tigo gulla practice can bring long lasting sustainability between conflicting parties?
8. How do you see the decisions given by the concerned indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms?
9. Who play great role on indigenous conflict resolution process, like tigo gulla practice?
10. Is there any variation during ritual process due to social status and sex, particularly in tigo gulla practice?
11. What are the significances of rituals process involved in tigo gulla practice?
12. Who is the actor of the ritual practices?
13. What is the status and role of women on Tigo gulla practices?

14. Unconditionally homicide case is happened among your relatives, which mechanisms of conflict resolution you prefer? Judicial or informal resolution mechanism? Why?
15. What are the advantageous that you obtain from Tigo gulla practice rather than judicial conflict resolution mechanism?
16. How do you see the degree of interaction with opposite parties during conflict and after reconciliation?
17. Does the government encourage the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms? In What way?
18. Is there any challenges faced by Tigo gulla practices?

V. Questions for focus group discussion of women

1. What are the types and major causes of conflicts in your area?
2. What are the indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms in your locality?
3. Have you ever participated in indigenous conflict resolution processes?
4. In which types of conflict resolution mechanism you participated?
5. Have you ever participated on Tigo gulla practices?
6. Why do you choose the tigo gulla practice of mechanism rather than formal court?
7. Is there any other indigenous mechanism that firstly look the issue of murder before tigo gulla?
8. What are the procedures of rituals processes in Tigo gulla practices?
9. Do you believe that Tigo gulla practice can bring long lasting solution between conflicting parties?
10. Have you satisfied with the decisions given by the concerned indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms?
11. Is there any variation during the process of tigo gulla due to social status and sex?
12. What is the position /role of women on Tigo gulla practices?

13. Is there any unique role for women on the practice of Tigo gulla?

14. How do you describe the degree of relationship with opposite party during conflict and after reconciliation?

15. What are the significances of rituals process involve in tigo gulla practice?

16 Who is the actor of the ritual practices?

17. What are the challenges faced by Tigo gulla practices?

VI. Interview guide line for case study

1. How the case happened?
2. Why did you choose to be solved the case through tigo gulla practice rather than judicial system?
3. How is your relationship now when you compare before, during and after reconciliation?
4. How did you reach to the reconciliation?
5. What motivated you to reconcile the issue through tigo gulla?
6. Do you think to revenge?

Thank you for your cooperation!!

XA'MMICHCHUWWA

Jimma uniiverste'nne Sooshaal saaynsaannonnee Humaaniitiis kolleejanne sooshoolooge'e Deppaartmeentanne sooshoolooje'innee soshaal polose'inne uwammok la'm digire'e propgraama

AAgga

Ku xa'mmichcha awwansaan gudukkok sooshooloje'ennee soshaal polise'innee masters amedeena jimmi univeerste'enne guudukkuyyi yoo la'm digire'e lossanchchinnette. Awwansaan xa'mmichchuwi gudukkok Hadiyyi zoonanne siidamook minaadab annannam soo'l woradanne hee'oo minaadab ixxuwane ihaakko lachha awwaxximmine minaadaph lambe'enne qooccamoo wocnchcha lophphaahehem fore shimmine qooccamoo wocanchchcha tiigo guulline hinkid xummisakkamida'e la'immina la'oo manniins sawwite wixxa'immana gudaakkoohanihibikkina muulli ki'nnuwanne afisook awwi mahim bee'an ihibikkina odim uwwitakko'i sawwittem ebar kid yaakkoo yaamma ki'nnuwwi maaxo'o mull mannanne ki'innuwwa hawwadona higisaa kuroobee'annoma laqqakkona hasoommo. Iittantakko'oo xa'mmamaan ki'innuwwi uwwitakkam sawwit ku sooroobo'i toochcho afonaa mishaam ihonna araqa awwadoohan ihubikkina kannonne daanaam sawwite uwwimmine hara'mmitakkona lophphakko'isinne xammommo. Mashika'oomim ka'a soroobo'ik danoom ki'innuwwi uwwitakkam dabachchanne bakke'aakkohan ihubikkinatte. Eebikkina ki'innuwwi eeyyite kee'mmalisa xamummuyya uwwitakkam sawwitinaa hara'mmatinaa araqa galaxxoommo.

