

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology

**Indigenous Knowledge and Practices of Leader and Leadership Development
in the *Gadaa* System of Borana Oromo Community of Ethiopia**

By: Habtamu Disasa Muleta

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Habtamu Disasa Muleta

This doctoral dissertation is submitted to the School of Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Social Psychology

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

CI – Confirmatory interview

CSA – Central Statistical Authority

FGD – Focus group discussion

IDI – In depth interview

IK – Indigenous knowledge

ILO – International Labor Organization

KII – Key informant interview

NO – Naturalistic observation

ZPD – Zone of Proximal Development

Abstract

Leadership affects all aspects of our life, and it is an inevitable group phenomena. However, the concept of leadership in general and the emergence of leader and leadership in particular, is quite complex subject that require further investigation. Hence, the objective of this research was to study Borana Oromo Community's indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in their Gadaa system that may help to answer few questions in the area. It mainly focused on the underlying belief system, development of personal and group leadership qualities, procedures of leaders and leadership development, and responsibilities of community members in shaping leadership personalities. To achieve these objectives, cross-sectional qualitative case study research design was implemented. Individuals in the mainstream Gadaa system and knowledgeable elders of the community were purposively selected as a sample of the study. Accordingly, five observations, nine in-depth interviews, four key informant interviews, fifteen confirmatory interviews, and nine focus group discussions were conducted. The data gathered using these qualitative guidelines were presented, analyzed and discussed thematically in line with the assumptions of interpretive phenomenological analysis. The findings show that leader and leadership development is a lifelong process where individuals are made to develop general gifts of leadership and learn knowledge, skills, and attitudes of leadership both individually and in groups before they assume power. Knowledge and practices of leadership development is ingrained into the belief and value system of the community. The very objective of leader and leadership development is to maintain culture, peace, wealth, health and security of the community. The process has seven major progressive periods of development: care and support, preliminary service, initial team building, team building and teamwork exercise, leadership service, being educator and law makers, and spiritual devotion. Parents, lawmen, Abba Gadaa men, peer members, elders, religious leaders, and the community at large educate the prospective leaders about history, cultural values, religion, socio-political structure, ritual performances, and geography using different development strategies. The findings also show that cultural procedural irregularities, expansions of foreign religions in the area, change in community's livelihood style, corruption, and dual roles of Abba Gadaa men are the major threats of leaders and leadership development process in the system.

Keywords

Indigenous Knowledge, Leadership, leader development, leadership Development, Gadaa System

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the study

In a group of individuals of any size working or living together for sometime, a leader and the process of leadership emerge over time and collective needs of the group is directed, coordinated and facilitated in order to achieve their common goals. Almost all groups have leaders: people who have the “good” ideas that everyone else or most agrees on; people who everyone follows; people who have the power to persuade and make things happen (Hogg & Vaughan, 2010). Groups have instinctive need for a leader and individuals with compelling ideas and with strong and prototypical qualities emerge as leaders (Freud, 1921; cited in Goethals, 2005). Forsyth (2006) suggested that “leadership seems an inevitable element of life in groups; a necessary prerequisite for coordinating the behaviors of the group members in pursuit of common goals; and indeed, leadership may be the few universals of human behavior” (p. 213). Leaders enable groups, ranging from small to entire nations to function as productive and coordinated whole (Hogg & Vaughan, 2010).

Though leadership affects all aspects of our life (Hogg, 2007) and inevitable group phenomena, the emergence of leader and leadership and its dynamics is quite a complex phenomenon than one can imagine. It differs from group to group, and context to context. Many factors including time, the nature of the task to be accomplished and cultural factors can determine its emergence and development. These may be why we have different theories and models of leader and leadership emergence in a group situation. It seems difficult to have the best ideal means and procedure to have a leader and leadership that can fit to the needs of all groups because of differences in assumptions, beliefs and contexts. One procedure of selecting, recruiting and educating leaders and leadership is taken as right and the others are considered as wrong because of many reasons. Some groups are effective and gain the best out of their togetherness than others as a result of their leadership development procedures and its influences, other things being constant. Some leaders and leadership processes are considered as good and others taken as bad by followers. Some leaders run after their own benefits and others sacrifice their life for their peoples’ demand. There are so many variations to be cited as point of differences in leadership emergence conceptualization.

Canadian educationalist, Lawrence Peter, asserted that “leadership like beauty, truth and contact lens, lies in the eyes of the beholder” (Aitken & Higgs, 2010; P. 11). Many political leaders of the world nations like Napoleon Bonaparte, George W. Bush, Theodore Roosevelt, Margaret Thatcher and others have commented about the nature of leadership and who a leader should be. They all have suggested their own conception of a good leader. George W. Bush, for instance, asserted that “leadership to me means duty, honor, and country, and it means character, and it means listening from time to time” (Forsyth 2010, p. 247). However, none of them have mentioned about how leaders should be trained, educated, developed or socialized into leadership position over long period. Not only individual leaders who have focused on individual or group qualities of leaders, but also many scholars who have theorized on the issue have said little about the emergence or the development of the best qualities of leadership performance expected of a leader or group of individuals while in power.

Many leadership researchers asserted that, in general, leadership is not a well-understood concept (Hogg, 2005; Bennis, 1975; Gardner, 1965; & Forsyth, 2006), and it is under theorized and not well researched (Hotho & Dowling, 2010). Academicians and practitioners have conducted and published their findings related to different aspects of leadership (Day, 2001). For instance, Burns (1978) identified 284 different definitions of leadership and concluded that there is no common view for the term. The meta-analysis of leadership documents also shows that there are about 221 definitions given for leadership (Rost, 1993). Moreover, many of these documents focus on leadership mainly in the context of organizational settings (e.g., Avolio, 1999; Bass & Avolio, 1994; Northouse, 2004; & Yukl, 2002; cited in Hogg, 2007) and the scientific study of public leadership is less prolific though it affects the life of all individuals (Hogg, 2007). Therefore, though leadership is the most researched concept, there are still gaps in our understanding of the dynamics of leadership in general and leadership development in particular.

The gap in the understanding of leadership is firmly supported by well-known presidential biographer, leadership researcher and historian, James MacGregor Burns. He asserted that leadership is the least understood concept all over the world although it is the most observed of all (MacGregor Burns, 1978; cited in Forsyth, 2010). Moreover, leadership scholars indicated that despite large numbers of documents and materials related to leadership that have been produced so far, there is high prevalence of misconception of leadership (Bennis, 1975; Gardner,

1965; & Forsyth, 2010). The delusion is revealed in almost all aspects of leadership. High prevalence of misconceptions about the nature of leadership and its development increased the importance and curiosity of studying the issue from time to time (Buus & Scott, 2005; Day, 2001; & Houghton & Diliello, 2009).

Some scholars focused on individual leaders and have tried to set out the prototype for effective leaders in their theorization about leadership. Based on their research findings and analyses of materials, they suggested that effective leaders are strategic thinkers and doers, lifelong learners, entrepreneurs, risk takers, change oriented and have the skills of making opportunities out of challenges (Wesley-Esquimaux & Caulliou, 2010). Leaders should be credible, legitimate, change oriented, have skills and art of motivating and inspiring followers, deploying resources, identification of followers' needs and motivation (Chemers, 2002; McCallum & O'Connell, 2008). But some possible question one might raise are that how do leaders develop such kinds of capability and personality elements? Is there any means of cultivating such qualities, or are they naturally endowed?

Others focus on the group or team behaviors of leadership than specific individual personality, and work towards the effectiveness of the group in its totality. They emphasize on participation in the process of leadership, and the transaction between the leader and the followers (Yukl, 2006; McCallum & O'Connell, 2008; Forsyth, 2010) and group performances. They believe that leaders are made through trainings and education and they assume leadership qualities can be acquired through practices and from experiences. According to this paradigm, it is possible to equip a person with knowledge, skills and understanding of leadership qualities. However, even though scholars in this category emphasize the role of group interaction and performances in their argument, it is apparent that the behaviors and personality of the members in the group have a significant impact on their interaction and overall performance.

Accordingly, based on the assumptions specified above, curricula and leadership training programs have been developed and implemented in order to get the suggested qualities of leader and leadership. Though huge investments are made for leadership development in the form of courses and programs, a significant gap is still left unclear in the understanding of how individuals in the leadership should learn and develop best to bring about changes in an organization (Rigg, 2006; & Lyne de Ver, 2009) and society. Approaches, contents and

schedules of leader and leadership development seem blurred in many literature. Little attention is given to the development of leader and leadership behaviors (Olivares, 2008).

The curricula and training approaches developed in one context, specifically in the west, have been adopted with minimum adaptation to the local contexts by many nations, and have been implemented. However, it is recommended that there should be well prepared and motivated generations to lead and assume the power of leadership and it is the responsibility of schools, educators, governors and other stakeholders to do so (Davies, 2007). However, in reality, it is hard to find the best leader and leadership in a best way that can fit for all situations conclusively and there is no absolute leader and leadership in the world that have no drawbacks.

As witnessed by Davies (2007) above, schools and leadership training institutions are believed to be environments in which individuals are trained to acquire knowledge, skills, attitudes and styles of leading others. However, leadership may not be only a matter of the acquisition of these attributes. It is dynamic in terms of time, culture, the competence of group members, and other situational factors. The practical relationship between materials learned at schools and the actual setting of the leadership practices may be another issue to be considered in research. How much do schools and training institutions shape leadership personality? Do parents cultivate leadership behaviors in their children? Are leadership behaviors not determined by individual members' personality? Is it possible to educate leaders about leadership behaviors ahead? These basic questions should be addressed in leadership research.

Leadership emergence is the issue that has been debated over many years and still a puzzle for human mind to resolve. Increase in the complexity of human demography, difference in culture, history, globalization and technological advancement made the journey to find the best leader for an organization, community and nation becomes more complex and difficult than before. Because setting leader selection criteria that can be applicable for all time, situation, context and task and getting a leader that can fit to the criteria seems a difficult chore. At earlier periods, leaders were the center of explaining leadership behaviors, and leaders were considered as naturally gifted individuals. Later on, the behaviors of the followers, their transactions, and the task to be accomplished were taken into account, and the focuses on individual behavior were pushed behind the scene. The focus shifted to emergence of effective leadership in group situations. In general, while some scholars and individuals say leaders are born, others argue that

the characteristics of a leader can be learned; and still others argue that both factors can play a role in shaping the behavior of a leader.

So far, philosophers and scholars have developed many different principles, assumptions, approaches and theories of leader and leadership. Some of these theories and models are trait theories, transactional leadership theories, transformational leadership theories, contingency and situational theories, leadership by management theory, ethical and authentic leadership theories, transformational and charismatic leadership theories, behavioral theories of leadership, and recently formulated approaches like distributed leadership approach, ethical and engaging leadership models (Alimo-Metcalf, 2013). These theories and approaches focused more on the “how” and “what” of leadership than the processes and procedures of educating the desired leader and leadership behaviors. Moreover, most of them are developed based on organizational experiences and practices.

Leadership scholars such as trait and charismatic leadership theory researchers have examined the relationship between leadership and personality traits (eg. Ng, Ang & Chan, 2008) and came up with some kind of positive correlations of leadership behavior and individual personality. On the other hand, some developmental psychology theorists gave us descriptions of personality development, and suggested that experience matters in personality development (Miller, 2011). It is obvious that the personal and group competencies of leadership we are talking about should have some sources. One of these sources can be early childhood experiences which some psychologists gave due attention in the personality development of an individual. Human behavior development theorists like that of S. Freud (1964a; cited in Miller, 2011), for instance, stressed the importance of early childhood experiences than other factors in shaping human personality. In fact, it was not only Freud who recognized the importance of experience but also other Neo-Freudian theorists such as Erick Erickson have attested its importance in their assumptions and findings of human personality development. Childhood developmental experiences are important for creativity during adolescence and adulthood (Russ, 1996 & Runco, 2006), and it help them to gain knowledge and skills during adolescence and to make sound decisions that can influence others during adulthood (MacNeil, 2006). Therefore, if experience can determine personality, by implication experience may influence leadership behavior. If we at least recognize that experience matters in the personality development of an individual, it may be

possible to assume that a leader's early childhood experiences have contribution to his/her emergence as a leader in a group later, during adulthood. We may say the leadership qualities we are talking about can be gained through experiences.

Similarly, leadership scholars like Hernez-Broome and Houges (2014) suggested that developmental experiences are some of the important integral parts of leadership development in addition to classroom training. They advised;

Classroom training should not be the only part of a leadership development initiative, and may be the least critical. While training even be a necessary element of leadership development, developmental experiences are likely to have the great impact when they can be linked to or embedded in a person's ongoing work and when they are an integrated set of experiences. Activities like coaching, mentoring, action learning and 360-degree feedback are increasingly key elements of leadership initiatives (Hernez-Broome & Hughes, 2014; P. 2).

Likewise, skill based trainings, focused job assignment and action learning are important inputs for leadership development programs (Revens, 1980, & McCall, Lombardo & Morrison, 1998) which can be implemented by executives and line managers or by external consultants in organizations (Days, 2001, ; McCall, 1998; Cacioppe, 1998; & Keys, 1994). Therefore, Jacques confirms that "understanding the nature of leadership, leader attributes, leader effectiveness and factors impacting these concepts is invaluable for selecting future leaders and developing their full potential" (Jacques, 2003; P. iii).

Based on the assumption that experience plays a role to have a leader or a manager, training institutions have been inaugurated and many people have been trained to lead or manage groups, institutions or communities. It is undeniable that formal education and training contribute for better leadership performances; however, scholars believe that integrated sets of developmental experiences have more impact on leadership development than classroom trainings (Hernez-Broome & Highes, 2004).

The main points related to the concept of leadership, which is the specific focus of this study, are the issues of leader and leadership development. Unlike the conceptions in the past, there are similarities in the interpretations, assumptions, approaches and practices of leader and leadership

development across leadership literature (Holzer, 2008). Recently, leader development is interpreted as the expansion of potential leadership competences of individuals whereas leadership development focuses on “the expansion of the organization’s capacity to enact the basic leadership tasks needed for collective work: setting direction, creating alignment, and maintaining commitment” (Van Velsor & McCauley, 2004; p. 18). Under many circumstance, leader development focuses on the individual qualities of performance whereas the leadership development focus on expanding the capacity of individuals (Days, 2000; Day, 2001; Van Velsor & McCauley, 2004; Van Velsor, McCauley, & Ruderman, 2010; & Houghton & Diliello, 2010). More precisely, the former is about maximizing human capital at individual level while the latter is broadening the social capital at an organizational level (Day, 2000). However, in the past they were conceived and practiced as if they are the same (Holzer, 2008).

Leadership development is a shared process by which all responsible individuals are engaged in (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2003). In their work entitled *The New Public Service: Serving not Steering*, Denhardt and Denhardt (2003) described that in public organizations, the development of leadership occurs in three ways: formal training and education, self-study and structural experience. In the first case, the person learns some skills of working with subordinates and organizational structures before assuming the power to lead. Secondly, in self-study approach, the emphasis is on the importance of raising self-consciousness in the process of leadership development. In structural leadership development type, an individual is given opportunity to exercise the skills necessary to influence others and to work with other elements of an organization (Wart, 2008).

As studies in organizational context have indicated, the presence or absence of programs of leader and leadership development can influence the success of those organizations (Ready & Conger, 2003; Giber, Carter & Goldsmith, 2000; & Fulmer, 1997). McCauley (2001; cited in McCallum & O’Connell, 2008) asserted that developmental experiences are the key factors that can play a role in leadership development in addition to personal orientation to learn one’s ability, skills, and motivation and to support in organizational setting.

As cited in leadership literature, the practice of leader and leadership development is limited to organizations. The beginning and practices of leader and leadership development seems restricted to public, private and government organizational circumstances in the west. It focuses

on capitalizing individual and organizational leadership behaviors for a specific period. However, to the knowledge of the researcher, the cultural contexts are not considered by these researchers, and most of them are western philosophies and less applicable to other situations.

With these gaps in the study of leadership in global context, the practice of researching indigenous knowledge and the implementation of the knowledge generated are very much limited in the case of Africa. Indigenous societal aspects of leader and leadership development are given lesser emphasis in universal literature of leadership. Although one of the capacity building strategies in Africa is enhancing African leadership development, the focus was on imported philosophy of leadership, which may not fit with African indigenous thoughts and practices (Malunga, 2006). Again, although the roles and worthiness of indigenous knowledge and practices in different aspects of developmental activities seems being recognized (Beall & Nkonyama, 2009), its leader and leadership development aspect has been either viewed through the lens of western paradigms or seems overlooked by scholars. Most of leadership literature writers and researchers relied on western notion of leadership and its development. Mainly, that of Africans notion and practice of leadership has been given little attention in many leadership discourses and initiatives (Malunga, 2006).

As stated by Malunga (2006), leadership development has given precedence in capacity development in Africa even though the procedures, the strategies, and the contents of the practice are based on western conceptions that cannot be applicable to Africans cultural contexts. He asserted that African influential cultural knowledge and practices of leadership are either ignored or considered as hindrance to leadership performance. He called for integrative perspectives for better model of leadership development in Africa. Moreover, Bolden and Kirk (2009) advised researchers and practitioners working on leader and leadership development to focus on its indigenous knowledge and practices, specifically that of African societies. Based on their work on “African leadership”, they asserted that more work is required on “African inclusive and participative leadership founded on humanistic and collective principles” (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; P. 16). They postulated that “African leadership” meanings and connotations should be studied in greater depth to come up with broad understanding of Afro-centric perspective on leadership. The gap of research and discourse in African indigenous knowledge system study is best addressed in the following text.

... Africa is cast as an epistemological vacuum precisely because of the history of colonialism, coupled with the way the present paradigms of development and of knowledge are constructed, could compel rethinking, and demand the cultivation and assertion of reverse but empowering discourses in many domains (Hoppers, 2004; P. 15).

In addition, Boldon and Kirk (2009) proposed for further research on African indigenous leadership as it is a great potential for generating insights to leadership studies in general. In their conclusion, they proposed that “further research is required on leadership in Africa that steps outside dominant methodological and empirical paradigms” (Boldon & Kirk, 2009; P. 2). As it helps sustainable development in the continent, the cultural heritage of African knowledge and practice of leadership should not be seen as an obstacle and ignored in the process of leadership development (Malunga, 2006).

As numbers of societies inhabited the world are many, describing and explaining the nature of leader and leadership development in all cultures in a single research is impractical. Hence, the focus of the current study is on specific leader and leadership development in case of Oromo culture of African societies. In the present exploration, an attempt was made to examine this indigenous dimension of leader and leadership development in the case of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia in East Africa. It focused on the community’s underlying philosophies, steps and procedures of leader and leadership development and community participation in their *Gadaa* System. Moreover, it also identified and discussed the personal and group behaviors being cultivated during the periods of the lifelong developmental processes.

Despite differences in the steps and procedures, the knowledge and practices of recruiting leaders seems natural to both prehistoric and modern societies (Derr, Roussillon & Bournois, 2003). As people live in groups, leaders and leadership emerge from the dynamics of group processes. Traditionally, some communities of East Africa such as the Oromo, Kikuyu, Masai and Nuer (Asmerom, 1973) have their own institutions to train their children of tomorrow which is characterized by periodic and peaceful political power transfer. Borana Oromo Community is a case in point, which is the specific focus of this study.

The Oromo people of East of Africa have developed stable and sustainable institution by which they train future community leaders capable of exercising leadership in almost all arenas of

social life of the community. They owned a means to socialize leaders and leadership process through an institution known as *Gadaa* system. They administer all aspects of their social relationships, political affairs, justice, religious exercises and economic performances through *Gadaa* system (Bassi, 1996). This is the most complex and sophisticated institution to train and socialize individuals that can administer the social, political, spiritual and economic affairs of the community (Asmerom, 1973). They would be leaders of the community develop their skills, knowledge and behaviors of leadership before they assume the power of administering the community affairs which takes about forty years. After individuals successfully pass through the stages of *Gadaa* system, and fulfilled the expectations, competences and skills required for the position, they emerge as leaders of the community. The community gives them power to lead for eight consecutive years. At the end of their service years, the leaders transfer the authority of leadership to their successors peacefully (Bassi, 1996). According to the custom in *Gadaa* system, a group of individuals who completed the stages of preceding *Gadaa* grades assume the power to administer the community's affairs serve only for eight years and transfer the power for the incoming group, and then play an advisory role (Asmerom, 1973).

Anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and lawyers have studied the structures and functions of Oromo *Gadaa* institution in general and that of Borana Oromo in particular (Asmerom, 1973; Zelelam, 2012; Bassi, 1996; & Mohammed, 1990). Although, they have addressed some criteria by which individuals are selected as leaders to engage in the system, little has been said about the social psychological aspects of the group members and leadership development in the institution. To the knowledge of the researcher, the characteristics of leader and leadership development was not fully investigated from psychological points of view. Hence, the current study aimed at filling the existing research gap in this regard.

To be specific, this study was designed to study the traditional means by which the local community socializes and educates a group of individuals before they are given the leadership position in the *Gadaa* System of Borana Oromo community. It focused on the psychological attributes of individuals and group behavior that fit the archetype of leadership conceptualized by the community. It addressed underlying assumptions of leadership development, steps and procedures involved in leadership development, roles and responsibilities of the community in the process, and skills, competences and psychosocial qualities nurtured at different levels of the

Gadaa grades until the persons get the title of full-fledged leaders of the society. Moreover, the dynamics of all the 12+1 *Gadaa* grade groups and their interactions with the larger community were addressed in this research.

Research questions

In the current study, the following major research questions have been addressed:

1. How does the Borana Oromo community understand leader and leadership development?
2. How do individuals embraced in the process of leader and leadership development develop personal and group leadership competencies in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community?
3. What are the roles and responsibilities of community members in shaping and caring the would be leaders?

Specifically, the following are questions addressed in this research:

- a. What are the norms and values, principles, and basic assumptions regarding community leader and leadership development among Borana Oromo Community?
- b. What leaders' competences and qualities are cultivated before a person assumes the title of community leadership position?
- c. How are the best leaders identified and promoted to the next stage of leadership development among the Borana Oromo Community?
- d. What types of psychological attributes are demanded and appreciated of persons at different stages of leader and leadership development among Borana Oromo community?
- e. What kinds of roles (duties and responsibilities) are expected of a person to assume and exercise leadership at different stages of development as an individual and in a group?
- f. What are the roles and responsibilities of family members, neighbors and community at large in helping the child and the adolescent to acquire the ideal leadership qualities at each stage of leadership development?

Research objectives

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain personal competencies and group behaviors that Borana Oromo community cultivates in its leaders' and leadership

development process before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer their social, political, economic and spiritual affairs in their *Gadaa* system. The focus is on the philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates during the periods of leader/leadership development. It was also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. It was planned to portray and give details of the personal qualities and group behaviors socialized to a leadership position. Community roles and responsibilities in shaping and caring for leaders' behaviors; personal leadership qualities embraced in the process of leaders' development; and group behavior of those in the process are explored, described and explained in this study. Hence, the main objectives of this research are:

1. To investigate Borana Oromo community's underlying belief system regarding leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system.
2. To explore the personal and group qualities such as knowledge, behaviors, competencies, experiences and skills individuals expected to acquire in the process of leaders and leadership development among Borana Oromo Community *Gadaa* System.
3. To identify the steps and procedures by which Borana Oromo community develop and educate individuals into leaders in their *Gadaa* System.
4. To learn roles and responsibilities of community members in shaping for the individuals who are nominated as future leaders in the process of leaders and leadership development in Borana Oromo *Gadaa* System.

In line with the above major objectives, the study was designed to address the following specific objectives:

- a. Describing norms and values, and basic assumptions underlying leader and leadership development among Borana Oromo Community;
- b. Identify the skills, knowledge, competences and other qualities that need to be nurtured in the would be community leaders;
- c. Describe how the best leaders are identified and promoted to the next stage of leader and leadership development among the Borana Community's *Gadaa* system;

- d. Identify types of psychological attributes demanded of the person at different stages of leadership and leader development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo Community;
- e. Explain the roles and responsibilities that the would be leaders in the process of development are expected to assume and exercise at different stages;
- f. Describe the roles and responsibilities of family members, neighbors and community members at large in helping the child nominated for leadership to acquire the *ideal* leadership qualities at each stage of leadership development;
- g. Explain roles and responsibilities of *Gadaa* leaders after they delivered their community leadership services;
- h. Describe the criteria of inclusion and exclusion of individuals in the process of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* System of Borana Oromo Community and;
- i. Describe some features of the leadership group functions in Borana Oromo Community.

Significance of the study

The results of this research are assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership dynamics and its development. The findings provide leadership theoreticians, organizational leaders, political leaders, educators, and policy makers with contextual understanding of community's leadership conceptualization. It may have significant implication in policy formulation, institutional development, and further research in the areas of leader and leadership development. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study may have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials on leadership in general and leadership development in particular by conducting more broader investigations. As leadership is the head master of every collective performance of the people, however not a clear concept, the findings of this study draw more attention to leader and leadership development research.

The importance of indigenous knowledge and practices in different aspects of sustainable development is stressed by many scholars (eg., Zelalem, 2012; Gupta, 2012; Watson, 2001; Desalegn, et al., 2007; Mutabazi, 2002; & The World Bank, 2004). It is adaptive and cost effective knowledge for integrative and sustainable development (The World Bank, 2004). Though many individuals stress the importance of indigenous knowledge in their work, it is difficult to get rigorous document on indigenous knowledge and practices of leadership

development. Moreover, there is no pronounced application of it. Hence, the finding of this research may serve as an input to solve such problems. It can serve as reference material for academicians and practitioners working on leadership in general, and leader and leadership development in particular.

The current study also identified the typical psychological attributes one should acquire before assuming the responsibility of leading others and social psychological periods and stages of human development during which children and adults learn skills and develop competencies of community leadership behaviors. So far, a lot has been said about the impact of socialization on human behavior development in psychology and other disciplines. However, the relationship between early behavior development and leadership behavior development in its indigenous form has been hardly studied in psychology. Therefore, the findings of this research will serve as an important foundation to look into the matter in detail from psychological point of view.

To the knowledge of the researcher, there is no social psychological theory of leadership that directly deals with the process of leader and leadership development in a society or a community or in an organizational context. The findings are inputs to the existing assumptions and theories of the emergence of leaders and leadership in a group or community.

The outputs of this research may have value for policy makers and practitioners of leadership development who are interested to work with the community. They can use the knowledge, values and understandings generated by this study as a theoretical guide to work with the community in the areas of leadership to promote effective and sustainable development which can improve the living standard of the community under investigation.

The very intention of this study was to describe the indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development among the Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia. This trial may give an insight for social psychologists and scholars in sister disciplines to conduct more research on the concept of traditional leader and leadership development in the same community or in a different social contexts. It might have inspirational values to conduct studies on similar issues so that readers will have detail understanding of the nature of leadership development.

Scope and limitations of the study

Conducting research on all aspects of an issue at a time is very difficult if not impossible due to many limiting factors. Factors related to the research knowledge and skills of the researcher, time, finance and others limit the scope of a given research. This research was not exceptional. Due to constraints related to time and finance, it did not address all aspects of leadership in *Gadaa* system. It only focused on knowledge and practices of leadership development in the system. At the same time, the study did not focus on the whole ways of life included in the institution of the *Gadaa* system.

The required data for this study was collected from individuals directly involved in the process of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system and some selected knowledgeable individuals in Borana Oromo community. However, the findings could have been enriched if individuals who are parts of *hiriya-agemates* structure (a structure of individuals in the same age range that plays a significant role in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community) and other community members were also part of the research.

As the focus was on the process of development, the dynamics of leadership group was not addressed in this research. Group attributes such as formation, cohesion, influence, power, and decision-making processes, and others were not well addressed in the research. To study these aspects of *Gadaa* groups, it needs additional methods, time, and finance. Therefore, group dynamics aspects of *Gadaa* leadership are untapped area of research for any scholar interested to study.

Methodologically, the current study is conducted in line with the assumptions of contextualists' qualitative research approach where participants were purposively selected across the stages in *Gadaa* system for case study. As case study method enables to study a given issue in greater depth (Berg, 2001), the researcher preferred that it is an appropriate method to study the nature of leader and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. However, if there was time and finance to conduct ethnographic research, it could have been possible to gather more empirical data than information gathered using a single shot case study tools used in this study. Because, ethnographic research allow the researcher to spend more time

in the community and conduct the practical performances of leader and leadership development (Cresswell, 2003).

The research design implemented in this study is purely qualitative. As the issue of study is about the process of development, qualitative design was assumed more appealing than quantitative one. However, if time and finance allowed and quantitative tools were used, perhaps the finding would have been enriched than what were found. Quantitative methods give an opportunity for the researcher to measure quantitative differences among the progressive periods of leadership development in *Gadaa* system. They help for detailed understanding of the periods.

Definition of basic terms

Indigenous knowledge - as the adaptive knowledge developed over time by a local community to direct and guide its economic, religious, political and other social relationships (Rajasekaran, 1993; cited in Gupta, 2012).

Gadaa – a period in *Gadaa* System during with an individual assume community leadership power .

Gadaa class - a group of males who have the same status and share common rites of passage from one *Gadaa* grade to another (Asmerom, 1973). In its strict sense, *Gadaa* class is generation-set and sometimes called *Gadaa* party as stated by Zelalem (2012).

Gadaa stages - stage of development (Zelalem, 2012) through which group of male individuals in the same generation-set assume successive rights, activities and responsibilities throughout their life cycle in the *Gadaa* system.

Gadaa system - system of political, military, judicial, legislative and ritual administration of Oromo Community.

Leader - Leader is a person who can influence others via his deemed, worthy and credible (by others) knowledge, skills, character, abilities, personality, and relationship with others; and maintain his/her authority through transformational influence of the empowerment of the collaborators (Burchard, 2014).

Leadership - a collective phenomenon that includes mutual interaction among a leader, social contexts and organizational environments (House & Aditya, 1997; Shamir & Howell, 1999; Waldman & Yammarino, 1999; Boal & Hoijberg, 2001; Hunt & Dodge, 2001; Osborn et al., 2002; Vera & Crossan, 2004; Waldman et al., 2004; & Porter & McLaughlin, 2006; cited in Dalakoura, 2009).

Leadership development - the act of expanding the capacities of individuals, groups, and organizations to participate effectively in leadership roles and processes (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004, P. 897).

Leader development - the gradual acquisition of skills and competencies by a person going to assume position in an organization (Day, 2001).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Basic concepts and terms

Essence of indigenous knowledge

Defining the concept of indigenous knowledge in its strict sense is difficult to achieve due to the complexity of the phrase and the interrelationship of different communities and continuous sharing of information all over the world. Scholars stated the meaning of indigenous knowledge and practices differently though the very essence they tend to convey is similar. Indigenous knowledge is defined as “the systematic body of knowledge acquired by local people through the accumulation of experiences, informal experiments, and intimate understanding of the environment in a given culture (Rajasekaran, 1993, p. 13). It is perceived as non-transported native people’s behavior or thought of a given society (Shiraev & Levy, 2010). It is also stated as ‘insider knowledge’ that reflects knowledge of the local context and local community (Marseden, 1991). Still in its different name, called ‘traditional knowledge’, ILO (1989) described it as;

knowledge that is held and used by a people who identify themselves as indigenous of a place based on a combination of cultural distinctiveness and prior territorial occupancy relative to a more recently arrived population with its own distinct and subsequently dominant culture (ILO, 1989; cited in Hoppers, 2004; P. 9).

Indigenous knowledge system is a totality of inter-generational knowledge and skills possessed by a community living in a certain locality, which help them to utilize their resources to the best of their abilities and to manage different aspects of their life (Hoppers, 2004). The description of indigenous knowledge given above by ILO was believed to be more broad and inclusive to be adapted in this study.

Indigenous knowledge can be reflected in practice of different aspects of social life of a community such as leadership, agriculture, justice, medicine, religious practices, and others. As a result, the necessities of considering indigenous knowledge and practices in the overall development of a nation have been addressed by many scholars (Asmerom legesse, 1973; Bassi,

1996; Baxter, Hultin & Triulzi, 1996; Boldon & Kirk, 2009; Gupta, 2012; Malunga, 2006; The World Bank, 2004; Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; & Zelalem, 2012). Scholars advised that leadership development and practice that consider indigenous knowledge and practice of leadership could bring about sustainable change in nations' social, justice, economic and political development (Malunga, 2006; Boldon & Kirk, 2009; Gupta, 2012). Of the different dimensions of indigenous knowledge and practices, the focus of this study is on indigenous knowledge and practice of leader and leadership development, specifically that of the Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.

Meaning of leader and leadership development

Like the description of the concepts of leader and leadership, different scholars (Day, 2001; Days, 2001; McCallum & O'Connell, 2008; Olivares, 2008; McCauley & Velsor, 2010; & Houghton & Diliollo, 2010) explain leader and leadership development in various ways. The concept of leader and leadership development is not clearly understood and practiced (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004). In some literature, leader development and leadership development are interchangeably used while others are specific to leader development and little attention is given to leadership development. Others focus on leadership development alone. As the intention is not to explain the differences of the interpretations given by scholars and other individual, only more relevant descriptions of leader and leadership development are taken into consideration.

Leader development seems to be a simple concept to understand compared to leadership development. As described by Olivares (2008), leader development focuses on “the individual and seeks to build interpersonal competence and the associated knowledge, skills and abilities, and other characteristics” (Olivares, 2008; P. 1). It is a process in which an individual is assisted to develop and enhance his/her skills, knowledge and abilities so that s/he can improve over all leadership attributes (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004).

On the other hand, leadership development is defined as “the act of expanding the capacities of individuals, groups, and organizations to participate effectively in leadership roles and processes” (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004, P. 897). It is an active, intentional and forward looking process (Olivares, 2008; p. 531) of expanding the capacity of individuals to assume leadership roles and to engage effectively in leadership processes (Day, 2001; & McCauley &

Velsor, 2010). The description given by Oliver, Peterson and Hess (2007) below is also appealing to understand the meaning of leader and leadership development.

Leadership development, as a type of human development, takes place over time. It is incremental in nature; it is accretive; and it is the result of complex reciprocal interaction between the leader, others, and the social environment. Hence, effective leadership development realizes that leaders' development and functions within a social context; and also individual based leader development is necessary for leadership (Olivares, Peterson & Hess, 2007; P. 79).

In the process of leadership development, there exist broad and collective frameworks that can serve as a base for practical leadership development (Hernez-Broome & Hughes, 2004). It involves, building value adding interpersonal relationship among members of an organization (Dalakoura, 2009) in which members are committed towards mutual responsibility with mutual respect and trust (Brower, Schoorman & Tan, 2000).

Generally, leader development is concerned with a person's gradual acquisition of skills and competencies to assume a position in an organization while leadership development is social capital development of an organization (Day, 2001).

Perspectives of leadership and human development

Overview

Although theories serve as base for examining phenomena, they usually do not reach a complete, formal state (Miller, 2011) in their explanation of the fact under consideration. In the case of the current study, the complex nature of human behavior development and that of leadership dynamics may be one of the reasons for the absence of specific theory through which leaders and leadership development can be explained in the context of the current study. The number of theorists and theories that describe and explain the course of human behavior development, for instance, are many. However, they focus on different aspects of development. They did not traced leadership behavior development directly. In addition, different theorists and researchers also explain the nature of leadership dynamics from different angles and they hardly addressed the issue of leader and leadership behavior development. Moreover, the topic under investigation

is specific to Borana Oromo community and indigenous in its nature, which many conventional theories failed to consider. All these are challenges of getting a single model or theory that can serve as a base for explaining indigenous ways of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. This may give readers an impression that it is not relevant to discuss the theories. However, as the process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system is a lifelong process, each theory availed below are important to explain at least a certain practice at specific period in the process. Moreover, the discussion of the theories is meant to show the gaps with the theories in addressing leader and leadership development. Therefore, I advise readers not to conceptualize the knowledge and practice of leader and leadership in *Gadaa* system just in terms of a single theory out of the theories discussed. One can reach at complete understanding of the relevance of the theories only if s/he understands the knowledge and practice of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system discussed in the following chapters (Chapter 4 and 5).

Hence, it is believed that synthesis of the concepts of leadership and human development raised by different theories of social and developmental psychology may help us to understand and explain the processes of leaders and leadership development processes in the context of Borana Oromo community. Accordingly, this section of the thesis is devoted to the discussion of some selected social psychological leadership theories and human life span development theories. To be prudent, leadership theories are themed up into existentialists, relationalists, constructivists, and cross-cultural perspectives. Human life span development theories were also organized into psychodynamic, behavioral, and socio-cultural perspectives. The organization of theories into themes is based on very crude criteria. The implications of the theories for leader and leadership development for the current study are also pursued in the process.

Social psychological perspectives of leadership

Existentialists' perspectives

Existentialists argue that presence or absence of certain individual leadership qualities, behavior and/or situation matter for leadership outcomes in a group. They consider leadership as something done by the leader for the followers. Scholars in this category consider leadership as a function of personal qualities of the leaders, the behaviors they enact, and/or the task they perform. As stated in the work of Bolden and Kirk (2009), existentialists' perspective is most

dominant view in leadership theorization that guides leadership research, development, and practices. Specific leadership theories such as “Great man”, trait, situational, behavioral, and transformational are theories that can be included in existentialists’ perspective.

The very assumption underlying ‘Great Person’ theory of leadership is that “Great leaders have naturally possessed unique personality traits that make them different from other non-leader individuals, which enable them to take the position of leadership in a group (Baron & Branscombe, 2012). They believe that attributes such as personality, motives, values, especial talents and skills, specifically, the ability to speak well, an extrovert personality, or unique physical characteristics, such as height (Bryman, 1992) which a leader is naturally endowed with leader, and are *his* inherent behavior (Yukl, 2006; & Russell, 2011). Enthusiasm, integrity, toughness, humanity, confidence, humility, and courage are attributes possessed by a leader (Yukl, 1998; & Baron & Branscombe, 2012). These personality qualities are innate and genetically pass from offspring to offspring and serve as a propensity to be a leader (Russell, 2011). They assumed that these personality traits are inborn and the leader is naturally born person (Forsyth, 2010; & Taggart, 2009).

Later on, leadership researchers like House (1997; p. 11) suggested that “perhaps effective leaders have an enduring constellation of personality attributes, acquired very early in life which imbues them with charisma and a predisposition to lead.” They rejected the argument that leaders’ characteristics are innate and proposed that an enduring constellation of early lifetime permeates people with the charisma and the predisposition to lead (e.g., House, 1977). In line with these, early research findings have shown that individuals vary in their possession of leadership attributes witnessing that acquisition of the competencies can happen early in life. They suggested that attributes like intelligence, social skills, openness to new experiences, and extraversion be inclined to be higher among leaders (Baron & Branscombe, 2012).

Trait theory of leadership is other viewpoints that can be considered as existentialists’ perspective. Trait theorists’ explanations of leader and leadership emergence are given due attention by a considerable number of researchers and scholars (e.g., Zaccaro, Foti & Kenny, 2006 ; Aitken & Scott, 2010; Russell, 2011; Rowe & Guerrero, 2011; & Alimo-Metcalfe, 2013).

These approaches to leadership focuses on the identification of traits that distinguish leaders from non-leaders (Kassin, Fein, & Markus, 2008; & Alimo-Metcalfe, 2013).

In consistence with “Great leader” theory of leadership emergence in a group, trait approach to leadership argues that an individual rises to a leadership position because of unique possession of personality traits and characteristics (Forsyth, 2010). Leaders’ personal qualities such as intelligence, dominance, adjustment, and masculinity (Zaccaro, Foti & Kenny, 2006), alertness, insight, responsibility, initiation, persistence, self-confidence and sociability as traits demonstrated by average leaders when compared with average followers (Stogdill, 1948) in which the dominance of these traits differ from situation to situation (Yukl, 2006). Another independent study by Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) revealed that traits like drive, desire to lead, honesty and integrity, cognitive ability, and knowledge of the business are unique traits to the leader. Kirkpatrick and Locke (1991) also found that these personality traits can be acquired through learning, be born with it, or both. They have implied leader development where the acquisition of these traits is possible through learning and natural endowment.

A number of scholars have tried to persue the relationship between personality and leaders leadership attributes (Lord, De Vader, & Alliger 1986; Sorrentino & Field, 1986; Judge et al., 2002; Bedein & Day, 2004; Rosenthal & Pittinsky, 2006; Hoyt & Blascovich, 2007). For instance, the Big Five-Factors of Personality namely neuroticism, extraversion, openness of intellect, agreeableness, and conscientiousness or dependability are considered as determinants of leadership effectiveness (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002; Yukl, 2006; Zaccaro, 2007 Zaccaro, Gulick, & Khare, 2008; & Rowe & Guerrero, 2011). Although later researchers were unable to find the correlation between leader and personal traits that can distinguish leaders from non-leaders (Forsyth, 2010), they did find difference in intelligence, social skills, openness to new experiences and extraversion in leaders. Leaders are slightly higher than the followers in these personality dimensions (Yukl, 2006; Haslam, 2004; Hogg, 2001; & Baron & Baranscombe, 2012).

After years of investigation and analysis, researchers started wondering about the relationship between personality and leadership in their prediction of the possible person likely to emerge as a leader of formerly leaderless group (Ames & Flynn, 2007; Grose, 2003; Ilies, Morgeson, & Nahragang, 2005; & Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002;). Researchers have started asserting

that when precise measures of personality are used and personality profiles are taken and when more sophisticated research procedures are used, a clear pattern of leadership can emerge between the two (e.g., Smith & Foti, 1998). Miner (1978), for instance, has shown that personality successfully predicted promotion to leadership position in business settings. Again, the result of rotational experimental research design in which the task to be accomplished and the group are changed has shown that leadership quality might be rooted in the person (e.g., Foti & Hauenstein, 2007).

The very challenge to this theory is its inability to explain whether these personality traits are possessed by nature or the result of the developmental experiences one can possess in his/her life time (Baron & Baranscombe, 2012). The theory focused only on the attributes of leaders and ignored the role of followers in the process of leadership emergence. It also did not include the other determinants of leadership such as the type of task to be accomplished and the historical time series during which the leadership existed.

The third specific view that can be considered as existentialists' perspective is that of situationalists. Scholars in this category propose that everyone can be an effective leader of a group if the situation fits with their skills and experiences (Hogg, 2007). They assume "different situations call for different leadership properties" (Hogg, 2007, P. 719). In extreme cases, some situational theorists reject the contribution of personality constellation and leadership association and totally rely on situation in explaining leadership. However, moderate situational theorists suggest that leadership is the interplay of personal attributes/behavioral styles and particular requirement of specific leadership situation (Simonton, 1980; in Hogg, 2007).

The other view of leadership in existentialists' perspective is that of behaviorists. The focus of this approach is on the actual behavior of leaders than the personal qualities and characteristics of the leader (Hogg, 2007). At earlier times of its emergence, researchers conducted experiments and identified different styles of leadership: democratic, autocratic and laissez-faire. Based on their findings, they concluded that by creating friendly work environment, sense of group centeredness and task orientation and democratic style of leadership, it is possible to boost group members' morale, increase productivity, and effectiveness of the group (Lippitt & White, 1943; in Hogg, 2007).

According to this viewpoint, existences of a leadership style influence the outcomes of a group. They implied that individuals in group can acquire the styles through practice and exercise. It seems that many of leader and leadership development strategies are designed based on the assumptions and principles of this category of existentialist perspective. Hence, their understandings of leadership may be important to develop conceptual framework to study the practice and knowledge of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system.

The final and recent existential view of leadership is that of transformational perspective. The very basic assumptions of transformational leadership theory can be condensed into three key components (Judge & Bono, 2000). The first is individualized consideration of the leader—careful attention to followers’ needs, abilities and aspirations. This consideration helps to raise followers’ aspirations; to improve their abilities; and to satisfy their needs. As asserted by this theory, one of the qualities of transformational leader is the ability to inspire followers. Transformational leaders “inspire followers to adopt a new vision that involves more than individual self-interest” (Judge & Bono, 2000). The second one is intellectual stimulation in which the leader challenges the followers’ basic thinking, assumptions, and practices so that they can develop newer and better mindsets and practices. The final component of their basic assumption is charisma. Charismatic and inspiring leadership provides the energy, reasoning, and sense of urgency that can transform followers (Avolio & Bass, 1987; & Bass, 1985).

Charisma is the center of analysis in transformational leadership theory. Charisma refers to somewhat stable personality trait of an individual (Haslam & Platow, 2001). The main influential and persuasive features of charismatic individuals are being emotionally expressive, enthusiastic, driven, eloquent, visionary, self-confident, and responsive to others (e.g., House, Spangler, & Woycke, 1991; Lindholm, 1990; Riggio & Carney, 2003; & Hogg, 2007). Being visionary is also a construct found among transformational leaders. Visionary leaders are “special people who are able to identify attractive future goals and objectives for the group, and mobilize the followers to internalize these as their own” (Hogg, 2007; p. 723). They can evaluate their followers shared identity (Meindl & Lerner, 1983). These attributes give the leader the power and the status to influence and direct the followers towards common goal beyond specific personal objectives (Meindl & Lerner, 1983).

Even though researchers stood to attest the universality of leaders' traits identified by trait theorists, they have failed to find traits appropriate to all contexts of leadership. However, recent transformational leadership theory researchers re-emphasized the importance of traits such as values, needs, motives, and personality (in its different forms) in enhancing effective leadership (Rowe & Guerrero, 2011). Criticisms raised against trait theory were encountered by more rigorous quantitative research that shown social perceptiveness and behavioral flexibility, for instance, are consistent personal qualities that can contribute to leadership emergence across different situations (Zaccaro, Foti & Kenny, 2006).

Transformational leadership theory has some features that might have implications in understanding the practice of leader and leadership development in the *Gadaa* systems of Borana Oromo. Does Borana Oromo Community emphasize certain personal characteristics in their leadership development process?

Relationalists' perspectives

Theorists and researchers in this category of leadership perspectives argue that leadership resides in the relationship between a leader, the followers and other variables. In the views of relational theorists, leadership is a function of the dynamics among multiple of factors (Bolden, Petrov & Goseling, 2008). Relationalists' approach views the notion of leadership in terms of the relationship of leaders with other stakeholders (Bolden & Kirk, 2009) and contextual factors (Bolden, Petrov & Goseling, 2008). Hence, they seem to imply that leader and leadership development should focus on enrichment of relationships among the wide range of actors, context and other systematic factors. The current review focused on the main assumptions of transactional theories as they give a background understanding to study leader and leadership development as viewed by Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.

Transactional leadership theories explain the nature of leadership from relational perspective. According to Hogg's (2007) description, transactional leadership focuses on the mutual cognition of the leader and the followers in which the former plays a leading role and the later encourages him/her to lead. He explained that the very meaning of leadership for transactional theorists is that it is a process in which the leader provides support and gratification for the followers while the followers allow and encourage him/her to do so by approving, praising, and

giving prestige, status and power. The leader steers the followers towards the group goals, and they agree on doing the task given, setting group expectations and goals, and the type of recognitions and rewards that will come at the end of the task accomplishment (Hogg, 2011).

Leader-member exchange theory, one of the transactional theories, postulates that the exchange between the leader and the follower lay on the continuum of quality of relationship. On one side of the relationship, the leader establishes relationship based on mutual respect, trust and obligations while a kind of formal and structural relationship created on the other hand with other group members (Hogg, 2007). High quality leader-member relationship is reflected in supporting the followers, giving them greater autonomy and responsibility, and motivating them to internalize the group goals (Hogg, 2010). Leadership effectiveness, subordinates' well being and work performance, and group cohesiveness (loyalty, gratitude and sense of inclusion) can be enhanced if high quality relationship develops between the leader and the followers. Automatic, smooth-running, and stable kind of relationship can be established overtime if high quality relationship exists (Hogg, 2007).

The stage of leader-member relationship development and that of group development co-exist and parallel to one another (Hogg, 2011). To remember the stages of group development stages, there are five stages of group development. These are forming, storming, norming, performing and adjourning. Therefore, as the group gradually develops through the stages, so does leader-member relationship (of any type). Although they described the gradual development of the relationship between the leader and the members, they do not show how a leader and leadership emerge in a group dynamics. They focused on the nature of the transaction that can exist between the leader and the followers.

Transactional leadership theorists' explanation of leadership might have some implication to understand the process of leader and leadership development indigenious to local community of Borana Oromo. The types of transaction suggested to exist between the leader and the members may explain the relationships between the *Gadaa* leaders and members of the community at large.

Constructivists' perspectives

The underlying principle of this perspective is that “people have implicit leadership theories that shape their perception of (potential) leader” (Hogg, 2007; p. 724) that can be shaped by individual’s characteristics and abstracted conception of status and leadership (Hogg, 2007). The mental set (schema) of individual members of the group and the actual characteristics of the leader are correlated in making leadership judgments (Hogg, 2007). The emphasis here is that perceptions of group members determine leader selection, endorsement and its power base. In other words, the effectiveness of leader in exercising leadership and influencing others towards a common goal is determined by the perceptions of the group members (Hogg, 2007). In the assumption of constructivists, leadership is mainly considered as a process of developing common understanding (Pye, 2005). Hence, they suggested that the process of leadership development should focus on reshaping common understanding of individuals engaged in the process (Foldy, Goldman & Ospina, 2008).

As postulated by these theorists, leadership influence is a function of two factors: the leader’s (potential) possession of specific status characteristics related to the task to be accomplished to attain the group goals:- and the possession of what the society takes as the best/effective qualities of leadership (Hogg, 2007). Advocators in this category of leadership perspective assume that perceived group task competence and perceived societal status are additive function of influence or leadership (Ridgeway, 2003,).

Social identity theory, which can be categorized as constructivism, states that “as people identify more strongly with a group, they pay more attention to the group prototype and to what and who is more prototypical, and this is because the prototype defines the group’s membership attributes” (Hogg, 2007; P. 725). Therefore, the one in the group, who is more prototypical of the group’s attributes becomes more influential (Hogg, 2005), and her/his behavior is more likely to be considered as a source of group identity than being the subject of transformation and conformity to the group’s prototype (Turner, 1991). If one of the individuals possesses the group’s liked prototype, and there is significant agreement among the group members over it, the person is liked and can be assigned as a leader (Hogg, 1993). This situation facilitates the process of influence (Berscheid & Reis, 1998).

Similar to group members favoritism towards individual's possession of the group's typical attribute, the individual also strongly identifies himself/herself with the group in return and mainly engage in the group's activities and makes more investment. They tend to treat the group members fairly, and tend to fulfill its best interest to gain trust and legitimacy (Tyler, 1997, Tyler & Lind, 1992; Platow Reid, & Andrew, 1998). The existence of this mutual favoritism towards one another, allows the leader to be innovative (Hogg, 2001). In the social identity related processes of leadership, the leader is considered as a source of influence in the group, if s/he is able to gain compliance from other group members, popular and innovative; have high status; and trusted (Hogg, 2001).

Characterization of leadership phenomenon by constructivists is important for the current study in that they explain the nature of common understanding that can exist between the leader and the followers, which can be a base for studying the process of identification, election, and education of *Gadaa* leaders in *Gadaa* system. In *Gadaa* system, they are the community members who nominate and prepare individuals based on their understanding of the leadership attributes they assume the best.

Cross-cultural perspectives

In much of leadership literature, scholars stated that leadership studies have been guided by principles and assumptions of positivists' epistemology and nomothetic methodologies (Bolden & Kirk, 2009) and they suggested for contextual and functional approaches that consider different cultural contexts all over the world (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010; Staber, 2006; & Derr, Roussillon & Bournois, 2003). Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov (2010) and House et al. (2004) tend to look for cultural communalities in leadership behavior across cultures. However, others intended to suggest that looking for leadership behavior communalities across different cultures in research has less significance than striving to understand the local context in order to gain adaptive knowledge and experiences that can serve different cultures (e.g. Bolden & Kirk, 2009; & Malunga, 2006).

Even though they emphasize the influence of cultural contexts on leadership, scholars like House and his colleagues (2004), strive for globally endorsed leadership dimensions in their research of 61 cultures all over the world, they tried to pursue the interrelationship between societal culture,

organizational culture and practices, and organizational leadership across different cultures. In their Global leadership and Organizational Effectiveness (GLOBE) research program, they found that there are six global leadership dimensions of culturally endorsed and isomorphically correlated with societal and organizational cultures. They identified twenty-one universal leadership attributes and behaviors that can contribute to leadership effectiveness and thirty-five culturally different leadership attributes. The work of GLOBE can be a good example that some researchers are looking for communalities of leadership attributes across culture.

Even though the findings of these and other cross-cultural researchers comprise a considerable substantiation sources for understanding cross-cultural leadership by encouraging quantification of cultural leadership values through psychological means, they may unintentionally support a more functionalist approach that misjudge individual and contextual variations and seem to comply with ways of analysis of leadership notion. As we may fail to understand the broader understanding of culture of a given society, search for cultural communal indices should not be the only objective of leadership research as they are not the only influencing differences (Bolden & Kirk, 2009). Culture is “a collective programming of the mind” (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010; p. 327) that affects our behavior and the explanation we give for it. Hence, “by reducing the study of leadership across cultures to comparison of cultural value indices, we run a very real risk of oversimplifying cultural variations and neglecting other significant factors such as the influence of history, geography, demographics, religion, and individual differences” (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; p. 5).

As the focus of this study is investigation of indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in one of the communities in East Africa, we turn to African contexts. When we come to Africans’ view of leadership, there are two cultural perspectives: Universalists and cultural relativists. In universal cross-cultural researches, empirical studies are limited and the whole content is categorized into North Africa and Sub-Saharan African countries (e.g., House et al., 2004 & Hofstede, 1980a). Crude and limited findings based on data collected from few Sub-Saharan African nations (Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe) characterized leadership in Africa as charismatic/value based, team orientated, participative and humane approaches (House et al., 2004). A similar finding based on three regions of Africa (East, West and South) including Ethiopia show that African leadership is characterized by

relatively higher ‘power distance’, ‘long-term orientation’, collectivism and average ‘masculinity’, avoidance’ and ‘uncertainty’ cultural profiles (Hofstede, 1980a).

The second theorization and study of African leadership behaviors is from cultural relativism perspectives. As instance, researchers like Bolden and Kirk (2009), Malunga (2006), and Mutabazi (2002) can be cited from this category. As stated in the work of Boldn and Kirk (2009), for instance, Africans leadership connotation is “engaging with deeply held personal and cultural values and a clear sense of one’s place in community” (Bolden & Kirk, 2009; p. 12). They suggested, as it adheres to collective and humanistic values, African leadership connotation resembles that of relational perspective. Based on the study they have conducted on 300 participants from 19 Sub-Saharan Africa countries (including Ethiopia), which was part of InterAction leadership development initiative sponsored by British Council, Bolden and Kirk (2009) concluded that;

.... Africans aspire for leadership founded on humanistic principles, and a desire for more inclusive and participative forms of leadership that value individual differences, authenticity and serving the community. Beyond that, however, lies a number of tensions that may inhibit the ability and willingness of people to take up a leadership role (p.14).

Even though it is very general, their finding shows that intervention of colonial experiences and corruption in political and business made African humanistic, inclusive and participative leadership dysfunctional because of conflict of cultural values (Bold & Kirk, 2009). Similarly, Mutabazi (2002) discussed that African leadership is in state of ambivalence where cultural values are in friction with those learned from the western and lacks defined framework and connotation to practice.