Xa'mmamaan ogora

Summa/mare'e _____

Umur _____

Albachcha _____

Bax qoochcha _____

Minaadaph woronne yoo beyyo _____

I. Xammichcha awwansaano

II. Doo'llanto'i xamamaan xammantam xamichchuwwa

1. Ki'i hegeego siidamoo wocanchchi agarii eewocanchchuwwina mashika'ii marruwwa?
2. ki'i hegeegonne at la'aqqoo gaassi lachacha awwaxximminne wocanchcha tummisakkam googguwwa maha mahaa yamamoo?
3. Wocanchcha xumisakkam dumichchuwwanne siidantaa laqqoohonne?
4. Hinkki'i wocanchcha xumisakkam dumichchuwwanne sidantaa laqqoo?
5. Gaassi lachcha awwaxximminne wocanchcha xumisakkam ogora hinkid moo'llitto?
6. Gaassi lachcha awwaxximminne annannam tiigo guullinne wocanchcha xumisimma awwaad maha?
7. Tiigo guullinne siggoo wocanchchanne ogo'll qooda taakkisookoki ayyette?
8. Man shaqqachi wocanchcha xumisimmane yoo tig gulla ogo'll horoor taakko hinkid moo'llito?
9. Tiig gulli taakki wocamu manni doolli hundina iittamaa hea'oo'isina awwaadookkoo yitaa sawwitoo?
10. Tiig guulla issakkam ogoranne siidantaa laqqoo?
11. Tiig guulla issaku'uuyyi miqakkam miqo'i hinkidette, qoodamannii qoodammayyo? Uwwakkamdu diinatenni hora?
12. Oogaxxi mininne beeddima mahina sabbaa tiig guulli beedimma doo'llito?
13. Tiig guullii gassaa foor shaqqachi woca moo;oo gaassi doll lachchi goog yoohonne?
14. Foor shaqqanchi wocanchcha xumisakkeena issakkam luwwuwwanne albachchannee manni qoocanne bakke'immine annannaat yoohonne?
15. Tiig guullanne issakkam luwwuwwi awwad maha?

16. EE ogora taakkissookkok ayyette? Hincchoo luwwuwwidu maha maha?
17. Ment tiig gulli quuxo danaamisa baxxamoohonne?
18. Tiig guulli ogoranne amo'i awwad maha?
19. Gaassi doolli lachcha awwaxximminne sigisakkam woci wussane'e oogexxi mi'n woshaabbuwwi aa'llamonne?
20. Ka gaassi doolli lachcha lasqqi doollinam hee'oo'isina adil bakkiisoollane ?
21. Tiig gulli taakkonne qeddoo luwwi maha?

III. Minaadaph woriinssi feeramukkeno wixxa'akka'a tamakkam ta'mmichchuwwa

1. Ki'i hegeego siidamoo wocanchchi agarii eewocanchchuwwina mashika'ii marruwwa?
2. ki'i hegeegonne at la'aqqoo gaassi lachacha awwaxximminne wocanchcha tummisakkam googguwwa maha mahaa yamamoo?
3. Wocanchcha xumisakkam dumichchuwwanne siidantaa laqqoohonne?
4. Hinkki'i wocanchcha xumisakkam dumichchuwwanne sidantaa laqqoo?
5. Tiig guullii gassaa foor shaqqachi woca moo;oo gaassi doll lachchi goog yoohonne?
6. Tiig guulli ogora taakkisaku'uuyya isakkam luwwuwwa kichchii jamattaa kure?
7. Tiig gulli taakki wocamu manni doolli hundina iittamaa hea'oo'isina awwaadookkoo yitaa sawwitoo?
8. Gaassi lachcha awwaxximminne wocanchcha xumisakkam ogora hinkid moo'llitto?
9. Tiig gullannem ihukko mullaannonne annchchi ihaa ogora taakkissookkok ayuyyete?
10. Foor shaqqanchi wocanchcha xumisakkeena issakkam luwwuwwanne albachchannee manni qoocanne bakke'immine annannaat yoohonne?
11. Tiig guillanne issakam luwwuwwi awwad maha?
12. Ee ogora taakkissookkok ayyette?

13. Tiig guulli ogoranne amo'i awwad maha?
14. Ki qarmanni lambe'enne dangonem mani foor higuta'nn ogaxxi minennii gaassichcha awwaxximmine tummisakkam googo doo'llitoo? Meshikka'i maha?
15. Oogaxxi mininne uwwamoo wocanchcha xummisimmi tiig guullinne uwwamoo xumisimmine siiddoo awwaad maha?
16. Lemem wocantto'imanni edanch wocanchchi woronnee wocanchchii lasonnee hnkkid moo'llitto?
17. Ka gaassi doolli lachcha lasqqi doollinam hee'oo'isinas adil bakkiisoollane? Bakkissooll ihulas hinkka'i googinne?
18. Tiig gulli taakkonne qeddoo luwwi yoohonne?

V. Amo'o mateeyyannem atoorassimmina gudu xa'mmichchuwwa

1. Ki'i hegeego siidamoo wocanchchi agarii eewocanchchuwwina mashika'ii marruwwa?
2. ki'i hegeegonne at la'aqqoo gaassi lachcha awwaxximminne wocanchcha tummisakkam googguwwa maha mahaa yamamoo?
3. Wocanchcha xumisakkam dumichchuwwanne siidantaa laqqoohonne?
4. Hinkki'i wocanchcha xumisakkam dumichchuwwanne sidantaa laqqoo?
5. Foore shaqqanchchi quuxi tiig guulline beeddoohaannonne siidantaa laqqoo?
6. Foore shaqqanchchi woci oogaxxi mininne beeddohanninis tiig gullinne beeddoo'isina mahina doo'llitto?
7. Tiig guullii gassaa foor shaqqachi woca moo;oo gaassi doll lachchi goog yoohonne?
8. Tiig guulli ogora taakkisakku'uuyya isakkam luwwuwwa kichchii jamattaa kure?
9. Tiig gulli taakki wocamu manni doolli hundina iittamaa hee'oo'isina awwaadookkoo yitaa sawwitoo?
10. gaassi lachcha awwaxximminne uwwamoo oogatanne liirantoohonne?

11. Foor shaqqanchi wocanchcha xummisakkeena issakkam luwwuwwanne albachhannee manni qoocanne bakke'immine annannaat yoohonne?

12. Tiig guulli ogoranne amo'i awwad maha?

13. Tiig guulli taakkonne xale'e amo'o moo'oo bax yoohonne?

14. Lemem wocantto'imanni edanch wocanchchi woronnee wocanchchii lasonnee hnkkiid caakkissoo?

15. Tiig guillanne issakam luwwuwwi awwad maha?

16. Tiigo guullinne siggoo wocanchchane ogo'll qooda taakkisookoki ayyette?

17. Tiig guulli taakkonne qeddoo luwwi yoohonne?

VI. shumannaa lehumanni qaroo xa'mmakkam xaichchuwa

1. Lehi afeena xanukkok hinkide?
2. Foore shaqqanchchi woci oogaxxi mininne beeddohanninis tiig gullinne beeddoo'isina mahina doo'llitto?
3. . Lemem wocantto'imanni edanch wocanchchi woronnee wocanchchii lasonnee hnkkiid moo'llitto?
4. Iittanchchi gabalanne hnkkiid affakko'o?
5. Ku lehi quuxi tiig guullinne beeddoo'isina mahina hassitto?
6. Baado shukkoka shitaab dabbateena hassoohonne?

Galaxxoommo!!