Based on data from six African countries (Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Congo, Senegal, Rwanda and Democratic Republic of Congo) and experiences from some other African countries, Mutabazi (2002) identified four common social principles in African leadership, which are indigenous to African nations. The first is universality of life. He asserted that personal life, collective life, earthly life and heavenly life are indivisible. Life in the present is a continuation of the past and the future will keep on from the present. The second is Unitarian conception of nature where material, spiritual, natural and supernatural entities of life are integrated into sameness. Hence,

power is based on age, interpersonal skills and inheritance. The third common social principle is vertical organization of social orders where people organize rites of passage and harmonization of relations among the living, the dead and the gods. The fourth is inseparable relationship of heaven and earth where Africans conceive that God is the father of fathers and ancestor of ancestors. Hence, the ultimate goal of mankind is prolong and protect life, respect community norms, and create harmony in body, mind and spirit through a balanced relationship with other elements of the universe. Therefore, Mutabazi (2002) implied that African leadership initiative should consider these traditionally essential values in leadership.

Having these much brief description about African's leadership notions in general, let us turn our attention to Ethiopian leadership connotation as reported in different literature since the current study is focused on a specific Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia. Leadership research specifically focused on national Ethiopian conceptualization of leadership found appropriate for the current study review was the one conducted by Baker and Campbell (2016). Baker and Campbell approached leadership from universalists' perspective. Based on a case study with leaders from western Ethiopia, they described Ethiopian leadership connotation as characterized by high power distance, high context and collective cultural mental set. Their finding shows that Ethiopia is high-power culture reflected in inequalities of power and status between leaders and employees. They described the relationship as;

... employees rarely feel comfortable asking questions of their superiors. If a superior tells an employee what tasks to complete, that employee is expected to do them. The employee would rather do it wrong than ask for clarification from his or her boss because asking for clarification can be seen as insubordination. The cultural dimension of power distance may also explain why many Ethiopians feel uncomfortable when mixing with employees of a different status and why promoting bright, young, independent employees is problematic. Employees are expected to fall in line, not to share their ideas, and not to seek advancement. Employees accept rather than challenge the ideas of their more powerful superiors (Baker & Campbell, 2016, P. 9).

In their finding, Baker and Campbell (2009) show that Ethiopians' leadership conceptualization is influenced by high context cultural behaviors. Communications between leaders and the followers is characterized by indirect verbal interaction and non-verbal expression than direct

and explicit confrontation. The focus is on the actual behavior. They described Ethiopian leaders as “Leaders ... Ethiopia, tend to communicate more implicitly, using more nonverbal communication and expressing more vague verbal messages (at least from the viewpoint of a low-context culture)” (Baker & Campbell, 2016; P. 7).

In general, universalists tend to look for cultural communalities of leadership behaviors while cultural relativists magnify the importance of cultural contexts in the theorization, research and practices of leadership. They also suggest leadership development contents and strategies in line with their respective viewpoints. However, even though they proposed what they believe as the procedures of leadership development, they hardly described or indicated the long-term system of developing leadership capabilities.

Human life span development perspectives

Psychodynamic perspectives

The fundamental assumption of psychodynamic approach to human personality development says that human functioning and sense of identity is the result of the interaction of drives and forces within the person that an individual develops due to social, emotional and cultural experiences (Swabey, 2013). Many researchers in this perspective emphasize early experiences as determinant of human personality and behavior development (Bornstein, 2003). Psychodynamic perspective consists of many different approaches that evolved over time basing their assumptions, beliefs, and philosophies on human development theory of S. Freud. Of these many theories, only two, which are very relevant to leader and leadership development: Erick Erickson’s psychosocial theory and John Bowlby’s relation theory are briefly discussed. It is believed that the assumptions raised by these theories may help to discuss the knowledge and practices of the lifelong leader and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. In both cases, we deal with importance of developmental experiences in shaping individual behavior.

Erickson hypothesized that there is a reciprocal influence between the biological interest of the growing child and that of the society that can be explained in terms of conflict of interests (Miller, 2011). The conflict between the interest of the child and the society is the source of individual’s personality development over the course of one’s development. He asserted that;

Physical maturation has personal and social repercussions. Maturation brings a new skill that opens up a new possibilities for the child, but also increases society's demand on him/[her].... There is a 'fit' between a child and his culture. Societies have evolved agreed up on ways of meeting a child's new needs in each step of his/[her] maturation (Miller, 2011, P. 145).

These experiences vary from parental needs to the larger societal values in which a child grows. Parents, schools, social organizations, occupations, set of values and so on are situations in which conflict of interest occurs between a child and the society. Therefore, "... each child is life cycle in a 'community of life cycle'" (Erikson, 1959, p. 121; in Miller, 2011, p. 146).

As the culture of a society came through years of adaptation to child rearing, so do the child adapt itself to the culture. The relationship between the two is interactional and reciprocal. The sequential stage of development of an individual is a unique idiosyncratic ways of directing and enhancing the growing child's behavior at each developmental stage in lifespan (Polan & Taylor, 2007; P. 62).

Based on the very concept of human behavior development as viewed by Erickson, it is possible to assert few things about the nature of leader and leadership development. Erickson's psychosocial development theory explains the nature of individual personality development in general that can happen because of the interaction between an individual and his environment. Although they deal with specific competencies, leader and leadership development practices also emphasize the importance of developmental experiences in their processes. Interactional skills and experiences of a leader build over the course of leadership development due to the relations between the person and the elements of the society.

Similarly, relational theorists developed the concept of 'internal work model', which was mainly identified by Bowlby in his study of infant's attachments. He stated that "infants construct internal working models – a mental representation of each significant adult of [oneself], and of their interactions as they become attached to their caregivers" (Miller, 2011, P. 142). This internal working model can determine the child's later interpersonal relationship with peers and self-concept development. It is based on this template of cognitive frameworks the child develops relationship with others and interprets others' behaviors when he will grow up. It can

help him/her to maintain relationships and perceptions of self and others. The child develops assumptions and expectations of possible relationships with others. Therefore, decisions are made consistent with his/her mental framework that can further strengthen his/her social relationship and self-concept development. Hence, the child's early experiences of emotional relationships with parents, and his/her construction of accurate or fantasized relationships about significant others has correlation (Miller, 2011). Early pattern of relationship establish foundation and trajectory of future emotional and relational life in human personality development (Miller, 2011).

Bowlby and other relational theorists' concept of *internal working model* (Miller, 2011) constructed by a child at early stages of development because of attachment with significant others is also important in understanding leadership competence development. The intention of leader and leadership development can be considered as the process of providing opportunities for prospective leaders to build an *internal working model* for leadership behavior. Individual members of a leadership group have their own internal working model, and they conceive and interpret relationship in group by referring to this mental model which they build up during their early stage development. The possible common understanding and action of a group created towards a common goal in a group setting is surely affected by individual members' perception and understanding of group interaction in general. Hence, it looks sound to examine leadership behavior development of individuals.

Behavioral perspectives

Dominantly, researchers in this category emphasize the role of learning in human life span behavioral development. They assume that individuals form personality, and create knowledge and skills out of their practices and interaction with others in their surroundings, through socialization and learning. Individuals develop different experiences through observation, creative play, drama and other learning strategies. The same techniques may work for leader and leadership development, even though individuals are made to develop competencies specific to leadership.

There are many specific theories that can be cited as behavioral perspectives. However, social and experiential learning theories are selected from this category because of their significance in

developing theoretical framework for the current study. The basic assumption underlying these two theories is that individual's personality is the result of learning (Miller, 2011) and learning is process of knowledge creation through transformation of contextual experiences (Silberman, 2007).

Social learning theory

According to the perspectives of social learning theory, specifically Albert Bandura, physical maturation, exercise with the social world, and cognitive changes are the causal factors of the process of change in the course of human development (Bandura, 2006). However, the main interest of Bandura's explanation of the mechanisms of development is individual's experience within social world and own cognitive development. He asserted that children acquire a repertoire of behaviors and the situation in which these behaviors should be applied because of their interaction with their social environment. He said that if they perform what they have acquired in a socially appropriate context, others reinforce them to do it again. Consequently, they are motivated to repeat the behavior in similar other situations (Miller, 2011).

As indicated in the work of Miller (2011) as age of persons increase in the process of development, their exposure to social environment also increase because of the number and types of model they can experience in their neighborhood, movies, television, and in books increase. The society, parents to the larger society and the broader legal system, and expectations change too (Miller, 2011). Cognitively, children's knowledge of self and the social world, especially their self-efficacy, is the effect of their own actions and the vicarious experiences they gain from their models. They construct rules and categories, and infer and develop new knowledge from what they have acquired before as they develop (Miller, 2011).

As they emphasize on the influence of social context on children's development, the position of social learning theory fit to contextualists' world view. They view development as quantitative change by which learning episodes accumulate through time and it involves so many shortterm changes (Miller, 2011). They suggested that imitation is a power full source in the process of socialization (Miller & Dollard, 1941; in Miller, 2011). Accordingly, they proposed that the predisposition to impersonate is acquired by an individual very early in life because of the reinforcement from socializing agents (Miller, 2011).

Like Vygotskians' socio-cultural perspective (discussed on page 41-42 of this manuscript), social learning theorists also recognize the influence of non-biological environments on the process of learning and the embedment of its process in the larger cultural belief system of the society. Their consideration of cultural factor is reflected, for instance, in their assertion that "many of the behaviors pervasive within a culture reflect the fact that children in the culture are exposed to the same or similar model" (Miller, 2011, p. 238). Despite their recognition of these factors, they focus on the impact of the immediate environment on learning in their analysis.

In observational learning, the learner abstracts general concepts of group of actions from observing specific behavior of the model (Miller, 2011). They "detect regularities in their environment and generalize them" (Miller, 2011, p. 238). The feedback the learner gets from reproducing to the imitated behavior can serve as a base for future encouragement to seek self-satisfaction, achievement, competence, or attention from others by participating in-group activities (Miller, 2011).

The other prominent concepts of Bandura's observational cognitive learning theory, which may help to discuss the process of leader and leadership development, are self-efficacy and collective efficacy. The self-knowledge of efficacy is gradually constructed during the course of development and it mainly comes from individual's past history of failure or success of similar tasks, other's (the model's) success or failure, own newly acquired copying strategies imitated from successful others, persuasion, and one's psychological and affective states such as arousal, anxiety, fatigue, and physical pain (Miller, 2011). Similarly, collective efficacy, "group's shared belief in its ability, through collective action," (Miller, 2011, p. 246), is also a developmental experience. It influences groups' strong leadership, high standards, and the belief to meet certain level of encouragement within the group to exercise control over their performance (Miller, 2011). There is a reciprocal relationship between individual self-efficacy and group collective efficacy as discussed by Miller (2011). Individual group members are inspired by the collective efficacy of the group and the vice versa (Miller, 2011).

The role of physical maturation, cognitive change, exercise, and culture influence gradual changes in human behavior development. By analogy, these variables may also have impact in the process of leader and leadership development. For instance, social learning theorists stated that strong leadership, high standards, the belief to meet, and the level of encouragement within

the group to exercise control over their performance are indicators of collective efficacy. If collective efficacy of a group and individual's self-efficacy determines group behaviors, and these experiences are developmental, it may be sound to examine leadership related developmental experiences of such types. In fact, these behavioral tendencies and predispositions have something to do with individual members' past personal actions and observations as indicated in the theory's explanation.

Experiential Learning theory

The underlying assumption of this theory is that learning is process of knowledge creation through transformation of contextual experiences (Silberman, 2007). The experiential learning methodologies suggested by experiential learning theorists such as experiential simulation, action learning, creative play, reflective practice, adventure learning, storytelling, learning games, computer-based simulation, and role play (Silerman, 2007) are adapted and implemented by many managers and leaders to help the development future leader and leadership in their respective organizations (Moon, 2004). Training and education institutions and programs also implement its basic assumptions. Indigenous knowledge and practices of leadership and leader development tends to be contextual and specific to certain community that may call for learning methodologies raised above.

Researchers who conducted investigations on experiential learning based on the assumptions of the theory stated that learning is continuous and an ongoing process of idea formation and re-formation as a result of experiences (Kolb, 1984). Knowledge is not static and subjected to change on continuous bases. In the process of learning, experience is believed to be the main source of change of behavior. Based on experiences, the learner drives and tests knowledge on continuous bases. In the process of learning, there is always "a tension- and conflict-filled process" (Kolb, 1984, p. 14). Kolb (1984) asserted that for effective leaning to occur, the learners should involve in new experiences fully, openly and without bias; observe and reflect on the new experiences; conceptualize experiences; and use what they conceptualize to solve problems and make decisions. Therefore, he said, learners should have concrete experiential abilities, reflective observational abilities, abstract conceptualization ability, and active experimentation abilities. The process involves, he continued, a total integrative functioning of thinking, perceiving,

feeling, and behaving. Learning is major lifelong and broad process of human adaptation to the environment that involves transaction between the person and the environment. Finally, Kolb (1984) proposed that learning is the process of creation of knowledge because of the transaction between social knowledge and personal knowledge.

The very essence of experiential learning reveals that learning is rooted in experience where individuals directly engage in an action of learning and experiential learning experiences are the foundation and the stimulus for all learning (Kolb,1984). Learning is a holistic, socially and culturally constructed process, and it is influenced by the socio-emotional context in which it occurs (Boud, Cohen, & Walker, 2000).

Cognitive perspectives

In the view of cognitive perspective of human life span development, change in cognition over the course of life span development of human being occurs as individuals interact with their environments (Miller, 2011). Theorists in this category focus on nature of cognitive changes over the course of development and its mechanisms of the change. However, as one of the major objectives of the current study is to identify mechanisms of leadership behavior development, the discussion focused on method of cognitive change than its nature.

Researchers from this theoretical perspective have developed a number of strategies of cognitive development such as communication, explanation, recombination, contrast, inference, and problem solving (Knud, 2009). However, these strategies help to explain only the cognitive changes that an individual can undergo in his/her development. The model that may include these strategies and considers long-term cognitive changes in human development is Differential Model of Giftedness and Talent (DMGT), which was developed by Robert Gagne. It was preferred for review because the model is very useful to develop conceptual framework for the current study. In the model, Gagne tried to demonstrate how giftedness can be developed into talent through designed development processes.

The model demonstrates how natural abilities (or aptitudes or gifts) are transformed into talents or systematically developed abilities (Gagne, 2000). Gagne (2009) proposed that outstanding natural abilities can be developed into competencies through talent development processes that

occur as result of the interaction between personal and environmental catalysts. He postulated that through talent development process, natural abilities (intellectual, creative, social, perceptual, muscular and motor) of a normatively outstanding person can be transformed into competencies in the fields of academics, science and technology, art and social service, administration/sales, business operation, games, sports and athletics. By talent development, he means “the systematic pursuit, by talentees, over a significant period of time, of a structured program of activities leading to a specific excellence goal” (Gagne, 2008; p. 2).

In the process, once the talentees get access to talent-oriented program of activities offered within specific structured or unstructured learning environment and invest their time, money and psychological energy, they can gradually progress to defined excellence goals (Gagne, 2009). When individuals with outstanding natural abilities, which they can develop at early periods, are identified and made to attend special programs designed for them in autodidactic or structured learning environments, they gradually progress to the stage of proficiency and expertness.

Gagne identified two categories of talent development catalysts: intrapersonal and environmental. These catalysts influence transformation of natural abilities into skills and knowledge (Gagne, 2000). The intrapersonal catalysts include physical and mental traits, awareness, motivation and volition of an individual. The progress of one’s talent development is affected by his/her physical appearance, physical and health status, personality, temperament, resilience, self and others awareness, values, needs, interests, passions, autonomy, effort and perseverance. On the other hand, milieu (physical, social, cultural and familial), individuals (parents, family, peers, teachers and mentors) and provisions (curriculum, grouping, acceleration and pacing) are included in the categories of environmental catalysts. Environmental factors, from general physical environment to specific talent development services and programs, influence the progress towards skill and knowledge acquisition by individuals. They directly influence the process of talent development or through individuals’ selective choices.

Similarly, we may conclude that selection of prospective leaders in the process of leader and leadership development is based on individuals’ behavioral tendencies of leadership. In the process, attempts are made by concerned bodies to support the individuals to develop those competencies into leadership skills and knowledge through different strategies. Individuals are

screened for leadership development programs if they have leadership related abilities that can be developed into actual leadership proficiency. The selected individuals also exert their efforts and invest their time and resources to achieve the intended capabilities of leadership.

Socio-cultural perspectives

Socio-cultural theorists of human lifespan development specifically that of Vygotskian, assert that “human beings are embedded in a socio-cultural matrix and human behavior cannot be understood independently of this ever present matrix” (Miller, 2011, p. 166). For instance, culture sets the knowledge and skill needs to be acquired by a child in a society, and it provides tools such as language, technology, and strategies that enable the child to function in the context of the society (Miller, 2011). Hence, at least for Vygotskians, “development has no universal end point; what constitutes an ideal endpoint depends on the goals of a particular culture” (Miller, 2011, p. 194).

Although the aspects of development are broad, the primary unit of analysis in Vygotskian socio-cultural perspective of human development is “child-in-activity-in-cultural context” (Miller, 2011, p. 167), which ranges from cultural and historical elements to one’s life long microgenetic moment-to-moment changes (Miller, 2011). As described by Miller (2011), the participation of children in their everyday socio-cultural activities/practices such as games, weaving, selling, and classroom practices in schools are the smallest unit of analysis in discussing human development. By context, they mean the broad cultural outlook of the society in which the child is living and its expression in the immediate setting (Miller, 2011). They asserted that “much of development has to do with changes in how children participate in the activities offered by a culture; for example, they gradually take on more responsibility within activities with others” (Miller, 2011, p. 171).

For socio-cultural theorists believe that culture and mind are inseparable entities where culture influences the knowledge and skill acquisition and the type of activities children participate in the course of development and the vice versa (Miller, 2011). Culture is a base for organizing all forms of experiences and children’s experience are shaped and defined by the socio-cultural-historical contexts of a society (Miller, 2011). They also asserted that children themselves also influence their culture. They are interrelated and make a single unit. Hence, “individual and

cultural communities mutually create each other” (Miller, 2011, p. 171). Certain forms of social practice bridge the individual child’s goals and the culture (Miller, 2011). Generally, culture has its own “cultural curriculum” (Rogoff, 1990; p. 190) in which children learn skills valued by the culture through observation and participation (Miller, 2011).

The concept common to socio-cultural perspective, which can be applied to the process of leader and leadership development, is Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) that was formulated by Lev Vygotsky. ZPD is a process by which the “distant” belief system of a culture reaches children through immediate social situation of parents, siblings and peer groups (Miller, 2011). In the process of ZPD, the prompts, clues, modeling, explanation, leading question, discussion, joint participation, encouragement, and control of children’s attention provided by more competent person with in social situation help to move the child forward in its development (Miller, 2011). Children also engage in activities such as communication, formal and informal instructions using technical and psychological tools. Such cooperative interaction between adult and a child awakens internal developmental process of the child and the adult result in learning. Because of such cooperative learning, the child develops cultural knowledge system - varieties of cognitive skills (especially a very important one), system of meanings and psychological tools. In parallel with this cognitive changes, child’s goals, values and motivation also changes (Miller, 2011).

Assumptions and principles of human life span development and learning explained by socio-cultural theorists are significant to conceptualize leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system in that they help to discuss mechanisms and contents of Borana Oromo’s leadership competence development. Prospective *Gadaa* leaders learn and practice elements of their culture through observation and participation before they come to power. They learn from their parents, siblings, peers, and their direct contact with the environment (Asmerom, 1979).

Strategies of leader and leadership development practices

Many researchers have discussed meanings, means, and different approaches of leader and leadership development. These scholars mostly focused on organization related development of leader and leadership behaviors, skills and knowledge (Van Velsor, McCauley & Ruderman, 2010; Houghton & DiLiello, 2010; Ryan, 2008; Olivares, 2008; McCauley, Moxley & Velsor,

1999; London, 2002). In their analyses, they discussed the very essences of leader, leadership and the possible means through which leader and leadership can be developed in organizational settings. However, intentionally or unintentionally, they overlooked the lifelong leader and leadership personality development out of their points of discussions in the area.

Some of these scholars emphasized the importance of experiences for leadership performance and they suggested that though leadership skills may be manifested at a very young age, a process of continuous development is essential for continued success (Van Velsor, McCauley & Ruderman, 2010) for leaders and leadership in general. Leader development includes career long, gradual and continuous process of skill development through practical experiences, and therefore more varied practical experiences increase the likelihood of broad repertoire of leadership skills and knowledge (McCauley, 2006).

Many researchers asserted that leadership development should give opportunities for employees to exercise and learn from the ongoing organizational initiatives and it should be tied to the overall strategic business imperatives (Poole & Jenkins, 1996; Tichy, 1997; Delbridge & Lowe, 1997; Brown & Posner, 2001). In the process, firm's line managers, the top management team and chief executive officers' effort, support, commitment and involvement determines the effectiveness of any implemented leader and leadership development strategy (Tichy, 1997; Beeson, 1998; Cacioppe, 1998; Yarnall, 1998; Tichy & Cardwell, 2002; Ulrich & Smallwood, 2003). Different factors influence the process of leader and leadership development (Naljoli & Barnes, 2010). It is impacted by a varieties of themes including the leader's worldview (Sire, 2004), life purpose, vision and values (Lee & King, 2001; Roberts, Spreitzer, Dutton, Quinn, Heaphy, & Barker, 2002), capabilities (Goleman, Boyatzis, & McKee, 2001), human nature (Boa, 2004), commitment to growth (McCauley & Van Velsor, 2004), and spiritual formation (Boa, 2001; & Zorar, 2005).

Based on research findings and analysis of existing leader and leadership development related documents, scholars in the area developed different strategies, models and approaches of leader and leadership development (e.g., Alimo-Metcalfe, 2013; Dalakura, 2009; McCauley, 2006; Carter, Ulrich & Goldsmith, 2005; Jacques, 2003; Singh, 2002; & Ouellette, Lazear & Chambers, 1996). They developed different means and approaches of leaders and leadership development commonly for organizational settings. Discussion of the works of all these scholars

and their findings in detail in here may not be cost effective and only the common, cross cutting, and the most relevant ones are taken into account. The descriptions are meant to show the gaps with the strategies that pave the way for the current study on the knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system.

Based on appraisal of an existing leadership development literature, Dalakoura (2009) forwarded a collective and inclusive strategies for leader and leadership development which involve multiple and coordinated actions. Based on the works of Keys (1994), McCall (1998), Cacioppe (1998), McCauley, Moxley and Velsor (1999) and Day (2001), he identified nine common practices of leadership and leaders development. These practices are 360-degree feedback, coaching and mentoring from either top executive or line managers of a firm or from external consultants, networking, action learning, specific job assignments, corporate case studies, computer simulations, experiential learning and course classroom-type leadership training with in-house or external trainers. These practices, except corporate case studies and computer simulations, are discussed below. Appropriateness of these practices for the issue under investigation is not appealing.

360 – Degree feedback modell/multi-rater/multi-source feedback - It is considered as means by which leaders develop their skills and abilities of leadership (Atwater & Waldman,1998; Atwater,Waldman, & Brett 2002; London, 2002; Day, 2000; & Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004). The very idea of 360-degree feedback model of leadership development is “to offer individuals the opportunity to solicit meaningful performance from those whom they attempt to influence and those who related to their achieving organizational goals at all levels” (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004, P. 905). It focuses on results of the relationship between the person nominated to be a leader and individuals around him/her (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004). It deals with systematic collection of others’ perception of individual leader’s style, skills, achievements and relationships with others in and outside the organization. Feedbacks related to effective performance of prospective leaders are gathered for evaluation by all stakeholders:- namely - supervisors, colleagues, peers, subordinates and other stakeholders of the organization. Therefore, by doing so, one can get more accurate and complete information about the person’s overall leadership capacity and deliver the necessary support based on the suggested weaknesses and drawbacks of the candidate (Dalakoura, 2009).

Coaching and mentoring - In the process of coaching and mentoring, an individual is guided and directed by more executives that are experienced to support him/her to develop a skill in a specific task within a given period (Deans, Oakley, James & Wrigley, 2006, P. 2). Coaching refers to task-oriented, skill – focused, directed, time-bounded and one–to-one learning approach (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004) of leadership development while mentoring is viewed as guidance of inclusive personal development (Deans, Oakley, James & Wrigley, 2006). In coaching, the objective is to enhance individual leadership performance and career in short-term intervention through organizational issues, and it addresses treating certain specific challenges in order to improve specific leadership competencies (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004). Coaching is to increase self-awareness and understanding, facilitate learning and performance development, build renewed self-confidence, and create strong sense of competence (Thomas, 2004). In mentoring developmental relationship program in an organization, people with greater experiences, most commonly from among senior management members, are observed and interacted formally or informally (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004). The process involves “formulating winning strategies, setting goals, monitoring achievements and motivating the whole team whilst achieving a much improved work life balance” (Thomas, 2004, p. 230).

In general, as indicated in the works of Deans, Oakley, James & Wrigley (2006) effective coaching and mentoring involve a learning agreement, purposeful conversations, holistic and empowering activities, creating trusting relationships and a safe space. They also include adapting to the context, flexibility in style and approach, encouraging experimenting and observing, responding to culture and diversity, using resources effectively and using effective questioning and listening.

Networking - Networking approach is a means through which developing leaders build broader individual network outside their organization to share experiences and establish support system in order to enhance their innovative and problem solving competencies (Day, 2001). Day (2001) reviewed practices and research findings of leadership and leader development and concluded that through networking, leaders are exposed to others’ mode of thinking and practices of leadership, and maximize their organizational and personal human capital in the process of leaders and leadership development.

In networking, managers regularly share their experiences of problem solving, decision making, creative opportunities and challenges online or in face-to-face interaction during seminars and meetings (Day, 2001). The logic of practicing networking approach to professional and personal leadership development is that, the approaches enables to foster mutual obligations and longer duration of peer relationships in work settings (Day, 2001).

Action learning – It is a long-term multipurpose action-focused approach to management and organizational development that involves development of useful new knowledge and learning in a specific contextual situation (Raelin, 1999; cited in Rigg, 2006). Raelin (1999) also added that for the sake of developing knowledge and improving action, the emphasis should be put on the relationship between action and concurrent feedback in action learning approach. Action learning is also best described as “a structured, continuous process of learning and reflection on corresponding emphasis on addressing a problem of strategic importance to an organization” (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004, p. 899). Similarly, action learning can be described as “a continuous process of learning and reflection supported by colleagues, with the corresponding emphasis on getting things done” (Days, 2001, p. 21). It focuses on learning by doing in that developing managers engaged in solving formal organizational challenges (Conger & Toegel, 2003). Action learning approach to leadership and organizational development involves action, reflection, question and problem solving, teamwork, and personal and organizational development.

Specific job assignment - Putting someone in a developmental job assignment is another approach through which trainee leaders are assessed, challenged and supported in the process of leadership development (Van Velsor, McCauley, & Ruderman, 2010). With the objective of providing managers diverse experiences of applying different leadership approaches, challenging jobs are given for trainees in this model of leader and leadership development. In the attempt to solve the challenge, they develop and master team building, strategic thinking, and persuasion and influencing skills (Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004).

The assumption underlying specific job assignment approach to leader and leadership development is that prospective leaders can lead, undergo change, and acquire leadership capacities as a result of the roles they play, organizational responsibilities they accomplish, and the tasks they encounter to accomplish in the job they are given (McCauley & Brutus, 1998; in

Day, 2001). Day (2001) proposed that, in specific job assignment approach of leadership development, the match between the desired developmental goals and the specific job assignment, and congruence of individual's developmental needs and the job assignment contribute for better intentional and effective leadership development in an organization. He added that learning goal and environment can be created in job assignment approach if the assessment, challenge and support aspects are taken into consideration.

Experiential learning - The very assumption underlying experiential learning model of leadership development practice is grounded in the principles and philosophies of experiential learning theory of education. As suggested by these theorists learning, work, and other life activities and creation of knowledge are concurrent processes. In other words, experience is the source of learning and development (Kolb, 2005). In the process, practitioners are exposed to experiences that they should practice along feedback from trainers or their fellow persons. Then, the attendants are given the chance to adopt the new skills and knowledge they gained from practice to real job situation (Singh, 2002).

Classroom-type leadership training – In this approach of leadership development, organizations and companies provide trainings and self-awareness creation programs in the form of seminars and trainings assuming to enhance individuals' leadership capabilities and professionalism (Day, 2001). However, due to limitations such as high cost, absence of context sensitivity and others, classroom-type of leadership training model of leadership development becoming less preferable by organizations (Day, 2001).

In summary, leader and leadership development practices designed and implemented by organization target developing leadership knowledge, skills, teamwork, problem solving competencies, work related experiences, motivations and attitudes. The common point that one can possibly draw out of these models is that leadership behaviors and competencies can be developed after individuals join organizations. The models are mainly based on the assumption that leadership attributes can be acquired through practice and exercises of job related activities within organizations they are working. However, such short-term training and practices may not be strong enough to build up the leadership attributes claimed by leadership theorists. Moreover, these models fall short of addressing assumptions of many human life span development theorists. Shaping leadership related personality development and background experiences of

individuals elected and selected to be involved in the process of leader and leadership development by the organizations, however, are not controlled. The personality and prior experiences of the nominees might have some kind of relationship with leadership development. Moreover, most of the models are meant to be implemented in business organizations and they do not directly consider leader and leadership development in public sectors and cultures. Even though different aspects of a given community influence nature and type of leadership model we can design and implement, these models do not explicitly indicate cultural issues. However, to research the cultural knowledge and practices of leaders and leadership development, it is important to understand the existing knowledge and practices in the area so that focus can be made on their gaps and limitations.

The *Gadaa* system

Concept of *Gadaa* system

The term *Gadaa* was defined and used differently by different scholars (Bassi, 1996; & Asmerom, 1973). The difference in interpretation of the term *Gadaa* is indicated by almost all literatures written on issues of Borana Oromo *Gadaa* system and other Oromo communities (eg. Asmerom, 1973; Baxter, Hultin & Triulzi, 1996; Asmerom, 2006; Diribi, 2011 & Zelalem, 2012). It is used in phrases like, *Abba Gadaa*, *Gadaa* system, *Gadaa* --- (individual's name), *Gadaa* class, and *Gadaa* grade. When it stands alone, the term *Gadaa* refers to “any period of eight years during which a class stays in power” (Asmerom, 1973, p. 81). When it appears as *Gadaa* system, it implies system of political, judicial, legislative, spiritual, and economic leadership. It is the name of a system by which group of individuals within the same genealogical generation are recruited to, develop, take the leadership and play advisory roles in society. The name of specific grade, the 6th grade, is also *Gadaa*. It is also used as prescriptive rules, ceremonies, rites, public offices and actual physical village (Bassi, 1996). *Gadaa* also refers to any one of the eleven *Gadaa* grades (*Dabballee*, junior *gamme*, senior *gamme*, *kusa*, *raba*, *Gadaa*, *yuba I*, *yuba II*, *yuba III*, *yuba IV* and *gadamojji*) or any of the six classes (eg., *Gadaa kilole*, *Gadaa bifole*, *Gadaa michille*, *Gadaa harmufa*, *Gadaa robale*, and *Gadaa birmaji*) in *Gadaa* system of Oromo people (Dirribi, 2011).

To broaden our understanding of the concept of *Gadaa* and *Gadaa* system, we need to know about interpretation of age, age set, generation and generation set as they have different meaning at least in Borana Oromo community's conception. Borana Oromo Community's conceptions of these concepts are well addressed by Asmerom (1973) and Zelalem (2012) than other researchers of the interest area. According to these researchers, age is a chronological time order of an individual, and age-set is a group of individuals of approximate age who are initiated to new life cycle and shoulder collective military, economic, political and ritual responsibilities together in the community of Borana Oromo.

As indicated by Asmerom (1973), generation is defined in two ways in *Gadaa* system: *Heriya* and *Gadaa* class. *Heriya* are group of individuals in the same chronological age-set while *Gadaa* class is individuals in the same genealogical generation irrespective of their chronological age. Members of *heriya* structure in *Gadaa* system are individuals born with in similar chronological age range. However, chronological age of members of *Gadaa* class varies. Members of a *Gadaa* class are group of individuals whose fathers are in the sixth grade of *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. Hence, a newly born child is dependent on the *Gadaa* grade of his father. That means, the child and the father are five *Gadaa* grades or 40 years apart. For instance, children born of fathers who are in the 6th *Gadaa* grade, *Gadaa*, are called children of the same generation. Therefore, in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community, an individual is a member of two crosscutting systems of peer group structure (Asmerom, 1973). The current study considered *Gadaa* class structure of *Gadaa* system as members of this structure practice the roles of leadership in the community.

***Gadaa* system and the Oromo people**

Even though it is difficult to state how and when it emerged (Lemmu, 2004; & Asmerom, 1973), *Gadaa* system was fully exercised in the sixteenth century (Dirribi, 2011). *Gadaa* institution of Borana Oromo community is different from many east African pastoralists' political system because of its structure and function (Dahl, 199) and it is a strong indicator of Oromo ethnic identity (Bassi, 1996). As stated in Bassi (1996), *Gadaa* is one of the pillar identity symbols the people of Oromo identify themselves with and it influences their social relationships and over all conception of reality. He stated that "the society was guided by institutional leaders differentiated by a variety of formal titles and the political discourse was dominated by a

constant reference widely accepted oral norms and laws” (Bassi, 1996, P. 157). *Gadaa* institution helps to harmonize inter-clan relationship of Borana Oromo community, and mostly decisions are made consensually and with persuasion (Foryes & Evans-Partitchard, 1940; cited in Bassi, 1996).

Among the Oromo community, Borana has strong attachment to *Gadaa* institution (Bassi, 1996, Asmerom, 1973) as Borana land is described as the cultural corridor of Oromo society (Jetu, 2013). As stated in Jetu (2013; P. 1) “many scholars agree that historical and cultural legacies of the Oromo people are preserved in Borana cradle land and still known for functioning Oromo *Gadaa* democracy. *Gadaa* system is highly intertwined with people’s ways of life: it regulates their social, economic and political life.” The institution is a multifaceted political system in which individuals play roles and responsibilities at different stages of their social development stages (Hurst, et al., 2014). Some of the qualities expected of an individual to be selected as one of the members of the *Gadaa* leaders in the end are knowledge of both substantive laws and procedural rules, trust and theoretical skills (Bassi, 1996). Structurally, the *Gadaa* system has eleven hierarchical grades and five parties. During each grade of eight years, a group of men recruited to the system are cared for, trained, consulted and made to get experiences (Zelalem, 2012) before they assume the power to lead the community. The structure and hierarchy of the leadership includes individuals of different status, roles, duties and responsibilities (Lasage, Seifu, Hoogland & De Vries, 2010).

Oromo’s system of governance is characterized by being aristocratic, familial and democratic in which the five *Gadaa*/Cadres come to power to administer the *nation* of the people of Oromo turn by turn for eight uninterrupted years (De Salviac, 1901/2005). According to the observation of De Salviac (1901/2005), the system of governance is based on generation classes and age sets of men sects the society. He stated that a group of men moves through the grades to assume ritual and judiciary power, while enjoying societal privilege and care. These collective life stages limit their timing of marriage, fatherhood, and retirement. A group of men representing all clans of the community, and who have passed five successive collective life stages of *Gadaa* system can assume power for eight years. According to the principles, a newborn child is initiated into the system 40 years behind his father (Dahl, 1996). In conclusion, based on his observation of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia, Dahl (1996) explained that “all Boran belong to one of

the five categories of lineage sections, and within the line to one particular generation class. However, “larger patrilineal categories such as clans, cross cut the division into *Gadaa* streams” (Dahl, 1996, p. 172).

Dinsa (1975; cited in Lemmu, 1994) related Plato’s view of leadership and *Gadaa* system in that leaders were progressively trained before they reach the stage of maturity to assume public responsibility. Similarly, men are initiated, trained and educated before they assume power in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. In the process of socializing leaders, taking roles and responsibilities begin at the period of childhood (Lemmu, 1994). In the Borana Oromo community, a child learns to be a leader; lead community affairs and serve as an advisor in his lifetime (Dahl, 1996). It is also stated that “the *Gadaa* model implies that peripheral groups choose and sustain persons to stay in a center for training before being entitled to leading roles in the periphery” (Bassi, 1996; P. 158).

In the System, the senior council consists of ten members: one Abba *Gadaa*, two Abba *Gadaa Kontoma*, three *hayyu* and four ritual officers. The councilors have their own deputies and a large number of junior conscripts (Dahl, 1996). Although there is such division of power in the *Gadaa* System of Borana Oromo, there is equal distribution of power. There is no as such bureaucratic division of tasks, and activities to be accomplished (Asmerom, 1973). In addition, the selection and representation of individuals in the *Gadaa* system is structurally defined. Dahl (1996) described the phenomena as:

The senior councilors are tend[ing] to be selected while their cohort is still ‘young’. Future councilors are then selected among youngsters who have promising personalities and good ancestral records, steaming from ideally peaceful, generous and eloquent earlier leaders. The selected youths will often be sons or grandsons of the councilors of earlier generation, although there is alteration between families (Dahl, 1996, p. 172).

Moreover, election and recruitment of leaders is held and implemented based on the actual practice of leadership skills and competence and it is a lifelong process than one time episode like western democracy election campaign (Asmerom, 1973).

In Borana Oromo community’s *Gadaa* system, the potential social capacity of an individual is the only criterion to be selected (Bassi, 1996) for training and education for later leadership. In

relation to this, Bassi (1996; P. 158) stated, “Only those who are considered to be capable of responding adequately to the responsibilities assigned to them have political prestige and authority” in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo Community.

Hence, at least to the knowledge of the researcher, the relationship between leadership in *Gadaa* system and contemporary leadership dynamics is not fully investigated and it is difficult to get documents directly related to steps and procedures, belief systems, approaches, contents, etc of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system to review in this part of the manuscript. Particularly, the social psychological perspective of the system is not documented. Therefore, relying on the existing limited anthropological and legal literature and indicating the possible knowledge gaps with them in relation to leader and leadership development is the option left on the table.

The motivation to conduct studies on *Gadaa* system, the ambition to know its dynamics and the eagerness to hear about it by many people might have created the sense that the system is studied to the level of saturation and no need to plan to conduct further investigation. However, the existing reality is different from this. There are only few thoroughly written books and written documents on *Gadaa* system and its practices. It may be either many of the studies conducted are not published or much is not done about it. Of the available documents, the only rigorous publication is Professor Asmerom’s work of *Gada: Three approaches to the study of African society* in 1973. Even, the derogatory terminologies used by Asmerom do not give one a confidence to rely on it heavily. Yet, the only best available option left to use as reference is this book and other unpublished materials.

In his anthropological structural analysis of *Gadaa* system, Asmerom provided description of the sociological background and the structure of the cycles in the system. He spent more than two years with the community and developed very detailed account of his scientific analysis of Borana Oromo Community’s *Gadaa* System. It would have given better understanding if what was done is presented here as it is. However, it is not acceptable and parsimonious to do so. As the focus of this research is on the knowledge and practice of leaders and leadership development of the community or the *Gadaa* System, only relevant topics of his work, mainly the *Gadaa* cycle, are taken and discussed here under in brief. The *Gadaa* grades are exactly what the investigator is interested in and found the gaps to be researched. All the themes here under

about *Gadaa* grades are taken from this book and one can read his work for detail anthropological sociological understanding of the system in general. Asmerom himself recommended that the psychological aspects of the system were not considered in his work and he suggested for further investigation.

Life cycle of *Gadaa* system: *Gadaa* grades

Gadaa system is classified into eleven qualitatively distinctive developmental stages through which Borana Oromo male individuals pass in their lifetime (Asmerom, 2012). These eleven *Gadaa* grades are *dabballe*, junior *gamme*, senior *gamme*, *kusa*, *raba*, *Gadaa*, *yuba I*, *yuba II*, *yuba III*, *yuba IV* (grades of retirements) and *gadamojji* (*sacred grade*). These grades are “conceptual schemes that define a kind of activities, rights, and duties groups assume successfully through their active careers” (Asmerom, 1973, P. 32). Asmerom gave a brief outline of these grades focusing on the ritual transition ceremonies from one stage to another, physical features of the individuals in each grade, major activities done by a group of male individual during each stage, the duties and responsibilities of members at each level, and their interactions with the larger community and within their group. However, the very purpose of what he has discussed for later leadership behaviors of the individuals in the system is not directly addressed. The psychological implications of the transition ceremonies, activities, duties and responsibilities, between and within group interactions, and other features of the grades for development of leadership competencies are not discussed. Rather he posed questions on his limitations of not doing so in his research and recommended for further research on the issues.

In the life cycle of *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community, grade I is the first grade during which children are born into the system at its very beginning. These children have common name called *daballe*. The members of this group of male children are children whose fathers are members of the *Gadaa* class in power at the time of their birth. These children are all born during the eight years when their fathers are in power of leading political, economic and social affairs of the community. The ages of these children ranges from days old newborn infant to a child of eight years, as discussed by Asmerom. They are different from other children in their socially constructed physical features, rights, cares and support they get from the society.

The second grade is junior *gamme*. Children of this grade are also known by their hairstyle like *dabballe*. At the time of transition from *dabballe* grade to junior *gamme*, the fathers shave the hairs of their children. When the hair grows again, only the middle of it is shaved while the other parts are allowed to grow and anointed with butter like children of the previous grade. After they attend the transition ceremony called *gubbisa* and given actual names, they become junior *gamme* children. They take new and hard roles of herding family cattle and horses far from home feminine environment (Borana's connotation) they have been enjoying before. They form their own group of herds-children. They sing together songs of ridiculing adolescents of senior *gamme* grade and appreciating their cattle.

Grade III is stage of senior *gamme*. This *Gadaa* grade is mainly known by *fora* experiences (migration with cattle), the formation of age-set called *hiriya* cache and *gamme* council, *wal-argi* (visiting each other) and *nyachisa* (invitation) practices. Unlike *dabballe* to junior *gamme* transition, there is no special ceremony held at the transition from the second grade to the third. The hairstyle of the two group of *gamme* children differ only in the size of the shaved section of their hair. The size of the unshaved hair section is smaller for senior *gamme* individuals.

The other prominent feature of the grade is election of *hayyu* individuals (*gadaa* councilors). The election process is called *lalaba*. It is a procedure by which Borana people elects six individuals as initial *gadaa* councilors from different clans to establish representative government. Parents, particularly fathers, who have done good things for the community because of their good characters and fortunate of their leadership period will have the chance to nominate their children as *adula* (core *gadaa* class councilors). The process is one of the most important events of public concern in the community and it is the most challenging activity as described Asmerom (1973).

The fifth grade is *kusa*. The distinctive features of this grade are extended transition ceremony during which all the members of the *Gadaa* class hairs are shaved. The ceremony held at the transition from senior *gamme* to *kusa* is called *godiyya*. At the ceremony, the boys of the grade shave their hairs by their respective fathers and stay in isolated camp for some time during the period of the transition ceremony. *Bakkalcha faji* – red and white color cloth is raised like flag at the place. All the age mates and classmates participate in the ceremony and sing songs called *tunne* (songs of age mates) and *mukke* (songs of classmates).

Grade V is the stage of *raba* or senior warriors. Its length is thirteen years, which is different from other grades (have eight years). This grade of the *Gadaa* cycle is distinguished from others by marriage and fatherhood ceremonies that takes place at the beginning and in middle of the grade respectively. The core six *Gadaa* assembly members of the grade is formed at this stage of the system. All men who reached this level of the system, are mature enough to marry (in twenties and early thirties), have family, and who can afford to give cattle for bride can marry at *kusa – raba* transition ceremony. Although they can marry, they are not allowed to engage in sexual intercourse with their partners to give birth.

The major role of the men of this class is defending Borana from any threat that might occur with the neighboring tribes and running a number of rituals to be executed in the period. Men of the class and their corresponding age mates take the front line in case of war. They run rituals like *dannisa* ceremony, during which they hold a tree called *dannisa* as if they are holding their children to symbolize their cultural right to give birth then after.

Grade VI (*Gadaa*) is the stage of political and ritual leadership. *Raba* to *gadaa* transition takes place at the age of 45th years of the *Gadaa* system, and is marked by actual power transfer ceremony, which takes place at the shrine of Nura in the Eastern corner of Borana land in the month of *Gurndhala* (*February*). The actual ritual-political leadership authority is taken from the leaving *Gadaa* class by the incoming one.

The incoming class starts their community leadership exercise with *balli wali-irrafudhu* (exchange of sculpture – handover and takeover ceremony of ostrich's feather). The power transfer is symbolized by give and take of fresh milk and exchange of blessings between the outgoing leaders and the incoming *luba* (*elected members of the class*). Their nomination is announced all over Borana land and they take their turn to make history in *Gadaa* system. The coming eight years is their *gadaa* (*time*). The *gadaa* is given the name of the *Abba Gadaa* of the class. As stated by Asmerom, “the strongest indication that the class is in power is the fact that it imparts its name and its ritual attributes to the period of history when it was in power” (Asmerom, 1973, P. 83).

Conflict and crises resolution, mobilizing the whole society for economic activities and participation in ritual and transitional ceremonies are the major activities of the *Gadaa* Assembly

and the *Gadaa* class in power. It is stated that “in the course of pre-ritual and intra-ritual crises, the *Gadaa* Assembly may resolve any type of conflict, be it ritual, political, legal, moral or economic in character” (Asmerom, 1973, p. 86).

The historical narration of the good things done by the group in power to improve the wellbeing of the Borana society has an important role in the election of the successors. As a result, the men in power exert their maximum effort to do so. They tried their best to mobilize the members of their class and the community as a whole to make ponds and wells. Beyond its benefit in the campaign of their children for selection to the leadership position, engaging in the development activities is a source of prestige for the men.

The period from 53rd age to 80 years is the period of partial retirement in the *Gadaa* cycle of the Borana Oromo community and it is called *yuba* (Grade VII, VIII, IX, X). During these years, the men mainly engage in advisory roles, deliberation of *gumi gaayo* (large meeting) and assisting the *Gadaa* Assembly in power. They serve as a certain categories of ritual experts (*jarsi cosi*, *jarsi cobaca*). In case the members did not serve the community while their class was in power, the class holding the leadership position can call them to serve again.

The terminal grade of Borana Oromo community *Gadaa* system is nominated as *gadamojji*. A rite of incense exchange (kumbi wal-irra fudhu) marks the transition from Yuba X to *gadamojji*. The exchange takes place between the *yuba* men entering the stage and the *gadamojji* men leaving the grade. The outgoing *gadamojji* men bless the incoming class and give them the resin they kept with them. Then, the men leaving *gadamojji* shave their elongated hair, tie kallacha (headgear) on their forehead, and enter the final sacred retirement stage.

Summary and conceptual framework of the study

The ultimate goal of the current study is to investigate and analyze indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. The system is cyclical in its very nature where sons, parents and grandfathers are involved at different stages in the life span of the system. As indicated above, it has different grades where group of individuals learn, exercise, and play leadership roles in the community throughout their lifetime. It can be taken as indigenous practices of the community as it can fulfill the parameters of indigenous phenomenon explained above.

Assumptions, principles, and implications of human life span development theories, leadership theories and leadership development strategies discussed above can serve as conceptual framework in the process of investigating, analyzing, and discussing the nature of leadership knowledge development, exercise and practice in *Gadaa* system. As most of leadership theories focused on the behavior of leadership dynamics at its maturity level, they hardly addressed emergence and development of individual's and group's leadership personalities and behaviors. They focused on characteristics of leaders and followers, interactions between a leader and followers, leadership performance, situational factors of leadership and other concepts of leadership. Most of these theories highly relied on the nature of leadership dynamics and marginalized the concept of leaders and leadership development process. However, the point is that if we believe that development is a lifelong process, and the individuals who constituted a group of leadership are influenced by developmental experiences, it is valid to address leadership knowledge, skills, attitudes and overall personality development of individuals in theorizing about leadership. The individual and group leadership behaviors developed by individual members of a group do not come from vacuum. There should be something to explain the emergence of leadership and leadership behaviors. They are human development theories that addressed the importance of developmental experiences in determining human behavior including that of leadership knowledge, skills, and attitudes identified by leadership theorists. That is why it is important to amalgamate relevant human development theories with leadership theories to investigate and conceptualize the knowledge and practice of leadership development in *Gadaa* system in the current study.

Human development theories explain how individual behaviors build up over the course of development, which can affect the leadership dynamics in different settings. The group members have their own individual behavior that they acquire during development. The nature of individual member characteristic matters the group behavior. Hence, it is important to study leadership behavior development and exercise more specifically during the first six grades, namely; *dabballe*, junior *gamme*, senior *gamme*, *kusa*, *raba* and *dori* in *Gadaa* system to increase our understand in the area.

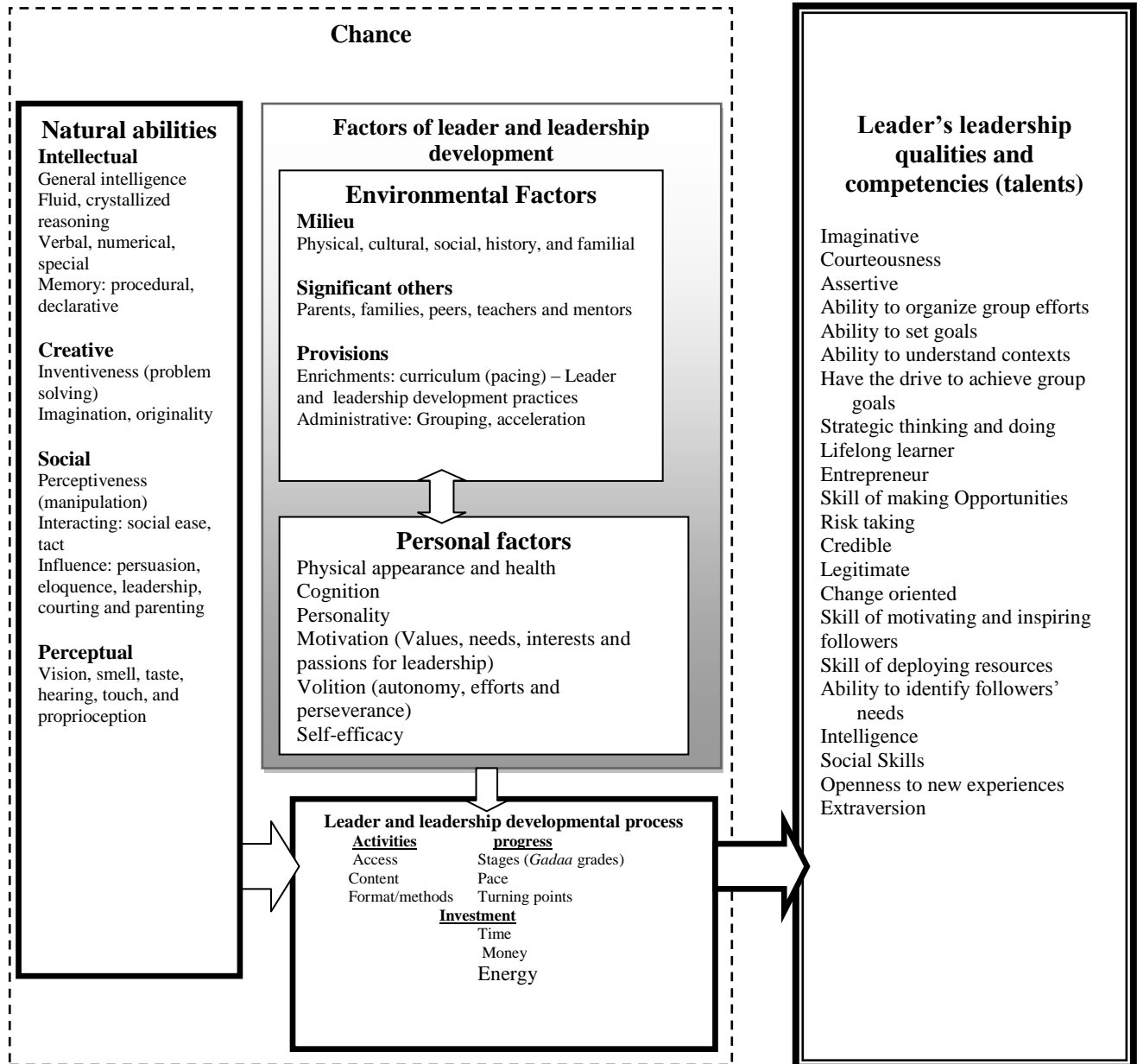
Leader and leadership strategies that many organizations have been implementing to socialize/to train leaders imply that some prior knowledge and experiences of leadership are very important

for leadership performance when an individual is assigned to leadership position. The strategies suggested that leadership knowledge and experiences are not something that individuals acquire spontaneously. Someone needs to have prior knowledge and experiences of leader and leadership before she/he comes to power.

Based on the theories of human development and leadership, and other related issues reviewed above, conceptual framework for the study is designed as follows. The current model is an adaptation of Gagne's differential model of giftedness and talent modified in 2008. Mainly, the model depicts process, factors and outcomes of leadership development. It is a simplified model representing the process of developing leadership competencies. It is very difficult to put every components of lifelong leadership behavior development in a single model.

In the model, an attempt is made to show how leadership related gifts could be transformed to leadership talents through the process of leader and leadership development. As indicated in the work of Asmerom (1973), individuals pass through different grades before they take power of *Gadaa* leadership. Borana Oromo community elects potential leaders (nominees) at the end of senior *gamme* grade and made them to run different cultural rite during *kusa* and *raba* grades of *Gadaa* system before they take power. This implies that individuals acquire leadership competencies through time and the process is developmental that can be explained using the analogy of Gagne's model of transforming gifts into talents.

Leader and leadership development conceptual framework



The model incorporates the following main variables.

Natural abilities – Natural abilities are gifts that individuals acquire, most commonly at early periods, over the course of development. Children can display these intellectual, creative, social, perceptual, physical, and motor abilities when they are engaged in different daily activities in their social and physical environment while adults display gifts in their speed of learning (Gagne, 2009). As described by Gagne (2009) natural abilities are gifts that can be transformed to talents with minimal scheduled learning activities. Although Gagne (2009) described each category of gifts as they can be developed into different specific talents, they are considered as important ingredients for development of leadership competencies in this model. Leadership competencies can be demonstrated in different areas of human activities such as public sectors, social affairs, business activities, academics, games and sports, science and technology, politics, and military. Therefore, skill and knowledge of leadership is all inclusive.

Leader and leadership development process – It is an orderly search, by leadership nominee over a significant period, of culturally structured programs of activities leading to gaining general leadership skills and knowledge. Individuals are elected and nominated to culturally or professionally designed leadership development program that has certain progressive stages, pacing and turning points. The individuals learn the content of their culture or a professionally designed program through exercise, participation, and observation. In the process, the nominees are expected to invest their energy, time, and money to acquire the intended leadership qualities.

Identification of the nominees and assignment into leader and leadership development may be depend on the leadership mental schema of the electors, nominees' possession of natural abilities, actual performance of the nominees, and demands of groups/communities/societies.

Factors of leader and leadership development – transformation of natural abilities into leadership competencies can occur because of environmental, personal factors and the interaction between environmental and personal factors. Person's social environment, significant others and different learning programs are the major environmental factors that can affect leadership skills and behavior development. Components of milieu such as physical environments, culture, leadership philosophy of a society, history, social values and customs, structure and outcomes of familial descendents can influence leadership competence acquisition. Similarly, personal factors

such as physical appearance, health, cognition, motivation, volition, and self-efficacy have contributions in the process of leadership talent acquisition. These personal factors influence transformation of leadership abilities into leadership talent directly or indirectly through interaction with environmental variables. Even though not specific to leadership behavior development, human life span development theories such as psychodynamic, behavioral, socio-cultural and theories of cognitive development also explained the roles of these environmental and personal factors in the process of behavioral changes in their general forms. For instance, socio-culturalists suggested that the broader culture and history affects one's learning and cognitive development (Miller, 2011).

In the process of leadership talent development, members of the nominee's parents and families, clans, teachers, and mentors play significant roles. Those individuals who are selected and made to involve in the process of leader and leadership development engage in different enrichment and administrative programs. They are allowed to form groups and attend special programs such as 360-degree and *Gadaa* system. The methods of learning implemented in the programs can be experiential learning, observation, lecturing, and history telling.

Leader and leadership competencies (talents) – these are leadership knowledge and skills that individuals can develop because of their engagement in leader and leadership development process. At the time leaders are ready to take power, they are expected to be imaginative, courteous, assertive, strategic thinker and doer, lifelong learner, entrepreneur, risk taker, credible, legitimate, change oriented, motivator, open to new experiences, and extravert. Trait, transformational, behavioral and 'Great man' leadership theorists also focus on these leadership behavioral outcomes in their explanation of leadership notions. However, except few of them, these theorists did not include sources of these personality elements of leadership in their theorization.

Chance - It refers to the probability for children to acquire natural abilities of leadership competencies. For instance, the birth of *dabballe* child into *Gadaa* system is a matter of chance. Involvement of elected individuals in the process of leader and leadership is also determined by chance. Not all individuals having leadership gifts get the chance to be part of leader and leadership development programs. Moreover, all independent and co-occurrences of environmental and personal interaction can be affected by chance.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research approach

The ontology and epistemology of scientific knowledge construction and utilization have been debating subject among scholars for many years and it can be continue to be an issue of argument. The “what” and “how” questions of knowledge may not be simple to answer in research. The issue under investigation is not exceptional. Knowledge and practice of leadership can be perused in line with positivists, post positivists, feminism, contextualists or critical philosophies of scientific studies. It may not be sound to argue that assumptions of positivist, post-positivist, contextualist or critical approaches are appropriate to study leader and leadership development. The factors that can determine an approach to conduct a study are objectives and purposes of the scientific investigation a researcher is interested in to study. For instance, if the intention is to come up with some common understanding of leader and leadership development across different situations, the researcher may be guided by principles and assumptions of positivists. On the other hand, if s/he is interested in context specific knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development, s/he may stick to the arguments of constructivists and head for contextualists’ approach. Still other can use mixed approaches depending up on the aspect of leader and leadership development they planned to study.

Accordingly, as the objective of this investigation is to describe and explain a social phenomenon called leaders and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community, the whole process of investigation is mainly guided by assumptions and principles of contextualizists’ and interpretivists’ perspectives. The focus is on the underlying assumptions of leadership conceptualizing and its life long process of educating leaders. The knowledge and practice of leadership development in *Gadaa* system can be context specific in a sense that it is indigenous to Oromo people in East Africa (Asmerom, 1973) and it requires contextual analysis from the points of view of the local people. Hence, in the understanding of the researcher, contextual research approaches give more opportunity to describe the phenomenon under investigation.

Moreover, an interpretive contextual approach is preferred for the reason that it enables to study the meaning of a social phenomenon structured by a culture of a society and collectively shared and transmitted (symbols, understandings and ways of being) to the next generation in that society (Miller, Hengst & Wang, 2003). The process of constructing socially constructed meanings by a growing child in a certain culture is both individual and collective process (Mead, 1963; in Miller, Hengst & Wang, 2003). As described in the literature section of this report, leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community can be considered as an example of socially constructed conceptions and practices. It is best researched through contextual interpretive inquiry methods.

Guided by the assumptions of contextual interpretive methods of inquiry, this study is conducted using qualitative research approach. Qualitative research approach seems more relevant to investigate the contextual features of leader and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. This approach was preferred for the reason that it enables the researcher to find out the quality and texture of research participants' experiences of the psychosocial phenomenon under investigation. Using qualitative research approach, the researcher can investigate meanings attributed to the issues of the study by the participants (Berg, 2001). Qualitative researchers are concerned with how the research participants make sense of their world and how they experience issues of the study (Willig, 2008) instead of validating the experiences claimed by the respondents or their possible meanings (Frost, 2011). The researcher did not look for statistical significance of the cause-effect relationships of variables of leadership development like quantitative researchers.

Research method

The specific qualitative research method used in this research is case study method. Case study qualitative research method was preferred for the reason that it enables to investigate specific social unit, Borana Oromo's indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* institution in this case, in-depth (Kothari, 2004) and it helps to find out the unique behavioral patterns of that unit as integrated whole (Stangor, 2011). It helps to describe and explain specific or related phenomenon in detail (Berg & Lune, 2012; & Berg &

Lune, 2012). Moreover, it enables the researcher to gather information in order to illustrate the dynamics of individuals in a group (Berg, 2001), *Gadaa* leadership group in this case.

Similarly, the target of this inquiry was to explore indigenous knowledge and practices of leadership development that require understanding and description. It was assumed that the underlying assumptions of leadership, steps and procedures of leader and leadership development, personal and group competences being cultivated by the community, and the roles of community members in *Gadaa* system can be well addressed using qualitative research approach. Leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo is a lifelong developmental process that may be difficult to address through quantitative methods within the endeavor of this study.

In order to minimize the possible shortcomings of qualitative research methods and researcher's bias, different strategies were employed. First, individuals having direct experiences of the issue under investigation were carefully selected so that rich and representative data can be collected. Then, five types of qualitative data collection tools: observation, confirmatory interview, in-depth interview, key informant interview, and focus group guidelines were developed. After the guidelines were carefully translated into local language, Afan Oromo, they were pretested to check language consistency, item orders and schedules before they were utilized for the actual data collection. Moreover, for the sake of maintaining accurate portrayal of the meanings made by participants about the leader and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system, continuous self-reflection and thick description of the phenomenon were made by the researcher throughout the research work. The researcher's self-reflections were helpful to clear assumptions and minimize possible bias that may limit the research finding otherwise (Morrow, 2006; & Fischer, 2006). Similarly, to contextualize the research participants' knowledge and experiences of the subject matter, and to give deep understanding of the issue under investigation for readers, the information gathered was described and explained in detail (Morrow, 2006). Furthermore, related research questions were included in the guidelines to triangulate data.

Research design

As the objective of this study was to analyze indigenous knowledge and practices of developing future community leaders, it is primarily cross sectional case study research design. Within the

scope and limitation of this study, unfolding the approaches and procedures by which individuals are trained into a leadership position and provide leadership services in the community can be possible through cross-sectional research design. The design helps to investigate shared meanings, knowledge, and understandings of leaders and leadership development processes demonstrated at different stages in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community at a time.

Cross-sectional qualitative case study design was favored as it enables the investigator to take sample of individuals at different stages of the process of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system among the community, which is divided into 12+1 different social age based stages. During all these stages, individuals develop leadership competences, provide leadership services and play advisory roles after they retire from power. Therefore, participants of this lifelong developmental process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system can be best sampled at a time using cross sectional research design. Accordingly, samples were taken from members of all the stages and their parents, and information pertinent to leader and leadership development was collected using qualitative tools described below.

Study site and population

This study was conducted in Oromia Regional State of Ethiopia in East Africa. Oromia is one of the nine regional states in Ethiopia. It has a total population of more than 27,158,471, which accounts for 36.7% of the total population in the country (CSA, 2007). It is the largest and populous region of all. During this study, the region has 17 administrative zones among which Borana is one.

Borana zone of Oromia Regional State is the specific site of the current study, which is found in the southern part of the country between 3°36' – 6°38' North latitude and 3°43'- 39°30' East longitude (Lasage, Siefu, Holand, & De Vries, 2010). It shares border with Guji zone of Oromia in north and Somali Regional State (Liben zone) in the east, SNNPR (Konso special woreda, South Omo, Gedeo zone, Sidama zone, Burji special woreda, Amaro special woreda, Woliyta zone, Gamogofa) in the west and north, and Kenya in the south. It has a total land area of 48,360 km² (Lasage, Siefu, Hooland, & De Vries, 2010) and population of 962,489 (CSA, 2007). There are thirteen woredas in Borana Zone (CSA, 2009). Even though different ethnic groups inhabited in the zone, overwhelming majority (854, 501) of the residents are Oromo (CSA, 2007). Most of

the Oromo residents living in the zone are followers of *Waaqefanna* (believing in *Waaqa/God*) religion (CSA, 2007) and live in *Gadaa* system.

Out of 17 zones in Oromia Regional state (CSA, 2009), Borana is selected for the reason that *Gadaa* system is more actively practiced by Oromo community living in the region than other areas of Oromia Regional State and the area is considered as cultural corridors of the *Gadaa* system (Asmerom, 1973; Bassi, 1996; & Zelalem, 2012). As indicated in the work of Zelalem (2012), Borana Oromo community practices *Gadaa* system in recent days more than other Oromo communities in the regional stage. Thus, the population from which samples were taken was Borana Oromo community that practices *Gadaa* system of administrative, economic, legal, social, and spiritual leadership.

Individuals directly involved in the system and their parents, who were the target of this study, live together at different locations in Borana land, where convenient for them to learn and provide *Gadaa* leadership service for the community. Once they are elected as members of the executive *Gadaa* members, they travel from place to place and camp together for administrative and ritual purposes. It was difficult to locate the district they reside in to include their locations as a specific study site at the beginning of the investigation process. Thus, I met the groups and appropriate informants at their residence during pilot test of instruments and identified them for the main data collection. Accordingly, the sites were Olla Guyyo Gobba (Arero district), Olla Roob Jarso (Yabello district), Olla Konnitu (Arero district), Olla Dori (Yabello district), Olla Raba (Yabello district), Hafte Liben Jaldessa (Arero district), Yabello town, Arero town, Funnan Birressa (Arero district), and Haro Bakke (Yabello district). Most of these villages were temporary camps established to fulfill cultural obligations of *Gadaa* leadership.

Sample and sampling techniques

Children, adolescents, adults and older men who are members of the 12+1 *Gadaa* system stages or *ilman korama* and their parents, and exceptionally experienced individuals were the targets of the current study. Those who were members of the mainstream or core band of *Gadaa* system and individuals called men of *arga-dhageti* (those who can remember what they heard and saw) were purposively selected for observation, interview, and focus group discussion. To select

research participants out of these individuals, three types of sampling techniques: judgment and availability were implemented.

Once the core bands of *kusoma*, *raboma*, *doroma*, *gadoma*, *yuboma*, *gadamojjumma* and *jarsomma* were purposively selected for the study, participants were selected for focus group discussion using availability sampling where attempts were made to include the three *hayyu* men (*adula*, *medhicha* and *garaba*) in the groups, except for *kusoma* stage, which has only one type of *hayyu*, *adula*. The intention was to get rich data from the various types of *intellects* included in the groups. Members are different in their age, status and experiences.

Individuals were selected for key informant and in-depth interview based on judgmental purposive non-probability sampling technique. They were identified based on researcher's perception of their knowledge and experiences of the *Gadaa* system and recommendations gained from Borana Zone culture and tourism bureau research team experts and FGD discussants during. At the beginning of the fieldwork, experts working in the bureau advised and provided me with list of elders whom they described as knowledgeable individuals of the culture of Borana Oromo community. Moreover, FGD discussants also suggested me to communicate the same individuals during pilot test and preliminary fieldwork. Then, I identified those elders who can give me information related to the issue under investigation from the list. I identified in-depth interview participants when I met individuals in the stages of *kusoma* to *jarsomma* for focus group discussions, which can be considered as judgmental sampling technique. This sampling technique was used for the reason that it enables me to get more detail information from individuals who have deep knowledge and experience than their members do.

To select children and their parents for naturalistic observation and confirmatory interview respectively, judgmental sampling technique was used. This was done to observe behaviors of children of different ages and to interview their parents purposively selected for the study. First, I prepared lists of parents of *dabballe* children (20), junior *gamme* children (34) and individuals in the stage of senior *gamme* (53), who were living in Olla Dori, Olla Guyyo Gobba and Hafte Liben Jaldessa respectively. Then, based on the ages of their children (very young, young and old), five participants from each three lists (15 individuals in sum) were taken for confirmatory interview. Moreover, from the list of children (20) in the stage of *dabballumma*, who were living with their parents in the villages of Olla Dori, five children were selected for naturalistic

observations based on their ages (very young and young). Taking parents of children of different age range for interview and *dabballe* children of different age levels for observation was important to get data about the nature of supports parents make for their children, and the behaviors the children display during the stage of *deballumma*.

The sampling technique used to select research participants was mainly purposive for the reason that it enables me to get individuals and their parents who are directly engaged in the practices of the traditions in *Gadaa* system of the community. These individuals represent the whole community in terms of leadership practices. As described by Kothari (2004), purposive non-probability sampling is preferred when the researcher intends to explore the typical characteristics of a population which can be taken as representative of the whole population. This technique enables the researcher to pick out samples by taking certain criteria into consideration and gather important information for the study (Singh, 2006). Hence, characteristics of individuals who mainly engaged in leadership behaviors development can be taken as typical attribute of Borana Oromo community in terms of leader and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system. Experiences and knowledge of the process are the major criteria of sample selection.

Accordingly, a total of five observations, fifteen interviews, four key informant interviews, nine in-depth interviews and nine FGDs were conducted. At the beginning of the fieldwork, four individuals, whom the community of Borana Oromo consider as knowledgeable, were interviewed about the overall philosophies and features of *Gadaa* system. Then, nine focus group discussions were conducted with individuals in the stages of *kusoma* (8 discussants), *raboma* (6 discussants), *doroma* (6 discussants), and *gadoma* (19 discussants – three separate FGDs with the three branches of the stage – *arbora*, *hawattu* and *konnitu*), *yuboma* (8 individuals), *gadamojjumma* (6 discussants) and stage of *jarsumma* (5 discussants). In order to collect more detail description of the roles of individuals in the main stream of *Gadaa* system, nine relatively experienced and knowledgeable individuals were interviewed. Fifteen individuals (parents of children/youths of the first, second and third *Gadaa* stages) were interviewed to gain data on the nature of relationships between parents and their children. Finally, five observations were conducted with children of the first *Gadaa* stage, *dabballe* children, living in Yabello district of Borana zone. The number of observations, interviews, and focus group discussions conducted

were fixed by the level of data saturation. For more details of the participants, please refer to chapter four and the annex (list of respondents).

Data collection methods

To generate qualitative data pertinent to indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community, five data collection semi-structured tools: naturalistic observation guidelines, confirmatory interview guidelines, in-depth interview guidelines, key informant interview guidelines, and focus group discussion guidelines were prepared based on the literature reviewed and understood, experiences gained from preliminary fieldwork. The developed tools were pretested and the necessary amendments were made before they were used for actual data collection.

Key informant interview

One of the methods used to collect data in this study is key informant interview. Gilchrist and Williams (1999) asserted that key informant interview is method of data collection that the researcher implement to get specialized and great deal of information about the issue of investigation from key informants in the community. They said that such information might not be available otherwise. Similarly, key informant interview method was needed to generate data about the underlying assumptions, beliefs and principles of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* practices, which others community members may not provide full information. These individuals are elders who have knowledge of Borana Oromo community's culture, history, customs, values, social structure and others. They are educators of prospective *Gadaa* leaders. They monitor, coach and evaluate practices of developing and serving *Gadaa* leaders in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community.

Hence, key informant interviews were conducted with selected experienced and knowledgeable elders of Borana Oromo community. The assumption behind interviewing elders was that these men might have important information about society's culture, which could serve as a framework for the analysis of knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. As the system had started long time in history and complex in its nature, it might be difficult for all *Gadaa* system members to memorize its experiences and practices as these

men do. Accordingly, a key informant interview guideline having ten guiding questions was developed to interview four individual. They were made to discuss approaches of leaders and leadership development, leaders' competences and community participations in the system. They discussed the roles of *Gadaa* system in the life of the community.

Focus group discussion

It was assumed that FGD enables the researcher to gather data related to the indigenous leadership knowledge and practices from individuals living and working in groups at different levels of *Gadaa* system leaders and leadership development process. Literature shows that it is sound to use FGD when the researcher is interested to gather rich textual material about the issue under investigation (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). It helps the investigator to collect challenged, commonly constructed, extended, developed, undermined or qualified meanings in ways that generate rich data (Willig, 2008). It is advisable to use focus group discussions, sometimes called focus group interviewing, as it helps to generate a far larger number of ideas, issues, topics and solutions to a problem within relatively short period of time (Berg, 2001). The relationship among and between group members can stimulate discussions and more developed information can be achieved through focus group discussion.

Hence, for the groups living, learning and working together like that of core bands of *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community, it is appropriate to use focus group discussion than other qualitative means. In *Gadaa* system, individuals are elected and made to live together during *kusoma*, *raboma*, *doroma* and *gadoma* stages. The group members share similar knowledge and experiences of their cultural practices in the system more frequently than during other stages. They can remember things if they are interviewed in groups than individual face-to-face interview. It avoids repetition of ideas and more developed data can be generated at the same time. With these assumptions in mind, focus group discussion was preferred as one method of data collection in this research.

The purpose of using FGD guidelines was to collect data on experiences, practices, knowledge and the roles and responsibilities of *kusa*, *raba*, *dori*, *gadaa*, *yuba*, *gadamojji* and *jarsa* individuals in *Gadaa* systems, who live together for the same objectives at different locations of Borana land. The information they provide can be considered as specific and contextual to the community under investigation and invites focus group discussion than other means.

Accordingly, six types of FGD guidelines were developed and implemented. The FGD guideline for selected members of *kusoma*, *raboma/doroma*, *gadoma*, *yuboma*, *gadamojjumma* and *jarsumma* stages had main predetermined topics of discussion, which have been expanded through probing during the discussions. For more information, refer to the annex.

The discussions focused on contents and approaches of leadership development and the leadership services they provide for the community. The discussants were directly invited to discuss the underlying assumptions of *Gadaa* system, *Gadaa* system's core band membership eligibility, and election procedures. They raised members' ideal characteristics as individual and group, core values and norms of their stages, roles and responsibilities of the members in the system, significance of their past experiences, group members interpersonal relationships, interaction with other community members, and their personal life. They discussed about skills and knowledge they should develop in their respective stages and their plan in the future as leaders of the community. In their discussions, they addressed their privileges and community's trust in their leadership services. They also addressed the leadership service they provide for the community when they are in power and after they hand over their power to their successors.

Two experienced individuals (facilitator and note taker) conducted the discussions together. At the beginning of each discussion, the objectives of the discussions and their roles in the study were explained for the participants and their willingness to participate was obtained. The participants signed statements of confidentiality. Attempts were made to establish rapport with the participants before the main discussions by raising some general questions about the people of Borana and their livelihood. The facilitator maintained the necessary FGD ground rules such as avoiding side talks, respecting others' idea, equivalent chance to talk for the discussants, not leaving the discussions before time, and others during the discussions. Relevant ideas raised by the participants during the discussions were audio recorded and notes of main points were taken by the note taker. All the discussions were conducted at convenient time and place for the discussants in Afan Oromo and each discussion took about 56.67 minutes on average. For more information, refer to chapter four and the annex (list of respondents).

In-depth interview

The other tool used in this study is in-depth interview. Most commonly, in-depth interview is used as qualitative method of data collection when the researcher wants to explore underlying

meanings of a few selected topics of a particular phenomenon (Krahn & Michelle, 2003). This method enables researchers to discover an issue beyond normal everyday conversation (Hawitt & Cramer, 2011). Hence, with the intention to explore rich data related to the experiences, practices, characteristics and competencies expected of a specific group at different stages in *Gadaa* system, experienced members of core bands in *Gadaa* system were interviewed. The interviews were made with relatively experienced and knowledgeable *Gadaa* council members where rich discussions that move beyond surface talks of thoughts and practices in *Gadaa* system of their respective stages.

During identification of individuals for focus group discussions with members of the seven *Gadaa* stages namely; *jarsumma*, *gadamojjumma*, *yuboma*, *gadoma* (has three braches – *arbora*, *hawattu* and *konnitu*), *doroma*, *raboma* and *kusoma*, I learned that some individuals were more knowledgeable than others do and they tended to take more time to talk. Hence, in order to give equal chance for participation, I arranged in-depth interview for such individuals. Moreover, most of the participants were unable to explain or reason out their practices in the system during focus group discussions. Therefore, the alternative available at the time was to select main points of discussion out of focus group discussion guidelines for in-depth interview. Then, an in-depth interview guideline with ten main points was prepared and more detail discussions were conducted with the individuals spotted during preparation for the focus group discussions. This was learned during instrument pilot test. Accordingly, nine individuals from *kusoma*, *raboma*, *doroma*, *gadoma* (3), *yuboma*, *gadamojjumma*, and *jarsumma* were identified and interviewed in depth.

This type of interview is different from other interviews used in this study in that it focuses more on specific stages in *Gadaa* system and takes relatively longer time of discussion. On average, each interview took two hours. The interviewer focused on the underlying meanings and explanations of group and individual practices at the stages specified above. I demanded the participants to explain the points raised during focus group discussions. They were probed a lot to come up with depth explanations of their social practices.

During the interview sessions, the interviewer tried his best to maintain the necessary assumptions of conducting in-depth interview. The objectives of the study and the roles of the participant in the study were explained. For instance, the participants were confirmed that the

information they provide would remain confidential and their real name will not appear in any part of the report. Sensitive issues were managed carefully. To have audio materials of the discussions, I used voice recorder with permission of the participants. Moreover, I took notes of important points and photos of some discussants so that I can remember things easily during data transcription, organization, analysis and presentation.

Semi-structured confirmatory interview

Semi-standard guidelines were prepared and implemented to generate data pertinent to knowledge and practices of leadership development process in *Gadaa* system. Three types of semi-structured confirmatory interview guidelines were prepared and employed to gather qualitative information about activities, roles, and responsibilities of children and youths in the first three stages of *Gadaa* system. The interview guidelines involve lists of fourteen (for *dabballe* parents), fifteen (for junior *gamme* parents), and fifteen (for senior *gamme* parents) predetermined questions/topics about behaviors of children and youths in the first three stages of the system and the interactions they have with others in their neighborhoods. The interviews are called confirmatory because it tends to confirm practices in the stages, which were reported by knowledgeable elders and older members in the system.

As the interest was to get descriptive accounts of purposive education, child care and support during *dabballumma*, junior *gamme* and senior *gamme* stages in *Gadaa* system, it was impossible to list out all the questions to be asked exhaustively. The practices of children and youths in these stages can be considered as specific to the community and people from outside the community may not understand it before they encounter the members. That was why semi-structured interview was necessary. Semi-structured interview method of data collection was used with the assumption that it helps the researcher to get this detail and unconstrained textual information about the topic of the study (Howitt & Cramer, 2011) by expanding the existing questions based on information provided by the respondents while maintaining the focus. It gives flexibility for the interviewer to add or deduct questions during discussions (Berg, 2001). However, other methods of interviewing – standardized and unstructured interviewing may not help the researcher to do so as the former force the researcher to include exhaustive list of questions while the later does not give chance to guide the interviewees. Questionnaire may not be applicable too as it limits the data to be generated.

Accordingly, parents of children and youths in the stages of *dabballumma*, junior *gamme*, and senior *gamme* were communicated for the purpose. Participants were made to describe their knowledge of *Gadaa* system in general, unique characteristics of their children, care and support they provide for their children, interactions they have with their children, the ways they discipline their children, and their children's engagements in household and outdoor activities. Participants were asked about relationships between their children and other children in the neighborhood, and special ceremonies they organize for their children. Moreover, they were allowed to explain the implications of any relationship they have with their children of interest.

The interviews were conducted at convenient time and place in consultation with the interviewees. I communicated the objectives of the research and roles of the interviewees at the beginning and raised some issues about Borana people and their life as a mechanism to establish rapport before I delved into the main issues. Participants were assured that the information they provide will be confidential and their real name will not appear in any part of the report. I took notes of the main points raised and recorded the interviewees. Each interview took 41.833 minutes on average.

Naturalistic observation

In general, observation methods are used when a researcher is interested to gather data relevant to the behaviors of research participants in their natural or contrived settings (Howitt & Cramer, 2011;& Leary, 2001). Observation methods are used with the assumption that they help the researcher to gather rich and detail (Howitt & Cramer, 2011) and authentic (Coolican, 1994) data about research participants. It can be naturalistic, participant, or laboratory observation types where researchers can take qualitative accounts or quantitative measures of research participants or both. However, the type of observation method used in this study is qualitative and naturalistic one, where the researcher notices, pays attention to and takes notes of activities of *dabballe* children and their interaction with their parents and other individuals in their neighborhood without interruption or with minimal interference.

Accordingly, naturalistic observation guidelines having 9 demographic information questions and 11 main points of observation was prepared and used in this study. Interactions of *dabballe* children with their parents, neighbors and other *dabballe* and non-*dabballe* children of their age were observed. The observation also included *dabballe* children's physical characteristics, roles

they play in the neighborhood, their feedings and disciplines. Before, the actual data collection, I received informal consents from *dabballe* children's parents and familiarized myself with the children and their parents for more than one week. During the hours of observations, I took notes and pictures (where necessary) of the children's activities and interactions with other people in the neighborhood. Each observation lasted for more than one hour to half a day. For more information, refer to chapter four and list of respondents in the annex.

Pretesting the guidelines

In order to check appropriateness of general wordings and sequence of the guiding questions of the tools used for data collection, they were pretested before the actual administration. I tried to check the guidelines in two ways: correction by language professionals and field practices. After the guidelines were prepared based on understandings gained from reading leadership, human development and *Gadaa* system related literature, they were given to English and Afan Oromo language teachers who were familiar with the culture of Borana Oromo community. Then, questions were translated – forward and backward and poorly worded questions, questions with offensive or emotion-laden wordings, or questions revealing the researchers' own biases, personal values, and/or blind spots were identified and excluded. Then, before the instruments were used for real study, practice interviews and observations were conducted with members of the Borana Oromo community to assess how effectively they will work and whether the type of information being sought will actually be obtained. Moreover, the professor assigned as advisor of the study and evaluators of the proposal of the study examined the guidelines and provided their feedbacks, which were considered too. Observation guidelines, semi-structured confirmatory interview guidelines, focus group discussion schedules, in-depth interview guidelines and key informant interview guidelines used in this study were all pretested and the necessary amendments were made before they were used for actual data collection.

The eleven main guiding questions and nine basic information questions included in the naturalistic observation guidelines used in the study were generated after thorough examination and translation of language professionals. Then, the behaviors and interactions of two *dabballe* children (Jaldessa Obsa, two years old and Jaldessa Wada, seven years) who were living in the village of Hara Dida in Yabello district were observed. During the field practices, I learned how to approach the children and their parents, when to conduct observations, how to take notes and

records of the children's behavior. I also familiarized myself with some of the do's and do not's of interactions with the children and their families in the neighborhoods. Based on inputs from my advisor, language experts' comments and field trial observations, six questions were eliminated and others were re-designed.

Semi-structured interview guideline was also developed through the same procedure with that of naturalistic observation. Six parents (three mothers and three fathers) of *dabballe*, junior *gamme* and senior *gamme* living in and around a village called Hara Dida, near Yabello town were interviewed. Feedbacks from the preliminary fieldworks have shown that participants were not familiar with some of the words stated in the guidelines. At the same time, some of the words and accents of the participants were very difficult for me to understand. Female interviewees were very shy to speak and there was a need to familiarize oneself with them before the actual interview. Therefore, it was very important to amend the guidelines in line with the words they can easily understand. Hence, from the trial interviews, I learned about ways of stating questions, suitable times for interviewing the participants and mechanisms of approaching them.

Focus group discussion guidelines developed for *kusa*, *raba*, *dori*, *gadaa*, *yuba*, *gadamojji* and *jarsa* men were also reviewed by language experts and refined. Three different trial focus group discussions were conducted with core band members of Jilo Aaga, Bule Dabbasa and Boru Medha's parties. The discussions were conducted at Yabello, Dubluq and Metha Gefersa towns. Like the case of tests during semi-structured confirmatory interview guidelines, the facilitator and the participants unable to understand each other because of differences in accent of speech and use of some words though all speaks Afan Oromo. Moreover, it was believed that the members of a given *Gadaa* class are similar in age, status and experiences. However, from the trial field practices, it was learned that the members of the groups vary in age and status, and there was a need to include them in the discussions to get representative experiences of the group.

Key informant interview and in-depth interview guidelines were developed based on field experiences during pretest of other instruments. Originally, these methods were not planned for data collection. They were developed after field practices of other guidelines described above. The guidelines were developed and given to language professions of English and Afan Oromo for translation, back translation and appropriate wordings through e-mail. Then, two elders

(Galgalo Boru and Dabbasa Nagesso) in Dubluq town in Borana zone were interviewed for key informant interview guideline pretesting. Two individuals (Adi Jilo and Jarso Korma), who were members of Roob Jarso's *Gadaa* branch at the time, were communicated for trial of in-depth interview in Yabello town. From the field practices, it was learned that as the participants know many things about the culture of Borana Oromo, they need frequent redirection of the interviewers so that they can provide the information demanded for the study. The other lesson drawn out of the practice interviews is that the participants did not like interruption while talking which needs careful management of their feelings. Re-channeling them to the points of interest required me attentive listening.

Method of data analysis

One of the difficult tasks I have faced in this study was dealing with large qualitative data obtained from participants during the fieldwork. Transcription and translation of lengthy audio records of interviews and focus group discussions and field notes, reading and re-reading of the transcriptions, identification of the relevant contents, organizing and presenting them into themes were very challenging and time taking. This is true because, there is no set and rigid ways of managing qualitative data like that of quantitative ones (Berg, 2001). However, there are different methods of approaching qualitative data for analysis that can serve as a starting point for the researcher to follow a certain procedure depending upon the nature of the issue at hand (Willig, 2008).

Accordingly, due to the specific characteristics of the issue under investigation, the type of qualitative data analysis found best fit to organize, analyze, present and discuss the qualitative data collected from research participants was interpretive phenomenological analysis. This method of analysis was preferred because of two reasons. First, most of its features help to portray the process of leadership development in *Gadaa* system, which can be taken as unique practices of Borana Oromo community. Studying the process is possible from the perspective of the community members themselves. It was difficult for me to understand participants' experiences of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system unless I read, understand, and interpret what they have described about it. Second, to explain the meanings contained within the texts and transcripts, it demands interpretive engagement of the researcher.

Interpretive phenomenological analysis allows the researcher to look at a phenomenon as experienced by human beings at specific situation and time, and careful interpretation of the texts in line with existing theoretical constructs and formulations (Willig, 2008). Hence, the data gained is structured into clusters of themes for interpretation and discussion in chapter five. In chapter four, the raw data is summarized, analyzed and presented so that readers can understand what it looks like. I refrained from annexing the whole transcribed and translated text because this could make the report massive and unmanageable.

As per the steps and procedures included in interpretive methods of data analysis, I read and re-read the transcribed data and observation field notes case by case to come up with initial thoughts and observations. Then, I identified and labeled themes that characterize each section of the text in a case under titles nominated. Then, I clustered up the themes in a case depending upon the attributes they explain about leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. Then, a kind of summary table was prepared for the themes generated for a text of a single participant. Using the theme summary table of the first case, the same procedure was repeated for all the data collected through the same data collection methods: observations, key informant interviews, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and confirmatory interviews. Then, the themes generated from each specific case were integrated and master themes that explain the quality and the texture of participants shared experiences of knowledge and experiences of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community were developed. Vertical (among themes generated from data collected through the same data collection method) and diagonal (among themes generated from data collected through different methods) relationships of themes were sought and structured for analysis.

During the process of data analysis, the researcher focused on participants' special perspectives and understanding of behavioral regularities of everyday life, rituals ceremonies, and relationships of individuals in the main stream of *Gadaa* system, which can describe and explain leadership development in *Gadaa* system. Finally, interpretation of the themes identified and labeled was done at two levels. First, emphatic description of participants' understanding of their practices in *Gadaa* system was conducted. Secondly, drawing up on existing theories of human life span development, theories of leadership, and leader and leadership development practices, the themes were further interpreted and discussed.

Research ethics

In order to maintain accuracy of scientific knowledge, ensure intellectual property rights, and protect the rights and welfare of research participants, it is important to follow basic ethical and legal principles underlying scholarly research and writing (APA, 2010). The following common procedures of research work helps to communicate the outputs clearly and in a more understandable manner for scientific community. In order to achieve this objective of scientific research work, I tried my best to meet the *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* amended and adopted by APA in 2010. Hence, in an attempt to meet that standard of research work, I followed the principles, suggestions and advices implicated in the document where they were appropriate to do so. Referencing materials, developing instruments, relationships with the research participants, data collection procedures, and writing of the research output were done as per the guidelines stated in the manual.

In-text citation and reference writing of books, book chapters, journals, periodicals, doctoral dissertations and master theses used in this study were reported according to in-text citation and reference writing guidelines suggested in the manual. Authorship and publication rights were maintained. Direct quotations, indirect quotations, and paraphrasing of others' works were done clearly indicating their sources so that readers of this manuscript can understand what and how things have been done in the past and in this study. All the materials used are included in the list of references.

Before going to the field for pretest of the guidelines used and preliminary data collection, I was granted the necessary permissions from the concerned bodies. I got letters of authorization from Addis Ababa University (School of Psychology), Oromia National Regional State President's office, and Borana Zone Administrative Bureau. All these parties wrote me letters of permission by stating the purpose of my study and I did not face any problem in this regard.

In order to get the instruments that can help me to generate the needed quality and texture of qualitative data important to answer the research questions specified in chapter one, I tried to identify representative topics for observation, interviews and discussions conducted. The guidelines were translated/ back-translated, pretested and refined for the main study. I developed

all the data collection guidelines used in this study and there was no need to get permission from other parties.

In terms of relationship with the research participants, the data collectors/researcher explained the research participants about the objectives of the study, duration of the interviews/discussions, procedures of data collection, the nature of the interviews/discussions/observations, and participants' roles at the beginning of every communication. Oral consents were obtained from parents of *dabballe* and *Gamme* children and interview participants. Statements of confidentiality were obtained from participants during focus group discussions to ensure confidentiality of information shared by the participants. I took audio records of the information provided by the research participants and their pictures with consent. None of the pictures and audio materials gained during fieldwork were given to any third party although the participants ensured me that they should not be anxious of disclosure of any personal information they shared with me. Generally, the observations, interviews, and focus group discussions were conducted at convenient times, places, and conducive psychological situations of research participants. None of the respondents were forced or negatively manipulated to participate in the research.

To maintain anonymity, the real names of research participants were changed to pseudo names in report writing. Hence, all the names stated in chapter four of this report are artificial names. However, in order to avoid confusion and distortion of information, none of participants' other demographic characteristics and the information they reported are disguised.

Research procedure

As there were numbers of moving back and forth in doing scientific research, it may not seem sound to give a specific procedures being followed. For instance, a researcher can modify the topic of his/her study while working through the paper. I have been making a number of modifications and changes while working through the study and difficult to put that this comes after that. However, for the sake of providing general guidelines followed in this research, the following procedures were reported. Identification of the issue under investigation, proposal writing, instrument developments, instrument pretest, fieldwork for upgrading, main data collection and final write up were the major activities performed in this study and that can be taken as the steps and procedures followed in this study.

At the beginning of the study, I read about different social psychology issues where I had interest to do my PhD dissertation. Based on personal experiences and understanding gained from reading issues related to my area of specialization, I found myself deeply interested in the issue of *Gadaa* system. Then, I designed the topic of the issue in such a way that it can be studied from the viewpoints of social psychology. Then, issue of the study coined into title of dissertation and submitted as the topic of study for School of Psychology. The topic got acceptance. However, the title has been modified at least three times since then.

The next step in the process was proposal development. In the process, problems were identified, objectives were set, concepts were defined, study methodology was designed, study budget and time schedules were developed, and presented for approval. On the course, a number of reference materials were read, and potential areas of literature review were identified.

The third step was organizing and analyzing literature related to leader and leadership development. To develop theoretical and refine methodological framework, literature relevant to leader and leadership development were reviewed. Books, handbooks, articles, journals, dissertation and master thesis were reviewed and analyzed for the purpose. Contents drained from these documents are mainly organized into theories of human development, theories of leadership, practices of leader and leadership development, and *Gadaa* system.

Then, based on the nature of the issue under investigation, time and budget available for the study, data collection methods were identified and guidelines were developed. Originally, I developed three types of guidelines namely observation, interview and focus group discussion. However, based on the findings of preliminary fieldwork before the actual data collection, the tools were made to five types of semi-structured guidelines: naturalistic observation, confirmatory interview, in-depth interview, focus group discussion and key informant interview. The tools were translated to Afan Oromo and back translated to English by two teachers working in the departments of English and Afan Oromo in Dilla University.

The fifth step was fieldwork preparation for data collection pretest and upgrading, which includes buying tape recorder, photo camera, bags, sleeping bag, and other stationary materials. Procuring money for the fieldwork was also considered as an important aspect of readiness for the study. Then, I collected letters of permission from Addis Ababa University, Oromia Regional

state president office, Borana Zone Administration office, and Borana Zone Culture and Tourism Bureau. Research team members of Borana zone culture and tourism bureau were consulted about the existing situations in the study site and the overall practices of *Gadaa* system in general. Then, the members introduced me to *Abba Gadaa* men of the time and known elders in the community and their residences.

Before the actual data collection, the guidelines were pretested as reported above. Then, I interviewed men of information or elders who can remember what they have experienced in their lifetime as key informant. Then, focus group discussions were conducted with the core groups of *Gadaa* system. Then, senior and experienced individuals from different stages of *Gadaa* system were interviewed. Then, confirmatory interviews and naturalistic observation were conducted with parents of children in the first three *Gadaa* stages and *dabballe* children respectively. The whole process of instrument pretest, preliminary fieldwork, and main data collection took more 56 days.

Finally, the qualitative data obtained from fieldwork was transcribed and translated into English language for analysis and discussion. Data relevant to the objectives of the study were selected, organized, analyzed, presented, and discussed thematically in line with the objectives set, and theories and practices of leader and leadership development discussed in chapter 2.

CHAPTER FOUR RESULTS

Introduction

In this section of the report, data gathered using the qualitative guidelines described in chapter three is organized, analyzed and presented under five topics. The presentation focused on the themes and ideas commonly addressed and described by the interviewees and FGD discussants. It also includes data gathered using observation guidelines. The first section deals with participants' demographic characteristics. The second part focused on description of belief system of Borana Oromo community. Socio-political and cultural structures of the study population are treated in the third section of the chapter. The fourth part deals with stages of Borana Oromo community's *Gadaa* system. Finally, participants' concerns about practices of *Gadaa* system are reported. The report includes data relevant to the objectives of the study. Throughout the presentation of the findings, pseudo names substituted the real ones to maintain confidentiality and anonymity of research participants.

Participants' demographic characteristics

Key informants

To get general overview of knowledge and practices of *Gadaa* system and the underlying explanations of cultural assumptions, values, and customs, the researcher conducted four key informant interviews with *namota arga-dhageti* (knowledgeable/intellectual men) of the community. According to Borana Oromo's conception, these men have the ability to remember what they have experienced and told by others in their lifetime, and they call them *namota arga-dhageti-men who can remember what they have seen and heard*. The people believe that these men are sources of information about Oromo in general and Borana Oromo's history, culture, land, and politics in particular. They refer anyone who needs to know about Borana people to them. In fact, these men can remember many things about the people of Borana as I witnessed during the interviews.

The first respondent was a 55 year old *yuba* man, Mr. Beeka Dhuga, who was living in a village called Hara Dida in Yabello district. The man knows many things about the *Gadaa* system of the community of study. He gave me good information on history, significances and logical

underpinnings of *Gadaa* practices. He reported names and significant accomplishments of 72 *Abba Gadaa* men who had been serving the community in the history of *Gadaa* system. He reported their names by their parties and clans. He described the historical up comings of the system. He described stages in *Gadaa* system, mechanisms through which people educate and prepare their children for *gadaa* leadership, procedures of selecting *adula* (core members of *Gadaa* leadership council) and their roles, and the relationship that should exist among the core councils of *Gadaa* system. Moreover, he described roles and conducts of *Gadaa* leaders and their relationship with other community members. Beeka also knows about traditional treatment of human and cattle's illnesses, diseases, and injuries.

The second key informant interview participant was a 44 year old man called Galgalo Waariyo. He has MA in history. He has been teaching history in Yabello senior secondary school for more than 10 years. At the time of my fieldwork, he was working in Borana Zone Culture and Tourism Bureau as senior researcher. He was born and grown up in the community. He is part of *Gadaa* system. He has good communication with *Abba Gadaa* men and men of information in Borana Oromo community. Because of his life experiences, readings, teaching, writing and researching culture of Borana Oromo community, Galgalo knows many things about practices of *Gadaa* system. He has been interviewing known elders in the community for different purposes. He attended many rituals of *Gadaa* system. He mainly discussed inherent beliefs and values of Borana Oromo's culture and *Gadaa* system.

The third person contacted for key informant interview was a 62 year old man called Bule Gobba, who was living in a village of Dambala Abba Chana in Yabello district of Borana zone. Bule has been living with *Gadaa* leaders as man of information and for advising, mentoring and coaching them for many years. He attended many rituals conducted by *Gadaa* men and general assemblies of Borana Oromo community (*gumi gaayo*). He listed out a number of customary laws of the community in addition to his responses to research questions forwarded from the researcher. Like other key informant interviewees, Bule also reported the beliefs underlying the practices in *Gadaa* system of the community, decision-making procedures and processes of *Gadaa* men, roles and responsibilities of *Gadaa* leaders, and election (*lalaba*) of *hayyu* individuals (*Gadaa intellects*).

Finally, to get data pertinent to general characteristics of *Gadaa* system and beliefs beneath its practices, I met a 72 year old man called Tole Dadafo. He was living in Dubluq town in Dire district. He has an interesting analytical abilities and I enjoyed my stay with him. He knows so many things about history, culture, customary laws, calendar, land, religion, politics, and *Gadaa* dynamics. He reported names of more than 70 *Gadaa* men who came to power from the five Borana Oromo community's parties and their main accomplishments during their *gadaa* periods. He reported the main values of the culture. Tole has attended a number of ritual practices and general *Gadaa* assemblies of Borana Oromo Community. He has been teaching and advising men in stage of *gadoma* for more than 20 years. He reported all these things in relation to practices in *Gadaa* system. He discussed his critical examination and evaluation of the trends in the past and present in *Gadaa* system. He also reported his worries about the fate of *Gadaa* system in the future.

FGD participants

Targeting to collect data related to knowledge, experiences, roles, responsibilities, and practices of the nine sequential and progressive *Gadaa* system's core band members, I visited nine different sites in the study region to conduct focus group discussions. Accordingly, *ya'a* - team members in stages of *jarsumma* (becoming *jarsa*), *gadamojjumma* (becoming *gadamojji*), *yuboma* (becoming *yuba*), *Gadaa Arbora* (*Arbora Gadaa branch*), *Gadaa Hawattu* (*Hawattu Gadaa branch*), *Gadaa Konnitu* (*Konnitu Gadaa branch*), *doroma* (becoming *dori*), *raboma* (becoming *raba*), and *kusoma* (becoming *kusa*) were interviewed in separate focus group discussions. Fifty-eight individuals within the age range of 18 – 96 years (34.26 years on average) participated in the focus group discussions. *Hayyu adula* (*adula intellects*), *hayyu medhicha* (*medhicha intellects*), *hayyuu garba* (*Garba intellects*), *Abba Bokkuu* (*men of sculpture*), a *wayyu* (*sacred man*) and *makala* (*service men*) were among the discussants. For more information, please refer to the annex, list of FGD discussants and their demographic characteristics.

The first FGD was conducted in Arero district, at Guyyo Gobba's village, near the town of Arero Metha Gefersa. Six individuals from *Arbora Gadaa* branch, one of the three branches of *Gadaa* leadership in Borana land, attended the discussion. The participants were two *adula intellects*, one *garba intellect*, one *medhicha intellect*, one service man, and a man of *sacred*. The average

age for the participants was 47 year. They all were followers of *Waqeffanna* religion. They came together from different parties and clans of Borana. Four of them were from Bule Dabbasa's party, one from Jilo Aaga's party and one from Liben Jaldessa's party. They represented the two main sub-clans (Sabbo and Gona) of the community. The participants have no skills of reading or writing but know many things about the culture of Borana Oromo community and their *Gadaa* system.

The second focus group interview was conducted with members of *ya'a dori* (*dori team members*) at Olla Dori's camp, Hara Hammessa area, in Yabello Woreda of Borana Zone. The attendants were six. All are elected from Jilo Aaga's party. They were elected from different sub-clans (three from Sabbo and three from Gona) of Borana Oromo community. They were follower of *Waqeffanna* religion. The average age of the discussants was 29.33 years. One of the discussants was a 2nd year university student who dropped his education and joined the group after the death of his brother who was member of the group. The other one dropped his formal education from grade 2. The remaining four had no skills of writing or reading. They were *adula intellects* making their final preparation to take *Gadaa* power.

The third discussants were members of *ya'a raba* (*members of raba men group*). The *raba* men were interviewed at their camp, Olla Raba in Yabello district. They were within the age range of 18 – 34 years (27.42 years on average). All, except one, are educated (5th – 10th grade). They were followers of *Waqeffanna* region. Six of the discussants were *adula* intellects elected from Guyyo Boru's party, one of the five parties of Borana Oromo community. One of the discussants was *makala* (service man). All the discussants were elected from different sub-clans (three from Sabbo and three from Gona) of Borana Oromo community. They were in the stage of *raboma* in *Gadaa* system, which is the fifth stage in the system. They were preparing themselves to take power of *Gadaa* leadership after *dori* men.

The fourth FGD was conducted at Yabello town with seven individuals in the stage of *jarsumma* (being *jarsa*). The discussants were within the age range of 69 – 79 years (74.43 years on average). All of them do not read or write. They have been playing different roles in the earlier stages of the system and in the stage that they were members at the time of data collection. Four of them were *hayyu* (*intellects*) (2 *adula* and 2 *medhicha*) while the others were service men (2)

and Abba Bokku (1). Three of the discussants were members of Liben Jeldessa's party that gave *qumbi* or the symbol of *gadamojjumma* to members of Bule Dabbasa's party, while the remaining four were from Bule Dabbasa's party, which gave *qumbi* to Jilo Aaga's party.

The fifth FGD was conducted with five men of *gadamojji* in Yabello town in Yabello district of Borana Zone. The discussants were members of three parties of Borana Oromo community: Jilo Aaga's party (2), Bule Dabbasa's Party (2), and Liben Jaldessa's party (1). They were within the age range of 65-72 years (70.4 years on average). These men were from different rural villages around the administrative town of Arero and Yabello districts. The discussants had grown in the system, and they know many things about their culture and *Gadaa* system. They have been playing different roles in the earlier stages and in the stage that they were members at the time of data collection. Three of them were *hayyu* (*intellects*) while others were service men in the earlier years. They conducted and attended a number of rituals and assemblages conducted as requirement for *Gadaa* leadership fulfillment. They were preparing to transfer their party's power for their sons in the system.

The sixth FGD was conducted with eight *yuba* men. The discussants were from all the five parties of the community: Jilo Aaga (1), Boru Guyyo (1), Boru Medha(2), Liben Jaldessa (2) and Bule Dabbassa (2). They were within the age range of 50-72 years (61.86 years on average). The discussants were from different sub-clans of Borana Oromo community (five from Sabbo and three from Gona). They have been playing different roles in the previous stages of *Gadaa* system as Abba Gadaa (2), *medhicha intellect* (2) and *makala* or service men (4). Only one of the discussants attended formal school up to grade 2. The others cannot read or write.

The seventh FGD was conducted with seven members of *Gadaa Hawattu*, members of one of the three *Gadaa* branches, which were playing administrative role in the community at the time of data collection. They were in the second position in *Gadaa* status hierarchy. They were members of Bule Dabbasa's party (5), Liben Jaldessa's party (1) and Jilo Aaga's party (1). The discussants came to power before six years. They represent and serve hawattu sub-clan (mainly) of Borana Oromo community. The discussion involves *hayyu* of the group and *makala: adula*(1), *medhicha* (3), *garba*(2) and *makala* (1). All of them are *ilman korma* – those men born into the *mainstream Gadaa system*. They were in age range of 34 – 56 years (45 years on average). Only

one of the discussants attended formal school up to grade three while the others cannot read or write.

The eighth FGD was conducted with six individuals working in *Konnitu Gadaa* branch, one of the three branches of *Gadaa*, at the time of data collection. They were given the responsibility to lead *konnitu* sub-clan (mainly) of Borana Oromo community. Their group is in third position in the status hierarchy of *Gadaa* system. Members of *Konnitu's Gadaa* branch were members of Bule Dabbasa's party (4), Liben Jaldessa's party (1), and Guyyo Boru's party (1). The discussants were within the age range of 35-52 years. The discussion involved all the three *hayyu* men working in the group: *adula* (1), *medhicha* (3), and *garba* (2). None of the discussants attended formal school.

The final FGD was conducted with six members of *kusoma* stage in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. All of them were members of Boru Medha's party. They entered the stage six years ago. Their age ranges between 15-23 years (19.83 years on average). Four of them were *adula intellectuals*, who started preparation to take power after 21 years, while the remaining two were ordinary members of the party. Most of them, except two, were attending formal school (4th – 9th grade) at the time of focus group discussion. Four *intellectuals* were newly elected and they have limited practical experiences and information about the system in general. However, they described their experiences of the previous stages (*dabballumma*, junior *gamme* and senior *gamme*) well. They know about their future roles and responsibilities in the system as well.

In-depth interview participants

In order to collect data pertinent to underlying assumptions of developmental leadership practices at different stages of the system for in depth analysis of knowledge and practices of *Gadaa* system in general and the specific stages in particular, I interviewed nine individuals identified before focus group discussions with *ilman korama* – *active participants of Gadaa system* was conducted. I selected them because of their better knowledge and experiences than their classmates. They tend to take more time than other discussants to share their experiences during identification of FGD participants from the stages. They have more attachment to the core ritual exercise of *Gadaa* system than others do in the stage. Hence, I arranged different sessions for these individuals so that they can give me detail account of their experiences of their

respective stages. They were interviewed for detail understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the individuals in the stages of *jarsumma*, *gadamojjumma*, *yuboma*, *gadoma*, *doroma*, *raboma* and *kusoma*.

One of the in-depth interviewees was a 42 year old man, Nadhi Dimma, senior *Abba Gadaa* of *Arbora Gadaa* branch. He was born and grown up in Arero district of Borana zone. The person was from a family who had been attending *Gadaa* system for many generations. His father, grandfather, and great grandfather were *Abba Gadaa* men. As a result, he had access to many cultural practices of *Gadaa* system since his childhood and he knows many practices of *Gadaa* system. Above all, he was the most senior person of the stage who was privileged to exercise the ultimate power of *Gadaa* leadership in the system at the time of data collection. The party in power was named after this man and individuals in his stage say “We are member of Nadhi Damma’s *Gadaa*.” The eight years period of his leadership is also named as “*Gadaa* Nadhi Damma or Nadhi Damma’s *Gadaa* or *Nadhi Damma’s period*.”

Then, the second man I interviewed was Hole Boneyya, a 72 year old *jarsa* – *elder*. The interview was conducted in Yabello town. The person was selected from his group, individuals in the stage of being *jarsa*, because of his experiences. He has good attachment with culture of *Gadaa* system than others in his group. He was active participant of *Gadaa* system. He served as *adula* of his party when they were in power for eight years of *gadoma*. He educated his son and others to leadership position. He conducted and attended many cultural rituals such as child naming ceremonies celebrated as requirement for *gadoma*. He attended campaigns for election of prospective *Gadaa* leaders conducted at the end of senior *gamme* stage in *Gadaa* system. At the time of data collection, one of his sons was serving as *Abba Gadaa Hawattu*.

The third interviewee met for in-depth interview at Haro Bakke town in Yabello district was a 58 year old man of *yuboma* stage, Boru Jaldessa. The man was in the stage of *yuboma IV* of *Gadaa* system who had rich knowledge of the cultural practices in *Gadaa* system because of his active participation in the system. He served as *Abba Gadaa* of his party for eight years. He conducted and attended many rituals such as power transfer ceremony, as requirement for *gadoma* like Hole Boneya. At the time of data collection, he was serving his community as law person. One of his

sons was prospective *Abba Gadaa Arbora* of the core *Gadaa* council in the stage of *doroma* in the system. He has been teaching his sons about the dos and don'ts of Borana Oromo culture.

The fourth person selected for in-depth interview from *gadamojji* men was a 68 year old man Jaldessa Doyyo. He has more information about the practice of Borana Oromo community's practices of *Gadaa* system better than his classmates do. He was one of the active participants of *Gadaa* system. He served as *makala* – service man of the core *Gadaa* council when his party, Bule Dabbasa's party, was in power and in its stages of preparation for leadership. Like Hole Boneya and Boru Jaldessa, he had been attending and learning many things about the values of *Gadaa* system. He had more attachment with the system than other discussants that was reflected in his time consumption to share his experiences during identification of focus group discussion participants from his group.

The fifth in-depth interview participant was a 41 year old man, Boru Guracha, from core band of *Hawattu Gadaa* branch at the time of data collection. He was *Abba Gadaa* of the branch. He was *adula* of the group and next man to *Abba Gadaa Arbora* in Bule Dabbasa's party at the time. His father had served as *makala* of his party, and he was *jarsa* at the time of fieldwork for data collection. He has been living in the system longer than other members of his core band. He described the experiences of the group such as feasting ceremonies, *butte* ceremony, and power transfer ceremony conducted in earlier stages (junior *gamme*, senior *gamme*, *kusoma*, *raboma* and *doroma*). He knows the names and accomplishments of many of the individuals elected from his party for *Gadaa* leadership.

The sixth in-depth interview participant was a 60 year old Galgalo Bari who was serving as *hayyu garba* in *Konnitu Gadaa* branch at the time of data collection. He was one of the two *garba intellects* serving in the group. He joined the group from Guyyo Boru's party. He served his party as *makala*. He reported that many of his ancestors have been serving as *Abba Gadaa*, *adula*, *medhicha*, *garba* and *makala* for many years in history of the system. As I witnessed, the man is capable of remembering and narrating his experiences in organized manner than other members of the group and that was why he was selected for in-depth interview for further descriptions and explanations of the roles of the individuals in the stage.

The seventh person selected for in-depth interview from *dori* men focus group discussants was a 40 year old man, Adi Galgalo. At the time of data collection, he and his group members were making the final preparation to take power of *Gadaa* leadership. He was nominated for *Abba Gadaa Hawattu* position of his party, in Jilo Aaga's party. He was the oldest and experienced person among his teammate. Like other in-depth interviewees, he knows contents of *gadaa* leadership practices and community's culture better than other members do in his group. He reported the very reason of their *doroma* live. That was why he was interviewed separately.

The eighth in-depth interview participant was a 28 year old *raba* man, Bule Jarso, who was nominated as prospective *Abba Gadaa* of *Arbora Gadaa* branch of his party, Guyyo Boru's party, which will come to power after *dori* men of Jilo Aaga's party. He is a son of *Abba Gadaa*, who served the party as *Abba Gadaa* of *Arbora Gadaa* branch. He and his family have been practicing rituals of *Gadaa* system in the community for many years like any other member of the community. He was selected as resourceful person from *raba* men as he explained experiences of the group in detail during preliminary interview with his group members to identify individuals for focus group discussion.

The ninth person identified from *kusa* individuals was a 23 year old person called Liben Elemo. He was elected as prospective *Abba Gadaa* in *Konnitu's Gadaa* branch that will come to power after he and his team pass through *kusoma*, *raboma* and *doroma* stages of the system. Unlike many other in-depth interviewees, Liben's ancestors had never come to leadership power in the history of *Gadaa* system. However, he can communicate his ideas better than others in the group can. He tried to dominate others in his team, *kusa* individuals, during preparation for FGD. The points he was raising during the discussion were very important and because of this, he was selected for separated in-depth interview.

Confirmatory interview participants

Parents of *dabballe* children

To collect qualitative data pertinent to *dabballe* children's care and support, their interactions with others and roles in their development in *Gadaa* system, five individuals who have *dabballe* children were interviewed. All the five participants were members of Jilo Aaga's party and in sixth stage, *doroma*, of the system while their children were in the first stage, *dabballuma*. They

were residents of a village called Olla *Dori/senior raba* or Dharrito in Yabello district of Borana zone. The respondents were all followers of *Waqeffana* religion. The attendants had no formal education, except one woman, who stopped her education at grade 3.

The first confirmatory interview participant was 20 years old *raba* woman Dhuga Hima, mother of 4 months and 20 days old *dabballe* mother. The interviewee had one child at the time of data collection. She was wife of *hayyu adula* in the camp. She never went to school. She was born and raised in *ya'a – gadaa leadership team* where she has been attending many ritual celebrations of *Gadaa* system with her parents. The interviewee reported future roles of her son if he will be elected as *hayyu* of their *luba*.

The second confirmatory interviewee was a 23 year old woman, Elema Sayyo, who had 2 years old *dabballe* child. Elema has two other children: one female (1 year old) and one boy (4 years old). She was a wife of a service man (*makala*) living in the camp to support one of *hayyu adula* men organized as *dori team* to live and learn about the practices of *Gadaa* system in order to gain the necessary cultural competence.

The third *dabballe* mother interviewed was a 23 year old *raba* woman, Doyyo Jilo. The woman has two *dabballe* children. As a matter of chance, she is one of the daughters of *hayyu* man who served his party as *Abba Gadaa Hawattu*. She dropped her education at grade 3 and married to *hayyu* man. She knows many things about the practices of *Gadaa* system and the purpose of providing ultimate care and support for her children.

The fourth confirmatory interviewee was a 29 year old *raba* man, Liben Guyyo, who was living in *dori* camp to serve as *service* man. The man has four children of which only one is *dabballe*. The others are females. He is from *kereyyu* sub-clan of Borana Oromo community. His clan elected Liben to join *dori* group because of his knowledge and positive cultural performances in his community.

The fifth person I interviewed to get information pertinent to *dabballe* children's behavior was a 40 year old man, Tadhi Buyyo. He has two children. Both are *dabballe*. He was *hayyu adula* planning to receive position of *Abba Gadaa* of *Hawattu Gadaa* branch. He was one of the

experienced persons in the group, and he knows many things about the system. Like his teammates, he was member Jilo Aaga's party.

Parents of junior *gamme* children and youths

To collect data pertinent to junior *gamme* children's behaviors, roles and responsibilities in the community, I met five individuals at a village called Olla Guyyo Gobba, in Arero district of Borana zone. The interviewees were all in the seventh stage, *gadoma*, of *Gadaa* system while their children were in the second stage, *junior gamme*, of the system. They all were members of Bule Dabbasa's party, a party in power of *Gadaa* leadership at the time of data collection. They were living together in a camp of *Arbora's Gadaa* branch at the time of data collection. None of them has formal education.

One of the interviewees was a 28 year old woman, Elema Dido, who had three junior *gamme* children of 12, 9 and 7 years old. At the time of data collection, she had seven children of which four are females. Two of her *gamme* children were students while one was cattle herder. Elema was a wife of one the three *adula intellects* living in the camp to run community's leadership affairs.

The second respondent interviewed was a 30 year old man, Dido Halake. He was living in the same village with other junior *gamme* parent interviewees. He had two junior *gamme* children. One of his children was seven years old while the other was five. The man was *adula*, who represented *machitu* sub-clan of Borana in Guyyo Gobba's *arbora gadaa* branch. He was one of the men in the higher leadership position in *Gadaa* system at the time of the fieldwork. The man conducted and attended a number of rituals that they have been performing as a requirement to serve as *gadaa* leader.

The third confirmatory interviewee was a 40 year old woman, Obbe Dandi. The woman has five children (14, 10, 9, 7 and 3 years old) of which two were junior *gamme* children while the remaining three were females. One of junior *gamme* children were born during *dabballumma* stage while the other was born in the stage of junior *gamme*, after the stage of *dabballumma* was over. The woman was a daughter of *adula* man of her party, Bule Dabbasa's party. She has more information about the practices of *Gadaa* system of the community than other interviewees do.

She gave historical accounts of *Gadaa* system and explained the very reason of caring and supporting individuals towards *Gadaa* leadership position.

The fourth confirmatory interviewee was a 36 year old woman, Siqqe Tole. The woman has six children (1, 3, 4, 6, 9 and 12 years old) of which three are *gamme* children (1st, 2nd and 6th born ones). The remaining three children are females. Only one of her *gamme* children (1th born) was born during stage of *dabballumma*. The other two *gamme* children (1st and 2nd) were born in the stage of junior *gamme*. She passionately described the role of *Gadaa* system in Borana Oromo community members' life. The woman was very happy about having *gamme* children and she reported the cares she has been giving for them since their birth.

The fifth confirmatory interview was conducted with a 42 year old woman, Name Galgalo. Name has only two children (3 and 5 years old). Both children are male and *gamme*. She was the second wife of one of the *adula* men living in the camp. She joined the group, *Arbora Gadaa* branch, living together in the camp to serve the community as *gadaa* leaders before six years. The interviewee described the importance of caring and supporting *gamme* children in their development of leadership capabilities. Name, her husband and clan members were planning to campaign with one of the children (the older one) at the end of the next stage, senior *gamme*, during election of intellects.

Parents of senior *gamme* children and youths

Thirdly, to gather data related to characteristics of children and youths in the stage of senior *gamme*, the third stage of the system, I met five individuals who had senior *gamme* children. They were living in a small village called Hafte Liben Jaldessa, camp of the former *Abba Gadaa* of *Arbora Gadaa* branch, *Abba Gadaa* Liben Jaldessa. The team of the ex-*Abba Gadaa*, Liben Jaldessa, abandoned the village after it transferred *gadaa* leadership power to Guyyo Gobba's party six years ago. It is small and scarcely populated camp. The village is found few kilometers from Arero Metha Gafresa town in Arero woreda on the way from Yabello to Arero. All the interviewees were members of Liben Jaldessa's party who were living with Liben Jaldessa. At the time of data collection, the participants were in the eighth (*yuba I*) stage of the system. None of the participants had formal education.

The first interview was conducted with a woman of 42 year old, Morma Borana. She was a mother of two senior *gamme* children (12 and 16 years old) and a daughter of 14 year old. The woman had no husband. Her husband died five years ago while he was fighting with neighboring Somali ethnic group who came to raid their cattle. Like other parents of *dabballe*, junior *gamme* and senior *gamme* children, Morma had planned to campaign for her son (first-born one) to be Borana's *adula*. She said that she has been doing all the best she can do to educate her sons about community's culture and *Gadaa* system. She made them to attend different cultural practices and ritual celebrations. She was preparing for *wal-argi* (*induction of gamme children*) and *nyachisa* (*touring through Borana land for feasting*), which her children will be a part.

The second person interviewed about the practice of *gadoma* during senior *gamme* stage of *Gadaa* system was a 51 year old man, Adi Dida. He was a father of eight children (6 males and 2 females) born from his two wives. He has three *senior gamme* children (8, 19 and 21 years old). Two of the *gamme* children (1st and 2nd born) were born when their father was in the stage of *doroma* while the other (fourth born) was born after his parents entered the stage of *gadoma*. Adi was very proud of having *gamme* children, and he was happy to talk about them. He was very much interested in the behavior of the first-born *gamme* child than others as he thought that the child possessed the characteristics important for *gadoma*. Adi was *hayyu garba*, who served his party, Liben Jaldessa's party, in the team of *Arbora Gadaa* branch. He strongly believes in the vitality of *Gadaa* system for the existence of his community.

The third person contacted for confirmatory interview to get data pertinent to knowledge and practices of children and youths in the stage of *senior gamme* was a 43 year old man Ifa Bule. He was a father of five children (8, 12, 13, 16 and 17 years old) and all of them were *gamme*. He served as *makala* (*service man*) in *arbora gadaa* branch when his party, Liben Jaldessa's party, was in power. He was very ambitious that one of his sons, second born one, will be elected as *hayyu* when his party will come to power again. He raised the goodness of his behavior for leadership repeatedly during the interview. His second-born son was 16 years old at the time of interview and he was preparing for *wal-argi* (*induction ceremony*) and *nyachisa* (*feasting ceremony*).

The fourth confirmatory interviewee was a 40 year old woman Elema Galma. She has three children of which only one was member of senior *gamme* stage. Her *gamme* child was 20 years

old and he was born during *dabballuma*. Her son was attending formal education and he was in grade 8 at the time of data collection. The others were females (12 and 17 years old). The woman was a wife of a man of *hayyu garba*, who had served his party when it was in power. She, her husband, and her clan had already started campaigning for the boy to be elected as member of the core band of the system. She wants her son to be *qajela - positive person* like his father, who can maintain the continuity of the community's culture.

The fifth person contacted for confirmatory interview was a 35 year old woman Chaltu Halake. Chaltu was a mother of seven children. Three of her children were senior *gamme* (2nd, 5th and 7th born ones). They were 19, 10 and 9/12 years old respectively. One of the two was born when his party, Liben Jaldessa's party, was at the stage of *dabballumma* while the second was born when his party was about to finish junior *gamme* stage. The final was a baby of 9 months old at the time of data collection. Like other interviewees, Chaltu was also happy about having children through which her ancestral role in *Gadaa* system will be maintained. She reported her commitment to fulfill her cultural responsibilities in caring and supporting the development of her children so that they will be competent in their accomplishments of *Gadaa* system.

Naturalistic observation participants

In order to get data pertinent to *dabballe* children's behaviors and their interactions with others, I conducted five observations. Accordingly, five *dabballe* children of different ages living in *dori* neighborhood in Yabello district of the study site were taken for observation. These children were born into initial stage, *dabballumma*, of *Gadaa* system. Like their parents, they belong to Jilo Aaga's party/class even though their stage of development is different. However, the stage of the children and that of their parents is different in that the former were in the stage of *dabballuma* while their parents were in the stage of *doroma* in the system. None of the children observed were attending their school at the time of data collection. They spent all of their time playing different games in compound of their camp. They have common name called *jaldessa - literary mean monkeys*. Residents identify them by their parents' name. The names given here under are pseudo names used for the sake of identification.

The first naturalistic observation was conducted with Abdi Boru. Abdi was a young child of four years when I first met him. He was born to a 29 year old father and a 23 year old mother. He is

first-born child for his parents. He has no brothers but one sister. His father was member of *adula intellectuals* who was in preparation to be head of *Abba Gadaa* of *Arbora Gada* branch.

The second naturalistic observation was conducted with a two years old toddler Gammachu Tolcha. Gammachu was born to 27 year old *adula* father and a 26 year old *raba* mother living in the camp. He is the fourth born child in the family. He had two brothers and one sister. He was the third *dabballe* child for his parents. As his age indicates, he is born when his parents were in the stage of *doroma*.

The third *dabballe* child observed was eight years old Jaldessa Shallo. Jaldessa has two younger *dabballe* brothers starting the lifelong process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system from its beginning like him. He is firstborn child in the family. He was born when his parents were left with two years to finish the stage of *raboma*. He is son of a 32 year old *makala man*, serving *hayyu adula* man living in the camp. His mother was a 22 year old.

The fourth *dabballe* child observed was a seven years old, Jaldessa Galgalo. Jaldessa has only one younger sister. He was born when his parents were in the stage of *raboma*. He was son of a 34 year *hayyu* man, Liben Jaldessa, representing Hawattu sub-clan in the group called *dori*. His mother was 26 year old.

The fifth *dabballe* child observed was ten year old, Jaldessa Koye. He was son of an *adula* man representing kereyu sub-clan of Borana Oromo community in *hayyu* team representing Jilo Aaga's party living in the stage of *doroma*. The boy had three brothers and three sisters. The boy was born when his parent's party was in the last two years of the previous stage, *raboma*, in the system.

Borana Oromo Community' belief system

In the belief system of Borana Oromo Community, five things are indivisible chains of conceptualization of the world. These are the people, people's actions, culture, truth, and *Waaqa* or God. The people are Borana Oromo community members living in Borana land. People's actions are private and collective activities of community members such as herding cattle, caring and supporting children, performing rituals, and others. Truth is fact that can happen in Borana as the will of *Waaqa*. Culture is any truth made by people based on facts of *Waaqa*. *Waaqa* is

God. They believe that people's action should reflect the culture. The culture is that of Borana Oromo community. Borana people should speak and do truth. Therefore, people act according to the established values, customs, mores, and traditions in their culture of speaking and doing truth. Galgalo Wariyo, one of KII participant, described components of belief system of the community very well as follows.

In Borana, people believe that 'Dubbiin kan aadaa, aadaan kan Booranaa, Booranni kan dhugaa, dhugaan kan Waaqa - people's speech belongs to culture, culture is that of Borana (there are many cultures), Borana belongs to truth, and truth belongs to Waaqa'. Therefore, every activities of Abba Gadaa and his life are related to Waaqa. As Abba Gadaa is expected to lead the people and the nation like this, parents and others should provide care and support for him since birth. It is believed that a small child is gift of Waaqa. Waaqa is always with him (KII-2).

Accordingly, culture and leadership are highly integrated ones in Borana people's worldview. Every action of men in the main stream of *Gadaa* system (*Ilman korma*), specifically those of *Abba Gadaa* men, are viewed and evaluated through the lens of the belief system. The decisions they make, their personal and group behaviors, their performances as leaders, interactions with others, and their activities in general should reflect the culture. They should reflect culture of the community in any of their behaviors. They should speak and act truth of *Waaqa*. They should act in spiritual wholesomeness in their *Gadaa* performances.

When an *Abba Gadaa* or men of *Gadaa* leaders take the responsibilities of *gadoma* – *being leaders of gadaa*, people expect them to maintain and perform the culture. In Borana's language, culture means everything. Religion, customary law, decisions and decision-making process, and even the *Gadaa* system itself is conceived as culture. Therefore, performing all these in accordance with the will of the people are the roles and the responsibilities of *Abbotti Gadaa* – *Gadaa men*. The period of eight years of *gadoma* belongs to the *Abba Gadaa* in power. *Waaqa* gave him eight years to accomplish these things. Therefore, the tasks of *Abba Gadaa* men should be the works of *Waaqa* during his *gadaa*.

Consequently, KII and FGD participants reported that during the periods preceding *gadoma*, individual members of every *gogessa* or *Gadaa* party learn and exercise the existing truth in the

belief system of the society in *Gadaa* system. They come to power when they master the cultural truths of Borana Oromo community. Confirmatory interview participants described that during *dabballumma*, for instance, people consider the child as *wayyu*, *individuals who live with Waaqa*. People believe that children in general, *dabballe* children in specific, are gifts of *Waaqa*. They do not want to disappoint or scare them by any means. They do not touch their hairs and body parts with sharp tools. They believe that if they disappoint *dabballe* children, *Waaqa* will be disappointed too. Therefore, parents and other society members should provide care and support for their children during early stages of development in accordance with the existing values in their belief system.

During interview with one of the key informant (KII-1), he described that the people believe that *Waaqa* allowed Borana to create their own culture of living and working together. Borana developed culture of speaking and doing truth with the help of *Waaqa*. Everything in Borana has its own culture. Nadhi Damma, one of the IDI interviewees, also reported that there are culture of women, men, children, *hayyu*, cattle, plants, and the land. The relationships among these are guided by the culture of speaking and doing truth. The culture includes customary laws that have been established by the community during *gumi gaayo* general assembly.

In their conception of behaviors, individuals are born with certain behavior. They said “some are born with ability to remember things easily while others forget things very easily” (IDI-1 & IDI-9). Some obey their parents but others not. Some deserve the status of *hayyumma* (*being an intellect*) while others do not. Some are *qajela* (positive) while others are not. They also implied that natural behaviors are enriched through social learning and practices. Natural behaviors can be developed into gifts and talents with the help of parents, *gadaa men* and *law men*, *men of arga-dhageti* and community members in general. Children learn through observations of others’ activities such as their fathers’ engagement of meetings and discussions and ritual celebrations. They capitalize their behavior by attending and running various ritual ceremonies. Participants reported that people also learn many things from each other during *fora or migration with cattle* and other collective performances such as *wal-argi* (*induction*), *nyachisa* (*feasting*), and ritual celebrations performed at different stages in *Gadaa* system (for example, KII-4).

The other underlying assumption of the community is that individuals, through time, can develop cultural competences and leadership skills. Based on individual’s gifts, parents parenting styles

and campaigning abilities of parents and clans, the community elects *hayyu adula* (*adula intellects*) long before they take power of leadership during the stage of *gadoma* (the 7th stage of the system). Despite the age of the persons, the community nominates *adula* 21 years before they receive *balli* of *gadoma* – *take power*. During all these years, they make personal and collective preparations through exercise of all what they can do when they will be in power. Hence, a newborn infant will be a 21 years old young adult at the time he comes to power. If a person is born right at the beginning of the stage of *dabballuma* (the 1st stage of *Gadaa* system) of his party, he will be a 21 year old person when he will be elected as *intellect/adula* and become 45 year at the time his group takes leadership power during *gadoma*. A newborn infant and man of 24 years old start living together for 21 years during *kusoma*, *raboma* and *doroma* (the 4th, 5th and 6th stages of *Gadaa* system). They learn, practice leadership skills such as making decisions and performing collective rituals of *kusoma*, *raboma* and *doroma*. They primarily engage in acquisition of *Gadaa* leadership qualities and skills that they should exercise when they come to power. They learn from elders, parents, other well-known educators in Borana, and from each other. All participants of in depth interviews, confirmatory interview, key informant interviews, and FGDs described the stages of *Gadaa* system and their age differences. Specifically, Boru Jaldessa, one of in depth interview participants, described age difference between the groups in the stages of *kusoma*, *raboma*, and *doroma* in *Gadaa* system than other participants. These indicate that there is exchange of information and learning in the form of *formal* or *informal* instructions in the process of acquiring leadership qualities.

Another underlying postulate of the community is related with leadership style. Interview and focus group discussion results confirmed that *gadoma* is collective exercise. It is not a one-person exercise of power. *Hayyu* of various age groups, having arrays of experiences and knowledge, and from different clans come together to function as community leaders. *Hayyu adula*, *hayyu medhicha* and *hayyu garba* composes the central team of *Gadaa* leadership. Moreover, service men and Abba Bokku also join the group. For instance, Galgalo Wariyo reported “...Abba *Gadaa* performs few things alone. Otherwise, all *hayyu* men work together.” Boru Guracha also reported that all *hayyu* men work together in the process of decision-making. Moreover, according to Beka Dhuga, Galgalo Wariyo, Boru Jaldessa and Galgalo Bari and other focus group discussants, in the case of customary law formulation during *gumi gaayo*, renowned

men from all over Borana land and *hayyu* men meet to establish new laws or amend the old ones. Hence, many people participate in the process of leadership.

Another fascinating practice reported as components of community's belief system is the issue of representation. The *hayyu* and others in the team of individuals living and working together as *gadaa* are real representatives of the community. In terms of age, an old man of more than seventy years and a young person as old as 21 years can live together to serve as leaders of the community in *ya'a gadaa/Gadaa team*. Again, all the seventeen clans and the five parties of Borana Oromo community are represented, directly or indirectly, in the group. Perhaps, people nominate a given *gadaa* period with the most senior person in the *ya'a* like Guyyo Gobba (KII-3, KII 4, IDI-2, and IDI-7). For instance, Adi Galgalo (KII-7) reported the following in his description of the group.

There are intellectuals, Abba Bokku, service men and sacred man live and work together during gadoma. All the three groups of Gadaa: arbora, hawattu and konnitu have the same composition. These men come together from different clans and parties. These men have different ages and experiences. Some are from the team of ex-Abba Gadaa while others are grown together as intellectuals. They are these men, who come together during decisions. Even though these men have the power, they have to consult elders in the process of formulating laws and making decisions (IDI-7).

In the belief system of the community, there are set assumptions and expectations about an Abba *Gadaa*. KII, FGD and IDI participants reported that impartial treatment of the people, respecting others, protecting Borana people from harm, working to care for animals and land, and good provision of culturally acceptable leadership services should characterize *Abba Gadaa* men. A person, who works as *Abba Gadaa* should respect all the community members regardless of their wealth, age, social status, gender, clan and ethnicity. *Abba Gadaa* does not belong to any clan or party. He belongs to all Borana. *Abba Gadaa* should have the ability to manage his family and Borana people at large. He should be fair in his decision. Again, people expect good rainfall, wealth, productivity of their cattle, peace in Borana and being free of disease during the eight years of *gadoma* of an *Abba Gadaa* man. The statement of one of KII participant, Tole Dadafo, reflects these assumptions and expectations as follow.

Abba Gadaa should live and lead like God. He should not cause any harm. His work should be the work of God. He should be patient like God; He has no luba – party. He has no clan. He belongs to all clans of Borana. All clans are his clans. He should not be aggressive. He should not make decisions that can cause harm to people. He may punish his wife but he should not insult her. If he insults her, for instance saying “you are a liar”, it is a decision by itself and no one can reverse it. He should live in spiritual purity like God. He should not be engaged in corruption. Abba Gadaa should not offend others. He should live in truth. Truth belongs to God. He should not lie because Borana Oromo says ‘Dubbiin kan aadaa, aadaan kan Booranaa, Booranni kan dhugaa, dhugaan kan Waaqaa - people’s speech belongs to culture, culture is that of Borana (there are many cultures), Borana belongs to Truth, and truth belongs to God (IdI-4).

Thematic analysis of the data provided by KIIs, IDIs and FGDs indicates that, in their system, there are lawmakers, law translators and executors. These three bodies perform mutually in *gadaa* system. Lawmakers are the community at large represented by intellectual elders. Well-know (in the community), experienced, and knowledgeable men from the community sit together during *gumi gaayo* at the mid year of a given *Gadaa* period to evaluate the overall progresses of the *Gadaa* leadership in position, examine the existing practices of the community, and produce/issue laws. The formulated law made is publicized and interpreted into practice by *Gadaa* leaders, men exercising leadership, and elders. In case there is inconsistencies between the formulated laws and the actions of *Gadaa* leaders, law translators resolve the problems by evaluating the consistency of the customary laws and the decision made by *Gadaa* leaders. The ordinary people are expected to obey the law and the decisions passed by *Gadaa* men and lawmakers. However, any capable person, who have the knowledge and skill of community’s culture and examine things critically, can attend general meetings of evaluation and decision-making.

Analysis of the data gathered also reveals that there is set hierarchical procedure of making decision by different bodies in *Gadaa* system. One of the fundamental principles in *Gadaa* system is respecting the chain of decision-making procedures. Elders at village level are the primary decision makers in the community. Next to them are *raba* men (men in fifth stage of the system) to whom one can appeal. *Dori* men (men in sixth stage) are the next men who can engage to resolve the problem. Finally, the appeal goes to *Gadaa* men (men in the seventh

stage). Again, *Gadaa* has three branches. *Arbora* branch is the most senior one followed by *Hawattu* and *Konnitu* respectively. *Arbora* is a representation of about 13 Borana clans. *Konnitu* always represent *Konnitu* sub-clan and *Hawattu* from *Hawattu* sub-clan. Hence, one can appeal for *Konnitu* first. Then, s/he appeal for *Hawattu*. Then, finally, if s/he still unable to understand the decisions, s/he go for *Arbora*. From *Gadaa* men, the appeal goes to *customary law men* for checking whether the existing customary law used to solve the problem is maintained or not. At every stage in the procedure, decisions are made in groups. In fact, the ultimate decision makers are *Gadaa men*. One of *konnitu gadaa branch* focus group discussants (FGD-8, p. 5) described the scenario passionately as follows.

In Borana, if elders are unable to solve a problem at neighborhood level, it is taken to raba men. If the case is brought to raba men, they decide. If you (customer) do not agree with the decision, you can take your case to dori. Dori also discuss over it and give out their decision like raba. If still the person is not satisfied with the decision, he appeals for Gadaa. If the case is taken to Gadaa (for instance, to Guyyo Gobba's team), they decide. If he still does not understand the decision, he can take his case to Abba Seera (for instance, Jilo Aaga). He is the last person that he can appeal to. In Borana, there is no one who is above Jilo Aaga by now. If the person refuses the decision of raba, dori, gada and then lawmen, his Borana citizenship will be denied. He will not be considered as Borana and nobody visits him in case of crises or accidents he might face. He will not be buried if he dies. He has no life with Borana (FGD-8, p. 5).

The other fascinating conception of Borana Oromo community is their thoughts about the relationship among people, cattle and ritual performances of *gadoma* – a process of being *Abba Gadaa*. Galgalo Bari and Galgalo Wariyo (KII-2) described the relationship among people, cattle, and ritual celebrations in culture of the society. Their explanations show that individuals' social learning and cultural practices of *gadoma* highly rely on cattle related activities. Cattle play vital central role in cultural performances. It seems difficult to perform culture without cattle. So many practices require cattle and their products. That may be the reason why the people build cattle enclosure at the center of their settlement camps that I visited during data collection. *Gadaa* leadership power transfer takes place inside cattle enclosure. They slaughter so many cattle during different ritual celebrations. They use their milk and butter for cultural purposes. Burial of an old man who successfully completed *gadoma* takes place inside cattle

enclosure. They ignite fire inside cattle's enclosure and share it. Youths and adolescents learn different skills of *gadoma* when they migrate with their cattle as *fora* (*migration with cattle*). They contribute cattle during *katto* (*contribution to support someone*). They give cattle to lobby others for *lalaba* - *election*. Marriage of *hayyu adula* (*adula intellects*) takes place inside cattle enclosure. Generally, the society believes that *Gadaa* system started inside cattle enclosure. Cattle enclosure is one of the most sacred and blessed place in Borana land. Cattle are blessed entity in their cultural believe and practices. One of the respondents stated this as follows:

Borana does not raise animals only for consumption. They do so for cultural practices too. Cattle are a symbol of being blessed. They do not cause any harm. If there are no cattle, there will be no Gadaa system. There is no Gadaa without cattle. Gadaa system, culture and cattle have a string tie. Without cattle, there will be no cultural exercises. God is with the person who rears and looks after them. A person who looks after cattle is a blessed one (FGD-3, P1).

Related to this is the practice of herding cattle. Borana believe that herding cattle is an act of being blessed. They give maximum care they can for them. They take them to resourceful areas all through Borana land and stay there with them for months and years. During migration, a group of old men, adults, adolescents and children travel and settle together. Any Borana have the right to take his cattle to locations where they thought good for their cattle. Perhaps, herding is the duty of the youths and children, especially children of senior *gamme*, in the group.

As reported by KII-1 and FGD-1 participants, at *fora*, young people and children have ample time to learn many things related to their culture from aged men and adults accompanying them. The older men educate them about values and customs of Borana Oromo community. They learn history, puzzles, stories, tales, poems, songs, art of singing and dancing, failures and successes of *gadaa* men, some medical skills, astronomical skills, and others. They develop endurance from the challenges and problems they can face during the travels. There may be confrontations with people living in neighborhood of Borana land. The migrants may face shortage of drinking water and food, heavy rainfall or drought, cattle raiders and beasts like hyenas, tigers, lions, and snakes. They have to show tolerance and patience to hunger and thirst. They have to show maximum courage and determination to defend themselves and their cattle from beasts and enemies. They have to work together to overcome all these challenges of migrating with cattle.

As a result, they get the chance to develop skills of independence and interdependence during *fora*.

Every individual in *fora* community come together from different family. Therefore, they need to accomplish private life that they could get from family otherwise. They act and defend themselves and their cattle from much harm in-group. As a result, they develop a strong bond among themselves. They support one another. For instance, if a snake bites someone, others run for herbal medicine to cure him. *Fora* also give them the chance to be creative thinkers as they have ample time to discuss over different issues. They develop skills of interpersonal communication. As they have sufficient time argue each other, children learn manners of communication from elders in the group. Children and youths in the group learn shouldering responsibilities.

In *fora*, young individuals migrate with their parents' cattle. Therefore, despite their age, they care and protect their cattle from harm and take back home safely. If a child come back home with the cattle well fed and protected, he get trust from his parents and the community.

Moreover, during *fora*, children and youths get the chance of learning the geographical boundaries of Borana land. They travel to different locations of Borana land. They learn the land escape and the resources they harbor. They can develop mental map of their nation. They also get the chance to learn about their clans leaving at different locations of Borana land. They learn about clans, parties, and their age mates. At the same time, as they live together for long time during *fora* movement, they can learn about each other's behavior: talents, skills, courage, determination, confidence, and the like.

They can also get the chance to develop their astronomical skills during *fora*. As they have to know when to take cattle back home, the timing of rainfall, calculate their ages, timing of ritual celebrations, transfer of *balli* (*symbol of power*), etc., astronomical skill is very essential for them. Therefore, the elders take the children to the hilltop during nighttimes under clear sky and show them the number and positions of the stars and the moon on regular bases. Respondents described *fora* as follows.

You can call it school. You learn about war and other issues while you are a child. We used to learn songs of different types such as gerersa (war songs or songs of praising...), faaruu

(anthem), etc. After we ate and became full, we used to enjoy singing and dancing together. There were love and peace among us. It was a great happiness.that was a huge lesson for us (FGD-9, P-1).

The astronomical calendar we use to run ritual celebrations and the Gadaa system is learned during fora. If you go up on the top of a mountain, you can look into the universe clearly. It is visible and observable. During our time, the elders used to teach us about the astronomical representation of Borana calendar using the relative positions of the stars and the moon in the sky. Stars indicate the time of rain fall/summer time in the area, time for sunrise, time of winter, and the like. Fora is a wonderful school (KII-3).

Children who engage in fora know more about Borana than other children. The one grew up at home and have no fora experiences does not know much about the culture and values of the society. The situation of fora is good to learn many things. If you spend your time at home, you do not have the chance to learn. The father may not be around to teach you about the culture if you are at home. However, if you are at fora, you sleep in a simple hut or in an enclosure where you can see the position of moon and the stars in the sky and calculate days and nights (IDI-1).

Oh! It was common to face challenges. There were wild beasts like snakes, lions, and tigers. However, we did not worry much about them. For instance, snake bit me twice, once on my head and the other time on my leg. It does not matter. There is a medicine for it. Snakebites do not kill human being here in Borana. There is medicine you can give immediately after the bite. Cattle bitten by snake also show signs of being bitten. There is medication for them too (KII-1).

During our time, there were individuals taken by lions and saved by their friends... I know a person who was taken by lion and saved by others during fora of our time. I also remember a person bitten by hyena and saved by others. He was bitten on his leg (FGD7, P. 2).

The age of people who engage in fora varies. Old men, adults, and small children live together during fora. For instance, I was with a man of 80 years old while mine was about 14/15 years. He used to tell me his lifelong stories and experiences. He told me all what he had heard and experienced in his life. We had ample time to discuss. The man had no other duty except teaching me about Borana in the nighttime. I also used to enjoy listening to him. I used to spend most of the time with them than children of my age in the group. We used to discuss and play together. ...

The old man had a talent to identify a child who memorizes things he was told, and enjoy good plays. Therefore, if you spend two or three days with him, he make you his friend and tells you what he had heard from his parents and grandparents, and experienced and observed in his life (KII-4).

Another important and very crucial concept in Borana Oromo's belief system is the concept of time. The community has its own way of calculating time relying on lunar principles. They count time based on the positions of stars and moon in clear sky as mentioned above. As indicated in the above quotations, many people have good skill of time estimation so that they can catch up with the time of ritual celebrations and so many time dependent cultural activities in the community.

The people have their own days, months, seasons, and years. Hole Boneyya, Bule Gobba, Adi Galgalo and Galgalo Wariyo reported that there are 12 months in a year, which can be classified into four seasons. The months are *Gurandhala (February)*, *Bitotessa (March)*, *Chamsa (April)*, *Bufa(May)*, *Wacabajji(June)*, *Obora Guda (July)*, *Obora Diqa (August)*, *Birra (September)*, *Chaqaya (October)*, *Sadasa (November)*, *Afrasa (December)* and *Amajji (January)*. The four seasons are *bona (winter)*, *adolessa (autumn)*, *hagayya (spring)*, and *gannaa (summer)* seasons in their calendar. *Gurandhala, Bitotessa* and *Chamsa* are months of summer. *Bufa, Wacabajji* and *Obora Guda* are months of spring season. *Obora Diqa, Birra* and *Chaqaya* are months of winter season. *Sadasa, Afrasa* and *Amajji* are months of autumn.

February is a special month in Borana's notion of time because of a number of assumptions. According to IDI-1, *Waaqa* was born in the month; and human being, animals, and plants reproduce in the month. *Balli* or power transfer also occurs in the month.

The other core assumption is representation and fair distribution of power among the five *gogessa – parties (Jilo Aaga, Boru Medha, Boru Guyyo, Liben Jaldessa, and Gobba Bule)*, the three branches of *Gadaa (arbora, hawatu and konnitu)* and different clans in the party. Not only the clans who have representation in *gadaa* group of leadership, but also the five parties had roles in the leadership of a party. Therefore, the leading *ya'a - team* constitutes clans and parties of Borana. One party gives power to another in fixed period of eight years. Whether an *Abba Gadaa* of a given party is good or bad, strong or weak, and cruel or generous, he and his

teammate lead only for eight years. However, their good or bad behaviors will have effect on the next generation. One of junior *raba* FGD discussant (P1), for instance, stated “whoever *Abba Gadaa* is, weak or strong, he should transfer *balli* to others.”

Another pillar principle in Borana Oromo’s worldview is rule of law. Set rules and assumptions or customary laws established over years during *gumi gaayo* (Borana Oromo community general assembly) in history abide human actions in Borana land. They have established different customary laws such as law of *hayyu* (*intellects*), law of women, law of girls, law of elders, law of wells, law of horses, law of camel, etc. The people made these customary laws part of their culture and *Gadaa* system. Customary laws determine the type of relationships that should exist among individuals, *gadaa* branches, clans, individuals of different status in the community, human and resources, and other personal collective activities. If people fight each other, steal some one’s property, insult others, rape females, abduct girls, refuse to accept decisions made by community leaders, and the like, they are mediated using the customary laws. For instance, if someone harms a community leader, she/he pays cattle equal to the number of one’s head hairs (KII-4). The law also governs people’s interaction with animals like horse, camel, and cattle. Almost all interview and focus group discussion participants mentioned the rule of law in their description of their life in *Gadaa* system.

Generally, participants believe that their harmonious socio-economic, political, and religious co-existence is because of the core principles that they institutionalized into *Gadaa* system. The very existence of the community relies on this age-old system, which they have been adapting and transmitting from one generation to the next. They settle disputes and conflicts with the help of customary legal system they had established in the institution. *Gadaa* system helps them to deal with their social, political, economic, and spiritual affairs. The assertion of *Abba Gadaa* Nadhi Damma (IDI-1), one of in-depth interviewees, confirms this fact when he stated the following:

The very existence of Borana Oromo community depends on Gadaa system (Sirna Gadaa). Borana works with Gadaa system. It is the Gadaa transmitted from generation to generation. There may be problems like conflict, disagreements between clans and individuals, which can happen in the will of Waaqa – God. These situations are also calmed down and settled by the customary legal procedures in the system. All clans of Borana are treated impartially in the

system so that they can strengthen the system and protect it from risk. The system protects the culture of Borana from possible jeopardy (IDI-1).

In summary, the overall knowledge and practices of Borana Oromo community are rooted in their cultural belief system. They live what they believe. Truth, culture, *Waaqa*, and human activities are highly interrelated in their belief system. Therefore, their spiritual, ritual, political, and economic activities are performed in line with their assumptions and principles. Hence, they support their prospective leaders' development of leadership skills, knowledge, and competences based on these cultural suppositions and standards.

Participants of the current study described many cultural orders, traditions, steps and procedures, morals, and many other dos and don'ts that members of the society teach their prospective leaders in their life in *Gadaa* system. The *hayyu* men need to know and master these things in detail so that they can guide and monitor others in their practices when they become *Gadaa* leaders and during retirement periods. The details of these individuals and their groups' cultural capitalizations are discussed under section of stages of *Gadaa* system.

Therefore, in Borana people's notion of leadership in *Gadaa* system, nomination, election and recruitment of individuals as *hayyu* is not only a matter of majority vote, but also being gifted with talents of leadership and acquisition of the major cultural elements of the society during different stages of *Gadaa* system (e.g., KII-2, IDI-8, IDI-9 and FGD-3). They should know and perform the culture that came through rigorous instruction and practices over the course of series of developmental stages they have established long ago in their history of *Gadaa* system.

Socio-political structures of Borana Oromo community

Results of thematic analysis of the data gathered from interview and focus group discussion participants indicate that Borana Oromo community is classified into three major strata – *Ilman korma* (children of young people), *ilman jarsa* (children of the elderly), and *ilman yuba* (children of ordinary people) or simply *yuba*. *Ilman korma* are those people born of individuals who have direct participation in *Gadaa* system. As discussed below, *Gadaa* system have different stages and those individuals who are known as *ilman korma* are those who are born when their parents are in *raboma*, *doroma*, *gadoma* and *yuboma* (*yuba I & II*) stages in the system. In other words, those individual who born during the first three stages of *gadoma*: *dabballumma*, junior *gamme*

and senior *gamme* are called *ilman korma*. These individuals have chance to be members of *hayyu/team of intellects*. They are *Ilman korma* who actively engage in *Gadaa* system of the community. On the other hand, *Ilman jarsa* are those individuals born after their parents completed *yuboma (yuba I & II)* stage in the system. They are children born of parents in the stage of *yuba III, yuba V, gadamojjumma* and *jarsumma* (see the table below). *Yuba* people are ordinary community members. *Yuba* includes *ilman korma* who completed *gadoma* stage, *ilman jarsa* and other Borana Oromo living in Borana land. The following quotation is taken as instance of community's social strata.

Those individual who are born in the reach of their luba's birth period are called ilman korma while those who are born after their luba passed through dabbalumma and gamme are ilman jarsa. Ilman korma are individuals who are part of Gadaa system. Ilman jarsa are those children born of yuba men settled at different part of Borana land. They (ilman jarsa) are not in luba (FGD-3, P1).

In the analysis of the qualitative data collected from research participants, it was also observed that the community has two large clans: Sabbo and Gona. These clans have also sub-clans. Sabbo has three large sub-clans: digalu, karrayyu and matarri. Gona has two broad sub-clans: haroressa and fulalle. Haroressa is farther classified into seven sub-clans: arsi, hawattu, qarachabdu, warra-jidda, maliyyu, dambitu and donitu. Fullalle is also further classified into seven sub-clans: dachitu, oditu, machitu, galantu, sirayu, bachitu and konnitu.

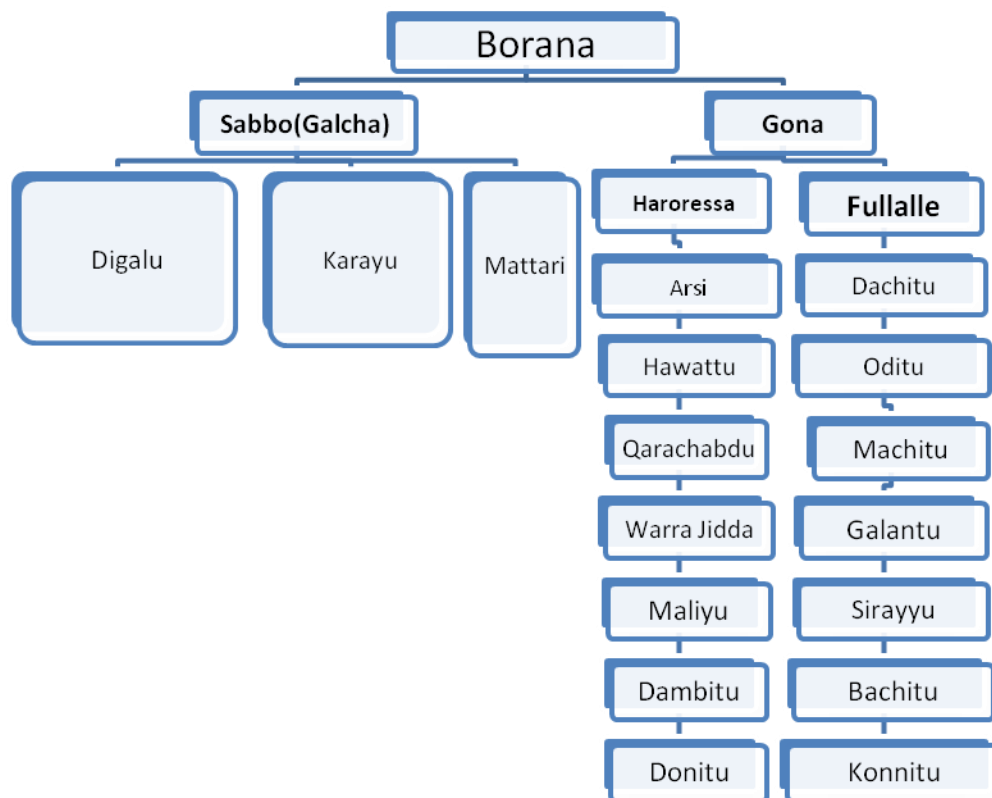
As stated above, in *Gadaa* system's leadership, the community gives relatively equal representation of the clans. That means of the six *hayyu adula*, three are elected from Sabbo and three from Gona. Again, the three branches of *Gadaa (arbora, hawattu and konnitu)* represent Sabbo and the two broad sub-clans of Gona: haroressa and fulelle, and their seniority depend on the size and *birth* of the clans. Distribution of leadership status and power is also contingent up on the number and the size of the clans. In *Gadaa* system's status hierarchy, the bigger the number of a clan, the higher the status and power given for the *Gadaa* branch representing that clan. Hence, *arbora gadaa* branch represents many clans and it takes the first position while *hawattu* and *konnitu* take the second and the third in the hierarchy as they represent smaller clan sizes respectively. The following quotations describe clans and their inter relationships.

On Sabbo side, there are three sub-clans even though karrayyu is the largest one. They are karrayyu, matari and digalu. The Gona side is many. Gona has two subclans: haroressa and fullalle. Haroressa has seven sub-clans while fullelle has seven sub-clans. If you add up all these, Borana has 17 sub-clans (IDI-3).

Borana has two broad sub-clans: Sabbo and Gona. Digalu, karrayyu and matarri are sabbo while haroressa and fulalle are Gona. Again haroressa is farther classified into seven sub-clans: arsi, hawattu, qarachabdu, warra-jidda, maliyyu, dambitu and donitu. Fullalle has seven sub-clans: dachitu, oditu, machitu, galantu, sirayu, bachitu and konnitu (KII-I).

At the beginning of kusoma, six men of adula intellects – three from Sabbo and the other three from Gona sub clans, are elected. If the first is elected from Sabbo clan the, second will be from Gona by cultural default and the vice versa. It should be sabbo – gona - sabbo – gona - sabbo – gona (IDI-5).

... arbora contains many clans and it has separate gadaa branch.... (KII-2).



Daigram 4.1: Borana Oromo Community's Clans and their Relationships

According to the participants, another line of division in the community is party membership. There are five *gogessa/luba* or parties in Borana Oromo community namely: *Jilo Aaga, Liben Jaldessa, Bule Dabbasa, Boru Medha and Boru Guyyo*. Every member of the community is member of one of the five parties. They are the parties that run the system one after the other every eight years. *Jilo Aaga* party, for instance, takes power after the remaining four parties governed Borana for 32 consecutive years in total, eight years each. Until then, the party educates its children about the culture of the community to prepare them for leadership position. In relation to this, after narrating the number of *Abba Gadaa* men elected in the history of *Gadaa system by their parties*, an elder, who was one of IDI participants, stated “...we educate our children all these and many more before they take *balli*. They should know these histories....” (Jaldessa Doyyo, IDI-4).

As indicated by research participants, in Borana Oromo’s very strict and well-established socio-political structure, a party serves as *gadaa* leader only for eight years. It must transfer the authority to the next party after eight years. The parties have own sequences. One is senior to other by *birth*. *Jilo Aaga* is first-born party followed by *Boru Guyyo, Boru Medha, Liben Jaldessa* and *Bule Dabbasa* respectively. Whether *Abba Gadaa* of a given party, say party of *Jilo Aaga*, is weak or strong, he must transfer *balli* to his immediate successor elected from *Boru Guyyo’s party* after eight years of leadership services. This strong conviction of the society was well expressed by Hole Boneyya (IDI-2), one of IDI participants. He stated, “Borana has five parties. These five party round each other to run the culture of *gadoma, raboma, dabballumma* and *gadamojjumma*. All people do this. They do not refuse to transfer *balli*. They give and take *balli* as per the system.” Beeka Dhuga also strongly stated the strictness of their system as follows:

If Abba Gadaa refuses to give balli or power, he will be punished or beaten to death by the incoming Abba Gadaa. The incoming Abba Gadaa run after him if he refuses to give him power. As it is also a cultural issue of Borana, all society members also chase him. The whole people punish him (IDI-1).

These five parties have been transferring *balli* to other for about 550 years, which means for more than 70 times. According to Beeka Dhuga and Tole Dadafo, 72 *Abba Gadaa* men had came to power in the history of *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community.

Beeka Dhuaga reported the names of 73 elected *Abba Gadaa*, including prospective leaders, by their parties. From *Jilo Aaga's* party, individuals who served Borana Oromo community as *Abba Gadaa* are 15, including the one elected in *doroma* stage at the time of data collection. They are Gadayo Galgalo, Boru Liban Bakkalcha, Dagalee Yaya, Babbo Horro, Harro Dullacha, Abayi Babbo, Dawe Gobbo, Alake Doyyo Haralle, Liban Wata, Jilo Gneencho, Doyyo Jilo, Adii Doyyo, Aaga Adii, Jilo Aaga and Kura Jarso (*raba man*).

Similarly, from Guyyo Boru's party, fifteen individuals served as *Gadaa* leader in the history of the system. They are Yaya Fullele, Itale Dullacha, Atote Titale, Yayya Holee Bonayya, Bobbo Cibo Berre, Halla Kura Yayya, Jarso Hiddo Yayaa, Guyyo Gedo Wale, Wayyu Ralle Canna, Sokore __ Hanna, Haro Adii, Boru Galma Doyyo, Guyyo Boru Galma, Boru Guyyo Boru and Guyyo Boru.

From the third party, the 15 individuals who came to power, including Didayye Boru (who was elected in *kusoma* stage at the time of data collection) are Jarso Babbo, Lukku Jarso, Bora Lukku, Doyyo Boro, Hidhale Doyyo, Wayyo Horu, Walee Waccu , Madha Boru, Boru Medha, Madha Diqqa, Dida Bitata , Liban Kuse, Madha Galma, Boru Madha and Dadayye Boru (prospective *Abba Gadaa* candidate from *kusa adula*).

From the fourth party, *Liben Jaldessa's* party, fourteen individuals came to power as *Gadaa* leader. These individuals are Borbor Dawwa, Dawwa Borbor, Abbayyo Haro, Bacho Nadho, Haccu Abbiyyu, Morowwa Abayyi, Sora Dido Qarsaa, Sura Xaddacha Hidho, Unjile Lafe, Liban Jilo Hadha, Guyyo Boru Gile, Arero Gedo Liban, Jaldessa Liban and Liban Jaldessa.

From the fifth party, *Bule Dabbasa's* party, fourteen individuals came to power at different times in the history of the system like that of Liben Jaldessa's party. They are Dida Nam-Dur, Age Rage Gile, Hurguma Siggu, Bida Dhoqe Raso, Babo Lakku Morma, Gobba Alla Nura, Sora Guyyo Harqa, Bule Xaddacha, Saqqo Xaddacha, Jaldessa Guyyo Dabbasa, Liban Jaldessa, Bule Dabbasa, Gobba Bule and Guyyo Gobba (*Abba Gadaa* at the time of data collection).

However, Tole Dadafo (IDI-4) reported the names of *Abba Gadaa* men in chronological order that they came to power as described in the following table.

Table 4.1: List of Senior *Abba Gadaa* Men elected in the History of *Gadaa* System

1	Gadayo Galgalo	25	Abu Lukku	49	Liban Jilo
2	Yayya Fullele	26	Abayi Babbo	50	Jaldessa Guyyo
3	Jarso Babbo	27	Hale Kura	51	Doyyo Jilo
4	Dawwa Borbor	28	Wayi Uruu	52	Haro Adi
5	Dida Nama Duri	29	Morowa Abay	53	Dida Bitata
6	Arero Boru	30	Gubba Alla	54	Guyyo Boru
7	Titile Dullachaa	31	Dawe Gobbo	55	Liben Jaldessa
8	Lukku Jarso	32	Jarso Hida	56	Adi Doyyo
9	Dada Hiddo	33	Wale Wacu	57	Boru Galma
10	Kura Dhalla	34	Sora Tadacha	58	Liben Kuse
11	Dagale Yayya	35		59	Arero Gedo
12	Osos Titile	36		60	Bule Debessa
13	Boru Lukku	37	Guyyo Geda	61	Aaga Adi
14	Abbayii Horo	38	Mara Boru Dada	62	Guyyo Boru
15	Bidu Dhoqe	39	Tedacha Oda	63	Madha Galma
16	Horo Dullacha	40	Bule Tadacha	64	Jaldessa Liban
17	Yayya Hole	41	Liben Wasa	65	Gobba Bule
18	Yaya Boru (Abbayo)	42	Wayyu Wale	66	Jilo Aaga
19	Hidacho Nadho	43	Boru Medha	67	Boru Guyyo
20	Orgumessa Irigu	44	Ugule Halake	68	Boru Medha
21	Babbo Orroo	45	Saqo Tedecha	69	Liban Jaldessa
22	Babbo Sibuu	46	Jilo Gnencho	70	Guyyo Gobba
23	Dale Doyyo	47	Sokore Anna	71	Kura Jarso
24	Hacu Abiyu	48	Madha Boru Medha		

Some of the names reported by Beka are not in the list of *Abba Gadaa* men reported by Tole and this requires further investigation by historians or any other interested researcher. The difference is observed may be because of existence of three *Gadaa* branches having different *Gadaa* leaders. As it was not primary objective of the current research, it is not important to focus on analysis of this historical account of the system. The presentation is to indicate that elders teach the developing *Gadaa* individuals about the history of these *Abba Aadaa* men and their accomplishments at different stages.

Generally, participants indicated that the community is structured into clans, parties, and generation-sets. These socio-political structures in the community determine representation and participation in *Gadaa* leadership council. The two broad clans: Sabbo and Gona, have equal number of *hayyu adula* in *Gadaa* leadership group. Across the clans, there are five parties, which take turn every eight years to lead the community for eight consecutive years. They are *ilman korma* who plays the central role in *Gadaa* leadership and its development as stated above.

Stages of *Gadaa* system

One of the commonly addressed issues by almost all informants is the stages of *Gadaa* system. In the system, the process of cultural education and leadership development has 13 progressive stages. The stages are *daballumma*, junior *gamme*, senior *gamme*, *kusoma*, *raboma*, *doroma*, *gadoma*, *yuboma I*, *yuboma II*, *yuboma III*, *yuboma IV*, *gadamojjumma* and *jarsumma*. Each grade lasts for eight year, except *daballumma*, *doroma*, *yuba IV*, *gadamojjumma* and *jarsumma*, which are 16, 5, 5, 3 and indefinite years respectively. However, three years of *doroma* overlaps with *gadoma*. They share three years in between. If we add up the years, ideally, the process lasts for 93 years and that is age of the system. These stages form developmentally functional socio-cultural and political structure of *Gadaa* system. They are the building blocks of the system.

Before a party, for instance Jilo Aaga's party, comes to power, it develops and educates children of its party through six consecutive stages: *daballumma*, junior *gamme*, senior *gamme*, *kusoma*, *raboma*, and *doroma*. If possible, individuals of a given party come to serve the community as *Gadaa* leaders after they develop leadership knowledge skills during these six progressive stages. However, children are born to the system until the end of the third stage and it is difficult to equate age of the system with that of individuals in the system.

Therefore, *gadoma* is the seventh grade in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. It comes at the mid year of the life span of the system. During this stage, individuals serve as *Gadaa* leaders in the community. After *gadoma*, individuals of that party become *yuba* for 32 years depending up on their age. Once they complete stages of *yuboma*, they live as *gadamojji* for three years. If an individual exit the system after being *gadamojji*, he lives as *jarsa* or as an old man until his death.

If we list the stages in relation to the five parties of Borana Oromo community, we can come up with one complete cycle of *Gadaa* system presented in the table below. However, in reality, the pattern is cyclical and overlaps.

Table 4.2: Ideal Relationship between Stages, Parties, and Generations in the *Gadaa* System

No.	Stages	Years	<i>Gogessa/Luba/Parties</i>	Generation	Remarks
1	<i>Dabballuma</i>	16	Jilo Aaga + Boru Guyyo + Guyyo Gobba	Grandsons	Children of three Parties: Boru Guyyo (8), Jilo Aaga (5) & Guyyo Gobba (3)
2	Junior <i>gamme</i>	8	Guyyo Gobba	Grandsons	
3	Senior <i>gamme</i>	8	Liben Jaldessa	Grandsons	
4	<i>Kusoma</i>	8	Boru Medha	Sons	
5	<i>Raboma</i>	8	Boru Guyyo	Sons	
6	<i>Doroma</i>	5	Jilo Aaga	Sons	The first three years of <i>Gadoma</i> is also <i>doroma</i>
7	<i>Gadoma</i>	8	Guyyo Gobba	Sons	
8	<i>Yuboma</i> I	8	Liben Jaldessa	Fathers	
9	<i>Yuboma</i> II	8	Boru Medha	Fathers	
10	<i>Yuboma</i> III	8	Boru Guyyo	Fathers	
11	<i>Yuboma</i> IV	5	Jilo Aaga	Grandfathers	
12	<i>Gadamojyumma</i>	3	Guyyo Gobba	Grandfathers	
13	<i>Jarsumma</i>	Indefinite	Liben Jaldessa and others	Grandfathers	

Dabballumma (Birth – 16 years)

Most of research participants started discussing about chronological orders of stages in *Gadaa* system with description of features of *dabballumma*. Although depth of their understanding varies, participants of FGD, KII, IDI, and CI have knowledge and understanding of behaviors of children of this stage. In my understanding, the differences in participants' knowledge about the behaviors of the children of the stage and related cultural practices appear due to inability to recite what they have learned or experienced. Otherwise, I did not experience any fundamental contradictions in their reports. They described the physical characteristics of these children that distinguish them from others in the community. They know culturally set relationships that should exist between adults and children in the stage. They reported the kind of care and support that should be provided for these children from adults. They also justified implications of intensive care and support they provide for the children.

The long journey of leader and leadership development in the life cycle of *Gadaa* system starts with *dabballuma*. *Dabballumma* is the first stage in *Gadaa* cycle. *Dabballumma* is a noun form of a term *dabballe*. *Dabballe* is type of dreadlock hairstyle in which parents allow their children's birth hair to grow long without washing and combing. It is a long birth hair anointed with butter for 16 years. According to Galgalo Wariyo (KII-2) and Liben Elemo (IDI 9), the name *dabballe* came from a term *dabbo* – *attractive, interesting, looks good*. *Dabballumma* is a process of being children of *dabballe*, *attractive children*.

Dabbo or *Dabballe* is the name given to children born and live in this very first stage of *Gadaa* cycle. They are children of *raba*, *dori* and *gadaa* parents (parents in the 5th (*raboma*), 6th (*doroma*) and 7th (*gadoma*) stages of *Gadaa* system). As described by Beeka Dhuga, Galgalo Wariyo and Nadhi Damma, in the past, the length of the stage of *dabballumma* was only 8 years. However, after abolishment of child abandonment customary law, it became 16 years. In the past, they were only *dori* men who had cultural right to have *dabballe*. Parents in *raboma* stage used to abandon or give for adoption a child born before their celebration of *dannisa* ceremony (symbol of fatherhood). Individuals in the stage of *raboma* used to hold a tree called *dannisa* to symbolize their cultural right to give birth at their transition from *raboma* to *doroma* (Bule Jarso, IDI-8). Currently, children born of *raba*, *dori* and *gadaa* parents are all *dabballe*.

According to descriptions of Beeka Dhuga, Tole Dadafo, Bule Gobba and FGD-1 discussants, Borana Oromo community considers this stage as period of pregnancy of *gadoma* in their *Gadaa* system. In their social age counting approach, they believe that *dabballe* children are in the *womb* of *gadoma*. *Dabballumma* is a stage in which children of *raba*, *dori* and *gadaa* are considered as *gadoma* babies in their mother's womb. They consider the living home compound of the children as a *womb* and they do not allow the children to leave the compound during stage of *dabballumma*. Beeka Dhuga described this belief as follows:

Dabballe children do not go out of home enclosure because they are in the conception stage of Gadaa just like human pregnancy. They are not allowed to go far from their parents. Dabballuma is the stage of pregnancy of Gadaa system. They are pregnancy of raboma. They become children after dabballuma. They are born when they complete dabballuma and enter the stage of gamme. Gamme is childhood stage of Gadaa system (KII-1).

Dabballe children are mainly distinguished from other children by their dabballe or guduru – a dreadlock hairstyle anointed with butter and their common names Jaldessa – literary mean monkey. According to description of the participants, people do not wash, comb, or shave dabballe children's birth hair before the end of the stage. Someone can easily identify them by their exceptional hairstyle. Parents allow their hairs to grow for three main reasons as explained by Jaldessa Doyyo. One is to avoid their head from any possible danger of cut with blade that can happen during shaving. Secondly, they believe that if they are not shaved, the children will become good in their intellectual abilities and they can remember things very well. Thirdly, they believe that the child develop sense of being a man of purpose in the future.

Yes, you do not cut dabballe children's hairs and fingernails with sharpen tools. They are not circumcised. They are not made to bleed. Inflecting pain and fear is not allowed. Their hairs are made guduru, dreadlock (Jamaicans Rastafarians' hairstyle). People are not allowed to pull a single hair from their head and make them to feel pain. Their hairs are not combed but anointed with butter. Even a guduru damaged of their head because of unknown reasons are not removed (IDI-6).

The reason behind making her hairstyle guduru is to make her to have objectives (mataa kan dhoobbammuf akka isiin gaaromtoofi). People do not shave their birth hairs. It grows

untouched. It helps her to memorize things (akka mataan isii waa qabatu).... Her hair made to such style to avoid ignorance from entering her mind. The hair is made to keep things in her mind (KII-3).

Dabballe children have common name, Jaldessa, during the first 16 years of dabbalumma stage in Gadaa cycle. Even though they have common name called Jaldessa, their mothers, fathers, and other adults call them by feminine pronoun intal – literary mean she or dabballitti – you dabballe. Hence, they are identified by their physical appearances and parents’ name. Therefore, someone can identify them either by their parents or by their physical appearances. As explained by Beeka Dhuga, they call them intal and Jaldessa for three main reasons. One is to protect them from evil eyes and unfortunate happenings. They believe that if they were not given ugly names like this, they may be victim of evils as they are attractive and handsome. Second, monkeys reproduce limitlessly without any care and support from their parents. Monkeys have no medical doctor to treat them, and they live in health. Therefore, calling them dabballe is to wish them to reproduce like monkeys and live without any harm. Thirdly, these naming is an irony that can offend someone under normal circumstances. They are called intel and Jaldessa to adapt themselves to possible satires of others when they come to power later. Beeka and one of focus group discussant explained the reasons as follows:

They are called jaldessa as a jock. We never observed a dead monkey. Monkeys live together. They are named jaldessa hoping or wishing them that they travel and come out of home like Jaldessa in large number. We hope that they will grow like flocks of jaldessa. Monkeys live and reproduce with the help of God without any problem. The number of a group of monkey is unknown. It may be 100 or more. They are not treated by men or given medicine and they do not die. They can live for many years. Therefore, they are given the name to wish them live like monkeys (KII-1).

People call dabballe children “intal” as a jock/ceeffi). It is to teach them not to be aggressive. She may be spoiled and become cruel and abandon her family. Therefore, people call her “intal” to help her to grow in peace and good health. Aggressiveness and cruelty is not expected of Abba Gadaa (FGD-1, P.5).

The other remarkable freedom of children in this stage is that they are given the name they want to be called with. According to the participants, *dabballe* children are given name at the end of the stage during a ceremony called *gubbisa*. They are given names at a place called *Tadacha Kallicha* in Liben district of the then Borana Zone. During the ceremony, the parents migrate and settle at the place. *Dabballee* children have the chance to have name they want to be called. The *Kallu* (religious leader) and the father seat together to confirm the names they preferred to have. According to Galgalo Wariyo, the children have the right to choose their names although the father can suggest them preferred ancestral names. All children in Borana land who are members of the same party and born in the stage are named on the same day.

Dabballe children have the right to choose their names. It is the name chosen by the child that her parents and other people confirm. As a parent, you have the chance to provide the child with familial names of her ancestors. There are names commonly given for firstborn children in Borana. The parents may suggest such names during naming ceremony. In general, no one is allowed to stand against dabballe children's will and interest. Nobody hinders them from fulfilling their interest. Leave alone naming, people do not stand against their will in any situations (KII-2).

As reported by participants, the society believes that *dabballe* children are gifts of *Waaqa* or *God* and consider them as *wayyu* – *socially respected or saint*. They are considered as people living with the spirit of *Waaqa*. As a result, people do not want to scare them in fear of curse. They do not make them cry. No one dare to beat and insult them. People avoid any aggressive feeling toward them. During my observation, I also never experienced any physical punishment or any aggressive words towards these children from people living in the neighborhood. *Dabballe* children can quarrel and fight each other but the adults calm down things very peacefully. They say “*dabballittin wal-loltee addan qabaa – the dabballe are quarrelling, please mediate them!*” Even, when the residents hear any *dabballe* child crying in the neighborhood, they react as if something bad has happened to them. The protections made by the community for children in this stages described by Boru Jaldessa (IDI-3) as follows:

Yes, dabballe children can fight each other. It doesn't matter. However, adults do not beat or punish them and make them to feel fear. If adults beat them, we consider as crime against Borana as these children belongs to the people of Borana. They will serve all of us during

gadoma. If you beat them today, we may not get hayyu tomorrow as an adult may cause injury to her head or ear if he beats her. Our culture does not allow you to beat others. You take your case to Abba Gadaa for decision (IDI-3).

As stated by participants, the care and support made for *dabbo* children after birth starts with the preference to have them. To stay in *Gadaa* system, parents badly need to give birth during their stage of *raboma*, *doroma* and *gadoma*. If they miss to have male child at the right time, the generation will miss chance to be part of the system. Hence, they are happy of having *dabbo* during these periods. At birth, mothers living in the neighborhood exceptionally celebrate *dabballe* children's birth.

According to the informants, the reason behind avoiding beating and scaring *dabballe* children is that they may treat others during their *gadoma* in the same fashion. As the system is cyclical and they are *dabballe* children who succeed the parents in the system, the parent plan to be part of the system through these children. They want to have a strong and well-mannered children who can compete with others and get the position of *hayyu* and *Abba Gadaa*. They want their *dabballe* children to develop qualities of a *hayyu*. The family does not want to miss the chance of being *hayyu* in next generation. As the result, they provide maximum care and support for the children. For instance, Nadhi Damma said, "If you mistreat *dabballe* children badly, they will treat the people when they grow and take power in the same manner." Elema Dida, one of CI participants, expressed about the importance of care and support for *dabballe* as "the importance of caring and growing up *dabballe* and *gamme* children with care and support is immense. It is important for their (*her*) future life. *She* may be *hayyu* in the future if she has *hayyu* father. *She* will care you very well"

Dabballe children are free to play in their neighborhood. They play with others *dabballe* and non-*dabballe* children in the neighborhood. Their engagement in household chore and any other family activity is minimal. I observed that the children play together different types of games. They draw cattle's enclosure with soil and own their *false* cattle. They compete with the number of cattle they have. They also ride baby goats. They climb trees. Generally, they are free to play any types of games they like, and there is no discrimination among *dabballe* and non-*dabballe* (females) as far as child play is concerned. During my observation, none of the five *dabballe* children seen leaving the compound of their camp to play or execute their parents order.

Parents give their *dabballe* children milk and meat if available in the family. They also consume meals prepared from maize. Parents give them all what they have at home. There is no exceptional food prepared for *dabballe* children alone. However, they do not make them feel hungry and thirsty. In this regard, participants and the researcher's observations confirmed the same. They go back to their parents to eat and drink whenever they feel hungry and thirsty. One of confirmatory interview participant reported the care they made for *dabballe* children in terms of meals as *"How on earth you reject their appeal for meals when you fear to punish them!? Rather you give them more than the normal amount they can be served. You should feed them well"* (CI-7).

Dabballe children freely accompany their fathers. The fathers do not avoid them to be with them during discussions held at a neighborhood level. Many children were with us, for instance, during focus group discussion and in depth interview held in the compound with their fathers. None of the fathers told their *dabballe* children to leave the discussion venue. Hence, they get the chance to observe and learn their parents' leadership activities. Obbe Dandi and Ifa Bule described the situation as follows:

The child learns ... as he attends the procedures and steps of discussion making process in dealing with issues of Borana. He learns the tradition, the laws, the system, time to go into conversations, and selections of locations for discussion through observation of his father's discussion with others (CI-9).

There is nothing they cannot be educated. Through observation, they learn from what their fathers and Borana engage in. They are born into the culture of Borana. When old men come together, children can join them in their site under tree. They attend discussions and meetings run by their fathers. Even though they do not participate or give their ideas, they listen to them. They are not forbidden from attending meetings.... They are told to sit with elders and attend meetings. All the time they are given chance to attend adult meetings and public discussions rather than being forced to learn. They are guided and advised about Borana's culture (CI-13).

Raba mother also advise her sons throughout the stages of dabbalumma, gamme and kusoma. They are also with them during balli reception ceremony. She cares for dabballe children since birth. She gives birth to dabballe children. She cares and helps them. She tells them 'you are

going to be the father of this nation and you will guide the people. Speak truth, live and work in justice. Your father used to do these and that, and you should follow him.’ She advises her sons all the truths of Waaqa (KII-1).

One of the unique features I observed during my fieldwork is that *dabballe* children are more communicative than other children in the neighborhood are. They express their feelings when they are hungry and thirsty. They go inside and ask the mothers to give them something to eat and drink. They were *dabballe* children who approached me first when I visited their neighborhood. They asked me about all the items I had such as sleeping bags, mobile phone apparatus, notebooks, pen, bag, and cloth. They were not afraid to take pictures with me. No parents were observed while denying their children to play with me in their neighborhood.

Junior *gamme* (16 – 24 years)

Children in this stage are called *gamme didiqo* meaning small or young *gamme*. They are known in the community by their common name *ijollee gamme* – children of *gamme*. *Gamme* is one of the six hairstyles (*dabballe*, *gamme*, *kusa*, *raba*, *gadaa* and *yuba*) of people living in *gadaa* system. *Gamme* is a hairstyle where the middle part of the child’s hair is shaved while hair is left to grow in a ring shape around his head.

The transition from *dabballuma* to junior *gamme* comes when their fathers are in the third year of their *gadoma*. The period of *dabballumma* ends with the naming ceremony called *gubbisa*. *Gubbisa* is a ritual ceremony that marks border between the stages of *dabballumma* and junior *gamme*. Therefore, unlike that of children in the stage of *dabballuma*, *gamme* children have specific names. However, they are known by their common name of their *luba* (core bond of a party) of their parents, like *ijolle Guyyo Gobba* - children of *Guyyo Gobba*. As described by research participants, members of junior *gamme* are called children. They are born into the system.

According to respondents, individuals of this stage are also known by their *gamme* hairstyle. During naming ceremony, the fathers shave their *dabballe* children’s *guduru* and the children start the stage of junior *gamme* bare headed. When their hairs grow again, parents shave hair from the center of their head and leave a strip of ring around their head to grow. They continue shaving the center until the end of the next stage, senior *gamme* stage. According to Tole

Dadafo, Beeka Dhuga and junior *gamme* parents who attended confirmatory interviews, *gamme* hairstyle indicates absence of *luba or party*. Prospective *Abba Gadaa* men are not yet elected from the group. They are waiting for election. Therefore, members of this stage are not called as party, rather they are known as children of their parents' *luba*.

During the stage of junior *gamme*, older ones go after cattle. *Gamme* children are children of herdsmen. They look after cattle of their parents. *Dabballe* children who used to play in the neighborhood go out to keep goats, cattle, camels, and sheep near their camp. Most of the time, they are not allowed to take the cattle far from their residence. Even though, some of them have started joining school, many of them look after cattle of their family as reported by the participants. Parents advise their *gamme* children to look after cattle with careful attention. The children are expected to feed the animals at field. They have to feed them grasses and take them to the water sources so that they can get credit from their parents when they come back home with their cattle in the evening.

The care and support from parents for *gamme* children is not the same as that of *dabballe*. *Gamme* children spend most of their time outside neighborhood with cattle and they can be hungry and feel thirsty. They can quarrel and make injuries to each other. They are mediated as children. However, if an adult beat them, the people take it as crime against the public. If *gamme* children fail to meet the advices of their parents, they can be punished. For instance, P-2 of FG-2 discussant stated that "If, the child fails to look after cattle and lost them, he can be punished. If the cattle are gone in different directions, and they missed each other because of his negligence and if they give more attention to playing than supporting cattle, he is punished."

During this stage, the parents start telling the child about *gadoma* system. They start sharing their knowledge of Borana Oromo culture. They note them that they can be *Abba Gadaa* in the future. They advise them to behave in socially acceptable manner. They start telling them the norms and values of the community. They advise them to be good in cattle herding, communication with others, identifying locations of ritual performances, and all what they know in their culture. All these cultural education works for the older members of the stage. There are newborn infant who are the members of the stage and grow as *gamme*. Confirmatory interview participants and other informants described community's roles of educating the children, the behaviors of the children and their interaction with them as follows:

They are not left only with their observational learning. Known men of Borana and their fathers also tell gamme children about the traditions and culture of Borana and Gadaa system. They are always under constant advice. They are educated about the custom, values, roles and responsibilities of gamme children in the community. How children can know about the culture by themselves? You have to teach them. Their fathers show the culture (IDI-2).

People do not like their gamme children to misbehave. If they misbehave, they may disappoint Borana and the people can deny the father their vote during election of hayyu men. Therefore, you must be careful of their behavior. You have to make sure that they have the knowledge of the culture of Borana and behave appropriately. They should not violate saffu – values. They should not be ignorant of their culture(CI-9).

You treat them as you did during dabballumma for those who were born during dabballuma. You do not beat them and other children. People do not dare to raise their hands to beat children who were born as dabballe. They advise her if she creates difficulty. You do not beat her much (CI-10).

Mostly people advise them. There are times when they create trouble and get punishment not to repeat the mistake they have done. We warn them from doing it again. Advice and warning come first before physical punishment. We beat them when they do the same mistake again (CI-5).

Moreover, as their parents are in the stage of *raboma*, *doroma*, *gadoma* and *yuboma*, junior gamme children themselves get the chance to observe so many rituals and *kora* - meetings performed by their parents. They grow in the system. They are familiar with the practice since birth. Tadhi Buyyo, one of the confirmatory interviewees, stated the following in relation to this.

They travel with us wherever we go. We take them with us to ritual ceremonies. As they are young, they can observe and learn from what we are doing. When they will grow, they perform well. They learn about the culture of Borana through observation of what their parents are doing around them (CI-8).

Senior *gamme* (24 – 32 years)

The transition from junior *gamme* to senior *gamme* comes at third year of their parents' *yuboma* stage (*yuba I*). There is no specific ritual celebration organized to mark the transition from junior *gamme* stage to senior *gamme* stage. Children of this stage are called *gamme gurguddo* in Afan Oromo, which means *older/senior gamme children*. Like children in the stage of junior *gamme*, they have no *luba* (*core band of a party*). They are called by the name of their parents' core band. They are identified, for instance, as *ilman Liben Jaldessa* – children of Liben Jaldessa. Even though they are collectively called *gamme* children, they have specific names that they were given at the end of *dabballumma*. As indicated in the reports of research participants, there is no difference between junior and senior *gamme* in terms of hairstyle, except its length. Both have *gamme* but senior *gamme* children's hair is longer than that of junior *gamme* children.

Some of the members the stage are older while the others are newborn infants. Therefore, at the end of the stage, the age difference between the oldest and the youngest ones can be 32 years if the later is born at the end of the stage. They play the same role with junior *gamme* children. They look after cattle, help their parents by doing different activities at home, and out in the field. However, members of this stage mainly engage in *fora- migrating with cattle*. Although children, youths, adolescents, adults, and older people migrate with cattle, children of *gamme* play a significant role during *fora/godansa or migration with cattle* as most of them are *qero - adolescents*. Bule Gobba, for instance, reported the role of *gamme* individuals in *fora* as "... adolescents and family heads (males) migrate with their cattle... if a father has no young child to take the cattle to grassland, he travels with family's cattle by himself" (Bule Gobba, KII-3).

Senior *gamme* stage is very critical as the members make final preparation for election into the core group of *gadaa* leadership at the end of the period. During the stage of senior *gamme*, the fathers complete their evaluation of their sons' competency of leadership, and nominate the one they believe are the best out of their sons for *hayyu adula* (*adula intellect*) and start campaigning throughout the eight years of the stage. The fathers and parents give a special attention to the son, most commonly firstborn ones. The father who serves as *law person* takes his son to ritual ceremonies and meetings he attends. The father starts promoting his son for election. The father introduces his son to men in the senior stages of *gadoma*, *doroma*, *raboma*, *kusoma*, clan, and other lawmen. The father starts attending many rituals ceremonies these groups perform at

different locations in Borana land. He lobbies them as much as he can to prefer his children during election. At the same time, he introduces his son to cultural practices conducted by individuals in the system. Boru Guracha and other participants described the situation as follows:

Even though gamme children look after cattle, a father who planned to nominate his son and set for campaign does not always send him after cattle. He usually takes him to jila (ritual ceremonies) and kora (meetings) he attends even if the child is small. The son listens to the discussions. The son himself has power. The son perceives himself as the future hayyu, though his election to hayyu groups is not yet and depends on chance. He continues saving things in mind. He learns. He grows with elders. That is the child we call 'a child grown under supervision of an elder.' He is not forbidden from attending kora (meeting). The father takes the son with him to very serious meetings (IDI-5).

During the eight years of senior gamme, everyone can campaign against each other. Everyone has the right to campaign for his son (CI-6).

During campaign, the competitors (fathers) give cattle for others to vote for their sons. Men like Abba Gadaa, Raba and those who are known in Borana, and groups who have power/authority such as raba, dori, gadaa, kusa and Abba Seera (lawmen) are all lobbied during the campaign. The campaigners attend all the sing song ceremonies of raba and gadaa men to get recognition. They also follow the groups during jila (ritual) migrations or movements. They take cattle for them. The campaigners apply their request for their son to be elected by them (CI-15).

When a father campaign for his son, he presents the good behaviors of his son, and the tasks he accomplished during junior and senior gamme periods. That is what we mean by elections. For instance, we (P3,P4,P5) may belong to the same clan but live at different locations. If one group campaign for me (P3) and the other for P4 and the other for P5, we all compete among ourselves. Then, the elders justify their nominees by describing his behaviors, conducts, and performances. Therefore, the best one is selected and set for major campaign for Borana's adula (FGD -2, P-3).

As described by Hole Boneyya (IDI-2) the competition is very stiff and the father should do all his best in teaching and socializing his son so that the son get acceptance by his clan. Many fathers compete with each other during the campaign. Hence, the father monitors and coaches his

son intensively than before. As failure to nominate the strong son for *gadoma* have a serious repercussion on generations in the family and the clan, the father shoulder serious responsibility in selecting the best out of his sons. The father cannot campaign with his child whom he thinks is weak. Hole Boneya raised two instances where the fathers refused to nominate their sons for *adula* because of their weaknesses and recommend other children from a different clan. The clan expects the father to recommend others' son whom he thinks good for the clan. Therefore, according to Hole Bonaya, "the *lalaba (election)* campaign is a very serious one. The competition is very tough and not all people win. Being *Abba Gadaa* is a serious matter in Borana."

According to the respondents, the parents, relatives and other community members play their role in preparing the sons for election. They give them intensive advices. Nadhi Damma, one of the in-depth interview participants explained the seriousness of educating and preparing the child for election as follows:

The father, the mother, other family members, relatives and the community as whole socialize [the child] all the same thing. They always remind him that "you are going to be Abba Gadaa (Gadaa leader), Abba Biyya (father of the nation). Gadoma is coming to you. Power of leading this community is coming to you. Gaadisa biyaatu sitti deema jira – people's shadow (attention) is coming to you, etc. Be careful! Learn aadaa – culture. Learn Borana!(IDI-1).

Being *Abba Gadaa* and *hayyu* is the highest social hierarchy in their socio-political structure, and the need to have the position is maximal. As a result, the child also strives to meet the expectations of his family and clan to be elected as candidate. Parents and clan members strive to their best during the campaign. Here, according Nadhi Demma and other participants, the son himself starts thinking of being *hayyu* and strives to develop the competence required of him during the competition. He starts considering himself as prospective *hayyu* and attending things happening around him very seriously.

Two major cultural phenomena take place by the members of senior *gamme* stage. First, At the end of senior *gamme* stage, before election, sons of the same *gogessa* come together for a ceremony called *wal-argi (induction) – to see each other*, where they travel across Borana land to visit their members who have no father (died of different reasons). When they complete tour

of *wal-argii*, they promise to come together again for *nyachisa* in the next year. *Nyachisa* is trip of sons of a *gogessa* (party) during which they travel through Borana land and feast together for two months. During *nyachisa* tour, the sons whose fathers are in the stage of *yuboma II* travel through Borana land to visit their fathers and feast meat of bulls/goats/sheep together.

The fathers prepare themselves long before the days of *wal-argi* and *nyachisa*. They fatten an ox and accumulate milk and butter for their sons. Those fathers who do not have an ox to give, they offer sheep or goat. As the community needs the blessing of the children and they do not want to miss it, they are happy to serve them. Galgalo Bari (IDI-6), for instance, reported people's passionate need for the blessing as "in Borana culture, being blessed by such individuals who were *dabballe* is highly valuable!"

As described by Beeka Dhuga (KII-1), Galgalo Wariyo (KII-2), Tole Dadafo (KII-4), FGD -2 and FGD-6 discussants, during *nyachisa*, all members of the party in charge come together at Gaayo in Dire district of Borana zone. There, they divide themselves into different *Okko - sub-groups* and travel to different directions. Culturally, the number of *okko* is seven as the discussants reported. Later, during election, the six *adula* are elected from the six different groups. One *okko* belong to *Abba Bokku*. Each *okko* have group structure in which some are *Abba Okko - okko* leader. The groups have *Abba Archume*, the one who is nominated to maintain discipline and order in the group. There is also *gololcha*, the one who ensure fair distribution of meat and accommodations at their fathers' neighborhood. Beeka Dhuga described the situation of *nyachisa* travel as follows:

First, they meet each other at their fathers' Abba Gada camp. For instance, Liban Jaldessa's children meet at his neighborhood. Nyachisa is preparation for ya'a/group/gadoma. They meet each other at a place called Gaayo. There, they form groups/division and decide the directions of travel. The division assigned to go to Moyale is told about the custom and what to do. The same is true for the division traveling to Dire, Dubuluk, Diida- Haaraa, Yiig-Wanole, Web, Arero, Borbor, etc. These all groups learn and calculate what to do before they start traveling. Their fathers arrange these all for them(KII-1).

Throughout one month of *wal-argi* and the two months of *nyachisa* tour, the children get strong and fat as they consume milk and meat. They slaughter and feast oxen fattened for years and

drink accumulated for milk days. The people anoint them butter. As they travel, feast, and sing together for two months, they establish a strong emotional relationship with each other. They sing songs of their dreams of being *raba* and *Abba Gadaa*. In the end, they even do not want to leave each other and go back to their family. According to the statements of Adi Dida, for instance, members of the same *gogessa* (party) consider themselves as brothers.

As there are a number of set values that should be known and maintained by the travelers during *wal-argi* and *nyachisa* tour, they do not travel alone. All throughout the marching for *wal-argi* and *nyachisa* feasting, the fathers, and lawmen travel with them. The accompanying adults inform their children about the values, mores, traditions, and customs of *wal-argi* and *nyachisa*. They guide the children and advice them a number of things about the culture of Borana Oromo community. There are a number of dos and don'ts of *nyachisa* tour reported by the participants. There are rivers that *gamme* children should not cross. They should not enter neighborhoods of parents who give birth before marriage. They should not enter a neighborhood before sun set and spend the night inside cattle's enclosure. They should slaughter the ox/goat/sheep they are given inside cattle's enclosure. They have to bless parents who served them before they leave the neighborhood early in the morning. They should not cross elders while travelling. Liben Elemo and Ifa Bule described the reason of adults accompanying the touring individuals as follows:

Their fathers travel with their gamme children during wal-argi and nyachisa. The fathers tell them the custom and manners of nyachisa. The children learn about conducts of nyachisa, routes to be traveled, the family and neighborhoods to be visited during nyachisa, the neighborhood where to spend the nights of nyachisa travel, etc from their fathers traveling with them (IDI-9).

No absence, all fathers travel with children of nyachisa on horseback and they educate them songs and provide advices. Fathers tell and educate their children all what they know about Borana's culture and Gadaa system in general. They give their blessings during feasting. Lawmen also educate them a lot about customary laws and Borana's culture. They also tell them the neighborhood they should visit or avoid during nyachisa. Culturally, there are places not allowed to enter during nyachisa. Neighborhoods of people born without marriage, enemy, and those who are not Waqeffata are not allowed to be visited by the children (CI-13).

Moreover, the accompanying adults also travel with them to evaluate the conducts of individual children in the group and take memorial portfolio of the children's behavior. They try to record (in memory) the conducts of the feasting individuals while travelling with them. The people believe that individuals can be evaluated when they get full. They try to identify the one who manage and coordinate the activities of the group while travelling. They mark the one who respects the culture of the people. They look for a person who is not selfish during feasting and give priority for the very young children in the group and the elders traveling with them. For instance, P-3 of FGD-3 described the situation as follows:

Nyachisa is also conducted to observe behaviors of gamme children. The person who slaughters cattle for the children and the elder travelling with them try to evaluate the behaviors of each child so that they can nominate the best ones for lalaba and argue in favor of them during election campaign. They look for the one who organizes the group members, shares/ distributes things fairly, looks after the group, establishes agreement within the group, fairly treats the group members, and the one who guides and directs the others. The assumption is that if the person able to organize the children during nyachisa, he can also lead Borana people later when he is elected as Abba Gadaa. Therefore, as fathers of the children and elders traveling with the group and observe behaviors of the group members, they can confirm or give their witnesses during lalaba. Not only the fathers and elders traveling with them who give their witness during election campaign, so do their luba who travels with them for nyachisa. They know a person who likely to be a leader. On the day of election, they say 'this one has the potential to organize the members of the luba and that are not (FGD-3, P-3).

The following description by Beka Dhuga also indicates procedures of evaluation during nyachisa tour.

... Mature sons were elected. The election was done during nyachisa and wal-argi. Nyachisa and wal-argi were times of exercises. The good ones were evaluated during nyachisa and wal-argi movement. The one who organized and tolerated the behaviors of members of the large group traveling for nyachisa and wal-argi were being elected as adula. The one who exercised good manner in the group were elected for adula membership. They should be the ones who tolerate and organize the weak ones, children, the aggressive ones, thirsty, those who dislike things, crying and treat them with good manners and interpersonal communication. The group

size can be 400, 500 or 6,000. Then, people inform each other the person who showed good behavior (KII-1).

Finally, at the end of *nyachisa* tour, the fathers come together for hair shaving ceremony of their *gamme* sons called *godiyya*. During *godiyya*, they run *lalaba* or election and elect only six individuals from many *gamme* children. These six individuals become *hayyu adula* - *adula intellectuals*. The election considers many criteria. History of their parents' performance and behaviors in the system, being *dabballe*, promotion and lobby performed by the father, evaluation results of elders during *nyachisa*, parents' evaluation results of their sons, clan representation, and clans' acceptances are the main criteria for election. Galgalo, for instance, identified three main criteria of election, namely economy of the parents, social acceptance of the family, and being *dabballe*. One of FGD-2 discussant also reported the consideration of parents and children's behavior during election as criteria.

Mainly three things matter lalaba: economy, acceptance in the society and being born in the stage of dabballumma. If the father does not have the resources or rich enough to celebrate ritual passages and celebrations during jila, that will harm the family of the person. In such cases, the person may not compete for his son. Because, he cannot run ritual celebrations by the supports he can get from his clan alone. Therefore, the father should be economically powerful. Acceptance of the father in the community also determines the campaign for lalaba. Finally, whether the son is born in the stage of dabballe/enjoyed the rights of dabballe/ or not was taken as another criterion for election (KII-2).

The men identify individual nominee through careful examination of the behaviors of the nominee's mother and father. If the behaviors of his fathers and mother are good, their son can be elected as adula. Moreover, other questions such as "How was his behavior since he was mature enough to be evaluated?" "Has he showed good behaviors?" "Is he strong person?" "Is he obey orders?" "Can he communicate well?" "Is he a good person?" "Does he know his culture?" "Is he harmless?" "Does he know herding cattle?" are raised to check the personality of the nominee. The behaviors of his ancestors are also taken into account. If the nominee's ancestors were good individuals for the community, he can be elected as adula (FGD-1, P1).

The election is a long process and engages families, clans, *gadaa* men, and lawmen. It has complex ritual performances that the nominees should undergo before the announcement of the winners. Ritual attendants bless and feed the nominees well for a week. They bless them saying “You are blessed to be *good person, man of objective, and positive person,*”FGD-3, P1. In the process, the fathers nominate their sons for clan competition. Known clan men come together, and discuss over the selection, and identify and nominate one person who can represent the clan in *hayyu adula* group. Then, *gadaa* men and *lawmen* of all parties in the community come together to make thorough evaluation of the nominees’ personality and identify only six individuals whom they think will shoulder the responsibility of the community leadership in the future. They are these six men and their supporters who will be responsible to organize and coordinate members of their party in different social, economic, political, and spiritual activities in the community when they will come to power after 21 years. They are representatives of their party. In the stages to come, our description focuses on the development of this core band of the system. Participants of FGD-3 described the process of election as follows:

During election of the six adula members, all prior adula men of the five parties come together to run the process of election. All the members of adula neighbors of that party camp together. It is called godiyya. They settle together to elect a boy for adula campaign. The remaining four parties also join them in the process. All Borana come and attend the process. Then, the Abba Gadaa men try their best to select the best ones carefully. Only six men are elected from a group of many gamme children. It is a long process (FGD-3, P-4).

Abba Gadaa men of the five parties of Borana come together to select adula members during godiyya (FGD-3, P2).

Even though the participants described the election process as competitive, they also reported that there are cases when a son of *Abba Gadaa* becomes *Abba Gadaa* in the next generation. One can witness from the list of *Abba Gadaa* men provided by Beeka Dhuga (KII-1) and Tole Dadafo (KII-4) that some families had been serving as *Abba Gadaa* in some parties for generations. However, Galgalo Wariyo rationalized the incidence that they have been doing this not to disappoint the father of a child who performed well for his clan and the nation as a whole during his *gadoma*. In fact, *gadoma* is a team performance as stated by KII, FGD discussants and IDI interviewees. It functions as *ya’a/team*, not as a single person.

In the past, according to the custom, one of the criteria of election as Abba Gadaa was being dabballe. If a father of dabballe and that of non-dabballe compete together, he was the one who had dabballe who used to win the competition. However, it was not 100%. There were conditions when non-dabballe wins the competition. If the people are impressed by the father's performance and good behavior but he does not have dabballe child to compete, the people elect his non-dabballe child to protect his psychology from harm. Such circumstance was taken into account to maintain the motivation of the father and his son to work hard to maintain the culture (KII-2).

Yes, a child born during the stage of senior gamme has the possibility to be elected into hayyu adula team during election and he can be Abba Gadaa arbora, hawattu or konnitu. This can happen for sons of parents who contributed a lot in maintaining the culture of the people during their gadoma but did not give birth during the previous stages (dabbalumba and junior gamme). Borana Oromo society believes that if this good man is disenchanted, that equals to God's disappointment. Hence, although the person's son is born in the last days of senior gamme stage and is young at the time of election, the people can elect his son to thrill the man. In such cases, Borana allows the person to campaign for his son (FGD-8, P-1).

Participants reported that children born during the first three stages of the system could be entitled for the position in the six-core executive *gada group* or *hayyu adula*. It means that children born during 16 years of *dabbalumba*, 8 years of junior *gamme* and 8 years of senior *gamme* can be elected as *hayyu adula*. Therefore, there can be a newborn infant or a young adult of 32 years in the team. It is the right of the party in turn to elect the six individuals whom they believe will shoulder the responsibilities of administering the community later at the stage of *gadoma*.

Bule Gobba, Bule Jarso and Hole Boneya concluded that leaders' election at this stage is the business of the whole Borana Oromo community. It is not only parents' or clans' affair. Hole stated the process as follows:

Senior licho men like Jilo Aaga and Liben Jaldessa also join the group of decision makers. Clans and sub-clans also support the process. They attend in the decision making process of the person to be elected as hayyu adula. Roob or Guyyo, assisted by the clans, gives the final

decision. However, they discuss over it together. The sub-clans are big. For instance, Hawattu refers to Roob. Arbora refers to Guyyo. However, they meet to discuss (IDI-2).

It must be noted here that the stage classification is based on social age, not based biological age counting. The periods specified are the ages of the *gadaa* system. It is not necessarily the age of an individual in the stage. The age of children of this stage, for instance, ranges from a day old newborn baby to a person of 32 years. They are older ones who served as cattle herder. Children continue to be born to the system until the end of senior *gamme* and entitled to be elected as *hayyu* and that may be why one of the election criteria is parents' behavior and performances in the system.

In summary, the community provides the necessary care, support, and cultural educations during *dabballuma*, junior *gamme* and senior *gamme* and elects the best six out of thousands of individuals and nominate as *hayyu adula – adula intellects* to learn together the culture of leadership for 21 years before they take power during *gadoma*. The people know the prospective *Abba Gadaa* men and their branch members at this juncture of the system. They are the third *gadaa* leadership nominees. Once this stage ends, a child born of that *luba* will not be considered as member. He is called *ilmo jarsa – child of an old ma*. He has no chance to be elected as *hayyu* of any type in Borana Oromo community but he becomes members of *hiriya-age mates –social structure of individuals born with in the same age range of Gadaa system*.

Kusoma (32 – 40 years)

As reported by research participants, the stage next to senior *gamme* is *kusoma*. *Kusa* individuals are children of men in the stage of *yuba II and III*. Like other stages, the age gap between the oldest members and the youngest ones is large, and it can be 40 years at the end of the stage. Members do not increase in size like the prior stages, as there is no child born to the stage. Senior *gamme* members enter the stage bareheaded. At the time of data collection, individuals in this stage were children of Boru Medha's party.

During *kusoma*, the members mainly engage in running *jila kusoma – kusoma ritual ceremony*. They are the six *hayyu* men called *adula*, elected at the end of senior *gamme*, who are mainly responsible to acquire the necessary cultural knowledge and practices of leadership in the community during the next three consecutive stages of *kusoma – kusoma, raboma* and *doroma*,

before they take power in *gadoma*. They are called *adula eegee* – *beginning intellects*. The group has *Abba Bokkuu* – *spiritual leader* who guides the group during all the ritual activities. These seven men, including *Abba Bokkuu* are highly respected individual in the community. The people protect them from harm. They do not take front line during war or travel with cattle like other party members in the stage because they are in charge of performing rituals each year during the stage. Rather, they play leadership role in those activities. As they are *intellects*, the customary law protects them. They travel only for exercising ritual performances set for them by the culture at different locations of Borana land. According to FGD-9 participants, ritual performance is a serious matter in Borana. No one is allowed to miss it, and war and migration with cattle cannot be an excuse. The other members of the party in the stage play supporting roles. They serve them as *makala-service men* for the group elected in the coming four stages. The other group members can go to war, and migrate as *fora* group members. For instance, Galgalo Wariyo (KII-2) said that as the stages of senior *gamme* and *kusoma* are stages of maturity for most members of the parties, they engage in outdoor activities like *fora*, animal poaching, and wars. However, he said, these men do not.

The elected *kusa* men meet once in every year in the months of *adolessa (autumn)*, to run *kusa ritual ceremony* for eight years of *kusoma* as stated above. They celebrate at different locations of Borana land. They get together at the camp of their fathers' senior *Abba Gadaa* and travel to places of ritual celebration. There, they slaughter *korma* and *korphessa* – *uncastrated oxen* and *male goats/sheep* and feast together. They exercise animal slaughtering and related cultural activities. They travel to the place on horseback. Culturally, horse belongs to *kusa* individuals. They take milk cows with them. They stay there for about two months. As the ritual practice has secrecy, participants were not willing to expose it and recommended the researcher to observe the scene while they are performing. Others said that non-Borana individuals are not allowed to watch the cultural practice.

During travel of the six men to *jila* locations in Borana land, those members of the party who want to be *hayyu medhicha* or *makkala* can accompany them. Members of other party who want to nominate their sons for *hayyu* also travels with them. Moreover, their fathers also tour with them to tell and show them how to perform their ritual practices. Two participants of FGD-9 described the procedure of ritual celebration during *kusoma* as indicated below:

We do not have other duty other than ritual of slaughtering korma. We slaughter korma/korphessa and feast the meat together. Other men, their fathers, and those who advice us about traditions, culture and many more travel with us. Some of us are small and start conducting rituals for the first time. As a result, our fathers accompany us. Men of our party, individuals who have planned to be elected as makala, those who think to be elected as medhicha, their fathers and Bokku travel with kusa during the jila. We have one Bakku man (FGD-9, P-4).

We come together ever year in the months of adolessa for ritual celebration. We do not have other ritual celebration. We know the time to come together, and we march to the camp of our fathers senior Abba Gadaa's village, Boru Medha. We come together there and march for jila location. For instance, children of Liban Jaldessa come together at the village of Liben Jaldessa and travel to their jila together, to the place where they slaughter bulls and male goats (korma fi korphesa). We have horse. We slaughter and feast together. We eat and finish all the meat of the bull we slaughtered there. The culture does not allow kusa men to take the meat of the bulls back home (FGD-3, P-3).

Elders, like me, travel with kusa to advice. For instance, Jilo Aga's luba, fathers of Kura Jarso travels with them turn by turn. The fathers do not miss traveling with their kusa sons. They travel to locations of jila with their sons. There are many things. Their sons also have different songs. They support and educate them all the values and custom of Borana (KII-4).

As reported by the participants, the *kusa* men attend almost all ritual celebrations conducted by different groups in the system and the whole community. They try their best to learn out of the ritual performances and gatherings as they are in preparation to conduct the same practice in addition to the private ritual they conduct annually. Liben Elemo described the roles of *kusa* individuals as follows:

Moreover, we visit gadaa, raba and gadaa men during their ritual performances to learn how they do things as we are going to do the same thing during our raboma, doroma and gadoma. We also attend gumi gaayo (general assembly). We do not miss them. It is our obligation to do so. Otherwise, we fail to know our culture (IDI-9).

The other times, the core members of *kusa* individuals (the six *hayyu* individuals) live with their parents during the eight years of *kusoma* until they marry and enter the stage of *raboma*. The other times during the eight years, they support their family at home. Cattle herding, shopping, farming, etc are some of their activities.

***Raboma* (40 – 48 years)**

Qualitative analysis of the data collected shows that the stage next to *kusoma* in *gadaa system* is *raboma*. Men and women of this stage are called *raba didiqqa* in Afan Oromo, meaning young/junior *Raba*. *Raba* is the name of a party member in the stage while *raboma* is state of being *raba*. Borana Oromo says “*Raboma/rabomu – state of become raba.*” The process of *raboma* includes many unique roles, responsibilities, and ritual performances. As usual, members vary in terms of age. The youngest can be eight years old while the oldest is 48 years at the end of the stage.

The individuals of *kusoma*, who have been meeting only once in a year in the months of *Adolessa – autumn season*, marry and start living together in the same camp at a separate location from their parents at the beginning of *raboma* stage. Before they establish their temporary camp, they marry together. The group shifts the camp to different locations during the eight years of *raboma*. Marriage marks the transition from *kusoma* to *raboma*. Despite their age, all the members of the party of the stage marry at the same time. Before the stage of *raboma*, no members, males, and females, of that party are allowed to marry or give birth in Borana Oromo’s tradition. Their marriage is conducted at the same time all across Borana land. Even the marriage process has its own sequence. *Abba Bokkuu* marries first followed by the *intellects*. Then, the whole *raba* members can marry at their respective residences. A participant of FGD-7, for instance, described the procedure of the marriage as follows:

We come together as ya’a after the stage of kusoma is over. When we come together, the most senior men - Abba Bokku followed by Abba Gadaa make their marriage. Other adula individuals, makkala, and all members of the party also marry after our marriage. Then, the men settle together and will become ya’a (team) of this type (referring to dori’s ya’a) (FGD-7, P-7).

Then, they form one of the five *ya'a* - *Gadaa leadership group/team* of Borana. The five *gadaa* leadership groups or teams are *raba*, *dori*, *arbora*, *hawattu*, and *konnitu* (Beeka Dhuga, KII-1). They form *ya'a raba*. The name of their village is called *Olla – raba – raba neighborhood*. These six men, *Abba Bokku* and their *makala* take with them their cattle that their family and other community members contributed in their *katto – contribution* system. They do not build their village haphazardly. It has its own order. They build common cattle's enclosure in the middle of their camp. Then, the females construct separate hats around the enclosure according to the clan and status relationships they have. The camp needs separate description by itself that may be left for anthropologists.

As stated above, the members (six *adula intellects*) are not the only men living in the camp. *Abba Bukkuu* and *makkala* men also settle with them. In the village I visited during my fieldwork, each *hayyu* men have at least one *makala - service man* that they selected from their party and clan. Therefore, the *adula* men live with their wives, children, *Abba Bokkuu* and *makkala* men.

After kusoma, there is raba. The person becomes a member of junior raba, and starts living in Olla Raba Didiqqa (junior raba's neighborhood). During this period, members marry girls. They form their own "ya'a" – literary mean group and have six core members and other service men. They can make decisions. They are men of authority (IDI-1).

After eight years of kusoma, when the dabballe children are about to start stage of junior gamme, when those who are junior gamme ready to become senior gamme and those who are senior gamme about to start kusoma, kusa become junior raba and marry girls and camp together in a separate village of their own. They become ya'a like the sons of Boru Guyyo (raba men). The ones who are senior raba will become dori. Dori men are preparing themselves to take balli from Goyyo Gobba (senior Abba Gadaa at the time of data collection), and become Gadaa men (KII-1).

After they spent eight years in kusoma, they become raba and marry to girls. Once they are married, both the husband and the wife are raba. The child born of them will become dabballe (FGD-3, P-1).

At the beginning, their fathers settle with them to show the traditions of *raboma*. Once *raba* men familiarize themselves to the new life condition, the fathers go back home and start visiting them frequently. The fathers tell their sons about the cultures of *raboma*. They educate their sons about the practices that should be accomplished, *raboma* stage ritual performances. They advice them about how their sons can fulfill requirements of the stage. For instance, Boru Guracha described the role of the fathers as follow:

..., their fathers also camp with them. It is custom. Their fathers leave them and return to their home once their sons learn living alone. All the time the fathers spend with their children, they give them many advices. There are so many things that the raba men should be advised. They are advised about, for instance, during my time about:- how to perform rituals, slaughtering animals, and not to miss days, months and years of performing rituals, living with party members in peace, songs of raboma for eight years, and protection of your neighborhood/house and clan (IDI-5).

As described by the participants of FGD, IDI and KII, the men perform *jila raboma* – rituals performed during the stage of *raboma* in *Gadaa* system, all throughout the eight years at different locations of Borana land. They celebrate the rituals as they are planned in the month of June in spring season. There are culturally predetermined locations and time for all rituals performed in Borana. Accordingly, there are predetermined locations to perform *raboma* rituals. During *jila raboma*, the *raba* men and their wives organize and conduct music show called *dhokisu* and *ruda* respectively. Their songs have unique procedure where the men dance first and their wives join them later. In their song, they praise their status of *raboma* and their dream for *gadoma*. They camp together at places of *jila*, put on their cultural cloths, *balguda* – ostrich feather and hold *bokkuu*, slaughter many cattle for feasting, and sing a song inside cattle's enclosure. The females hold *siqqe* – ritual stick. They all put on cultural cloths. They sing bare footed. The ceremony takes eight days and many people attend it. Those who want to be *hayyu medhicha* – *medhicha intellect* or *makkala (service man)*, and those who want to nominate their sons for *hayyumma-being an intellect* in the future attend the performance. The ritual is procedural and very complex one to understand as reported by the participants. The participants advised the researcher to attend their ritual performance for better understanding of the practices. One of the FGD-3 participants described the situation as follows. However, time and the

methodology selected restricted the researcher to do so. To get good understanding of the procedure, other participants were asked during the fieldwork.

Here, living as junior raba, we have annual jila. Since we married, we run a sing song ceremony in June. The ceremony is called dhokisu. This year, we have jila at Aero in the months of Adolessa. We camp together at places of jila and slaughter cattle for feasting and singing a song called dhokisu. We slaughter in turn. The first turn is for Abba Bokku of the group followed by senior Abba Gadaa. Then, after feasting the meat, we sing dokkisu inside cattle's enclosure, we are bare footed and put on cultural ritual clothes. The clothes are white in color. We take hororo(cultural material made for men) and licho (whips) with us for the ceremony. You put on bokku (scepter) and balguda (father of ostrich), and anoint your head with butter. Men attend the ceremony first followed by joint (males and females) performance (FGD-3, P1).

From the descriptions of the participants, we can conclude that these men should have the knowledge and the skill of performing their rituals before the stage. They have to learn the skills of dancing and singing together. They have to know the procedure of performing the rituals and the time and place to do so. Therefore, the parents and other concerned bodies in the community are responsible to allow the men to develop such skills before and during the stage. That is why their fathers frequently visit them.

Another major role of men in the stage is defending their nation. In fact, all male members of the community, who is old enough to fight, engage in war against the community as reported by participants. The knowledge and experiences of war they have developed during the previous stages is very important for them. However, *adula men* do not line up in the front positions during war confrontations. As stated by research participants, like previous stage, the core group members of the party in the stage do not go to war as they have cultural responsibilities to perform. They are one of the highly protected groups in Borana Oromo community. According to Beeka Dhuga (KII-1), *raba* men play a leading role if Borana engage in war with other neighboring communities like Somali and Gerri ethnic groups. He said,

...they come together like soldiers during war of defense or offense. They are given order from Abba Gadaa. Even though raba men position in the front line, others support them. If the war is

strong enough to surpass the capability of raba men, Gadaa men come in. However, they are junior raba men who engage in wars. The order of engagement is raba - dori – gadaa (KII-1).

No, engagement in war does not depend on such classification as raba, dori and gadaa. All participate. For instance, if Borana and Somali engage in war (they usually dispute each other), say it in a certain village, a person who can fight and carry weapon participates from that village. All who have weapon go out for war. If the person is an old man, he does not engage in war. Again, Abba Gadaa does not participate in war directly, as he is considered as 'leader' of Borana (FGD-7, P-7).

Another role and responsibility of *raba men* is caring for and supporting the development of their *dabballe* children. The men can have children right after marriage at the beginning of the stage and the children born of *raba* parents become *dabballe* of that party. Therefore, the sons of that party enter the system at its beginning. When the fathers are in the stage of *raboma*, sons are in the stage of *dabballuma*, and there are three stages between the two: junior *gamme*, senior *gamme* and *kusoma*. In the past, as stated above, before the abolishment of child abandonment law, it was not allowed to have *dabballe* child at this stage of the system as stated by the participants. Raba mother had wait *doroma* before they got pregnant. To give birth, they have to wait for *doroma*, the next stage, until they celebrate *dannisa* ceremony.

In the past, people used to abandon dabballe children born during raboma. If a married raba parent gives birth before dannisa ceremony, it was not allowed to raise the child. The married raba men should live sometime before they celebrate dannisa and give birth. Dannisa is a type of plant species. But if a raba gives birth after dannisa, the child is called dabble and elela (snail shell) is tied to its guduru hairs. Now, they started rearing them. Dabballe are children of raba. Raba are men who comb their hair like females (FGD-5, P-2).

Borana did not grow children during raboma. Meaning the culture did not allow raba women to have pregnancy. They used to abandon or give them for adoption. They have started growing dabballe children during doroma after they celebrate dannisa. ... Raba did not grow both female and male children during raboma. Now, such practice is abolished. That is why children born during raboma are also called dabballe. In the past, only children born to dori were accepted as

dabballe. For instance, two of my sisters were given for adoption during our fathers' period of raboma and they are in America by now (FGD-1, P-1).

As reported by participants, *raboma* stage is time of intensive learning and skill development. *Raba* men continue to learn the culture and history of Borana people and *gadaa* system from well-known men of information, spiritual leaders and their fathers. Their fathers visit them frequently to educate as reported above in this chapter. Boru Jaldessa, one of IDI participant, identified the issues that the fathers educate their *raba* children. He reported that, the fathers teach about rituals of *gadoma*, animal slaughtering, calendar, peaceful co-existence, cultural songs in the stage, serving the people as *Abba Gadaa*, and others.

They, *raba* men, also go to the villages of known elders of the community to learn about the culture and their history. They should know the names and history of *Abba Gadaa* men in the past to evaluate the good ones from the weak ones and take as a model. They learn about the natural and manmade events during all the *gadaa* periods that their educators can remember and teach them. One of FGD-3 discussant, for instance, described their learning as follows:

Now, we usually visit those who have knowledge of Borana people, those who are lawmen of the previous gadaa and yuba. We visit them to learn. The men also tell us all what they know about the culture of Borana. They know many things about our culture. There is nothing that we are not told. We learn about mechanisms of leading others, authority, crime and its customary laws, importance of attaining goals, history of Abba Gadaa men, history of our party, and so many others. We, raba men, also attend Borana meetings and ritual celebrations with curiosity (FGD-3, P5).

According to Hole Boneya (IDI-2), *raba* men also learn about their clan structures, customary laws, and the relationship the community have with the neighboring ethnic groups. They need to know the 17 clans of Borana Oromo community and its sub-clans. The educators tell them where about of these clans, their socio-cultural relationships, and their social status. The members learn about the how of the representation of these clans in *gadaa* system as they do in other stages. They learn about Borana relationships with the neighboring communities. Guji Oromo, Gerri, Konso, Somali, and Burji are the society bordering Borana land. The relationship between Borana and these communities is not always constant. The relationship is sometimes peaceful

while other times harsh. There are war confrontations cited by the participants. *Raba* men learn all these relationships. Hole Boneya, who was *hayyu medhicha – medhicha intellect* when his generation of the party he belongs to was in power, reported the relationships Borana have with Gerri, Guji, Konso, and Burji.

Borana and Gerri were in war during Gadaa of Jaldessa. Borana Oromo and Guji Oromo were in war during Gadaa of Guyyo Boru. The war against Gerri was very serious one and the government interfered and resolved the issue. ... Places like Qofari (formerly belongs to Barana) were taken by Gerri. ... Konso - who lives on the mountains of Konso, and Burji, who lives on the mountain of Burji, they all fight Borana. I do not know why numbers of clans who wish to own Borana land are many (IDI-2).

They learn customary laws of the land. Everything in Borana land has customary law. There are many laws reported by the participants such as law of cattle, law of women, law of *hayyu*, law of wells, law of horse, law of donkeys, and the like. The *raba* men learn and exercise these all during the eight years periods of *raboma*. The source of customary law related information are primarily lawmen although many people know the laws as the law makers announce any time they formulate new ones or updated the existing ones during *gumi gayo*. For instance, one of focus group discussant reported, “*Abba Seera (law person) is Abba Murti – Decision maker. He makes decision and serves as a source of information about the culture and the law*” (FGD-3, P-2). The members should know and start internalizing the existing customary laws through practices.

The other remarkable change in the role of the group is that they start making preliminary decisions. *Raba* men exercise making decisions in their locality. In the system, people can appeal their cases to *raba* to get solution before they go for men in the stages of *doroma*, *gadoma* and *lawmen*. They deal with cases next to *licho jarsa - local elders*. For instance, one of focus group discussants of *raba* men described their role in the procedure of decision making in *Gadaa* system on page 104.

The other major exercise of the group is spiritual performance. They need to master the doctrines of their religious practices. The rituals ceremonies they perform mostly related to their religion, *Waqqeffanna*. As they will play the very central role in religious practices of the community in

the years to come, they should to be *perfect* in the area. Above all, they do not want people to consider them as ignorant of spiritual knowledge and practices. For instance, one of FGD-3 described the degree of their religious exercise as indicated in the following quotation. The man told the researcher that the performance is the top surreptitious ritual performance that should not be disclosed to others. The other participant (IDI-8) did not even allow the researcher to take voice record of the top-secret of ritual performance of the men in the stage. This can be investigated in detail may be by theologians.

During our ritual performance, we stay in an isolated location for three consecutive days. During these days, each of the six adula men slaughters three cattle and consumes the meat as much as he can. After three days of isolation, we come back to our camp. At the time of our arrival, we blow magalata – an instrument used to produce sound. All children, women and cattle, except a rada - heifer, leave you the way when you come back to the camp after three days of isolation from others living in the camp. When you look at the calf, it dies and you pass by and back to it after you washed your face. When you come back to the dead calf, you spit at her and say ‘Anaa raadi raada waaqi ...it is me, you calf, calf of Waaqa...’ and the calf comes back to her life again (FGD-3, P1).

This expression implies the degree of their spiritual exercise *raba* men engage in during their ritual practices. Therefore, in such a manner, the group members have to practice the religious doctrines that they have been learning from their parents and other community members in the previous stages and during the stage before they join the next stage, *doroma*.

The other important behavior *raba* men are expected to develop at this stage is within group socialization. Members of the group camp at specific location to live, work and learn together for the first time in their life time in *Gadaa* system. Again, the members establish their own private home and family for the first time in their life in the system. They familiarize themselves with the power relationships within the group, as there is status and hierarchy in the group. The group is composed of the six *hayyu adula* men and their *makkala*. The *hayyu* men have status; one is senior to the other. The *hayyu arbora* are the senior ones followed by *hawattu* and *konnitu adula* men. If disagreements happen between any members of the group, they have to handle by themselves before they take the matter to the third party. Moreover, men of *raboma* are in their first term of living together. They start practicing how to manage their family members. They

have to fulfill the needs of their family members. They need to exercise living in family and as a group in their newly established neighborhood besides acquiring the knowledge and skills of *gadoma*. Therefore, they need to handle different facets of life together. They practice how to balance private life and communal life in the camp and with the larger community.

Doroma (48 – 53 years)

Qualitative analysis of the data collected from participants shows that the sixth stage in *Gadaa* system of leader and leadership socialization of Borana Oromo community is *doroma*. After eight years of *raboma*, member of the party in the stage enter the stage of *doroma*, which is the final period of preparation for *gadoma*. Men in the stage usually called senior *raba* or simply *dori*. Their camp is *olla dori – dori neighborhood*. *Dori* is name of individuals at stage a party while *doroma* is a process of becoming *dori*. Like the previous two stages, the core group – *adula* intellects and their service men, of the party engages in running rituals and other cultural activities of the stage as exercise to develop leadership competencies. They are in charge of running *Aadaa gooroo – the ultimate cultural performances*.

Like men of *raboma*, *dori* men also live with their *makkala* and family members. Both have *dabballe* children. However, family size of *dori* and *makkala* men is larger as they were married eight years earlier. The most senior person in the group is 53 years old while the youngest is 16 years at the beginning of the stage. Physically, men and women of this stage are identified by their senior *raba* hairstyles. The men grow their hairs long with *afro* style (combed long hair). The women knit their hairs down and anoint with butter.

The transition from *raboma* to *doroma* is marked by *dannisa* ritual ceremony where *raba* men hold a tree called *dannisa* like child before they give birth. As reported by participants, it was after *dannisa* that members of a party used to give birth to *dabballe* in the past. Like individuals of *kusoma* and *raboma* stages, *dori* men have also ritual ceremony to celebrate during the five years of *doroma* and during the first three years of the next stage, *gadoma*. The practice specific to the stage is *jila Doroma - doroma rituals*. They have singsong ceremony called *darrabba* that they sing once in a year in autumn. They praise the next stage and their preparation for *Gadaa* leadership in their song. It has secrecy in it and a serious one. It is religious in its nature. The music show of junior and senior *raba* men, *dhokkisu* and *darabba* respectively, are similar in that

both groups organize it in the same period and inside cattle enclosures. They have similar procedure.

Senior raba period is also eight years, however, three of the eight years counted as the first three years of gadoma. Some of the songs of dori are in gadoma, after they received balli. Their (senior raba) song is also for eight years and it is called darabba. Both darabba and dhokisu songs (that of junior raba individuals) are sang for eight years. However, three of darabba (three years of daraba song) are in gadoma (IDI-2).

Since lalaba, there are rituals of kusoma, raboma, doroma and gadoma. These rituals are very serious ones. These rituals are not run by kusa, raba, dori or gadaa men alone. All Borana should participate in the ritual ceremonies. On the other hand, exercise of the tradition by itself is religion of Borana. These traditions have so many things in them. There are issues that the hayyu men cannot tell you. It is their religion (IDI-8).

Members of the stage celebrate four major ceremonies during *doroma*: *dannisa*, *butte*, *waddessa*, and *balli* reception. They celebrate *dannisa* ceremony at the transition from junior *raba* to senior *raba* stage as described above. When they are left with two years to take leadership position, they celebrate *butte* ceremony. *Butte* is a ritual ceremony celebrated by senior *raba* men. During *butte*, all members of the group drink the soar milk they have accumulated in a pot called *butte* – *pot* and eat ox meat. They celebrate it inside cattle's enclosure. *Butte* is a time when the group divide itself into three different and independent group: *Arbora*, *Hawattu* and *Konnitu*. The group, which have been living together during *raboma* and *doroma* for 11 years divide itself and settle at different locations of Borana land. Then, as reported by Galgalo Wariyo and other participants, when the groups are left with one year to receive *balli*, they celebrate *waddessa* ceremony, which symbolize the beginning of *gadoma*. After, they celebrate *waddessa* ceremony, they are considered as if they have full power like *Gadaa* men. Their decision is equivalent with that of men in the stage of community leadership. Finally, they perform *balli transfer* - power reception ceremony, and they become leaders of the community.

Dannisa is celebrated during the transition from raboma to doroma. The two periods are separated by dannisa. Danisa is a symbol of being a father of a child (male) (IDI-9).

When dori men approach to receive balli, they celebrate butte ceremony. Kura Jarso, for instance, will celebrate butte in the coming months of autumn season. During the ceremony, he will put butte (pot) filled with milk inside cattle's enclosure and open it during the ceremony. While opening, he will say "Ga Ga---Ga." It is about to say "Godoma". If he says "godoma", he breaches others' right, as the title belongs to other person. Therefore, he just says "Ga---Ga-- --Ga." It is announcing that dori men completed preparations and ready for gadoma or to receive balli. After butte, the person has no other ritual to run, except balli reception ceremony. Butte is big milk container. The container is filled with milk accumulated for days and prepared for butte ceremony. All members of the group contribute the milk. He is the Abba Gadaa who opens butte. While opening it he says "Ga---Ga----Gaa, barri bara Kura, Ga---, barri bara Guyyo, Ga-----." He does not finish the sounds of the word and call the name gadoma (KII-1).

Participants reported that structured culture learning that started during *raba* stage continues during this term too. They learn from their fathers, community leaders, lawpersons and experienced elders or men of information/Borana traditional scholars. The fathers live with the group to guide their ritual performances and decision-making processes in the community. Members of the stage also visit elders and their seniors to learn from their experiences. They learn about their rituals and methods of decision-making. The educators also bless and advise the *dori* men not to quarrel with others, not to push others to do mistake, no to engage in crime, and not to kill others. They learn to be good for their nation throughout their development. These points were well asserted by Nadhi Damma and Tole Dadafo as follows:

Be good to your nation, do not quarrel with others, do not push people to make mistakes, and do not do crime. If you come up with individuals who may commit crime against you, take your case to the people of Borana. Do not take action by yourself. If you fight back them, people will say "Abba Gadaa beats others" and that will not be good and cultural. The other point is that Abba Gadaa should not kill others (IDI-1).

*The advice continues during *raboma*. The advices become broader and inclusive than before. There are many things that the *raba* men need to be educated by elders. *Dori* men are also advised by elders. The advice is more detail during *doroma* than the stages before (KII-4).*

Another major role of the group is decision making. As they are immediate successor of authority, they are the second in their power to make decisions. People take their cases of dispute and conflict to them if *raba* men are unable to give fair decision before they go to *Gadaa* men as reported above in this section of the report. They accept their cases, investigate, and solve problems in their locality. People expect them to have understanding of their culture, religion, geography, customary laws, and the people so that they can serve them well and maintain the culture when they make decisions. They need to know how to deal with conflicts and disputes and reach at fair decision in groups. One of focus group discussants of *dori* men described their role in decision making as follows.

If Borana people find themselves in dispute, they bring their cases to us. Then, we investigate and discuss over the issue to distinguish the victim from a perpetrator. Then, we give decisions and tell them their faults. For the fault maker, we explain his faults and give the truth for the victim. We advise the fault doer (FGD-2, P-1).

There is traditional procedure of investigating disputes. For instance, if there is disagreement between me and him (P2), you listen to what he could have to say and what I could have to say. If you examine the talks of the two individuals, you can understand their cases and identify the wrong from the right one even if you were not with them at the time of the dispute. If you understand their cases, you can mediate them. As we migrate for cultural practices and have the power, people accept our decisions. We create peace between them and ensure them not to engage in such disputes again. If there are something to pay as a compensation, that will be ordered by culture (customary law) for the victim. We advise the perpetrator to pay. If the victim is injured, we tell the perpetrator to normalize the situation by giving compensation for the victim as ordered by the tradition (FGD-1, P-3).

Another responsibility of men in the stage is providing care and support for their children. As discussed above, among the groups who have cultural right to give birth to *dabballe* children are *dori* men. Like children born of *raba* parents, children born of parents in this stage enter the lifelong *Gadaa* system at its beginning. Hence, they care and support their children according to their cultural leadership development principles so that they can compete for leadership position during election in the future. They made their children to observe ritual performances and others

roles in the community. Parental practices reported under description of *dabballumma* stage above mean to refer the practices of parents in *raboma*, *doroma* and *gadoma* parents.

The major task of *dori* men that require them to have cultural knowledge is sub-group formation. The group divides itself into three distinctive hierarchical sub-groups –*arbora*, *hawattu* and *konnitu*, right after butte ceremony. Almost all interview participants know the classification and its process very well. The senior group is *arbora* followed by *hawattu* and *konnitu* respectively. The seniority emerges from the size of the clan and sub-clans they represent. *Hawattu* group represents *hawattu* clan, *konnitu* represents *konnitu* sub-clan, and *arbora* represents the remaining sub-clans. Four of the six group members (*adula men*) form independent *arbora* together. The other two *adula* men form their own separate group as *hawatu* and *konnitu*. These are the three *Gadaa* branches of the community. The three groups settle at different locations where they believe is appropriate to receive *balli* - leadership power from their respective senior groups and to execute their duties later during their periods of leadership. They make the necessary preparation to receive *balli* for two years. They organize themselves and their camp. The ceremonies are complex and needs separate topic for discussion. Participants described the procedure as follows.

At the transition from gamme to kusa, six adula men are elected. From these six men, one is senior Abba Gadaa. Abba Gadaa are three. They all have kallacha (fallus like ornament tied on forehead as symbol of decision making power) and ya'a - team. They are arbora, hawattu and konnitu. Therefore, four members of addula men become together to form own independent Gadaa branch. The other two are separated from the group and form an independent ya'a. The two independent teams are hawattu and konnitu (KII-1).

When this ya'a (referring to dori's team) will celebrate butte, it will be divided into three different groups and put their spears separately. The division will be Boru Dima's group (konnitu), Adi Jaldessa's group (hawattu) and Kura Jarso's sub-group (Arbora). Four of the six adula will come together and form a separate group called arbora. We will join arbora (FGD – 2, P-7).

The analysis also shows that even though *hayyu adula* are high profile individuals in the system, they are not the only *intellects* who take the total responsibility of administration during *gadoma*.

When group divides and form separate sub-groups, two different groups of *hayyu* men – *hayyuu medhicha* and *hayyu garba*, join the groups to reinforce their performance of leadership later during *gadoma*. They are men of *hayyu medhicha* – *medhicha intellects*, who join *konnitu* and *hawattu* groups first. Later on, when the groups receive *balli* from their respective predecessors, group of *hayyu garba* – *garba intellects* join each of the three groups. In the end, they are these three types of *hayyu* men that constitute the two *Gadaa* branches (*hawattu and konnitu*) of Borana Oromo community. *Arbora* has only two types of *hayyu* (*adula and garba*). *Abba Bokku* men – *spiritual leader of the group*, *wayyu* (*scared*) and *makkala* - *service men* are also members of the groups.

When a ya'a divided itself in to three, konnitu and hawattu elect hayyu medhicha to join them. The medhicha are elected from our party. He may be from this ya'a or from other places. For our side, arbora, we elect garba men. Arbora does not elect medhicha. These garba men will not be from our luba - kura Jarso's luba. Hayyu garba men also join konnitu and hawattu in addition to medhicha. Hence, the garba men who join arbora, konnitu and hawattu are not from the same party. They are from yuba (FGD – 7, P-7).

Hawattu has hayyu medhicha and garba. Its garba can be 6 or 7. The number of medhicha depends on the need of the Abba Gadaa in charge or the head of the ya'a. It has no limit. He may elect 2 medhicha 3 medhicha or 10 medhicha or it can elect 8. The same is true for konnitu (KII-1).

The party in charge elects *medhicha* men while the outgoing *Gadaa* men nominate *garba* men during power transfer between the incoming and the outgoing groups. *Medhicha* and *adula* are men of the same party, who have been growing together as *ilman korma* – *individuals born during dabbalumma, junior gamme and senior gamme*. They are the *adula* men who have the right to nominate individuals whom they think can support them in their leadership. *Garba intellects* join the group from the remaining four parties of the community. *Garba intellects* are men of *yuba* having rich experiences and knowledge of the culture as they have already lived through the stages of *gadoma*. The outgoing and the incoming *Gadaa* negotiate over the *garba* men. They evaluate and identify a person whom they think can serve as an *intellect*. He is outgoing *Abba Gadaa* who requests the incoming *Abba Gadaa* to accept the men he selected. The incoming *Abba Gadaa* can accept or reject the nominees based on their performances and

acceptances in the community. As reported by Nadhi Damma, the incoming *Abba Gadaa* accepts those individuals who are peaceful, talented, supportive, speak truth and capable of solving societal problems. P-1 of FGD-2 also reported that the community considers mature, wise, competent, and strong person who can give sound decision for *garba*. *Garba* men represent the whole community. The incoming *Abbaa Gadaa* cross-check the existing reality on ground and do not depend only on the descriptions of the outgoing *Abba Gadaa*.

We try to get information about the tasks he has accomplished in his neighborhood. We examine the problems he solved so far. Based on the information we get about the person, we try to cross check with the existing realities in his living area: the people he has supported, the peace he created, the conflict he has resolved at his neighborhood (between clans), and how much he has spoken out for truth. All these are evaluations. If the person is a useless one and a robber, we refuse to accept him (IDI-1).

*Garba men are older men who can identify the bad from the good ones. These men are elected by their behaviors and performances at their neighborhood levels. The community considers mature, wise, competent, and strong person who can give sound decision as *garba* (FGD-2, P-1).*

The number of *medhicha* and *garba* intellects that made to join the groups may not be the same. Nadhi Damma said 6 -10 men join each *konnitu* and *hawattu* and ten men of *garba* intellect can join the three teams. One FGD-2 participant reported that the number of *medhicha* men made to join *hawattu* and *konnitu* can range from 3 – 6 while the number for *garba* ranges from 4 - 8. Beeka Dhuga reported 3 – 10 *medhicha* intellects that join each of the two groups and 4-8 *garba* intellects that can join each of the three groups.

*After this was done, the two Gadaa (Gadaa Hawattu and Gadaa Konnitu), which have only one *adula* member each, as three of us joined arbora, need supporting individuals, a group of men called “*medhicha*” join them. The *hawattu* group is given the chance to elect about 10 or 6 men as *medhicha*. The *konnicha* (*konnitu*’s masculine naming) group is also given the same chance to elect (*lalaba*) 10 or 6 *medhicha* men. They elect through *lalaba*. Then, they form their own team of Gadaa separately (IDI-7).*

Hawattu has both hayyu medhicha and garba. Its garba can be 6 or 7. The number of medhicha depends on the need of the Abba Gadaa in charge or the head of the ya'a. It has no limit. He may elect 2, 3, 8 or 10 medhicha. The same is true for konnitu. However, the number of garba is limited. It is four. The number can be increased to eight or the Abba Gadaa can add 4 more garba men. Abba Gadaa, in collaboration with the community with whom the Abba Gadaa will live, conducts election of garba men. Abba Gadaa arbora has six garba men as he is the head of the two gadaa branches. There are also additions to the number. If arbora adds more garba men, both hawattu and konittu also add the number of garba men in their group. They come together for decision. This is how election of hayyu men takes place during gadoma (KII-1).

The next move that the group members should execute is power transfer ceremony. At the end of *doroma*, the groups conduct *balli* reception or *balli* take over ceremony. *Balli* or *balguda* is long feather of an ostrich, which represents authority and power in the system. According to Beeka Dhuga, *balli* is a symbolic expression of the wish for Abba Gadaa men to be bold enough in his community during his *gadoma* like a mother ostrich looks with its chickens. Participants reported that it is this *balli*, which the incoming and the outgoing Gadaa men exchanges during a ceremony called *balli* transfer ceremony held at three different places by the heads of the three *gadaa* branches. The three senior Abba Gadaa men of the three branches of Gadaa receive *balli* from their respective out going groups on the same day with the same procedure. For instance, as reported by participants, Roob Jarso will transfer *balli* to Adi Jaldessa in *hawattu* group, Guyyo Gobba will transfer *balli* to Kura Jarso in Arbora group and Murku Jilo will transfer *balli* to Boru Dima in *konnitu* group. Roob Jarso, Guyyo Gobba and Murku Jilo were the three Abba Gadaa men of the time while Adi Jaldessa, Kura Jarso and Boru Dima were men in the stage of *Doroma*. The ceremony is complex and procedural.

The reason why ostrich feather is preferred is that ostrich is like a house. It gives birth to many chickens. One may give birth to 24 chickens and the chickens will give birth to many chicken again. It is meant to wish Abba Gadaa to give birth like ostrich. We wish him reproduction like ostrich. It is a wish for high reproduction rate among Borana during the Gadaa. It represents transfer of reproduction. It is a stamp. The stamp has its own objective and symbolizes a wish of the outgoing Abba Gadaa for the incoming one to care and support Borana people during his gadaa as ostrich does for its chickens (KII-1).

Balli transfer ceremony is procedural that should be conducted by the groups carefully. It has a number of steps that the incoming and the outgoing men should perform one after the other. Failures to perform according to the predetermined order are reprehensible for the incoming groups and discredit the persons' reputation in the future. Therefore, they have to know it very well. During *balli* transfer, the incoming groups go to the camps of the outgoing groups early in the morning before daybreak on horseback. Six men accompany each of the three senior incoming *Abba Gadaa* men when they go to take *balli* and they are called *torban balli* – *seven men of balli*. During *balli* exchange, the outgoing and the incoming *Abba Gadaa* men meet each other in cattle enclosure in the village of the outgoing *Abba Gadaa*. The outgoing *Abba Gadaa* delivers his successor serious advices and information about *gadoma*. The outgoing leader blesses his successor to exceed him in his leadership and advices him about leadership, steps and procedures of celebrating power transfer ceremonies, development, peacemaking, and the like. He blesses him saying, “My turn is over. My administration, development, etc are over. We will live together. Exceed in your clan, development, administration, peace, cattle reproduction, objectives, rain, etc.” (Nadhi Damma, IDI-1). Then, the outgoing takes the promise and leaves the camp. The incoming groups tell the outgoing groups to migrate wherever they want to migrate. Once he gave *balli*, the outgoing *Abba Gadaa* and his group members have the right to migrate to wherever they want in Borana land. The outgoing group dissolves and leave leadership role for the incoming *Gadaa* men. *Arbora gadaa* branch focus group discussants described the procedure as follows:

The numbers of individuals who travel to receive balli are seven. They are called torban baallii – the seven men of balli. All the three branches of gadaa dori are organized in the same fashion.... The procedure looks like the following. In the evening of the day before the day of balli transfer, they tie korma balli - balli bull outside their compound, slaughter it, and feast its meat all throughout the night. The next day, they travel to the camp of the outgoing Abba Gadaa to receive balli. They travel on horseback. They carry their spears with them. They have traditional musical instrument called magalata - an instrument used to make sound. They blow magalata - make sound with the instrument as they approach to the camp of the outgoing Abba Gadaa. The outgoing Abba Gadaa also makes sound in return if he is ready to give balli. They already made appointment with him. The outgoing Abba Gadaa drives out his cattle from their enclosure before their arrival. The incoming Abba Gadaa group travels in line. The line looks like; Abba

Bokku stands 1st followed by Abba Gadaa of the group. The incoming group travel while holding the tip of their spears up. They do not touch the ground with the tip of their spears until they receive balli. If they are allowed to get in by the outgoing Abba Gada, they step down from their horses and tie the horses outside the enclosure of the camp. Then, they go inside cattle's enclosure and seat there according to their line. Bokku (front), Abba Gada (2nd) and other hayyu men follows (FGD-1, P-2).

... because the outgoing Abba Gadaa knows the number of guests, he prepares milk in chicho – milk container per individual guest. The outgoing Abba Gadaa come out from his house with the chicho and gives it to Abba Bokku first. Then, Abba Bokku tastes the milk and gives it back to the outgoing Abba Gadaa. Then, the outgoing Abba Gada receives and put it alone. Then, he comes with the second chicho that belongs to the incoming Abba Gadaa. The incoming Abba Gadaa also tastes and gives it back to the outgoing Abba Gadaa like Abba Bokku. It continues in the same procedure until all the seven men are served. Once all are served, the outgoing Abba Gadaa returns back to his house. During the procedure, no one is allowed to be seen in the village, except the outgoing Abba Gadaa. They hide themselves. Cattle are derived out from their enclosure. Children, women and men hide themselves. Now, the two groups make the tradition (aadaa) they come for. [The procedure is the top secret according to the respondents]. Now, the individuals who accompanied the incoming Abba Gadaa leave the enclosure for their horses while the incoming and outgoing Abba Gadaa men stay in the enclosure. Then, the outgoing one gives the incoming Abba Gadaa the balli and important advices. Next, the outgoing Abba Gadaa leave for his house and join his team members waiting him outside the outgoing compound (FGD-1, P-1).

People like peaceful transfer of power and congratulate both parties at their respective locations. They celebrate the event. However, if the outgoing leader refuses to give power, the incoming leader, and his team chase him out of power by force as reported by Beeka Dhuga. The respondent cited only one example of such instance in the history of *Gadaa* system. Naturally, as the person going to be a leader observes many power transfers and learns about it since childhood, it is difficult to get a leader who refuses to give power when his term is over.

After balli transfer, people ignore the outgoing Abba Gadaa for the time being. Once the new Abba Gadaa of Borana, for instance Guyyo Gobba, receives balli and reaches at his camp, he

tells Borana that he received balli without any problem or peacefully. People like peaceful transfer of balli. Borana Oromo people visit him to celebrate peaceful transfer of balli. There is big celebration organized at the camp of the new Abba Gadaa men. After he received balli, the new Abba Gadaa stays inside his house (*ulma*) for about three days. Then, he comes out from his house after three days and he becomes Abba Gadaa. Gadaa belongs to him. He already started exercising power. All manmade and natural happenings during the eight years of his *gadoma*; be it rain, prosperity, wealth, etc. are attributed to him (FGD-7, P-1).

Gadoma (53 – 61 years)

Participants reported that once *dori* men receive *balli*, they enter the stage of *gadoma* and serve as *Abba Biyya* – nation's fathers or *Abba Gadaa* - *Gadaa* owners. They are called *ya'a Gadaa* – *gadaa teams/groups*. The leaders take power to lead the community. As stated above, the three *Gadaa* branches form their own cabinets of leadership at three different locations of Borana land. They settle at different locations in Borana land to reach their clans in their leadership services. At this stage of *Gadaa* cycle, formal functional structure is established within the groups and between the groups. The three branches of *Gadaa*: *arbora*, *hawattu* and *konnitu*, establish autonomous groups of *Gadaa* leadership and serve the community as leaders for eight years.

As stated by participants, *hawattu* and *konnitu* groups constitute intellects of *adula*, *medhicha* and *garba* while *arbora* comprise of only *adula* and *garba* intellects. Service men, *Abba Bokku*, and *wayyu* men live in all *gadaa* neighborhoods during the eight years period of leadership. There are hierarchies of seniority of individuals in each of the three groups. *Adula* men are the senior ones. Next to them are *medhicha*. *Garba* men are the third in the power hierarchy within the groups. In terms of group, *Abba Gadaa arbora* and his team are senior in their leadership status. They are *angafa* – first born. *Abba Gadaa hawattu* and his group are the second while *Abba Gadaa konnitu* and his group are third in the status and decision-making hierarchy of the system. The senior *adula* persons in each group become *Abba Gadaa*. Therefore, there are three *Abba Gadaa* men at a time. The name of *Abba Gadaa* becomes the name of the party and the period of *gadoma* of the time. For instance, *Abba Gadaa Guyyo Gobba* (*arbora*), *Abba Gadaa Roob Jarso* (*hawattu*), and *Abba Gadaa Murku Jilo* (*konnitu*) were in power during my fieldwork. Guyyo Gobba was the senior and the period was the period of Guyyo Gobba. The name of the party in power was also Guyyo Gobba's party. However, they are all from the same

party, Bule Dabbasa'a party. Respondents described the roles and relationships among the groups as follows.

Roob Jarso deals with issues of hawattu. Abba Gada Morku Jilo also deals with issues related to his location. People living in his territory appeal to him and he is the administrator of that area. Goyyo Gobba also runs such things in his locality. Abba Gadaa of respective location can treat cases like death crime. These are simple matters. However, difficult and challenging cases happened in Borana land such as refusal to excavate wells, disagreement between yuba men, well damage, creating divisions between people, disagreement between hayyu men, and cases of prosperous men and men of high status are taken to Goyyo Gobba, Abba Gadaa Arbora. Abba Gadaa hawattu and konnitu refer such cases to Abba Gadaa Arbora (KII-4).

Once Gadaa is subdivided into three branches, they are busy with their own business in their respective localities. They attend serious ritual ceremonies of their gadoma. Many cases are reported to them from different directions for solutions. People take their cases to the nearest Abba Gadaa camp, and the hayyu men resolve the issues. There are many customers and Abba Gadaa should always well-come all the cases. They are busy in their respective issues. They come together during gumi gaayo to formulate laws. Otherwise, they make decisions in their respective localities. These days, they also communicate each other using telephone. They salute each other. Cases can be taken from konnitu to hawattu and from hawattu to arbora if the person is not convinced by the arbitration process and decision made by the hayyu in the two groups. They listen to each other. They ask each other. Beside these things, there is no reason that one Abba Gadaa looks for the other. All fulfill their responsibility at their localities (KII-3).

There are three branches of Gadaa system: arbora, hawatu, and konnitu. Abba Gadaa Arbora is angafa – first born of the three (KII-2).

Although there is power hierarchy among the three groups, they are in charge of running administration in their specific localities. Again they share information on the progresses and challenges they face during their decision making process. *Arbora* can call the others in case he needs them. However, *konnitu* and *hawattu Gadaa* men do not call *Abba Gadaa Arbora* to their camp in case they fail to make decision rather they take it to his camp. They work together in their process of decision-making and other ritual activities in the community.

The ultimate goal of caring, supporting, and socializing children throughout the six stages of *dabballumma*, *junior gamme*, *senior gamme*, *kusoma*, *raboma* and *doroma* is to have *Abba Gadaa* who can make good decisions/peaceful decision, able to differentiate good ideas from bad ones, and understand and help the poor. They need the one whom people respect and obey his leadership. A good *Abba Gadaa* is the one who speaks for the poor, ponds, wells, fair distribution of resources, cattle and the land of Borana. The best *Abba Gadaa* is the one who can respect Borana people and other nationalities. He should be strong and can manage his people and his family well. They like *Abba Gadaa* who is capable of protecting the people and their property from harm. He should pray *Waaqa* to help him to withstand drought and war against the people. *Abba Gadaa* should not discriminate people in his decisions. He should have wider understanding of the situations as all people belong to him. He should not be biased. He should serve the poor, the rich, the young, and the old fairly. He is the one who has experiences of solving disputes, conflicts, and wars. People should trust him and his decisions. As reported by Beeka Dhuga, the people do not want the one who punishes other by his decisions, imprisons individuals, and put people in stress. He shouldn't be the one whose period of *gadoma* is time of drought and war. They want the ones whose period of leadership is time of peace and prosperity. People do not want something bad to happen to them during his period of leadership. Participants described the type of *Abba Gadaa*'s personality they feel good as follows:

He is the one who ensured the following during his leadership: Prosperity/everybody being wealthy/, disease free people, and prevent Barana from experiencing drought and famine that can kill many cattle. He is the one who does not ignore people and act like boss assuming that he is Abba Gadaa. He should be the one who makes decisions without bias and corruption. He is the one who can perform traditional ritual ceremonies expected of him very well. He is the one who can prevent his people from war during his gadaa. People and cattle should be free of diseases during his time in power. People do not face any serious difficulties during his gadaa (KII-3).

The best Abba Gadaa is the one whose gadaa is gadaa of peace. He is the one who makes good decisions or peaceful decisions. He is the one who investigate/evaluate the narrow and the wide things independently/separately - Kan dhiphataa fi baldhataalee gargari-ilaalu. He is the one who can understand your problem if you are in trouble. He is the one who can understand the

poor males and females. He is the one who is respected and visited by many followers. He is the one with whom many people spend days and nights. However, the one who punishes others by his decisions, imprisons and put people in stress, is the one people turn their faces against. He is the one whose gadoma is gadaa of drought and war (KII-1).

All Abba Gadaa men are good. At the beginning, only those men who can do good things are elected as Abba Gadaa. However, if we say one is the best of all, he is the one who see all Borana equally. All people belong to him. He should see the young and the old equally. He should understand the wider population. He is the one who has good attitude towards all people without being biased towards his clan and community (FGD-3, P-5).

According to participants, *Abba Gadaa* should accomplish good things for his people. He should have good knowledge, competence, skill, and experience of dealing with problems and challenges of the community. He should not insult, kill and harm or speak to harm human beings. As the society belongs to him and he belongs to them, he should not lie to the society. They are the society who brought up and elects *Abba Gadaa*. As described by research participants, people feel confident about *Abba Gadaa* and trust him. Hence, he should not cover up thieves and robbers. He should make fair and just decision, and should not engage in corruption. *Abba Gadaa* should know how to communicate with others, and has good interpersonal communication skills. He should be faithful. *Abba Gadaa* should have patience. Aggressiveness is not expected from *Abba Gadaa*. He should respect others. He should show sympathy for the poor and the needy people in the community and gather the support they need during his *gadoma*. Generally, he should speak, do, and live in truth. For instance, Nadhi Damma described the best *Abba Gadaa* as follows:

The best Abba Gadaa is the one who did good things for Borana. He is the one who has an experience of solving conflicts, disagreements, war, etc. He is the one who has good dreams for Borana. He is the one who has patience. He is the one blessed by good wills, for instance, shorten drought period during his gadaa. He is the one cattle get enough water and grass during his gadoma. He is the one people get prosperous during his gadaa. He is the one people get enough rain fall during his leadership. He is the one Borana did not engage in war during his gadoma. Generally, no bad things happened to the people of Borana during his regime (IDI-1).

One of the main duties and responsibilities of *Gadaa* men is performing ritual and cultural rites that require them to have the knowledge and skills of their cultures. The people expect them to perform the rituals ceremonies in a desirable manner. *Abba Gadaa* men and their teammates celebrate and perform a number of rituals during the eight years of their *gadoma* as per the requirements of their culture. At the beginning, they celebrate *balli* takeover ceremony where they take the power of *gadaa leadership* in the community from the outgoing party. They attend *gubbisa* or naming ceremony at Kallach Nura in Liben district where they confirm names preferred by their *dabballe* children at the transition to junior *gamme* stage at the 3rd year of their *gadoma*. At about the same time with *gubbisa*, they attend *gadamojji* men or their fathers' hair shaving ceremony. At the mid of their leadership period, they organize *gumi gaayo* – *Borana people general assembly*. Finally, they organize and perform *balli* transfer ceremony where they give power to the incoming *Abba Gadaa* men of *dori*. These are some of the many rituals celebrated during *gadoma*. According to Tole Dadafo (KII-4), an *Abba Gadaa* should conduct seventy-seven different rituals during his *gadoma*. Through celebration of different rituals, *Gadaa* men are expected to maintain the continuity of their culture, which they have been learning for the past six different stages in the system.

Gadaa men deal with almost all issues of Borana people. They deal with issues of wells and ponds, disputes and conflicts, election of *adula* members, meetings, and ritual activities. Nadhi Damma (IDI-1) reported, “During the eight years of leadership, all things on Earth (Borana land) are in the hands of *Gadaa* men. The issues of wells, problematic women, problematic men, ponds, and issues of cattle, all are up to leaders to decide.” As he said, the duties that have been made for *Abba Gadaa* men have no limit in *Gadaa* system. One of focus group discussant (FGD-1, P-1) also added that *Abba Gadaa* shoulders huge leadership responsibilities. They do all the business of Borana Oromo community. They treat the issues of the poor, difficult, and evil people.

During their *gadoma*, *Abba Gadaa* men and their teammates organize and coordinate the people to excavate water wells and ponds. As the community is primarily engage in cattle herding, an *Abba Gadaa* is evaluated by his contribution for the people by the ponds he excavated for cattle during his leadership period. Wells and ponds are very vital for the community's live. Therefore, *Abba Gadaa* is expected to mobilize and organize the people to dig wells and ponds in places

suitable for the people and their cattle. The people expect every passing *Abba Gadaa* to excavate his own well and pond for the community. Not only excavation of ponds and wells, he should also ensure protection of the locations and orderly utilizations of the water sources. According to Bule Gobba (KII-3), one of the evaluation criteria of *Abba Gadaa* is the wells and ponds he excavated for the community. When describing their roles, Nadhi Damma reported the following.

Abba Gadaa is expected to engage in digging of ponds and wells that can serve as water tank during his gadoma. Abba Gadaa makes decisions to dig ponds and wells for cattle and people respectively. He gives order. He orders saying “plough it with 10/50/100 oxen.” The people obey his order. He also digs with people. I also have my own pond and well. My father had dug his own. Like me, Abba Gadaa Roob Jarso also has well. If the one you dug is dry, you dig another at the same place or at different location convenient for the people. As Abba Gadaa, you play a leading role in the process (IDI-1).

As reported by research participants, *Abba Gadaa* should also ensure protection of the locations and orderly utilizations of the wells and ponds. They have to ensure that the wells and the ponds are fenced, cleaned and protected by the people. If someone causes damage to the wells or does not report the damage creators, they penalize him/her by decision.

As reported by participants, decision-making is the major duty of *Abba Gadaa* men and their teammates during the eight years of their leadership. *Gadaa* men are considered as the last decision maker in the community. However, people can appeal the decision made at *Gadaa* camp for *law persons* for consistency check up of the decision made and the customary law being implemented to make the decision by *Gadaa* men. *Gadaa* men make decisions with the help of their customary rules and regulations. As described above under subtopic “*doroma* stage”, almost every act of immorality and wrong doings has its own customary law in Borana land as reported by the participants. They have law of cattle, equine, ponds, wells, *law persons*, *hayyu* men, women, girls, elders, and many more. For instance, Bule Gobba reported the following customary laws formulated by Borana Oromo community during different *gumi gaayo* meetings. However, at this stage of the system, the individuals are not expected to learn the laws through practice like the previous three stages: *kusoma*, *raboma* and *doroma*. Rather they use the laws to make real decisions.

..., law of girls, law of children of elders, law of children of young adults, law of senior females/women, law of horses, law of camels, law of ritual ceremonies, law of Abba Gadaa and his wife, criminal law, law of wells, law of sheep, law of traditional healers, law of difficult person such as the one who spears cattle, and others (KII-1).

There are steps and procedures of making decision. If dispute or conflict occurs between parties, *lichu*-older men/women living in the neighborhood can deal with it first. The case should be seen by *lichu* before it reaches *Gadaa* men. If the parties, one or all, disagree with decision, *lichu* take the parties and their case to the nearby leadership group. They are not the disputing parties who take their case to the nearby leadership group. The elders take the case and the disputing parties to the groups. Then, the group members come together to investigate the case in detail and confirm the decision made by *lichu* or deliver their decision. For instance, Bule Gobba described the procedure as follows.

First, if crime is committed in certain locality, the two parties try to solve the problem by themselves with the help of lichu - elders. Lichu/yuba can solve the problem. If the lichu men and women are unable to solve the problem, the case is taken to Gadaa men. Second, if the case is taken to Gadaa, the hayyu men check whether the case taken to them fulfilled the necessary steps. There is procedure to be followed to take cases to the court of Abba Gadaa. The case should be taken to gadaa men by lichu yuba, a person who completed his/her gadaa services. The owners of the case also accompany him. If the case does not fulfill the necessary procedures and steps, the hayyu men refer the case back to lichu and order it to come again through the necessary steps. If the case follows the necessary steps and procedures, an appointment is given for the owners of the case. On the day of the appointment, the case is set for discussion. Truth cannot be two - dhugaan lama hin taatu, takkuma. Through discussion, it is possible to identify crime committer and the victim. The perpetrator is told to accept the crime he committed. He cannot refuse to accept the decision made by Gadaa. If he refuses, he will not be considered as Borana. He will not share ponds, wells, seats, etc with Borana (KII-3).

As there are power differences among the groups, if the group is *raba* for instance, and the parties are not satisfied with the decision made by *raba* men, the case goes to *dori* men. The next appeal is to *gada* camp. *Gadaa* men follow the same step and procedure and give their decision if the decision needs amendment. Again, as there are three branches of *Gadaa* and one is senior

to the others, people appeal to the groups step by step. For instance, if the case is reported to *konnitu* and the parties refuse to accept the decision given by the group, the case goes to *hawattu*, and then to *arbora*. The final appeal is for *law person*. *Lawpersons* check whether the customary laws are interpreted correctly or not. Finally, *gumi gayo* comes for over all evaluation of the decision-making processes and functionality of the customary laws of Borana Oromo community in general. *Gumi gaayo* is a general meeting held at Borana level where known and experienced men come together once in a *gadaa* of eight years term to evaluate the overall progresses of *Gadaa* system. *Gumi gaayo* attendants amend or formulate customary laws. For instance, one of focus group discussant described the situation as follows:

When yuba people engage in dispute, they take their cases to licho men in the neighborhood. These licho men speak about it. They put things back on track. If a person refuses to accept and requests them (lichu) to take his case to other body, they go to raba. He appeals to raba. Raba men also discuss and make their decision. If the person is not satisfied with the decision of raba, he does not appeal back to yuba rather to dori. Again, if the person is not satisfied, he appeals to licho to take his case to Gadaa. Once the case reaches gadaa, he gets the final decision. If the person cannot understand the situation, he goes to Abba Seera (FGD-4, P-7).

At all stages of decision-making process, the cases are thoroughly examined before decisions are made. Decision makers gather the necessary information related to the case from witnesses, the disputing parties, and *lichu* men/women. Then, they make logical analysis to identify the wrong doers. Once they identify the perpetrator, they give decision. Respondents described the process of their decision-making in *Gadaa* system as follows.

We also do not commit injustice in our decision making process. We call/invite different people for deep and thorough investigation and examination of the case brought to us in detail. We make things clear before we make decisions. We look for witnesses, request the person, and cross-check all what he told us. We examine things in detail (IDI-1).

They examine things in detail, call upon wise men to discussions, and make decisions. They decide for the victim/truth. The person who disagrees with the decision of Abba Gadaa can appeal to law men like Jilo Aaga and Jaldessa Adi, father of Adi Jeldessa. If Abba Gadaa examines and gives decision but the person is unable to understand it, the case is referred to law

persons. Law persons do not speak love or advice if the case is taken to them. They just decide the truth. They do not counsel the person (IDI-2).

Although formal structure of the central government of Ethiopia, like courts are in place, the people rely more on *Gadaa* system. They consider it as something very vital for their co-existence. They take it as their culture. The people respect and accept the roles and responsibilities of *Gadaa* leaders and the decisions made by them as reported by research participants. They obey the decisions made by their *hayyu*. Nadhi Damma reported as if their decision is better than court decisions. As he reasoned out, *Abba Gadaa* men have no choice than delivering fair decision unlike court men. If they lie and cause harm to the people through their decision, the people will not consider their ancestors for *Gadaa* position again. Moreover, they are subjected to evaluation at the end of their service years where they are asked about the good decisions they have made. Beeka Dhuga also argued that the replacement of traditional mediation by court system in urban areas is causing harm to the people. He said the poor men and women have no person to speak for them like before. In their tradition, they have *katto system or support system* where they contribute cattle for the poor in the community. The following expression of one of the key informant interviewee shows high acceptance of decisions made by *hayyu* men in the community.

If you see this system of Borana, people do not refuse the decisions of the six men (adula). Leave alone the six men, they do not refuse to accept the decisions of that of garba men. ..., generally men we call hayyu, whether in yuba or the one running the system, are respected. Even when they give unfair decision, you cannot say you are not right. It is not culture. You cannot say, "I do not accept your decision rather you appeal for him to refer your case to the body you want your case to be taken. Still if he refuses to refer, that is it. However, he cannot say no to your appeal (KII-3).

During *gumi gayo* and at the end of their *gadoma*, the *Abba Gadaa* men, who were in charge of organizing the three teams of *gadaa*, are subjected to evaluation. In fact, the people evaluate them more than three times: during election, *balli* transfer, *gumi gayo*, and in-party power transfer at the end of *gadamojjumma*. Here, the people demand them what they have done for them and they should narrate all what they have done during his *gadoma* very well. The evaluators ask them the following questions: Did you put up this clan together? Did you make

them to understand each other? Did you speak for the poor to get support? What did you beautify? Then, the *Abba Gadaa* men narrate about the wells and ponds they excavated in their respective localities, the rituals they performed during different stages in the system, the peace they secured, the poor they supported and the peaceful decisions they made. They should explain their heroism in these regards. For instance, one of focus group discussant described the process of evaluation as follows:

We evaluate Gadaa leaders. After they transferred balli to other persons, there is what is called batu-coming together for evaluation. Men like hayyu garba will take the ex-Abba Gadaa to the group of the incoming Abba Gadaa. When the hayyu garba come together, the man explains what he has done during his Gadaa (bokku dhahata). He (ex-Abba Gada) describes all what he has done saying "I made ponds. I made wells. I fulfilled singsongs. I served as a father of this nation. I supported the people in problem. I gave food for the hungry. I am strong man. I am completer." The men report all what he has done during his gadoma since he received balli in this manner (FGD-6, P.3).

Gadaa leaders are also evaluated by their lucks. As reported by research participants above (in the same section), the best *gadaa* leader is the one who have good luck. The people believe that if an *Abba Gadaa* is lucky, Borana becomes wealthy, free of diseases and have good rainfall for the people and the cattle during his *gadoma*. Therefore, an *Abba Gadaa* should exert maximum effort in his religious practices of *Waqeffanna* during his *gadaa*. He prays to *Waaqa* for good rainfall, peace, good health, and wealth for his people and their cattle during his *gadoma*.

Generally, *gadaa* leaders and their teammate engage in activities of decision-making, conflict and dispute resolution, and religious practices so that peace, justice, health and wealth are ensured for the people during their *gadoma*. They should practice fairness and justice in their administration. They should reach all people and solve their societal and personal problems. They should pray to God for good luck. Failure to fulfill societal expectations will have detestable and long last repercussion for the *Abba Gadaa* men in their generations to come. The people will avoid him their vote during election of their sons to group intellects. They will also lose the chance for their sons to be *Abba Gadaa*. The people ignore him during election of his son for *hayyumma*.

Yuboma (61 – 89 years)

In the system, the stage next to *gadoma* is *yuboma*. This stage lasts for about 29 years and it has four sub-stages namely *yuba I* (61-68 years), *yuba II* (69-76 years), *yuba III* (77-84 years), and *yuba IV* (85-89 years). The division of *yuboma* stage into such sub-stages is based on the ritual transitions performed by the party at the transition from junior *gamme* to senior *gamme*, senior *gamme* to *kusoma*, *kusoma* to *raboma*, *raboma* to *doroma*, and *doroma* to *gadoma*. Functionally, there is no difference among the four stages as reported by the participants, and that is why they are treated as one stage in this report. As men in the stage are still in charge of leading and caring for their respective parties, they engage in teaching and advising the members in addition to attending *gumi gaayo* meetings and different rituals celebrated in Borana land. Even though the *Abba Gadaa* men handover power of leading community to the succeeding party, they continue their respective party leadership services until they give it to the next generation. They are party leaders. For instance, one of focus group discussion participant said that “After *Abba Gadaa* gives *balli*, he joins his family and has no job in the system as a group. He maintains his status of *hayyumma* though he accomplished the main tasks of running ritual celebrations” (FGD-6, P-2).

According to research participants, members of the three *gadaa* branches do not live in groups like the previous three stages. They migrate with their family and cattle to the place where they believe are suitable for them. At location of their settlement, they serve as *lichu yuba – village elders* who deal with acts of immorality at neighborhood level before it reaches *gadaa* men of *raboma*, *doroma* and *gadoma*. They deal with disputes and conflicts at the neighborhood level and take the case if the parties are unsatisfied with the decision made by them or unable to understand the case. Senior persons in the stage are *law persons*. Ex-*Abba Gadaa* of the senior person of the party, Jilo Aaga, for instance, is the senior *law person* during my field work. Hence, he deals with appeal from *gadaa men* in the decision making process in the community. Research participants described the roles of senior and ordinary *yuba* men in the system as follows:

They reintegrate themselves with ordinary Borana who farm (these days) and rear cattle. They can settle at locations suitable for them and their cattle. They can migrate to anywhere. Yuba is like gadoma and people report their cases to them to get decision. They serve as local elders. A case is referred to gadaa men only if yuba are unable resolve it. Cases cannot be referred to him

from gadaa unless he recognized it. Mostly, he is engaged in his business and care for his children. He prepares his sons for election (KII-3).

They are people like us who live in ordinary villages. They are not ya'a like that of Guyyo Gobba's council living in goro – top cultural objectives. They look after their cattle. They resolve dispute and conflicts. They look after ponds, wells and participate in excavation of water sources. They speak/budget cattle for people in ya'a – core gadaa council. There are hayyu goro – goro intellects and hayyu yuba – yoba intellects. They are hayyu yuba – yuba intellects (FGD-7, P-1).

..... Otherwise, even though a yuba gave balli and he does not administer Borana, he is Abba Seera. The most difficult problems and challenges not solved by Abba Gadaa is taken to him. Abba Gadaa and Abba Seera are two different bodies in the society. Those who completed their periods of gadoma and enter the period of yuboma are Abba Seera. For instance, if Abba Gadaa men dispute each other, the case is taken to Abba Seera men, like Jilo Aaga. Other public issues may not be taken to them as it is. Abba Seera men play active roles during gumi gaayo (KII-4).

As stated by Tole Dadafo, members of this stage are among the men who play a key role in the process of decision making during general assembly, *gumi gaayo*, of Borana Oromo community. They attend the meeting to evaluate, formulate, accommodate, or change Borana customary laws. They share their experiences at the meeting. During the meeting, men of *yuba* and other attendants discuss over the workability of the existing customary laws to make the necessary amendments after analyzing emerging social events that challenge decision makers.

Men of *yuba* are also responsible to look after village wells/ponds and organize *katto - contribution*. At their neighborhood, they are in charge of monitoring wells and ponds excavated by the community for people and their cattle. They maintain orders of proper utilization of the common resources. Moreover, they mobilize the people in the camp to contribute cattle for the poor and men running the system as *hayyu*. As reported above, the community has a system called *katto - contribution* system where community members support individuals running community business at Borana level and needy people in the village.

Moreover, they are in charge of educating, monitoring and coaching individuals in the main system of *Gadaa* as reported by respondents. They travel with their children during *nyachisa* and

wal-argi. They guide and monitor their travel and tour, as there are so many things that the sons should avoid. They also visit their sons living together in a camp to run the climax of ritual activities of *gadoma*. Boru Jaldessa, one of IDI, for instance, is a father of Kura Jarso. Kura Jarso was the prospective *hayyu* who was preparing to receive *balli* from Guyyo Gobba. He was *dori* man. Boru reported that, he travelled *nyachisa* and *wal-argi* with the group when they were in the stage of senior *gamme*. He and others like him tour to guide the group about the place they spend during the nights, the time they enter a neighborhood, the neighborhood they should not cross, the directions they travel, procedures of animal slaughtering, feasting together, the way they should greet adults while in travel. They teach them how they bless parents who invited them at their home, when they live a neighborhood and many more cultural values of the society. He also reported that they regularly visit the group's camp and educate them about *raboma* and *doroma* rituals. During my fieldwork, I found him while he was travelling to *dori* camp. Participants of FGD-2 also reported that their fathers visit them on regular bases to teach them about the culture of the community. Participants' descriptive account of the roles of *yuba* men in the system is cited above in this section of the report.

***Gadamojjumma* (89 – 91 years)**

Gadamojjumma is an exit stage in the *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. After 29 years of *yuboma*, when the sons of a party take power of *gadoma* of that party, the fathers enter the stage of *gadamojjumma*. When Guyyo Gobba takes power/*balli*, for instance, his father starts *gadamojjumma* and leaves the stage at 3rd year of his *gadoma*. At that time, Guyyo's children shave their hair and enter the stage of junior *gamme* from *dabballumma*. Members of a party in the stage grow their hairs in *guduru* style like that of children in *dabballumma* stage. They tie *kallacha* and *gundo* (*cultural tools that symbolize gadamojjumma*) on their forehead. These men are known by their *qumbi* – *frankincense of good smell*. They have frankincense that they received from their predecessors. They live at different locations of Borana land and come together only for their hair shaving ritual ceremony at the end of the stage. They have no regular ritual ceremonies like before. It is like the period of retirement. They spend most of their time at home.

The transition from *yuboma* to *gadamojjumma* has its own ritual ceremony where the outgoing party members give frankincense and blessing to their successor. The outgoing *gadamojji* man

blesses the incoming ones saying, “Smell good for your nation, clans, and neighbors,” (Nadhi Damma, IDI-1) and give them incense.

Once a person enters the stage of gadamojjumma, he receives qumbi. Qumbi is a thing that has good smell. It is a kind of incense collected from a tree cover. People spit on each other and give their blessing during qumbi reception by saying ‘please take, I give you qumbi, get qumbi and smell good.’ They bless each other saying: ‘smell good, smell good in your neighborhood, smell good to your nation, smell good to your clan, smell good to your medda – neighborhood, smell in peace. Then, you tie kallacha and take gundo. You do not put on trousers (IDI-1).

Participants reported that the stage of *gadamojjumma* is a devotional stage when the person lives spiritual life. As reported by Galgalo Wariyo, for instance, elders at the stage of *gadamojjumma* confess the crimes and sins they have committed and promise not to engage in any form of crime and sin during their remaining lifetime. They give their blessing in the name of *Waaqa*. No one, including *Abba Gadaa*, precedes them to bless public gatherings. Others also pray to *Waaqa* in their names to get peace, rain, children, and wealth. People respect them and do not cross their ways. Community members, including *hayyu* men, visit them to get blessing. They do not spend a night outside in the field. Community members are obliged to serve them meals and allow them to spend nights in their houses. They give them milk to get blessing. In return, they bless the whole family and neighborhood to be peaceful and prosperous. They do not look for their lost cattle in the night. They do not go to war or pouching. These men do not mediate others quarrelling to avoid others’ grievances towards them for possible judgmental decision so that they violate their spiritual purity. Rather, they give their blessing them to be in peace. If the man lives as per the community’s expectation, he will be buried inside cattle enclosure when he dies.

A person who enters the stage of gadamojjumma should promise not to cause any harm to others in his remaining life time. ... In other words, a person who entered the stage clean off his wrong doings and sins he might have committed during his young ages. He purifies himself and starts living the life of saints by giving his blessings for others. He resolves disagreements and dispute by blessing. He should not attempt to distinguish the wrong doer from the victim. If he does so, he might make the parties to be dissatisfied with the decision and that is not something he wants to happen. Gadamojji does not want others to be dissatisfied with him. He does not want grievance of others against him. He is a blessed old man (KII-2).

At the end of *gadamojjumma*, power transfer within party takes place. The fathers transfer *gadoma* of the party to their sons grown in the system. For instance, *Abba Gadaa* Guyyo Gobba, who was in power during fieldwork, will give his party's leadership power for *his children* in the stage of junior *gamme* at the end of *gadamojjumma*. When the sons receive the title from their fathers, the two engage in serious conversation where the fathers narrate their accomplishments to defend themselves while the sons show their courage and determination to do the same or more during their *gadoma*. The fathers rehearse the enemies they killed, the wells/pond they excavated for their clan, peaceful decisions they made, the poor they supported, the rituals they performed, and other achievements. The fathers should show that they excel their son in their performances of *gadoma*. The fathers agitate their sons to do more by doing so. The sons leave the father with feeling of spitfire to do more during their five years of *gadoma*. Bule Jarso described the conversation between the two groups as follows.

He reports all what he has done during his gadoma in this manner since he has received power. During gadamojjumma, men in the stage prepare madala - a pot full of milk. They are children of the old men, children of the outgoing party members, who take the milk to drink. The children are in the stage of gadoma. When the men shave their head, their children are in gadoma. Then, leader of the incoming group orders his group mates to take the madala. He says 'Buta! Fudha! - Grab it! Take it!' Then, the fathers say 'you can't pick it up! It is heavy. It is a milk of cows I cared a lot. You cannot take it! You dogs! You, who smell bad! You cannot pick it up!' Their conversation looks like this. It is a kind of heroic recitation. In the situation, the father recites what he had done and the child tries to show his strength to do more. They tell their children the wells and ponds they made for their people, the number of enemies they killed, peaceful decision they made and the culture they made. The leading child makes his groups aggressive by ordering them to take the madala again and again (IDI - 8).

Jarsumma (> 96 years)

Jarsa is a person who completed all his roles and responsibilities of performing cultural activities and free to live anywhere in Borana land. Once the person who has been serving the community with his party shave his *guduru* hair of *gadamojjumma*, he starts living as an ordinary person. His law is equivalent to an ordinary woman's law. If someone behaves immorally against him, the compensation will be a heifer. They have no rituals to perform in the community. They

travel with their cattle and take them to where water and grasses are available if they are capable of doing so. If the man is strong enough to migrate, he can join *fora* group where he can share his *gadoma* experience for other young children. Remember that the age of the people in the stage varies and the youngest person can be 61 years old. For instance, Jaldessa Doyyo described men in this stage as follows.

A person, who shaved his head, who has grown and anointed his head during gadamojjumma, lives as an ordinary person. Once he shaved his head, he will be buried inside cattle's enclosure if he dies. If someone beats him, his law is law of women. The compensation is female young calf. I am like a woman. Jarsa, who shaved his head, gives his blessing at public gatherings of different purposes. He blesses feastings. He is yuba and can migrate and settle wherever he wants. He has no goro tradition to run. He already transferred to his sons. Currently, goro tradition is in the hands of Roob Jarso, Guyyo Gobba and others. I can migrate to wherever I want to migrate. However, people do not migrate like before. We settled here. It has no problem if I travel to any location. I can migrate and look after my cattle. Guyyo Gobba, Roob Jarso and their groups will also elect adula and transfer the tradition to their sons (IDI-4).

They bless people during feastings, and meetings. As they used to serve the community, the people respect and give them priority during public gatherings to bless like *gadamojji*. The person who was born as *ilman korama* and played his roles directly or indirectly and lived *gadamojjumma* with spiritual purity, is considered as blessed one. His burial is inside cattle's enclosure if he dies.

Participants' concern of *Gadaa* system

Interview, in-depth interview, key informant interview, and focus group discussion participants have expressed their fear that dual responsibilities of *Gadaa* men (cultural community affairs and central/regional government businesses), the expansion of other religions in their community, undemocratic practices in some parties, lobbying, few procedural irregularities and permanent settlement are affecting the practice of *Gadaa* system in their community. Some of the respondents were very much desperate about the continuity of their system. They reported that the practice of *gadoma* is deteriorating from time to time because of different reasons. Tole

Dadafo's worry is heart touching and can be a good example of their concern. He described the situation as follows:

Waaqa gave birth to truth and man gave birth to culture. Our culture is weakening from time to time. It started losing ground during Atse Minilik, continued during Emperor Hailesilassie, Derg and now it is about to die. Even though the people of Oromo have started communicating better than before and conducted researches on the culture, the practice is not there like before. Only those who are Waaqeffata and those living in the rural areas of Borana are exercising the culture. In the past, Oromo people do not know each other. Now people know each other better than before and it is nice. However, the culture is subjected to extinction recently than the times before. Religions are allowed to spoil the culture. Abba Gadaa men and the government became friend to one another and the Abba Gadaa men started ignoring the culture. Abba Gadaa should conduct more than 77 ritual performances during his gadoma. As government bodies have told us, government system and culture do not mix each other. However, the government is separating the people and Abba Gadaa. Borana is angry about these things. Abba Gadaa are supposed to do cultural activities, but they are engaged in government activities. We do not like such interferences. We are waiting gumi gaayo to evaluate Abba Gadaa (KII-4).

Beka Dhuga also reported the following.

Election process used to include behaviors and performances of both the father and the son. If the father performed well during his gadaa and his son has indicating behaviors of leadership too, people were willing to elect the son and that was a good combination. Now that is not the case. Everybody runs after property (Qabeenyuma Gul-yaa'an). These days, the one who has money allocates it among government bodies starting from people at Oromia, zone, and woreda levels. The military also started forcing the people to elect by obligation. People elect because of fear. It is not only Borana society who engages in election campaign process but also parties (he meant to say political parties). Politics is made to be part of Gadaa system. People are fuming these things. We will not elect sons of these men again (KII-1).

However, the other respondent, who was serving as *Abba Gadaa* during my fieldwork, explained that they are working with government and he believes it is good do so. He reported good relationship between government and *Gadaa* leaders.

We attend meetings organized by government bodies and whenever we are invited. We share what we know about peace making, development, changes needed, shortages, and the like. We also tell them about our culture. We work together on maintaining our culture from any threats that might happen to it. We request the government to provide us water in dry seasons, and to construct roads. We apply for electric, education and health services infrastructures. We do what we can do and apply for support in case we need it. We cannot achieve some objectives without their support. We report shortage of water if draught happens to us (IDI-1).

The other threat to the practice of *Gadaa* system is expansion of foreign religions in Borana land. As reported by research participants, *Gadaa* system and *Waqqeffanna* go hand-in-hand. *Gadaa* leaders and the community believe in *Waaqa*. Leaders learn and exercise the doctrines of *Waqqeffanna* before they come to power. However, the current religious trend in the community worried research participants. So far, many people living in urban areas like Yabello and Dubluq are converted to Islam and protestant. For instance, children of one of key informant interviews were converted and were followers of Islam. According to participants, if people start following the religions, they stop exercising the culture and refuse to obey the customs of the society. They decline from contributing cattle for *hayyu* and the needy people. They refuse to attend different rituals performed by the community. The degree of worry is stated well by Bule Gobba and it seems sound to give readers his account for better understanding.

Borana is guided by the system. Recently, there is a problem that is common in Borana and weakening things. It is religion. Protestant men are describing the culture as if it has no meaning and lobby people of Borana to join them. If you accept the religion, you act contrary to Borana's culture. If you are follower of the religion, you drop the culture all in all. The culture is forbidden by the religion. Protestant men are deceiving people saying that "you will not leave your culture if you accept the doctrine of Protestantism." If the person is deceived and joins them, he just follows the doctrine and alienates himself from the culture. The culture is religion by itself. The person who does not understand this and told that "you do not have religion", he will simply be deceived by them. They say 'what kind of person you are if you don't have religion!' The person who accepted the religion cannot perform the tradition and starts refusing decisions made by hayyu. He refuses to attend the major jila rituals run by men in the system. Exercise of the tradition by itself is religion of Borana. This tradition has so many things in it. ...

Not all traditions exercised by hayyu are in religion doctrines of protestant. They deceive people who do not have detail knowledge of their culture. There are many Borana people being deceived by their religious politics and decided to join them. They focus on young individuals. Those who accepted the religion hate the culture and start talking against it. Because of this reason, the tradition is somewhat weakened. The situation is fearful. However, many individuals understand things in detail and guided by the culture. We have our own religion. We have nothing in common with them. The religion is a serious threat to the system (KII-3).

Hole Boneyya's report also supports Bule Gobba's claims. He reported his concern over the impact of religious expansion as follows:

... Again religion is going around and some say people heard saying "Islam." Others say "Christian." People started claiming culture of other clans and refusing to migrate with ya'a as makala. They do not give you katto (contribution). People migrating for goro (migration for cultural practice) are small. People used to migrate to support goro were now refusing to do so. If things continue like this, leave alone other people, those living in goro will drop. It is being weakening (IDI-2).

Undemocratic cultural exercise by some families of some parties is also another source of worry for the community. Galgalo Wariyo gave his critical analysis of undemocratic practices in some parties of the community and its consequences (One can also realize from the list of *Abba Gadaa* names given above in this section). Some families stick to power for generations in a party, which can weaken other community members' knowledge and skill of running the system. He explained the consequences of refusing to give power within party. If a family refuses to give power and others who served as *service men* and settle with *Gadaa* leaders are denied the chance, they will be disappointed and drop their role in the system. If they stop migrating with *Gadaa* men, they will forget the culture. If they forget the culture, they become immoral in their behavior. That will weaken the system as a whole. Other participants also confirmed that some family members have been serving as *Abba Gadaa* for generations.

Some families stay in power for generations. If men or people of the same luba do not love each other; give power or substitute one another in their luba; and say that "this person deserves to have authority (hayyu) than that one", things will go into crises. If power is not given to a

person born and grown in the culture, good for culture and tradition is not considered, the system will fail. If good person having culturally appropriate behavior is not given the power and a person who deserves a position of hayyu does not substitute the other, some people alienate themselves from the system. If people do things in unfair ways, favor someone without merit, and certain families insist not to give power, it will create crises (KII-2).

Participants also raised the issue of lobbying as a threat to the practices in the system. They reported that there is lobbying for their son to be elected as core band of the system these days. People give money, cattle and invite alcohol to lobby influential people like *Gadaa* leaders and *law persons* to vote for their children during election. This was not the case in the past as two of the key informants stated.

You set yourself for adula election by organizing large numbers of cattle. They are the fathers of the candidates who compete for their children. The advocacy and nomination for election of adula is a private business. Everyone lobbies before his son is elected as members of adula group. The campaign is done by the members of the luba in turn to do so. No other gogessa (party) interferes in the process. It is a competition. However, the fathers look for supports in all the five gogessa. You give many cattle as possible to lobby others to give their vote for your son. You give many cattle! If the father has cattle to give but the son may not possess the appropriate behavior to serve Borana, that will be a problem. It is because of these problems that the system has been weaken. In the past, the situation was different. In the past, if someone has property and others not, people evaluate the abilities of the two sons and elect the one who has greater ability or proper behavior for leadership position. In the past, it has no problem, you took anything you are given from the campaigning fathers, but you elect the one who has better performance. In recent days, some people started considering everything in terms of money (KII-1).

Galgalo Wariyo also cited some cultural procedural irregularities as threat to continuity of the system in the future. According to the culture of *Gadaa* system, clans of the community are fairly represented in *Gadaa* leadership groups and there is culturally predetermined status hierarchy among the group members. For instance, three *adula intellects* are elected from *sabbo* while the other three are elected from *gona* sub-clan. However, as reported by Galgalo, there are some violations in this regard. If the one elected as first person in the group dies or failed to stay

in the system, the person elected as second substitutes him. People are not maintaining that balance in some instances. For the sake of anonymity, the researcher changed the names of individuals reported by Galgalo Wariyo

If you go to dori and raba neighborhood, you can observe many of the cultural preconditions, which used to be taken into account, were violated. The custom is violated. If you take [Mirgan Chala], for instance, he was not the one who was elected first. He was [Mo'a Jira], who was elected first during lalaba. Unfortunately, Mo'a was died. Then, Mirgan inherited his Gadaa. However, the custom is not like that. According to the tradition, when Mo'a was first elected, he was Bari Galgalo who should have to be the second in the power hierarchy and he should be the one who should replace Mo'a in such circumstances. They had broken the law and elected Mo'a as 1st, [Jaldessa Jaldessa] 2nd, [Mati Bira] 3rd, and [Moti Tura] 4th. In addition, if the first elected is diseased, the vice should take his position and replace him. However, they made it for his brother. This is not also the tradition of the people. Mati and Moti should not go before Mo'a. The power hierarchy has its procedure like other activities (KII-2).

The other worry raised by Hole Boneya as threat to the system is change in the life style of the people. He reported that the neighboring Gerri community and permanent settlers of Borana people themselves took many of the locations the community used to celebrate ritual ceremonies. As a result, they are unable to migrate with their cattle to these places. The cattle have no place to graze during ritual migration.

The ya'a should migrate to Liben and the other time travel back to Dirre. However, there is no place to migrate and settle. Some places belong to private farmer and others are grassland owned by people. There is no location for jila. For instance, our son's should migrate to Liben as per the culture by now, but they are not migrating and they are going to celebrate Oda here. The migrating group is now small. In the past, the size of people migrating to Liben was unlimited. As people are educating themselves, they are refusing to migrate with the group as makala (IDI-2).

CHAPTER FIVE DISCUSSION

Introduction

In this part of the report, the findings of the current study are discussed in line with the existing theories and practices of human development and leadership. The findings presented and analyzed under chapter four are scrutinized with accessible knowledge and practice of leader and leadership development. The discussion focuses on different aspects of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system such as Borana Oromo community's belief system, leader and leadership development components, periods and stages of leader and leadership development, emergence of leader and leadership, nature of leader and leadership development, approaches of leader and leadership development, and agents of leader and leadership development. It also addressed leadership practices, characteristics of leaders, group decision-making process, *Gadaa* leaders' behavior and performance evaluation, and threats to the continuity of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system.

It may not seem appealing to discuss indigenous knowledge and practice with mainstream contemporary conceptions of leadership and leader development for the reason that our mental orientation highly favors the later than the former for different reasons that cannot be explained here because of the focus of the current study. The context in which leadership practiced differs for indigenous and contemporary societies. However, indigenous notions are not necessarily primitive and incongruent with the contemporary realization of leader/leadership development and it can have theoretical and practical implications in global situations. Every culture has something vital to offer for contemporary thoughts and practices (Asmerom, 1973). Indigenous approaches of leadership behavior are adaptive and can have a long lasting positive effect on development of a nation if incorporated in the mainstream political and socio-economic affairs (e.g., Gupta, 2012; Ngonyama, 2009; Beall & Ngonyama, 2009; & Hoppers, 2004). Literature also addressed the possible adaptability of *Gadaa* system practices in mainstream government practices (Zelalem, 2012; Bassi, 1996; Dahl, 1996, & Asmarom, 1973). In fact, the objective of this study is not to compare and contrast the two practices or to describe the importance of one over the other, but to discuss indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of the target community in line with the existing concepts and

ideas of human development and leadership. It is only to remind the readers to conceptualize that the two notions of leadership have their own interpretation and implication for the respective societies.

Belief system and leader/leadership development in *Gadaa* system

In order to understand a given indigenous knowledge and practices of a certain society, it is important to know the underlying belief system of that society's culture from which that knowledge and practices are generated and preserved (Hoppers, 2004). It is difficult to understand human behavior independently of the knowledge of the ever present socio-cultural matrix of a society (Miller, 2011). Within any culture, culturally based belief system influences child development (Bornstein & Cheah, 2006) and other socio-economic, political, and spiritual phenomena in a society. Culture sets knowledge and skill need to be acquired by children in a society, and it provides tools such as language, technology, and strategies that enable them to function in the context (Miller, 2011). Borana Oromo community is not an exception. The people have their own belief system that guides their collective and private economic, social, political, and spiritual activities. Therefore, as we deal with the developmental aspects of leader and leadership, it is important to discuss the belief system of the community before going into the details of leader and leadership knowledge practices in *Gadaa* system of the community. The notions and practices of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system are inherent to the belief system of Borana Oromo community. To provide readers with the underlying assumptions of leadership development, the discussion included some core cultural principles and assumptions of the society.

In Borana Oromo's conception God, truth, human being, culture, and people's actions are indivisible components of the universe. *Waaqa* is God. By truth, Borana seems to mean facts and realities that happened in Borana as the will of *Waaqa*. The people are Borana Oromo community members living in Borana land. People's actions are individual and collective activities performed by the community such as leadership, spiritual activities, herding cattle, caring and supporting children, performing rituals, and any intra personal and interpersonal tasks of individuals living in the community. Culture includes people's cognitive, spiritual, social, economic, political and material life. Culture is reflected in every actions of human being; be it administration, politics, religion, leadership, or economic activities. They believe that people's

action should reflect the culture. Therefore, people should act according to the established values, customs, mores, and traditions of the community's culture.

In the belief system of the community, religious thoughts, place, time, human practices, and other elements of the cosmos are highly interrelated components of life. God had made truth to guide human practices to be accomplished within a specific period and every human activity has its own specific day, week, month, season, and years to be performed in the cultural thoughts of the community. Human created culture of speaking and doing truth to guide its behavior to be observed within a specific period of time and at specific location. Community members' interpersonal relationships, clan and sub-clan structural affairs, religious activities, leaders' roles and responsibilities, decision making, and overall socio-economic and political activities are guided by this core belief of the community. Every spiritual, socio-political, and economic activities have their own set cultural plan within the years to be executed at certain location and nothing is haphazard. They perform various ritual celebrations in *Gadaa* system based on this chain of cultural belief. Hence, for instance, the people and developing *Gadaa* leaders celebrate many culturally scheduled and ordered rituals at different locations of Borana land in *Gadaa* system.

They believe that God created a person from his/her father and mother. They say "the God we know is our parents. We do not see God rather we call His name and pray." In the society, they are the parents who primarily deal with the behavior of their children. Parents are highly valued and respected components of the society. The reason Borana Oromo rely on parents' behaviors and performances during leadership election is may be because of this underlying core assumption. Sometime, the parents who have shown culturally appropriate behavior and performances take full responsibility to avail capable leaders, and the society trust that they can do so and elect a very young infant as member of leadership development group. In fact, many behavioral researchers and human life span development theorists also recognized the role of parents in the process of socialization (Miller, 2011).

Similar to the current level of human understanding of nature of human behavior, Borana Oromo community believes that individuals have their own unique behavior that can be affected by inborn factors. They believe in individual differences and that is why the community engages in election of leaders. They believe in individuals' inheritance of some behaviors from his/her

offspring. These natural behaviors enable the individuals to learn the culture and that may be why parents support children to develop leadership traits during early childhood period and community recruits leadership candidates and train cultural leadership knowledge and skills before they come to power in *Gadaa* system. Like other individuals, leaders inherit unique behavior from their biological parents that can enable them to learn and accomplish the culture of the people made in accordance with the truth of God. Leaders model their parents and other people, and learn many things from them during early periods of their development. They practice different socio-cultural skills independently, in groups and with the help of adults. Many contemporary developmental theories endorsed that change in behavior over the course of one's development can be determined by both nature and nurture (Miller, 2011; & Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). Although not specific to leaders' development, many social learning, socio-cultural and ecological theories of development also emphasized the importance of adults' roles in teaching children through modeling, coaching, monitoring, and other strategies. They assume, for instance, that children's early identification with a certain behavior of their parents result in acquisition of societal values, beliefs and behaviors (Miller, 2011; & Shaffer & Kipp, 2010).

In Borana Oromo community's belief system religious thinking, culture, truth, leaders and leadership are highly interrelated components. They believe that just like other person, leaders are born, and they are the gift of God. A leader is born as the will of God while made to acquire the skills and competence of leading others by the people. This does not mean individuals assume *Gadaa* leadership power by birth. The society educate leaders the culture made by the society in accordance with the truth of God. Hence, leaders are educated to maintain and protect culture of the people. People gauge every action of men in the main stream of *Gadaa* system, specifically those of *Abba Gadaa* men, through the lens of culture. The decisions they make, their personal and group behaviors, their performances as an administrator, interactions with others, and their activities in general should reflect the culture. They should speak and act the culture made of the *truth* of God. They should act in *spiritual wholesomeness* in their *Gadaa* performances. These shows that leader's behavior is the result of both nature and learning.

The currents finding imply that there are some similarities between constructionists' leadership view and Borana Oromo community's leadership conceptualization. Constructivists assert that the leadership attributes mental set (schema) of individual members of the group/community and

the actual characteristics of a leader are correlated in making leadership judgments (Hogg, 2007). In *Gadaa* system, the process of *Gadaa* leaders and leadership development and performance evaluation depends on culturally predetermined conception of good leader and leadership prototype. Leaders and the people have common mental set of leader and leadership characteristics. The roles of the leaders and the role of the people are known. Leadership is the result of the mutual understanding between the people and the leaders.

The people of Borana say, “Leaders belong to the people and the people belong to the leader.” If loosely interpreted, it means that community members and leaders understand and trust each other. Both have common goal of maintaining culture. Good leader is the one who possess culturally appropriate leadership knowledge, skill, and attitudes. He is the one whom people trust, implement, and rely on his decision. Both leaders and community members know about what and how a leadership should be. In relation to this, social identity theorists also asserted that group members favoritism towards individuals possession of the group’s typical attribute make the individual to strongly identify himself/herself with the group and engage in the group’s activities (Platow Reid, & Andrew, 1998). The individual makes more investment to treat the group members fairly in order to gain trust and legitimacy from them (Tyler, 1997, Tyler & Lind, 1992;) in the process of leadership.

Some assumptions of relationalists’ leadership perspective also help to discuss leadership notion of Borana Oromo Community. They are members of the society who care, support, educate, and elect a leader we can serve them by maintaining their culture. In return, the leader serves the society with sense of spirituality, trustworthiness, fairness, sympathy, courage, and confidence later during his leadership era. As the process of learning and teaching are continuous process and cyclical, a leader will serve as child educator after their service. Hence, similar to transactional leadership notion (Hogg, 2007), leadership in *Gadaa* system can be explained as a process in which *Gadaa* leaders acquire leadership competencies and provide support and gratification for their community while the community allow and encourage him to do so by approving, praising, and giving prestige, status, support and power. The points are discussed I the preceding sections in detail.

Unlike the processes of leaders and leadership development strategies indentified by Dalakoura (2009), which begin after individuals engagement in work, Borana Oromo community starts

thinking and working about leadership since the birth of individuals. The culture obliged the parents and the society as a whole to provide the necessary care and support for the child born in the framework of their socio-political, spiritual, and legislative structure of *Gadaa* system. They educate the necessary cultural elements appropriate for leadership position in the society. They create psychological readiness and self-efficacy in the mind of the child to be a leader. Members of the society who have the desire for their sons born in the system to be a leader have the right to do so. In the end, those who feel that my son is the right person for community leadership will come together for competition. All the concerned parts of the society come together to elect the one who is capable of shouldering societal responsibility among many candidates. Then, once the winners are elected, the losers and the whole society work together in educating and capacitating their elected *intellects* - *hayyu*. During *Gadaa* leadership service provision, both the leader and community members work in collaboration. Therefore, in *Gadaa* system, leader and leadership development is culturally predetermined process that begins since birth of an individual.

As the society plays its part for the holistic development of the candidates, the prospective leaders devote their time and energy to know and practice the culture of the society throughout their lifetime. In order to maintain peace, integrity and the well-being of the society, they have to learn and know the people and its culture very well. They should fulfill the criteria of the *intellects* by engaging in the process of *hayyumma* – *becoming an intellect*. They are subjected to societal evaluation if they fail to perform as expected during election and leadership service provision. If the intellects are unable to fulfill the aims, the people take them to the court of the public where their ignorance is evaluated and corrected at the mid-time of their leadership period. Moreover, at the end of their lifetime in the system, the sons challenge the psychological integrity of the persons by interrogating what they had accomplished for the society during their leadership. If they did not show the required competence to learn and carry out leadership behaviors up to the level of the societal objectives, their ancestor will never come back to leadership again as the system is cyclical.

Therefore, leadership is an area of specialization where individuals are born into an established institution, grown in the structure of the institution, learn the culture, and work for the economic, social, spiritual and political well being of the society. The skills, knowledge, and behavior of

leadership acquisition require a lifelong process in the society. Hence, emergence of leader and leadership is not a onetime haphazard process. It is not something that we think about for a while and ignore then after. We can say leadership is the life of an individual in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. Sense of being a leader is a personality of an individual. The person develops leadership personality. Contrary to this, many leaders and leadership development practices identified by previous scholars focused on specific time career development of leadership in an organizational setting (Van Velsor, McCauley & Ruderman, 2010; Singh, 2002; Ryan, 2008; Olivares, 2008; McCauley, Moxley & Velsor, 1999; London, 2002; Houghton and DiLiello, 2010; Hotho & Dowling, 2010; and Hernez-Broome and Hughes, 2004).

However, research finding sponsored by Center for Creative Leadership (CCL) indicated that leader development includes career long gradual and continuous process of skill development through practical experiences, and therefore more varied practical experiences increases the likelihood of broad repertoire of leadership skills and knowledge (McCauley, 2006). Still this research finding does not describe the practice of Borana Oromo community in its fullest sense. Even those researcher who tried to correlate leadership development with personality, focused on the identification of leaders' personality types than the development of the personality types themselves (Strang & Kuhnert, 2009; Judge, Bono, Ilies & Gerhardt, 2002; & Judge & Bono, 2000) as the people of Borana Oromo do.

Although it focuses on gifted individuals, Robert Gagne's (2009) model of *building gifts into talents* can help us to describe the process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. The model depicts how outstanding natural abilities can be developed into competencies through talent development processes that occur as result of personal and environmental catalysts. Similarly, in the process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system potential leaders having certain behavioral temperaments are selected and made to acquire leadership competence. During their early childhood development, they are made to develop leadership predispositions through socialization of culturally appropriate leadership behaviors. Then, based on individuals' potential for leadership, prospective leaders are elected to attend specialized cultural leadership development instruction. Prospective leaders learn an array of cultural components from their parents, neighbors, known elders, religious leaders and peers during long period of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. They learn and

practice the values and customs of their society. They are made to acquire history of the people, knowledge of the geographical landscape of the nation, skills of astronomy, knowledge and competence of customary laws, decision and problem solving skills, knowledge of clan structure and their relationships, skills of spiritual exercise and how to function as group. They capitalize their leadership behavior through practicing decision-making, religion, interpersonal communication, rituals, and other cultural values and customs.

Emergence of leader and leadership in *Gadaa* system

Currently, researchers from existential, relational, and constructive theories of leadership suggested different means through which leaders can emerge. For instance, classic “great person” theorists postulated that leaders possess leadership qualities by nature (Forsyth, 2010). Similarly, trait and transformational leadership theories tried to identify traits that contribute for the emergence of leaders (Hogg, 2007; & Rowe, & Guerrero, 2011). Situational leadership theorists suggested that the skills and experiences important for group goal achievement are determinants of leader emergence and everyone can be a leader if s/he fits (Hogg, 2007). Behavioral and transactional leadership theorists do not directly address the issue of individual emergence as a leader. They rather take leadership as a role in-group activities (Forsyth, 2010). Leader perception and leadership schema approaches advocates suggested that a person emerges as a leader in a group if his/her actual characteristics fit with group members’ leader schema (Hogg, 2007). Leaders and leadership emergence among Borana Oromo community does not exactly fit with any of the core assumptions of these theories. In the community, leaders and leadership behaviors emerge through development as explained under the above topic in this section of the report. However, specific assumptions of behavioral, transformational, and leader perceptions and leadership schemas approaches may help to discuss some specific situations of leader and leadership in *Gadaa* system. The notions of these theories are discussed in line with the proceeding issues of the current findings.

In *Gadaa* system, leader and leadership emergence is a developmental process. In the process, individuals are cared and supported, learn, exercise, and internalize skills of decision-making and problem solving so that they can maintain the culture, peace, and security of the community during leadership service. People care, support, elect, and educate children since birth so that they can develop leadership predispositions. They work for mental, physical, moral, social, and

emotional well-being of the children during their childhood development by providing culturally appropriate socialization. Then, those individuals whom they perceive have the potential to maintain their culture through good leadership are elected and engaged in intensive leadership education. Only those who have potential leadership behavior are selected to learn and develop leadership knowledge, skills, and attitudes over a long period both independently and in group. The society works towards individual and group leadership personality development. However, even though the comparison very simplistic and the complexity of life are different, in modern education, children learn with no specific purpose. For instance, if you take Ethiopia as an example, children learn different subjects for years and specialization comes later after they complete their high school education. In *Gadaa* system, that is not the case. The purpose of learning is known at birth. Learning is to be a leader. The details of leaders' early childhood developmental experiences are discussed in the preceding sections of periods of leaders and leadership development.

As stated above, leader and leadership emergence begin right after birth. *Gadaa* individuals are nominated for leadership at birth. However, from many nominees, leaders are elected 21 years before their actual time of leadership service. The election is based on two major criteria: Individual nominee's leadership intellectual ability and behavior, and his parent's performances and behaviors during their *gadoma*. Similar to the assumptions of trait theorists, an individual who has shown outstanding leadership behavior in the periods before election is the one who can win the competition in *Gadaa* system. Unlike the trait theorists' process of leadership emergence, Borana Oromo community work towards children's acquisition of these attributes before they set for election. In the system, the child who lived and performed well as *dabbelle*, junior *gamme* and senior *gamme* can be considered for election. The parents and clan members should confirm the electors that the child performed well in herding cattle and other family services during the periods. They also narrate the intellectual and behavioral characteristics of the child and give assurance that he can serve the community as a leader. Here, the parents are the primary assessor of leadership quality of individual leaders at early periods. In fact, they support him to develop the leadership qualities in the community in the periods before election. If they feel that their son is not strong enough to lead the Borana people, they give the chance to others. Even those who are not born in the reach of their generations agemate are made to learn the culture from others grown in the system.

The second factor of leader emergence is parents' performance and behavior in the society. As *Gadaa* system is cyclical and every generation serves the community as a leader in its turn, the parents of the nominee child are part of the system and serve people in their time. Therefore, the electors - clan leaders, *Abba Gadaa* and *lawmen*, consider the roles and responsibilities they were given and accomplished during their time to elect their sons. If the parents performed well in culturally accepted ways, their son can be considered for election. However, if the parents performed poorly, the electors may deny them the chance to be members of *hayyu* again. However, in the mainstream globalized practice of leader and leadership development, this is not common. The tendency to consider parental background of individuals during nomination for leadership development is not observed.

Leadership emergence in *Gadaa* system seems to have similar characteristic with the existing leadership development practices but it has its own different features. Conventional leader and leadership development processes such as coaching and monitoring, 360-degree and others begin after individuals start working in organizations (Dalakura, 2009). However, it is a series of progressive personal and group developmental process in *Gadaa* system. Once individuals are elected at the end of the third stage of leader and leadership development, they are made to live and learn together for 21 years before they take power. Hence, precisely speaking, leadership development begins at this stage of the system. Individuals of various ages come together to learn and practice culturally appropriate leadership behaviors, attitudes and knowledge. The members learn each other's personality so that they can easily understand each other and work together for the good of the community during their leadership period. The older ones educate the younger group members until they reach similar level of leadership expertise. They learn the cultures, history, geography, history, social structure, customary laws, rituals procedures, external relationships, and religious doctrines of their community from their parents and knowledgeable individuals in the society. They practice decision-making procedures, skills, and mechanisms of problem solving together.

In the end, two years before they receive *balli*, the group of the six *adula intellects* breaks up and establish three different hierarchical divisions of *gadaa* (*arbora*, *hawattu* and *konnitu*) and new group structures emerge. The group re-organizes itself. Here, group member composition of the three *gadaa* branches change. Two of the three groups (*hawattu* and *konnitu*) add two different

groups of individuals - *medhicha* and *garba intellects* while one group call up on only the *garba intellects*. The group with higher number of *adula intellect* is the senior and it is called *arbora*. Arbora represents larger number of clans. The second division is *hawattu* and represents second largest clan. The third in the hierarchy is *konnitu*, which represents the least number of clan in the community. Studies by Asmarom (1973) and Zelalem (2012) also found similar result.

Therefore, the Borana Oromo community's process of leader and leadership emergence is different from the contemporary procedures in that leaders do not start practicing leadership right after they are elected or trained skills of leadership during adulthood period. In *Gadaa* system, the process begins right after birth and it is holistic process of leadership personality development. Leaders are elected based on their potential to lead the community and exercise leadership before they assume the actual leadership responsibility. Leaders are developed, elected and educated about behaviors of leadership before they are nominated as leaders of the nation of Borana Oromo Community. Gagne's (2009) model of building *gifts* into talents may help to describe the process of leader and leadership development. Similar to Gagne's explanation of talent development, Borana Oromo community selects and develops individuals who have leadership potentials. Unlike Gagne's explanation, the community care and support children to acquire leadership inclination and leadership *gifts* before election of individuals into culturally structured program of leader and leadership development.

Leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system

The principles of group formation and development discussed by scholars of group dynamics may not help us to explain that of *Gadaa* leaders group of Borana Oromo community. These scholars suggested that individuals form groups to achieve common goals (eg., Hogg & Vaughan, 2010; Forsyth, 2010; Levine & Moreland, 2006; & Cottam et al., 2004). They tend to imply that individuals form a group intentionally and the group starts development after individuals come together. However, in the processes of leadership development, leaders identify and form group of potential leaders to learn leadership skills and behaviors together in a given organization (London, 2002) and these procedures can serve as starting conceptual framework to discuss the current findings. In fact, group can be formed because of different reasons. In the case of Borana Oromo community, they are community members who elect individuals having leadership predisposition to form groups and make them to develop leadership competencies

together. As the goal of the larger society and the objective of the group is the same – maintaining the culture of Borana, the society form the group to acquire the necessary cultural competences together so that it function well when it will take power. This is established formal structure in *Gadaa* system.

The current study reveals that leader and leadership development are a lifelong process. Leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system involve individual and group's leadership personality development processes, which involves three phases: pre-leadership, leadership, and post-leadership. In pre-leadership period, leaders make the necessary preparation for leadership position. During leadership, they provide leadership services for the community. Finally, they engage in community services as *lawpersons* in post leadership period. Hence, it seems difficult to distinguish individual's personality development and learning leadership philosophies, skills, and knowledge in the community's *Gadaa* system. A person born to the system starts developing leadership characteristics right after birth and continues living in the system until death. Individuals live, learn and work together as *ya'a –group/team* for many years before they take power in the community. However, many leadership theories treat individuals' leadership behavior as it is separate from the person's private life (Hogg, 2007)

In *Gadaa* systems, leader development is a process by which an individual acquires knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors over the course of his development to serve others. Developing leadership skills, knowledge and behaviors is equivalent to the person's personality development over the course of life time. Contemporary organizational models also define leader development in similar fashion (Olivares, 2008; Goethals, Sorenson, & Burns, 2004). They stated that leader development focuses on enhancing personal leadership knowledge and characteristics. However, it is difficult to discuss the two notions together as the approaches and time-frame work of the development processes are different. The former focuses on both development and enhancement of individual leadership qualities while the second narrates only enhancement. For instance, Olivares (2008) and Goethals, Sorenson, and Burns's (2004) definition given in chapter three shows that leader development have specific objective and time while that of *Gadaa* system is holistic and lifelong process.

Velsor and McCauley (2004) described leadership development as an evolutionary process of creating human capital that occurs in socio-cultural context. The same is true for Borana

Oromo's conception of leadership development. Leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system is an evolutionary process in that individuals are elected and made to live together to develop group synergy long and the necessary leadership behavior before they assume authority. In Velsor and McCauley's (2004) definition of leadership development, group members learn leadership skills and knowledge while they are doing their private tasks in the organization. However, in *Gadaa* system, leadership development is the life of an individual. The elected *hayyu* men attend culturally structured program of leadership education while living together in the community.

The other important finding of this study is patterns of group formation and development. Unlike the steps and procedures commonly addressed in literature, the group members do not come together and start functioning instantly in *Gadaa* leadership system. Formation, development, performance, and adjournment of a group take a long development process. At the beginning, they introduce themselves to each other during feasting and visiting tours at the end of the second period as described below. They learn about each other's parents and residences in Borana land. Then, they are made to exercise living and functioning together for shorter periods during *kusoma*. Then, they marry and camp together to exercise living and working together as a group. Finally, they take the position of leading the community during *gadoma*. However, small group tends to go through five developmental stages (forming, conflicting, norming, performing, and adjourning) as described in social psychology of group development (Goethals, Sorenson & Burns, 2004). The length of the life span of a group development depends up on the objectives of that specific group. The period of each of the five stages of group development are not specified. Moreover, the destiny and roles of group members after adjournment is not well described or unknown. However, in *Gadaa* system, there is no separate agenda for individuals and the institution. Community' objective is the objective of individuals in leadership position. Every stage and period in the system has specific time. Group adjournment is planned and peaceful. The role and destiny of *gadaa* leaders are known.

In contemporary practice, we commonly observe that individuals within the same age range come together to form groups. Perhaps, there are age differences among group members (Cottam, Dietz-uhler, Masters & Preston, 2004) though the difference is not significant like that of Borana Oromo community's *gadaa* leaders. In *Gadaa* leadership, an infant and men in early

adulthood stage can form group together. At its beginning of group development, a day old infant and individual of 32 years can be made to form group of *adula intellects*. Like other prior group study findings (e.g., Hogg & Vaughan, 2010; Forsyth, 2010; & Cottam et al., 2004) *gadaa* leaders group members vary in terms of status relationships. The experiences and knowledge of the group members also varies in *Gadaa* system.

Previous findings of researches conducted on *Gadaa* system described *gadaa* leadership model in a similar fashion, although they did not describe specific contents and approaches of educating leaders about leadership. Generally, they stated that in *Gadaa* system, leaders were progressively trained before they reach the stage of maturity to assume public responsibility (e.g., Dinsa, 1975; cited in Lemmu, 1994). The community initiates, trains, and educates men before they assume power in the community. A child learns to be a leader, lead community affairs, and serve as an advisor in his lifetime (Dahl, 1996). Therefore, leaders start taking roles and responsibilities during the period of childhood in the *Gadaa* system (Lammu, 1994). It was also stated that “the *Gadaa* model implies that peripheral groups choose and sustain persons to stay in a center for training before being entitled to leading roles in the periphery” (Bassi, 1996; P. 158).

Periods of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system

Like any other social system, Borana Oromo community’s *Gadaa* system of governance has its own ultimate goals of leadership. Nevertheless, the means to attain these goals seems unique features of the system. In their *Gadaa* system, the primary objective of leader and leadership development is to get leaders who have holistic personality and capable of understanding of the people, culture, religion, geography, customary laws, belief system and history of the society. They aim to have leaders who have patience, trustworthiness, harmless, empathic towards others, and capable of working in groups for the well-being of the society. They want a leadership that can maintain the continuity of their culture and ensure peace and justice for the community.

Knowledge and practices in the system reveals that the community does not seem to believe in individual leadership performance as leadership in *Gadaa* system is not a private business. Group performances and teamwork are the ultimate goal of leadership group formation and development. Leadership is a collective process of providing different services for the

community. That may be why after individuals are motivated, encouraged, and inspired to lead, the community makes them to come together and form developing group of leadership. They practice how to live and work together in teams and develop team spirit so that they can function well when they will take over power of leadership in the community. Therefore, individual and group leadership behaviors developments come before real exercise of leadership. Thus, the overall goal of Borana Oromo community's lifelong leader and leadership development practice is to have a group of *intellects* who are capable of working together to deliver culturally appropriate leadership for specific period of eight years.

In *Gadaa* system, leader and leadership development is not a spontaneous and haphazard phenomenon. It involves series of progressive steps and procedures. An individual and a group should pass through a number of periods and stages of leader and leadership development during which they develop personal and group leadership behavior before they assume the real power of leading society. Community leaders have roles to play in the years after service too. They serve as advisers, customary lawmakers and educators. They educate, guide, monitor, coach, advice and bless their children so that they can inherit their goodness in the system.

Based on the activities individuals and groups accomplish, leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system can be classified as period of care and support, period of elementary services, period of initial team building, period of team building and team work exercise, period of leadership service, period of being educator and lawmaker, and period of religious devotion. Other prior researchers described these periods as grades of *Gadaa* system (e.g., Zelalem, 1202; & Asmarom, 1973). Their classification of grades is purely based on the social age demarcations set by the community and cultural roles of individuals in the grades. However, my classification of the developmental processes takes into account the social ages of the system and practices of leader and leadership development during the periods in the system. The age of the system and individuals' biological age may not fit each other. There are individuals who are born right at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of senior *gamme* of the system and can be entitled to assume position of *gadaa* leadership. If a person is born when his *gogessa* re-enter the system as *dabballe*, the life time of the *gogessa* in the system and that of the individual is congruent. Otherwise, individuals' age variation within a given leader and leadership development period can range from less than a year to 32 years in current practice and less than a year to 24 years in

the past. Brief descriptions and explanations of the periods of leader and leadership development are given in the table below.

Table 5.1: Periods and Stages of Leader and Leadership Development in *Gadaa* System

No.	Periods	Stages	Years	Major tasks, roles and responsibilities	General possible out comes
1	Care and support	<i>Dabballumma</i>	Birth – 16	Playing in the neighborhood	Sense of care and support Positive attitude towards others Trust worthiness. Sympathy
2	Elementary services	Junior <i>gamme</i>	16 – 24	Herding cattle Traveling and feasting Self introduction	Self-efficacy Sense of shouldering responsibility Caring and supporting animals Endurance and determination Fundamental skills of lunar calendar Knowledge of geographical locations Self defense Some knowledge of the people and cultural values
		Senior <i>gamme</i>	24 – 32	Self preparation for election Election of six core executives/ <i>adula</i>	
3	Initial team building	<i>Kusoma</i>	32 – 40	Running rituals in group Serving Family	Planning rituals Punctuality and commitment Sense of cooperation Some geographical information Some spiritual knowledge and skills Knowledge of <i>kusoma</i> ritual celebrations Horse riding skills
4	Team building and work exercise	<i>Raboma</i>	40 – 48	Marriage Making preliminary decisions Running rituals together Singing ritual Songs Living together in the same camp Supporting and caring <i>dabballe</i>	Shouldering own family responsibility. Adaptation to each other's behavior Elementary decision making skills Cooperation and Coordination Knowledge of child development Skills of ritual songs Relatively detail knowledge of spiritual practices Knowledge of customary laws Knowledge of ritual celebrations
		<i>Doroma</i>	48 – 53	Making decision Running rituals together Singing cultural and ritual songs Living together in the same camp Caring and supporting Children Forming the three autonomous braches of <i>gadaa</i> leadership	Shouldering responsibility of bigger family size Relatively mature decision making knowledge and skills Detail knowledge and practice of caring and supporting prospective children. Competence of ritual celebration and facilitation Skills of <i>doroma</i> songs and dancing Knowledge of customary laws Good knowledge of Borana history
5	Leadership	<i>Gadoma</i>	53 – 61	Delivering leadership services Caring and supporting children Delivering sound, fair and acceptable decisions. Educate, evaluate, and nominate prospective leaders. Mobilizing and organizing people for communal activities	Integrated leadership experiences and knowledge Culturally appropriate organization and facilitation experiences and skills Good knowledge and experiences of caring and supporting prospective leaders Good knowledge of ritual skills and knowledge of Borana Oromo community Full understandings of the culture and its belief system Know community leadership The competence to assess and evaluate cases to make decisions in line with customary laws
6	Educator and law maker	<i>Yuboma</i>	61 – 93	Teaching, advising, monitoring, guiding and coaching leadership candidates	Experiences of evaluating, making and interpreting customary laws
7	Spiritual devotion	<i>Gadamojjumma</i>	91 – 96	Blessing public gatherings Living in spiritual purity	Sense of proud of good <i>gadaa</i> accomplishment or Sense of guilt because of failure to achieve <i>gadaa</i> objectives
		<i>Jarsumma</i>	> 96		

Period of care and support

The life long process of leader and leadership developments starts with the stage of *dabballumma* when parents and community members are expected to provide maximum care and support for their prospective leaders. The family members and people living in the neighborhood feed and provide care for the prospective children well at this stage. They are not made to feel hungry and thirsty. People do not dare to cause any physical and psychological harm against these children due to presence of customary laws and fear of sin. The customary laws established by the community prohibit mistreatment of *dabballe* children. People allow children of the period to develop sense of care and support, positive attitude towards others, trustworthiness, and sympathy by modeling good behaviors and sympathy towards other people. At this stage, the family members and neighbors help their children to develop sense of care and love so that they will have positive attitude towards other people when they later take over power during their period of leadership.

Asmerom (1973) also discussed most of the characteristics of the children of this stage and different cultural performances except that the age range for *dabballumma* found in the current study is 16 years while he put it as 8 years. The difference comes due to the amendment made to childbearing stage in the system. Unlike previous researches, the current study focused on the behaviors, skills, attitudes, and knowledge components being cultivated for later leadership than ritual and structural practices conducted by the community. My discussion of the features of children in the stage addresses the psychological leadership traits being cultivated than mere cultural practices. There is no need to describe them in detail, as the findings are more of similar type with the former one. Moreover, analyzing such findings is not in the scope of this study.

Children of this period are known by their hairstyles and common name. They have long birth hair called *guduru/dabballe – a dread hairstyle*. Parents do not shave, wash and comb their birth hair rather anoint it with butter until they complete eight years of *dabballumma*. They believe that the hair helps them to store and remember information. Spiritually, the society takes the children as gift of God and they do not want to shave what God gives them. They take care of their birth hair to grow. Again, they give *dabballe* children common name, *jaldessa/intal*, to protect them from evil eye and wish them to live and reproduce like monkeys. The people

believe that such names will make *dabballe* children not to develop sense of cruelty towards other people. Secularly speaking, the intention of hair growth and naming is to protect the children from pain of hair shaving and providing children the names they do not prefer respectively.

The children get good protection from the society. During first eight years of the system, *dabballe* children live and play in neighborhood so that their parents can closely attend their circumstances. They have no duties that make them to travel long distance or running household chores. They are free of any harm due to loaded activities. They play together in the neighborhood so that the mothers feed them well. These children spend most of their time playing together and with others in the neighborhood.

Dabballe children are free to communicate with their parents and people in their neighborhood. Usually, people do not beat and scare them. Parents and the society refrain from beating and scaring them because of two main reasons: spiritual and social reasons. To avoid scaring the children, the society members do not show any aggressiveness toward them. They do not usually beat these children. They do not shave their hair or touch their body parts with sharp things for the reason that they may cut them and make them to scare which can result in curse. People believe that if children are scared, they will face curse. Beside fear of being cursed, any person who acted against these children violently will face prosecution as the act is taken as crime against the society. The customary law protects these children from any possible physical and psychological harm.

Some psychodynamic developmental theorists assert that if someone gets the necessary freedom, protection, care, and support from the society during his/her early stage of development, his/her probability to develop trust in others is high and the person will have positive attitude towards others (Miller, 2011). Trustworthiness is one of leadership traits Borana Oromo community expects from their *gadaa* leaders at the time of their leadership services. In line with this belief, a psychosocial development theorist, Erikson, asserted that a child who gain consistent love and care from his parent and society will develop trust in people and in his environment, and become initiative and industrious in his personality (Polan & Taylor, 2007). John Bowlby's internal work model of relational theory of human development can also help us to explain the assumptions of Borana Oromo Community. According to this model, internal working model one can develop

during early attachment period can determine the child's later interpersonal relationship with peers and self-concept development (Miller, 2011).

The other more important experience that children of this period can get is observing their fathers' leadership activities. These children are children born to men in *raboma*, *doroma* and *gadoma* stages. Their fathers are exercising and providing leadership in the community. They run rituals and make decisions in groups. The fathers allow their older children of the stage to seat and observe all what they are doing. They do not chase away children from different public venues. Therefore, the children can observe and imitate their fathers' activities with certain modification they may make to it later during their era of leadership. Yes, children can do so, and observational learning theorists, like Bandura, confirmed this model of learning (Bugental & Grusec, 2006) although not specific to leadership development and the life span of imitational memory is not explained. However, most of leadership development models do not relate early experiences with leadership attributes of individuals. They just correlate personality traits with leadership behaviors.

Period of elementary services

This period has two stages: junior *gamme* and senior *gamme*, which Asmerom (1973) stated as grade II and III of *Gadaa* cycle. Previous researchers (Zelalem, 2012; Bassi, 1996; Asmerom, 1973) described most of the structural, social, and anthropological features of the periods identified in this study in greater depth. As the focus of the current investigation is identification of psychological building blocks of leadership behaviors during different periods of the *Gadaa* system, only those knowledge and practices pertinent to the objectives of the study are taken into account in the discussion as I did for the period care and support. Description and analysis of the stages are given in chapter four.

Traditionally, youths and children engaged in purposive cattle herding activities and other family affairs during the period of elementary services, except during *wal-argi* and *nyachisa* tour at the end of the second stage. Cattle herding seems a purposively designed activity by the community to give children lessons of community life so that they can understand the livelihood of their community. It is learning by doing. Herding cattle has multiple advantages for the children in the stage and the community at large. Because of their engagement in cattle herding, children get the

chance to develop knowledge of caring and supporting animals, explore their surroundings, know their culture and community, and establish interpersonal communicational skills. Parents also get the chance to know their children's service provision behaviors that help them to campaign for their sons for leadership position during the election conducted at the end of the period.

As cattle and cultural performances are highly interrelated components of community's belief system, the developing leaders widen their knowledge of cattle by living as herds men. The knowledge about cattle and related activities is vital for the prospective leaders to perform their leadership roles in the future. Animals have separate customary laws in Borana land such as law of horses, law of camels and the like. Water wells and ponds prepared for cattle have laws of utilization and care. There are laws and orders of utilizing water sources for cattle. Hence, to make appropriate decisions related with the issues of cattle during the period of leadership, the prospective leaders need to understand the behavior of different domestic animals and the laws designed for them. They have no written materials to refer to learn about animals' behavior or to make decisions. Decision depends upon logical analysis of the case at hand based up on the knowledge and experiences of animal behavior they can gain during this period.

Children and youths of the stage start the period by looking after cattle, goats, sheep, and camels of their family during junior *gamme*. As a result, they get the chance to learn how to feed cattle and take them to the water sources. During the second stage, the strong and senior members of the period can travel *fora - migrating with cattle* where they learn how to protect themselves and their cattle from wild animals like lions and thieves. The children take the responsibility to migrate with their parents' cattle to grassland in the regions of Borana land. There, they are the one who care and protect their cattle and themselves against possible harm. They learn responsibility of feeding the cattle for over a long period. They learn animals' behaviors. They also get experiences on how to support and care for the animals as cattle are the epicenter of their cultural activities and their life in general.

As the youths travel with cattle, they get the opportunity to explore Borana land and its resources, which can be an important experience for their leadership. During migration with cattle, they take their cattle to different locations in their community's territory. They look for places suitable for their cattle in terms of grass, water, and soil types. The groups of people

migrating with cattle do not settle at one place. They move from place to place for months and years. While traveling with cattle they have to make sure that, they are within the border of their community's land. Therefore, these knowledge and experiences of their land help them a lot during their leadership *gadoma*. To lead the community they need to know their land and its resources. Leaders elected from the group use the knowledge and experiences they gain during this period to deal with possible border disputes with neighboring communities during their *gadoma*. Moreover, the knowledge they gain will help them to educate their children in the years to come in their lifetime.

Another possible advantage of herding cattle is that it gives children and youths the opportunity to learn about their culture, community, history, and skills of counting time. Since, the migrating group composes of individuals of different age groups and experiences, adults share their experiences and knowledge of their community for the young. They educate the young people in their group about culture, religion, and history of Borana Oromo community. They share their experiences of *gadoma*. They show them how to calculate time using the positions of the moon and stars, as they need to know days, months, years, and seasons to move from place to place in the stages to come. They need to know times of ritual celebrations in Borana land so that they can catch up with the schedules. Otherwise, there was no modern communication like today to share information about different social events. These knowledge and experiences are vital for developing leaders of the community. The knowledge and experience they gain from adults helps them to run leadership with good knowledge of their community, time, culture and land.

Moreover, an important lesson that the developing leaders can gain during this period is interpersonal skills. Engagement of youths and children in *fora*, *wal-argi* and *nyachisa* can help them to develop interpersonal communication skills. During all this social events, they travel and perform different cultural activities together. They defend themselves and their cattle from any possible wild beasts and cattle raiders together. They sing cultural songs together. They play different games together. They slaughter animals and feast together. These all activities require group members to cooperate and coordinate their efforts. The situations demand them to work together to be successful. These skills can be important for good leadership.

Cattle herding and other social events conducted at the end of the second stage helps the parents to evaluate the performance of their sons and nominate them for leadership competition. Parents

educate and advise their children to acquire preferred social values important for leadership position. They tell them to care and look after cattle very well. They tell them about the culture of the community. They teach them dos and don'ts of their culture. Parents prefer a child who support and take good care of cattle as per their advices. They want their children to attend and perform *nyachisa* and *wal-argi* as per the norms and values of their culture. They want to have the child who have good knowledge of their culture and perform it well during fora, *wal-argi* and *nyachisa*. Therefore, they can evaluate the performance of their children practically. They can check whether their sons can shoulder the responsibilities, they are given or not.

Finally, individuals who assumed to have similar background come together to competent each other for *adula* position and only six individuals are elected as *hayyu – intellects* membership. These individuals communicate, live and work together to develop the behaviors and skills of leadership for the next periods and stages of leadership development. Up to this juncture, the individuals live privately and the parents are expected to qualify them for the competition. They are the parents, who guide, monitor, coach, and advice their children to leadership position. They inspire and make them to envisage leadership position during this period. Parents educate the children about their culture, religion, history and their own accomplishments during their *gadoma*. The lessons also include values and customs of the society that the child should demonstrate as a leader.

Generally, during this period of leader and leadership development, children learn caring for and protecting animals. They learn many things about the behavior of animals. They have to feed them well so that the cattle breed well and they get credit from their parents. They have to treat the cattle if they get sick. They have to protect the cattle from cattle raiders and predators like hyena and lions. This knowledge and understanding of animals' behavior will help them to make decisions related to domestic animals later when they take leadership position.

From what they are doing, we may infer that the prospective leaders have the chance to develop sense of responsibility, courage, determination, endurance, and self – confidence. The hardships of struggling with enemies, dangerous animals, hunger and thirst they may face during migration with cattle can develop their physical endurance and psychological strength. They have to protect and defend themselves and their cattle courageously. They have to determine to resolve their problems. They have to endure hunger, thirst and any environmental challenges they can face.

Children also learn culturally set knowledge and skills that enable them to function as leaders in four main ways: observation, storytelling/lecturing, cooperation, and experimentation.

Social learning and socio-cultural approaches of learning and development can explain Borana Oromo community's strategies of teaching children about leadership during this period. Social learning theory of development suggests that development is a process of socialization in which the society teaches children the ideal adult behavior in the culture (Miller, 2011). Similarly, the community socializes the prospective leaders with the culture knowledge and skills of leadership. Socio-cultural theorists also asserted that doing creates knowledge (Miller, 2011). What prospective leaders of Borana Oromo community learn is a set of leadership related knowledge and skills. They are made to learn and develop these culture elements through different mechanisms that enable them to internalize the concepts and ideas of leadership.

The experiential learning methodologies also suggested that experiential learning strategies such as action learning, creative play, reflective practice, adventure learning, storytelling, learning games, and role-play are mechanisms of knowledge creation through transformation of contextual experiences (Silerman, 2007). One can also infer that the community of the current study applies some of these learning strategies – action learning, adventure learning, storytelling, and role-playing in their process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system during this period.

We have said that community leaders' election is done at the end of this period. The election is made on the electors' (parents', *Abba Gadaa* men's, clan representatives', and *lawmen*'s) mental schema of good leadership characteristics, and nominees' possession of the ideal leadership quality in the society. This concept is best explained in schema models of leadership. The leader's (potential) possession of specific status characteristics related to the task to be accomplished to attain the group goals, and the possession of what the society takes as the best/effective qualities of leadership are the function of leadership as asserted by leader perceptions and leadership schemas approaches advocators (Hogg, 2007). The process of election – *lalaba* is described in the next sections.

Periods of initial team building

Asmerom (1973), Zelalem (2012) and others, who conducted research on similar issues of the current study, described this period as grade IV, *Cusa* in *Gadaa* system. However, the findings of the current study reveals that the nomenclature of the stage, as stated by respondents, is *kusoma* (*n.*) – *state of being kusa*. *Kusa* is the name of all individuals in the stage. However, *kusoma* is both the name of the individuals in the stage and the roles and responsibilities they accomplish to become *kusa* individual in the system. *Kusoma* is a process through which the prospective leaders develop leadership knowledge and skills expected of them during eight years of *kusoma*.

During this period of leader and leadership development, the six elected prospective leaders start meeting each other to spend some time together and practice celebrating preliminary ritual ceremonies. They meet each other in July and travel to perform rituals designed by the community to be performed during *kusoma*. It is the initial period of functioning together as a group where they travel to predetermined locations of ritual celebrations in Borana land to exercise cultural and spiritual doctrines of their religion. They learn to exercise what they have been observing and learning while they were in the first and second periods of the system. They start slaughtering animals and performing cattle slaughtering related cultural, spiritual and ritual activities together for consecutive eight years.

Like other periods and stages, Asmerom (1973), Zelalem (2012) and other researchers described cultural roles and the responsibilities performed by the members of *kusoma* stage. However, the current study tries to investigate and infer the leadership objectives and activities of the individuals to live as *kusa*. The study showed that this period is time of semi independence for the six core members of prospective team of leadership. The children used to live with their family as dependent family members exercise living alone with their group once in a year for one month during the eight years of *kusoma*. *Gamme* individuals, who have been observing their parents' ritual performances and execution public affairs, begin doing things alone with minimal advice and support from the community. They start implementing the knowledge and skills they gained about their culture. For instance, to meet each other once in a year in the months of autumn, they need to have the knowledge of Borana astronomical calendar. They have to be able to calculate the time following the positions of the stars and the moon on the sky. They have to

know the years, the months and the days so that they can meet each other as per their cultural schedule. Again, they have to know the locations to meet and celebrate ritual activities. These are some of the skills *kusa* individuals are made to learn during senior *gamme* period.

During this period, they learn how to live and work together for relatively short period. Hence, they learn each other's behaviors before they start living together permanently in the next two periods of the system. They familiarize themselves with group conditions by travelling to ritual locations and performing ritual activities together. They sing ritual songs together. They slaughter animals together, feast the meat, and pray to *Waaqa*. The senior person of their party gives them his blessing in the name of *Waaqa*. As they travel to locations of ritual celebrations and perform rituals together, they learn about the behaviors' and competencies of one another. Therefore, they can get the chance to adapt themselves to each other's behavior.

Moreover, because of their movement, they get the chance to learn about different cultural assumptions of ritual procedures, locations and periods of pre-determined ritual ceremonies and related cultural performances of the community. In Borana Oromo community, there are a number of ritual ceremonies and every one of them has its own place and time to celebrate. Hence, there are locations and times assigned for *kusoma* rituals celebration. Accordingly, the *kusa* individuals travel to this locations and perform their ritual festivities. At the end of the period, they should know the locations and time to celebrate *kusoma* rituals. They have to learn the cultural logics behind their rituals performance during the period. As rituals have their own cultural assumptions and explanations, the developing leaders should be able to describe and explain the cultural reasons of *kusoma* rituals. These individuals may use their knowledge and skill of *kusoma* rituals to educate their children and to run leadership activities in the coming periods of their life.

The other remarkable feature of this period is the beginning of formal cultural instruction. It is a kind of induction to group leadership education. As they knew that they are going to be leaders of their party and the community, *kusa* individuals start attending meetings and other ritual ceremonies conducted by the society very seriously than before. They are formal leadership candidates and practitioners. They are man of social status. Hence, they get special attention from parents and other society members. The community treats them as prospective leaders. Elders of Borana start teaching them in turn about Borana land, the society, and its culture. They

start monitoring, coaching, and guiding their activities and ceremonies that they need to know for their future leadership practices formally. Before they travel to places of ritual celebrations, *kusa* individuals get the necessary orientation about their *kusoma* rituals and blessing from their parents and the leaders of their party. In addition, their fathers and other clan leaders travel to locations of *kusoma* ritual celebrations with *kusa* individuals to give them cultural guidance and teaching. Again, when they come back home from their travel, they can discuss their accomplishments and failures with their fathers, senior party leaders and clans men for better performance next time.

For the first time in the system, the community gives them status of *hayyu/intellecks*. The six men of *kusa* are called *hayyu adula*. They are also called *initial adula*. They formally start the process of *hayyumma*. *Hayyu* are individuals who have both knowledge and skills of performing personal and public affairs better than others do. *Hayyumma* is a process of being *hayyu*. The community elected *kusa* individuals because they consider them as *potential intellecks* that can maintain the culture of the society. The community does not tolerate *ignorance* in its any form and the leaders should know what they are expected to know before they come to power both theoretically and practically. There is no chance for trial and error once they assume power. They are expected to perform things as correctly as possible. Therefore, to meet this culturally ideal prototype of leaders, the candidates should exert their maximum effort to learn and practice the rituals of the system and other cultural, social, political, religious and logical components of the community during *kusoma* and other periods after.

Generally, during this period, the elected individuals are formally introduced to the knowledge and practice of Borana Oromo community' culture. The knowledge and understanding they can get during the period will help them for three things. First, it helps them to perform the actual leadership during the coming three stages: *raboma*, *doroma* and *gadoma*. Secondly, it helps them to educate their sons about *kusoma*. Thirdly, they will use it for advising and monitoring prospective candidates of their party later on during the period of *yuboma*.

Period of team building and teamwork exercises

At the beginning of this period, the members of the core group of the party in the stage conduct marriage and start living together for the first time since they entered the system. They form

independent neighborhood separated from their families' camp and other community members. They start giving birth and raising children who will have the chance to be prospective leaders like them in the future. Now, they form formal leadership structure where they deal with societal issues in their surrounding before it reaches their senior groups (*gadaa and yuba* men) in the hierarchy of leadership in the system. They establish separate *gadaa* group for the first time in their life. They are called *ya'a* (*group or team*). They engage in running societal affairs such as solving problems and conflicts at their camp. As a result, each of the group members takes one or more service men to their camp to support them to run their personal businesses such as herding cattle when they are not around.

Members of the group primarily engage in running rituals of their age, problem solving, and decision making. They celebrate rituals of *raboma* every years of the period. The group exercise celebrating ritual ceremonies of religious and cultural contents such as procedures of praising *Waaqa* at different locations of Borana land to maximize knowledge and skills of their religion and culture. They sing songs of foreseeing and envisaging their time of leadership during celebrations of the rituals. Moreover, the group engages in formal decision-making process for the first time. People start taking their cases to their camp and they try their best to solve the cases as per customary law of the community. Even though, they learn about culture of the period while doing it, they need to know about it before hand. Therefore, the knowledge and skills they gained during the previous stages are very important for them to exercise cultural, religious and administrative responsibilities of the stage. For instance, they have to know locations and times of ritual celebrations. They should know steps and procedures of the celebrating rituals. They have to have the knowledge of customary laws to use them to solve societal problems. They continue doing so for 16 years. However, the power and position of the group changes over time during this period that can be treated as separate stages – *raboma* and *doroma* stages of leader and leadership development.

The type of song and ritual the group members perform together characterizes the first stage. *Dori* and *raba* men practice the most secret ritual ceremonies in the community. The music they sing and the ritual they celebrate differ both in name and content from their seniors. Their song is called *dhokisu*. They sing songs of praising *doroma*. The decision made by the group is also less acceptable than men in the stage of *doroma*. During the stage of *doroma*, members make the

final preparation to receive power of leading the community. They sing songs of *doroma* called *darabba*. They sing songs of praising the next stage (*gadoma*) and preparation for community leadership. They run many rituals such as *dannisa*, *butte*, *waddessa* and *balli* reception ceremonies, which the community respects most. They are considered as leaders of the community and the decision they make is more acceptable than before. Hence, the roles of the group become sound in community during *doroma*. During both stages, the members mainly engage in learning the culture of the society, annual ritual celebrations, and decision making through practices and with the help of their fathers and men of *arga-dhageti*.

Despite difference in focus and except minor variations, the main features of the period described by Asmarom (1973) are similar to the current findings,. The time the culture allows members of the party in this period of development to give birth is changed because of the amendment the society has made to their customary law. The men can give birth right after marriage at the beginning of *raboma* that they used to do at the beginning of *doroma*. Again, the time of division of the core team of leadership candidates is conducted two years before *gadoma*, not at the 8th year of *doroma*. Members of *adula* are divided into three sub-teams: *arbora*, *konnitu* and *hawattu* after *butte* ceremony, which they celebrate two years before *balli* reception. In relation to this, the members of the three core bands established at the end of the period are not the same as specified by Asmarom (1973). *Arbora* team has four *adula*, specified numbers of *garba intellects* and other service men while *konnitu* and *hawattuu gadaa* teams constitute one *adula intellect* each, specified number of *medhicha* and *garba intellects*, and unspecified number of service men. The number of *medhicha* and *garba* depends upon the need of the nominated *Abba Gadaa* men. Moreover, replacement of any diseased member of the intellects can happen any time though Asmerom (1973) said at the stage of *raboma*.

The period of team building and teamwork exercise is a significant time for members of the core team of the party/class in the stage in that it helps them to specialize the skills and knowledge of *Gadaa* leadership through practice. Moreover, their fathers, men of information/educators, law persons, and *Abba Gadaa* men educate them about Borana Oromo belief system, characteristics of good leader and leadership, customary laws, history and structure of the people, ritual performances, religion, and other cultural elements of the society or seriously than before. They learn and internalize history of previous *Gadaa* men, customary laws, steps and procedures of

ritual ceremonies of the community, decision-making steps and procedures, clan structure and their relationships, and other related practices. Therefore, at the end of the period, the members need to understand over all belief system of the society and be able to change that into practice, i.e., they become *hayyu*. They have no more time to exercise the culture again.

Leadership and team cognitive process researchers such as Cannon-Bowers, Salas & Converse (1993) argue that emergence of accurate *shared mental models* of communication and coordination determines effective team performance. Shared mental model of team members increase efficiency by minimizing time and energy to perform together as a team (Zaccaro, Rittman & Marks, 2001). In *Gadaa* system of leader and leadership development, teams develop this interpersonal quality over time through working together towards their common goal before they begin performing their actual task. The core band of the party in the period have been together for more than twenty years that may help them to develop group synergy and team spirit important for their *Gadaa* leadership accomplishment. The group members are made to naturalize and synchronize their individual contributions gradually through practices for collective success during the previous periods, including the period of team building and teamwork exercise. Because of the activities they have been performing, they can understand each other's competence to solve problems. They may have knowledge of each other's talents in dealing with issues of the community. Hence, they are expected to develop harmony among themselves and know how to put their efforts together to deal with societal issues as they have common goal of maintaining the culture of the society. Therefore, the level of maturity of the group is assumed to be high at the end of the period. However, I recommend that the nature of the group and its members relationship needs to be studied for better understanding in the future.

Another feature, may be specific to Borana Oromo Community, is regrouping of the members into different groups and injecting new groups of individuals into the leadership group that is performed at the end of this period. As discussed above, the three branches of *Gadaa* leadership are established at this juncture of development. The *adula* intellects who have been together for more than 20 years breaks up and form *Gadaa Arbora*, *Gadaa Konnitu* and *Gadaa Hawattu*. When they break up another groups of individuals called *medhicha* and *garba* join the groups. *Medhicha* are men of the same party with the core band while *garba* are individuals elected from all the remaining four parties. Two of the three groups (*hawattu* and *konnitu*) are composed of

adula, *medhicha* and *garba* whereas the remaining one (*arbora*) constitutes of *adula* and *garba* intellects. Although, the individuals have different power status in their respective groups, they work together as a team during their leadership. Therefore, the groups constitute *intellects* of different ages, experiences, skills of knowledge of leadership exercises. It may be important for the groups to have members of various types that enable them to make sound decision than group of homogeneous members because each group member contributes to overall group's output irrespective of other members (Levine & Moreland, 2006). In *Gadaa* system, group composition is not like that of management teams of business organizations and political elites groups that are usually made up of individuals of similar ages and experiences.

Period of leadership services

The transition from period of team building and team work exercise to period of leadership services is marked by transfer of power between two consecutive parties (Borana has five parties) which is symbolized by *balli* (ostrich's feather) exchange. The power transfer that takes place between the incoming and the outgoing *Abba Gadaa* men are conducted at three different locations between the three autonomous *gadaa* branches at the same time with the same procedure and peacefully. The outgoing *Abba Gadaa Arbora* transfer to the incoming *Abba Gadaa Arbora*, and the two *Abba Gadaa* men, *hawattu* and *konnitu* follow the same procedure. The event has its own ritual performance. Many of ritual performances conducted during this period, including power transfer ceremony, and identified by the current study is similar with what were found by Asmarom (1973). Hence, one can refer to chapter two and four of this report for deep understanding of these cultural and ritual aspects of *Gadaa* system. In this section, the discussion focused more on leader and leadership aspect of the system as per the objectives of the study like the previous sections.

The very aim of Borana Oromo community's leader and leadership development is to maintain their culture through good leadership in *Gadaa* system. They believe that the very existence of community's life is based on *Gadaa* system and they are highly concerned about it more than anything in their life. They invest their energy, time, and money to have leaders who are trustful, patient, respectful, fair, soft hearted and harmless. They look for a leadership period during which the people get wealth and peace. They want *Gadaa* leadership period that is blessed by God. If wealth, blessing, peace and prosperity comes to Borana land and all its lives during

certain leadership service period that is the time community members appreciate most. They appreciate that leader. This period is the time they want to see the outcomes of their long time investment on their children. During this period, the trained leaders should prove these dreams of the community by providing leadership demanded by the community.

At this point of time in leader and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system, adult and young men come together to perform leadership issues of the community. To provide community leadership service, those who served as leaders and those who made their preparation to serve the community come together as one group of *Gadaa* men. The fresh and energetic young men, and the mature and experienced senior individuals cooperate and coordinate their effort to lead the society. They team up themselves into three different leadership groups (*arbora*, *hawattu* and *konnitu*) and render leadership service for the community for eight consecutive years of *gadoma*. The youngest member of the group is 24 years old while the oldest has no limit. The oldest person the researcher met during data collection was a man of 90 years. They assume the highest authority in the community. During this period, they become ultimate decision makers in the community.

Gadoma is the stage to which Borana Oromo community educates individuals about cultural responsibilities of leadership for many years. Long time development of leadership knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviors are expected to be realized by individuals during this period. *Gadaa* men, who received power of community leadership from their predecessors, start implementing what they have been dreaming, learning, exercising, working and living for since birth. It is a critical stage of all as the men reach at climax of leading and running socio-political and cultural duties of the community. Groups of men who have been learning and practicing leadership start shouldering roles of making decisions of economic activities, inter and intra clan relationships, resource utilization, ritual activities and so many other duties accomplished by the community. They deal with issues of culture, justice, prosperity, wealth and well being of community members.

As stated by scholars, the most significant functions of groups are making decisions (Hogg & Vaughan, 2010). Similarly, one of the main tasks of *gadaa* team of leadership is investigating conflicts and disagreements between parties and making decisions based on societal customary laws they have been establishing for years. As the group members have been leaving and

practicing leadership behaviors for many years, they can have good understanding of working together and one can take them as team rather than group. For the reason that members have clear purpose and they are devoted to accomplish their tasks, and many researchers appreciated the importance of teamwork (Baumeister & Finkel, 2010; Beauchamp & Eys, 2007; Dionne, Yammarino, Atwater & Spangler, 2004; & Dirks, 2000). More detail description of decision-making process is provided below under section titled “decision making in *Gadaa* leadership”.

A well-known usual task that *Gadaa* leaders should perform during their *gadoma* and that can be recorded as oral history of the community is *gumi gaayo* and its outputs. At the mid of their service years, *Abba Gadaa* men have to organize a general meeting of Borana Oromo community called *gumi gaayo*. It is the most significant event conducted during the period of leadership service that obliges *Abba Gadaa* men to come up with challenges and problems for discussion and formulation or amendment of customary laws. The leaders should have the ability to identify the weakness of the existing customary laws in solving different problems they have encountered while dealing with community issues. Moreover, if *Abba Gadaa* men come up with unusual cases that have no established customary law before, they report them for the attendants to discuss and come up with new laws if necessary.

The other major responsibility of *Gadaa* men is organizing communal livelihood activities of the community. *Abba Gadaa* and his *Gadaa* men should plan and mobilize the people to excavate wells and ponds for the people and the cattle respectively. Asmarom (1973) and the current finding shown that one of the major criteria the people use to evaluate *Abba Gadaa* men at the end of their service years are wells and ponds they excavated for the community during their leadership. This is their primary societal obligation of the leaders. At the end of their term of *gadoma*, and when they give power of *gadoma* to their sons of the party/class, the people evaluate *Gadaa* men in terms of the wells and the ponds they excavated. Moreover, the community raises the issue of ponds and wells during election of *intellec*ts at the transition from senior *gamme* to *kusoma*. As a result, *Gadaa* men excavate wells and ponds at different locations, where it is convenient for the community, in Borana land. With the help of the community, the leaders try their best to identify locations that can have enough underground water before they call up on the community to excavate. Moreover, people expect *Abba Gadaa* and his team members to maintain proper utilization of the water sources. They have to put the

law of wells and ponds into effect during their leadership period so that people can avoid disputes due to unfair management and utilization of the water sources.

During this period, leaders are expected to organize and engage in a number of ritual and religious activities conducted in Borana land. They are forerunners of many cultural ceremonies. *Dabballe* children's naming and power transfer are the two common ceremonies conducted by *Abba Gadaa* men. *Abba Gadaa* men also organize and attend their fathers' hair shaving ceremony during which they take power of party leadership. They attend *lalaba*/election/ ritual ceremony organized by fathers of senior *gamme* children. Moreover, the *Gadaa* men pray to *Waaqa* regularly to give them peace and health during their period of leadership services.

In addition to running public and cultural leadership affairs of the community stated above, the leaders engage in parenting their male children to leadership position like men in the stage of *raboma* and *doroma*. Men in the period of leadership are fathers of *dabballe* and junior *gamme* children. To stay in *Gadaa* system, they have to provide good care and support for their children's development so that they can represent their party in the future. They provide their children good meals and advices so that they become candidate for the competition for leadership position that is held at the end of senior *gamme* stage. They have to educate their children about the culture and history of the community. They model good behavior for their children by proper performance of leadership. They allow the children to attend different rituals ceremonies and meetings held at their camp as fulfillment of *gadoma*.

Period of being educator and lawmaker

The period of being educator and lawmaker extends from time of *balli* handover ceremony between incoming and outgoing *gadaa* leaders to the beginning of *gadamojjumma*. The length of period is more than 32 years. Asmarom (1973) described this period as *yuba* grade (grades of partial retirement) that he divided into four sub-grades (VII, VIII, IX and X). His finding shows that the period ranges from 53rd age to 80 years, which is 29 years long. However, the current finding and that of Zelalem (2012) is similar. Zelalem (2012) also calculated the difference as 32 years (48 – 80 years). The difference between the current finding and that of Asmarom may be because of the complex ways the community uses to calculate time or change in customary law.

In the system, there are five parties/classes and these parties exchange power among themselves every eight years peacefully. Although *yuba* men have transferred the power of the community leadership to the next party, they hold *gadoma*, power of their class/party until their turn comes again after about 32 years. They are leaders of their party. Therefore, they hold the power of leadership in their party and maintain its privileges until the stage of *gadamojjumma*. During this period, they deal with the issues of their party. They organize and coordinate ritual performances conducted by their party members living in different periods of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. They represent their respective parties in meetings held at general community level, such as *gumi gaayo*. In general, these men are in charge of their party's internal and external affairs. Some of them re-join the part in power.

Similar to previous findings (Asmarom, 1973; & Zelalem, 2012), the current finding also reveals that once the leaders and their party give authority of *gadaa* leadership to their successors and enter the long period of *yuboma*, they start an era of life where they serve as advisors, educators and law makers. As, majority of individuals in this period of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system are fathers of individuals in the stage of senior *gamme*, *kusoma*, *raboma* and *doroma*, they engage in advising prospective leaders in the stages. They educate potential leaders in the system about the customs and the traditions of Borana Oromo community. They travel *nyachisa* and *wal-argi* with children of senior *gamme* to channel and keep an eye on their cultural performances. They also accompany *kusa* individuals performing ritual of bull slaughtering to guide and monitor their ritual performances. They also live in the camps of their children during *raboma* and *doroma* periods to share their experiences and to coach their ritual performances. They provide proper guidance so that their children can behave and act in accordance with the traditions of the people. They educate their children in their party and make them competent enough for election and community leadership.

Another major role played by *yuba* men is attending meetings organized by *gadaa* men mainly to amend and/or formulate customary laws of the community. The meeting takes place at the mid-term of a given eight years of *gadoma* and it is called *gumi gaayo - Borana Oromo general assembly*. The very objective of the meeting is to discuss and analyze the existing situations of the society and produce ways forward. Based on situational analysis, the attendants revise the existing customary laws or/and formulate the new ones. All known and knowledgeable persons

of the community are expected to attend the meeting. In the process, *yuba* men play decisive roles. They are the men who actively engage in the process of establishing or amending customary laws of the community because of their rich experiences in *Gadaa* system. Moreover, members of the period are part of decision-making process in *Gadaa* system. People take their cases of violation of rights to these men living in their village.

Generally, unlike destiny of many political and organizational leaders of contemporary world, most likely abandonment, *gadaa* leaders enjoy societal privileges after their service years of *gadoma*. People respect them and their positions in the system. Community members give them priority during meetings and ritual ceremonies. Their experiences and knowledge of leadership becomes sources of social capital in the community. However, if you take, for instance, the case of Emperor Hailesilassie and Coronel Mengistu of Ethiopia, they are repeatedly cursed by their successors may be because of their bad behaviors during their leadership or/and to gain political benefit. In fact, situations in *Gadaa* system and that of Ethiopia as a nation are different. The former has established institution and system of co-existence between men of leadership and community than the second one. Borana Oromo community gives priority for institutions, systems and customary laws than individuals in the process of leadership. They are the individuals who are expected to fit to the system. The system is not made to benefit individuals in power that can be subjected to frequent changes.

Period of spiritual devotion

The period of spiritual devotion starts with power transfer ceremony between incoming and outgoing *gadaa* leaders of a party towards the end of the life of a person. It has two stages: *gadamojjumma* and *jarsumma*. A person enters the first stage of the period when *children* of his class come to power and leave the stage at 3rd year of their *children's gadoma*. At about the same time, his *grand children* shave their hair of *dabballumma* and start stage of junior *gamme*. Therefore, ideally, the person lives in the first stage only for three years. At the end of the first stage, his hair is shaved and he becomes *jarsa*, an ordinary elder man. He begins stage of *jarsumma*. Many of the ritual and structural features of these stages identified in the current study are characterized in previous research findings of Asmarom (1973) and Zelalem (2012).

Within a party, when children are mature and take the authority to lead the community and their party, the fathers retire and confess the good and the bad things they have done for the community during their life in the system to live in spiritual devotion during this period. When the *fathers* leave *gadoma* at the end of *gadamojjumma*, they engage in heroic conversation with their *children*. During the conversation, those who successfully accomplished their life, feel proud of their accomplishments while those who do not have good story to narrate can develop sense of depression and guilt because of their failures. Here, they share what they have done for the nation. They have to answer many questions forwarded from their sons and the community. One of the serious evaluations conducted in *Gadaa* system is this one.

Therefore, they can be in a state of psychological integrity or despair of late adulthood period discussed by psychosocial development theorists (Miller, 2011). If the men feel proud of what they have accomplished during their service years of *gadoma* and feel sense of accomplishment, they can defend themselves and becomes models for their children. However, if the men have no stories of successful accomplishment during their *gadoma* to describe for the community, they can develop sense of anguish. Their children and the community rejects them because of their failure to fulfill the roles and responsibilities they were given. It becomes guilt for the person and shame for his *children*.

Finally, what we can understand from the whole process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system is that leaders are liable of their leadership behaviors. The community awards or punishes leaders because of their leadership performances. Successes in leadership result in social acceptance and psychological integrity while failures to meet the needs of the community may result in societal rejection and psychological distress. In order to avoid social and psychological crises that can happen at the end of their lifetime due to failure in leadership services, leaders should exert their maximum effort to develop leadership skills and knowledge before they come to power and provide culturally appropriate leadership services for their community. The existing moral values of leadership in *Gadaa* system oblige leaders to develop the necessary competences for community leadership and put them into effect when they come to power. The existing system also allows leaders to continue serving the community with their experiences gained during leadership after they leave power of *gadoma* at community level.

Components of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system

Based on analysis of the qualitative data gathered from study participants, the researcher attempted to define *Gadaa* system as *a series of progressive steps and procedures in socio-cultural and political structure of Borana Oromo community where individuals develop leader and leadership personality and learn all round cultural responsibilities of leadership, and serve the community in their lifetime*. In the system, children are made to start developing leadership behavior right after birth and continue learning culturally appropriate values until they take power of *gadoma* to serve the community as leaders. Both individual and group leadership behaviors development is considered in the process. Most previous researchers who have conducted investigation on the issue under inquiry did not indicate subjects of progressive leader and leadership behavior development explicitly, and they more focused on political, military, judicial, legislative, and ritual administration aspects in their definition of the system (eg. Asmerom, 1973; Baxter, Hultin & Triulzi, 1996; Asmerom, 2006; Diribi, 2011 & Zelalem, 2012). As a result, these researchers fall short of analyzing components of the development process. Similarly, even though organizational leadership/leader development researchers such as Dalakoura (2009) described some strategies of expanding individuals, groups and organizational capacities of leadership, they overlooked broad and inclusive components of the development process as in *Gadaa* system.

To get all-rounded *hayyu – intellects* capable of acquiring leadership qualities and handling legal, administrative, cultural and other community livelihood issues, Borana Oromo community designed a “cultural curriculum” (Rogoff, 1990) in their institution called *Gadaa* system. In their culturally embedded lifelong leader and leadership development, the community educates prospective leaders about values and customs of their belief system. Individuals learn a number of things before they assume power. They learn history, geography, social structure, culture and religion of their community. Moreover, they have to develop skills and knowledge of how to make decisions and decision-making process. To serve the community, as stated many times in this manuscript, leaders should have to know and understand customary laws, values and mores of the community. They also need different skills such as interpersonal communication, listening and speaking, conflict/dispute resolution, counting time, conducting war, etc. They learn how to work in team all during the periods before *gadoma*.

Borana Oromo community has many histories that they have been orally transmitting from generation to generation. They can describe the origins, paths of movements and settlements of the people of Oromo in general and Borana Oromo community in particular from very far in history to the present. Sometimes, they narrate about the origins of human being in general. They have a numbers of histories of wars with other neighboring communities such as Somali, Guji, Geri, Konso, Burji and others. They can also recount history of the *Gadaa* periods they had passed and the major events took place within the time. They remember the names of *Abba Gadaa* men of all *gadoma* periods and narrate their major accomplishments and failures. Moreover, all the five parties of Borana Oromo community have separate history. Teaching the contents of all these histories is time taking and not all people can master the knowledge. That may be the reason that the community elect *gifted* individuals to engage in the lifelong process of leader and leadership development.

The other major component of leaders and leadership development, may be the vital one, is teaching oral religious doctrines. The community has its own religion, *Waaqeffanna*. They believe in *Waaqa – God*. In their religious doctrine, they teach about genesis of nature and their relationships with God. Oromo community does not distinguish their religion from their culture. Every social and cultural activities of the community are defined in terms of their religion. The life of the people and their religion have strong tie. Therefore, leaders should know the doctrines of their religion and specializes the practices. As leaders are expected to excel in their religious practices, they attend and practice religious lessons since their birth. They learn and practice religious performances so that they can carry out it very well when they take power. Simply, leadership in *Gadaa* system requires religious expertise.

Geographic knowledge is another important content of Borana Oromo community's process of leaders and leadership development process. The people say "Borana land" and they know the boundaries of their land and that of the neighboring communities. Within their territory, there are locations of ritual celebrations, places rich in resources, and sites of Borana moieties, clans and lineages settlements. There are locations suitable for cattle in terms of grass, soil and water and people take their cattle to such places during temporary migration. People establish camps of settlement at culturally allowed locations. There are places blessed by God, which the people should know to conduct rituals, meetings and prayers. Traditionally, there are locations of

settlement during different stages of leadership developments where leaders learn and celebrate ritual ceremonies of their time. The knowledge is very essential for the people as the people move from place to place for economic, political and cultural reasons. As a result, prospective leaders learn about the geography of Borana land before they come to power.

Decision-making skill is another component of Borana Oromo community's cultural curriculum of leader and leadership development. Decisions made by *Gadaa* men affect the life of all Borana Oromo community. People expect fair and ethical decisions from *Gadaa* leaders. Hence, leaders should acquire and internalize the necessary preconditions to deliver such decisions. The process of decision-making in *Gadaa* system has steps and procedures. It requires knowledge of religious doctrines of the community and its belief system in general. To make harmless decisions, the leaders should be able to remember the customary laws and analyze the information they gather from different sources. They have to know manners of communication and interpersonal relationships in the process of decision-making. As decisions are made in groups, the members should know how to function as group. Prospective leaders learn and practice all these during the periods of development.

In the process of leader and leadership development, prospective leaders learn about tribes, clans and families. Borana Oromo community has two major clans: Sabbo and Gona. Sabbo has three sub-clans while that of Gona are 14. Totally, there are 17 sub-clans. All these clans have socio-cultural and structural relationships. Social affairs such as marriage, *Gadaa* and religious representation depend upon clan structure. The clans have their order of birth that one is first born and the other is second. Learning all these social structural elements of the community require extended period of leaders and leadership development. *Gadaa* leaders need to know the social structures of their community so that they can make proper decisions, maintain the existing social relationships among the clans, celebrate rituals and establish the bond that should exist among the three *Gadaa* branches during their *gadoma*.

Knowledge and comprehensive understanding of customary laws of the community seem very vital for *Gadaa* leaders. In Borana, many unethical behaviors have laws formulated during different *Gadaa* period's general assembly. There are laws of men, women, girls, *intellec*ts, religious men and the like. Cattle, wells and ponds have laws in Borana land. People punish a person who violates the laws by heads of cattle and the punishment depends up on the degree of

the crime committed. If the crime committed is very serious, such as refusing transfer of power and perpetrator's refusal to apply the decision made by *Gadaa* men, his/her Borana citizenship is denounced and the person is not allowed to live in Borana land. Moreover, there are many social values and mores that the leaders need to know before they take power. Hence, the leaders need to know and internalize these laws before they come to power.

Another important skill needed by leaders is calculating time. To perform collective ritual activities and conduct meetings, one needs to know days, weeks, months, and years they are performed. Leaders need to know how to count days using positions of stars and moon in a clear sky. It becomes very difficult if not impossible for leaders to perform leadership activities without knowledge and skills of Borana Oromo's lunar calendar. Ritual events such as naming ceremony, election of *intellec*ts, marriage, the beginning of childbirth, division of *intellec*ts into branches, power transfer, general assembly, and many more have days and years to be performed. Days, months and seasons have names and cultural meanings. Borana Oromo community's time calculation is based on the positions of moon and stars. Consequently, the prospective leaders need to know the calendar before they come to power.

Above all, leaders learn about the structures and procedures of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. As discussed above in this chapter of the report, the system is structured into progressive stages and periods. All the five parties of the community should pass through the stages one after. During each stage, there are roles and responsibilities to be accomplished by individuals in the system. Individuals in the process of development (*ilman korma*), develop leadership behaviors and serve the community throughout lifetime of the system. Hence, leaders need to know the structural elements and traditions of the procedures of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. The knowledge helps them to accomplish their roles properly and provide care for their children in the system.

Approaches of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system

Many of the approaches of leader and leadership development described by Dalakoura (2009) are not integrative procedures that include holistic and sustainable leadership behavior development. Progressive roles and responsibilities to be accomplished by prospective leaders of an organization in some approaches are not analyzed precisely. They are different from

Borana Oromo community's approach of leader and leadership development at least in four ways. First, they are limited to business organizations and give less emphasis to public leadership behavior development. Second, leadership skills development and individuals' leadership personality development are not considered together in the processes. The approaches focus more on managerial types of leadership behavior development. Thirdly, the underlying belief systems of a society are undermined. Fourthly, the approaches are short lived and applied only after an individual join an organization.

Although not specific to development of leadership behavior, the views and assumptions of Vygotsky and the socio-cultural approach of human development may be the most appropriate theoretical framework to describe the approach of leader and leadership development in Borana Oromo community *Gadaa* system. They propose that culture set the knowledge and skills to be acquired by the child in a society, and it provides tools such as language, technology, and strategies, which enable the child to function in the context of the society (Miller, 2011). Culture of Borana Oromo community has different levels and forms of changes, and the change at one level directly affects the changes in the next levels. Prospective *Gadaa* leaders learn and practice culturally defined knowledge and skills during their periods of development. Leader and leadership development is a lifelong process in which *Gadaa* leaders learn socio-culturally embedded elements. Moreover, the dream of a successor is always to excel his predecessor in all aspects of his leadership in *Gadaa* system. The predecessor and the people also wish and bless the incoming *Abba Gadaa* to excel in his leadership than his ancestors. Similarly, socio-structural theorists asserted that children could transform their social experiences to more advanced level (Langford, 2005).

The common strategies implemented in *Gadaa* system's leader and leadership development resembles the methods identified by socio-culturalists (Miller, 2011). The prompts, clues, modeling, explanation, leading question, discussion, joint participation, encouragement, and control of children's attention provided by more competent person such as parents, law makers and religious leaders within social situation help to move the prospective leaders forward in their leadership behavior development. The developing leaders also engage in activities such as communication, *formal* and informal instructions using cultural and psychological tools they gained from their culture. Accordingly, we may conclude that observation, participation,

lecturing and cooperative learning are the main strategies in the process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community.

However, socio-cultural approaches gave emphasis to the process of development than the results (Miller, 2011). They also explain the general process of human development than specific methods of learning and teaching. Hence, we need to consider experiential learning theory's propositions for more description of the specific learning strategies of leader and leadership development in the context of *Gadaa* System. Experiential learning theorists also focus on process of learning process, however, they provide more specific learning strategies that help to explain approaches in *Gadaa* system than other development theories. The underlying assumption of this theory states that learning is a continuous process of creating holistic and adaptive knowledge through mental conflict resolution and transaction with the environment (Kolb & Kolb, 2008). Action learning, creative play, role-play, adventure learning, storytelling, reflective practices (Silerman, 2007) are approaches of experiential learning. These approaches are the mechanisms by which Borana Oromo community educates prospective *Gadaa* leaders. Moreover, mentoring and coaching, common strategies of leader and leadership development in contemporary business and public organizations (Dalakoura, 2009), are also the approaches of leader and leadership development in the system. The elders at Borana travel settle and travel with the prospective *Gadaa* leaders to guide and direct performances of prospective leaders during almost all the periods prior to *gadoma*.

Agents of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system

As sited by contemporary development theorists, even though the emphasis varies, both internal and external factors are agents of age related changes in the course of human life span development. Similarly, leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system is a lifelong behavior change due to individual's effort and external impacts. Children and individuals in the process develop leadership behaviors because of support from the community and their performances. Parents, lawmen, men of *arga-dhagetti*, *Abba Gadaa* men, peer members, elders, religious leaders, and the community at large are agents of the development. They educate prospective leaders contents of their cultural curriculum described above using different strategies. On the other hand, once they get the chance to be a leader, the developing children and individuals exert their maximum effort to acquire the required qualification. The process

demand their personal motivation, interest, commitment, determination, endurance, and perseverance. They have to invest more time and energy to acquire leadership competences than others do. They have to devote their whole life to develop leadership behavior and serve the community.

According to community's assumption, if father and mother are good parents, their son will be good too. If parents had shown significant performance in maintaining culture of the society, people believe that the son will do the same in his time. This implies that parents can be a model for their sons. Prestige and recognition given for parents in the community is high. As a result, parents play a significant role in shaping personality of their children. They provide the necessary care and support for their children, particularly at early periods - during the first and second periods of leader and leadership development. They initiate, encourage, and inspire their children for leadership position by sharing their experiences. They let them know Borana Oromo's culture and *Gadaa* leadership. Parents do not prevent their children from attending elders' meetings and ritual gatherings, and children are free to join and observe what parents are discussing and performing. They tell them different stories and puzzles of their culture. They travel with their sons to monitor and coach during *nyachisa* feasting and *wal-argi* (friends visit) tours. They enlighten them stories of good people, such as *Abba Gadaa* men, who had done good things for their community. They advise and support them to be good citizen. They are parents who nominate and recommend their son for election at the end of senior *gamme* stage. Generally, parents take the lion share responsibility to support their sons to build leadership competences. Similarly, even though not specific to leadership behavior development, lifespan development theories such as psychosocial, socio-cultural, behavioral, and ecological theories stress roles of parents in shaping behaviors of children (Shaffer & Kipp, 2010). In fact, parents are the first teachers in the life of an individual.

Secondly, prospective leaders learn from knowledgeable and experienced elders such as lawmen, religious leaders, men of *arga-dhagetti*, *Gadaa* leaders and others who have rich experiences of the culture and the people in the society. These elders teach the candidates an array of cultural elements of Borana Oromo community. They teach values, customs, history, religion, and customary laws. They educate and show them manners of communication and making decisions. Moreover, they guide, monitor, and coach cultural practices of the prospective leaders. Finally,

they evaluate their performances. Student leaders get advice and guidance from leaders serving the community. The juniors visit their seniors to get advice about community leadership. The leaders share them the knowledge and experiences of leadership.

Vygotsky's concept of Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) may help us to explain functions of the leadership development agents in *Gadaa* system. ZPD is described as "the distance between a child's 'actual development level as determined by independent problem solving' and the higher level of 'potential development as determined through problem solving' under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (Vygotsky, 1979, p. 86; in Miller, 2011, p. 175). The role of the elders in Borana Oromo Community is to support and guide prospective leaders' collective and independent effort to learn the culture, and to solve societal problems. Similarly, in most cases of the nine leaders and leadership development practices (360-degree feedback coaching and mentoring, networking, action learning, specific job assignments, corporate case studies, computer simulations, experiential learning, training, course classroom-type leadership) organized and described by Dalakoura (2009), the role of experienced and knowledgeable individual in educating prospective leaders is significant.

Other important agents of leaders and leadership development are peer members. As stated many times in this report, individuals of different ages live together in the process of development in the system since the period of care and support. During *dabballumma* and *gamme* stages, children play and herd cattle together respectively. They perform activities like migration with cattle, *nyachisa* and *wal-argi* tours, marriage, ritual celebrations, and decisions making together. Once, core band of *hayyu* men is established at the end of senior *gamme* stage, they settle and celebrate rituals together. They live in the same camp. Hence, the probability to influence one another is very likely. For instance, the one born during *dabballumma* can share his experiences for those born during junior *gamme* and senior *gamme* stages. Similarly, developmental theorists like Vygotsky (1979; in Miller, 2011) emphasized the role of peer members in behavior change process although not specific to leadership development.

Leadership practices in *Gadaa* system

The existing leadership perspectives such as existentialists, relationalists, constructivists, and cross-culturalists may not help us to explain the nature of leadership knowledge and practices in

Gadaa system and its development independently. Most of them give emphasis to certain specific aspect of leadership and their assumptions are based on statistical analysis of leadership behaviors. Moreover, most empirical evidences used to substantiate the theories emanate from organizational contexts than the larger community. However, each of them has some relationship with certain aspect of process of leadership in the system. Hence, attempts have been made here under to discuss the current findings in relations to major assumptions of the theories briefly. As analysis of *Gadaa* leadership dynamics is not the sole objective of the current study, discussion of the relationships is not exhaustive.

Some scholars from existentialists' perspective category believe that individuals rise to a leadership position because of their unique possession of certain personality traits and characteristics such as intelligence, dominance, and adjustment (Zaccaro, Foti & Kenny, 2006). Similarly, Borana Oromo community also looks for existence of culturally appropriate leadership behavior in individuals' over all conducts during leaders election at the end of senior *gamme* stage. The other *hayyu* election criteria are behaviors and performances shown by individuals during the first and second periods of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. *Hayyu* electors look for one who is capable (*intelligent*) of learning culture of the community. They select those whom they think respect their parents, comply with adults' advices, obey cultural values, herd cattle well, and perform *nyachisa* and *wal-argi* up to community's expectation. In Borana Oromo community's conception, a leader should be patient, considerate, and fair. He should have knowledge and practical experiences of community's culture.

From relationalists' leadership view points, transactional theorists suggested that leaders provide support and gratification for the followers while the follower allow and encourage him/her to do so by approving, praising, and giving prestige, status and power. The leader steers the followers towards the group goals, and they agree on doing the task given, setting group expectations and goals, and the type of recognitions and rewards that will come at the end of the task accomplishment (Hogg, 2011). Likewise, in *Gadaa* system, people praise, approve and prestige children in the process of leadership development since birth. Leaders get leadership status and power from the community. In return, *Gadaa* leaders, serve them with respect and trust. The leaders should maintain their culture through peaceful decision, ritual celebrations and organizing the people to attend different activities to ensure their livelihood. Leaders are the

most respected unit of the community. The *Gadaa* leaders guide the followers towards the group goals of maintaining the culture and ensuring well being while community members educate and provide the necessary support for the leaders.

The underlying principle of constructivists' perspective states that "people have implicit leadership theories that shape their perception of [potential] leader" (Hogg, 2007; p. 724). These theories can be shaped by individual's characteristics and abstracted conception of status and leadership (Hogg, 2007). In line with constructionists' view of leadership, members of the community, including *Gadaa* leaders, know the prototype that a leader should possess. There are culturally predetermined mental set/schema of *Gadaa* leaders' characteristics and the relationship that should exist between *Gadaa* leaders and the community. The community has implied leadership theory that shapes their perception of (potential) *Gadaa* leaders. Community's interaction with the community and leaders' performances and behaviors are perceived based on the existing assumptions of leadership dynamics in *Gadaa* system. Hence, in the process of development, leaders internalize the objective of leadership schema to serve the community.

Findings of researches conducted based on assumptions of cross-cultural perspectives of leadership, specifically on Africans' contexts, characterize features of leadership practices in *Gadaa* system better than others do. According to the findings, leadership in Africa is charismatic/value based, team orientated, participative and humanistic approaches (House et al., 2004). It is characterized by deeply held personal, cultural values and a clear sense of one's place in community (Bolden & Kirk, 2009). Similarly, the current finding revealed that leadership in *Gadaa* system can be described as value based humanistic approach where *Gadaa intellectuals* work together as team to address community issues with deep sense of community.

Even though it requires further investigation, Mutabazi's (2002) the four common social principles of African leadership: universality of life, Unitarian conception of nature, vertical organization of social orders and inseparable relationship of heaven and earth are also features of *Gadaa* leadership. Like other indigenous leadership in Africa, *Gadaa* leaders' personal life, community's collective live, earthly life and heavenly life are indissoluble. In conceptions of Borana Oromo community, life in the present is a continuation of the past and the future will keep on from the present. In their worldview, material, spiritual, natural and supernatural entities of life are integrated into sameness. Hence, power is based on age (*angafa* and *qutusu* – first

born and second born), interpersonal skills and inheritance of the system. People organize rites of passage and harmonization of relations among the living, the dead and the *Waaqa*. Borana Oromo also conceives that *Waaqa* is the father of fathers and ancestor of ancestors. Hence, the ultimate goal of *Gadaa* leadership is to prolong and protect life, respect community norms, and create harmony in body, mind and spirit through a balanced relationship with other elements of the universe and maintaining culture of the community. *Gadaa* leaders engage in both secular and spiritual issues to ensure personal, social, political and economic well being of the community.

However, two of the three cultural features (high context and high power distance) of Ethiopian leadership identified by Baker and Campbell's (2016) case study with leaders from western Ethiopia are not shown in leadership practice of *Gadaa* system according to the current study. Inequalities of power and status that put *Gadaa* leaders and other Borana Oromo community in stress are not observed in the current study. Community members approach their leaders without any fear and leaders interact with them without any frustration. Communication between leaders and the community can be as direct and explicit. They communicate freely while maintaining cultural values that ensure orders of interpersonal relationship where people give priority for first born (*angafa*) individuals. Nevertheless, qualitative analysis of data gathered in the current study indicated that collective cultural mental set characterizes the notion of *Gadaa* leadership too. In their practice of leadership, they focus on relationships, group obligation, and interpersonal harmony that are the reflection of collective culture abided by societal values, customs and customary laws.

***Gadaa* leadership teams and their relationships**

As stated many times in this text, *Gadaa* leadership has three branches: *arbora*, *hawattu* and *konnitu*. There are patterns of relationship among the three branches. In terms of power status, *arbora* is senior followed by *hawattu* and *konnitu* respectively. Their difference in status emerges from the size of the population of the clans they represent and order of *birth* of the teams. *Arbora* represents the largest clan followed by *hawattu* and *konnitu*. The people believe that *arbora* was the first team formulated in the history of the system. The remaining two were devised later based on increase in clan size. All of them have specific region and population to administer and are relatively autonomous to make decisions on their parts. They build their

center of administration within the settlement of their clans. They run their respective economic and ritual activities independently at their locations. However, in case of appeals, one can report from *konnitu* to *hawattu* and from *hawattu* to *arbora*, not the other way round. A case cannot be reported from *arbora* to *hawattu* and then to *konnitu*. They also come together for common ritual activities and meetings held at Borana level.

Within group relationship pattern of the three branches of *Gadaa* leadership varies. Within the core members of *arbora*, the senior individuals are the *hayyu* men. The team has four *adula intellectuals* and four or eight *garba intellectuals*. Totally, the size of the core team ranges from 8 – 12. *Adula intellectuals* are senior while *garba* are junior in their power status. The most senior person in the group is from *adula* men and his name becomes the name of his *Gadaa* branch, *Abba Gadaa arbora*. *Gadoma* of the period also belongs to him and that period of leadership is remembered in Borana Oromo's oral history by his name. Although there are status differences among *Abba Gadaa*, other *adula* men and *garba intellectuals*, they work together in dealing with issues of Borana Oromo community. The findings of Asmerom (1973) and Zelalem (2012) also show that the type of decision-making process in *Gadaa* system was parliamentary. The difference appears only if disagreement occurs in the group during decision making in which the vote of *adula* men have higher acceptance than *garba* men's vote.

Patterns of relationships within the other two branches of *Gadaa* are similar to that of *arbora* branch. However, *hawattu* and *konnitu* have one more additional team members, *medhicha intellectuals*. They have three types of *intellectuals*: *adula*, *medhicha* and *garba*. *Adula* and *medhicha intellectuals* belong to the same party. *Garba* intellectuals are elected from all parties. The numbers of the members are equal for both groups. Each group has one *adula*, but the number of *medhicha* and *garba* varies depending up on the need of the senior person (*adula*) in the teams. The seniors are the two *adula* men in the teams, and their names become the names of their *gadaa* branches. The second in the power hierarchy of the team are *medhicha intellectuals*. Even though *garba* men are older and more experienced than others, they are at third place in their power status. The two *Gadaa* branches are commonly known as *Gadaa hawattu* and *Gadaa konnitu*. Like *arbora*, members of the two teams work together in dealing with community affairs.

Characteristics of leaders in *Gadaa* system

Gadaa leaders and their team members mainly engage in activities of decision-making, conflict and dispute resolution, and religious practices to ensure the social, political, spiritual, economic well being of the community. They work together to ensure peace, justice, health and wealth for the people during their leadership period. In order to achieve these objectives of the community, they form teams composed of different individuals with wide range of experiences that have patterns of relationships between groups and within group as stated above. The community wants *gadoma* during which they are free of conflicts, hunger and drought, diseases and any other natural disasters. The community considers *Gadaa* leaders who fulfill their personal, social, economic, political, spiritual, humanitarian, and cultural obligations of the community during their *gadoma* as good leaders. In *Gadaa* system, the people evaluate leaders or *Abba Gadaa* men in terms of their personalities, socio-economic performances, political achievements, spiritual exercises, humanitarian activities, and cultural accomplishments.

A good *Gadaa* leader or *Abba Gadaa* should be obedient, spiritually competent, trustworthy, innocent, polite, and sociable in his personality. He should not insult, kill and harm or speak to cause harm to human beings and other creatures. A leader should have good dream for his people and listen to them with soft ears. He should have ethics of leadership. *Abba Gadaa* should have patience. Aggressiveness is not expected from a person leading the nation in Borana Oromo's conception of leadership. He should have knowledge, competence, skill, and experiences of dealing with problems and challenges of the community. Borana Oromo calls their prospective leaders and *Gadaa* leaders *intellects*, because they believe that they have the intelligence to solve problems, organize people for ritual performances and development activities and maintain culture. Some of these personality components such as intelligence (Zaccaro, Foti & Kenny, 2006; & Stogdill, 1948) and sociability (Rowe & Guero, 2011; & Stogdill, 1948) are also stated in the works of trait leadership theorists. More recently, ethical leadership theorists gave emphasis to the consequences of leader's behavior, action, or conduct in leadership. They assert that in his/her action of influencing followers towards common goal of the group, the leader should act or behave ethically (Yukl, 2006).

In the belief system of the community, behaviors of leaders or *Abba Gadaa* men and the works of *Waaqa* are highly correlated. *Abba Gadaa* should speak and keep the truths of *Waaqa*. He

should master the doctrines of *Waqeffanna* to live the spiritual life the society demands from him. He prays for peace, wealth, and prosperity for the people and their cattle during his *gadoma*. Any adversity and natural occurrences that may happen during one's *gadoma* is attributed to him. They believe that every misfortune will come to Borana because the person in a position of leadership fails to pray and behave as per the orders of God. He prays to *Waaqa* to bless his nation and people. In case he makes crimes, he purifies himself later during the period of spiritual devotion.

In terms of his social relationship, good *Gadaa* leaders should have acceptance and appreciated social bonds. He should respect others so that he gets respect from them. As the society belongs to him and he belongs to them, he should not deceive them. He should be the one whom the people feels confidence of his performance in maintaining their culture. He should not cover up thieves and robbers under his shade. He should make peaceful, fair and acceptable decisions. *Abba Gadaa* should not engage in corruption to make biased decisions. In line with this, the works of ethical leadership theorists suggested that the leader should respect the followers (Yukl, 2006).

In terms of his socio-economic and cultural performances, a good *Abba Gadaa* should be able to mobilize the people to engage in pond and well excavation and protection, which is one of his primary obligations expected of him during his *gadoma*. He should have the competence to persuade people and marshal up resources to excavate and avail ponds and well at suitable places in Borana land. Currently, even though they are doing it at the expense of their cultural responsibilities, *Abba Gadaa* men are also working with central government on development and political issues and they negotiate on the side of their people to get water, health, power, education, and telecommunication services. Moreover, ritual performances require participation and attendance of many people and the leaders are the one who are in charge of convincing the people to migrate to locations of ritual celebrations. The drive for responsibility and task completion and the capacity to structure social interaction systems to the goal to be achieved are the traits of leaders identified by one of classical trait leadership theory researchers (Stogdill, 1948) too.

Another feature of a good *Gadaa* leader is engagement in humanitarian activities. *Abba Gadaa* should have sympathy towards the poor and needy people in the community and gather supports

they need from the people during his *gadoma*. The community has support system in which they contribute cattle to support its poor members, and *Abba Gadaa* should maintain the practice during his leadership. He should not discriminate people based on their gender, clan, wealth or any social variations. Similarly, ethical leadership theorists discuss altruistic components of leadership and they argue that “a leader’s conduct is ethical if he or she demonstrates concern for others’ interests, even if these interests are contrary to the leader’s self-interests” (Rowe & Guerrero, 2011; p. 441).

Politically, the best *Abba Gadaa* should be capable of organizing the people of Borana to defend themselves and their land from enemies. The people have many history of war with the neighboring ethnic Somali, Geri and Guji communities. In principle, the people do not like war and *Abba Gadaa* should ensure peace during his *gadoma*. As *Abba Gadaa* men do not want their time to be remembered as period of war, especially war of defeat, they work hard to avoid wars or try to win if it happens.

Decision making procedures in *Gadaa* system

The current study reveals that decisions are made in teams in *Gadaa* leadership. Team members come together to investigate problems to provide solutions. Once the group identifies causes of a problem, decisions are made based on set rules and regulations, customary laws, of dealing with problems and challenges in the society. As repeatedly stated in this manuscript, decision-making process has its own set steps and procedures in the system and looks like that of the procedures we commonly find in literatures. First, elders at neighborhood should deal with cases before they reach *Gadaa* leaders. If the disputing parties are not satisfied with the decision given by the elders, the elder and the parties go for *Gadaa* men. He is the elder who describes the case to the *Gadaa* men first. Then, the *Gadaa* men investigate and give their decision. If still the parties are uncomfortable with the decision, they can take their case to *Abba Seera*. *Abba Seera* checks the consistency of customary laws and the decision made. Then, he confirms or corrects the decision given by the *Gadaa* leaders and that is the final decision. If a person fails to accept and implement the decision, they denounce his/her Borana citizenship. Otherwise, the punishment is cattle. The perpetrators give number of cattle specified in their customary laws depending up on the crime s/he committed. In main-stream court system of Ethiopia, for instance, we find similar

alternative appeal procedures although there are variations between the two (Zelalem, 2012) that cannot be treated in this paper due to limitations of the current study.

In the process of decision-making, they gather all the necessary information from the victims, the alleged perpetrator and witnesses. For instance, if two individuals quarrel each other, elders at neighborhood, who have experiences of dealing with such cases during their *gadoma*, try their best to solve the problem after gathering information from the two individuals and witnesses, if necessary. Then, they make their logical analysis with the information they gathered and give deliberation based on the customary laws and social values of the society. If one of the two individuals does not agree with the decision, say the perpetrator refuses to pay compensation, one of the elders take them and their case to *Gadaa* men (*raba, dori, arbora, hawattu, or konnitu*). Then, the *hayyu* men of one of the teams come together and investigate the case. First, they make the elder to narrate the case and the decision they made. If they find the procedures followed by elders and the decision made by them to be correct, they confirm it and send them back home. However, if they observe some procedural mistakes, the *hayyu* men allow the alleged victims and perpetrators to narrate their cases all over again. Then, they call witnesses cited by the two parties and listen to them. After they thoroughly discuss the issues, they communicate their decision to the parties in dispute and order the elders to follow up its implementation. In the process, the group members should reach at consensus in their decision before they announce it.

Therefore, the nature of problem solving and decision-making in *Gadaa* system and the ones we commonly find in literature seem similar. For instance, despite its drawbacks, group decisions are better than individuals (Forsyth, 2010). Moreover, team leadership researchers (Zaccaro, Rittman, & Marks, 2001) also stress importance of team's collective information processing for quality decision that can help to explain the situation of *Gadaa* leaders. Nature of *Gadaa* leaders' decision-making process requires further investigation.

***Gadaa* leaders' behavior and performance evaluation**

Cognizant of the fact that the behavior and performance of *Gadaa* leaders affect all aspects of their life, Borana Oromo community evaluates competences, performances and achievements of *Gadaa intellects* on continuous bases. During single period of leader and leadership development

cycle in *Gadaa* system, people evaluate leader's behavior/performance and his team's accomplishments four times: during election, at *gumi gaayo*, after *balli* transfer, and during transfer of *gadoma* within party. Obviously, individual member and group behavior/performance influence the achievement of the objective that group has been working for (Levine & Moreland, 2006). Hence, community's status evaluation of *Gadaa* leaders seems valid to ensure continuity of their culture, which is the ultimate goal of *Gadaa* leadership.

In the process of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system, primary evaluators of *Gadaa* leadership *intellects'* potential and actual leadership talents are parents. The community expects parents to identify potential leaders from their children and provide for community leadership development. Even if the sons they have are very young to be evaluated, they have to take the rescue to avail the required sons for leadership competition and invest their time, energy and money to educate the child. The parents evaluate their sons at home while they play and interact with other children, people living in the neighborhood and family members. Then, when children are mature enough to look after cattle outside home, parent observe how much they are careful about cattle. The fathers also scrutinize their sons' focus and ability to memorize things as they take them to meeting places. The fathers also evaluate their sons during feasting and visit tours at end of the second period of leaders and leadership development. They try to observe their sons' conducts, and activities in line with predetermined leadership behavior and performance in the community. In the end, they select sons they assume have the potential for leadership position for competition at clan levels. If a father feels all his sons have no potential to lead, he drops the competition and gives the chance for other children in his clan.

Then, the next evaluation takes place during competition within clan. Fathers from the same clan who want to compete for their sons come together to elect the child who can represent the clan in *Gadaa* leadership group. *Gadaa* leaders at the time of election and knowledgeable elders of the clan do their best to indentify the best one using different criteria of evaluation and set him for Borana level competition. They elect a child capable of learning culture of the community. They look for a child who obeyed his parents during the first two periods of leader and leadership process. In the process, they listen to their parents' witnesses. In Borana Oromo culture, people assume that individuals speak truth and any false information that deceives electors has serious repercussion of denying the coming generation from competing again. Hence, the electors trust

them. Finally, fathers and clan representatives of the nominees from different clans of the community camp together for election of the six *adula* intellects of *Gadaa* leadership. During evaluation and identification of the individuals, lawmen, men of information, *Gadaa* leaders and clan representatives including the fathers of the nominees discuss over the nominees' potential leadership behavior and announce (*lalaba*) the winner for the community.

Generally, during election to the system's leadership core band at the end of the second period of leader and leadership development, people evaluate individuals against many criteria. They evaluate their behaviors, knowledge of their culture, readiness for leadership education, ancestors' previous roles in the system, parents' willingness to elect their sons, clan's willingness to allow the individuals to represent them, and parents' roles in the previous stages. This type of procedure of potential leader identification for leadership development is not common in contemporary literatures of leadership. For instance, in present-day business organizations, situations determine best leader identification for the future of an organization (Ward, 2003). In a given organization, leadership developers, people in leadership position, individuals who nominate leaders and those who seek for leadership position find and develop ways of fitting individuals into different stages of leadership lifecycle of that organization (Ward, 2003). However, unlike *Gadaa* leadership development process, these happen after the individuals are mature and become employees of an organization.

Secondly, the community evaluates a person who represents leadership core band of a give *gadoma* during their *gumi gaayo* - general assembly, which is conducted at the middle of one's eight years term of leadership, *gadoma*. At the meeting, known and knowledgeable individuals from all over Borana land come together to evaluate the overall performance of the person and his team members. *Abba Gadaa* is made to report his performances and challenges for the attendants. They listen to his challenges and problems and decide for corrective measures to be taken. The measures can be formulation/adaptation of new customary law to deal with the challenges and/or advising the leaders to correct themselves. The meeting is very serious and needs separate investigation.

The third evaluation is made during *balli* transfer or *Gadaa* leadership power transfer. The community evaluates individuals in charge of community leadership, *Gadaa* leaders, when they complete their term and transfer authority to the next party in line. At the time, members of the

party to which the leaders are members come together to question the leaders about their successes. Clan members evaluate all what have been done by them during their *gadoma*. They ask them the wells and ponds they excavated, the peace they created, the poor they supported, the culture they maintained, the law they made, the war they won, the enemy they defeated, etc. The leaders should defend themselves by narrating their accomplishments. Success is source of pride for a person, his family and clan. Success or failure of the leaders will be taken into account during election of their sons in the next generation.

The final evaluation takes places at the end of *gadamojjumma*, during transfer of *gadoma* within party. The sons and their core bands of the three branches of *Gadaa*, who took position of leadership in the community, evaluate their fathers. Similar to evaluation during *balli* transfer, they ask them to narrate the good decisions they made, the war they won, the poor they sported, the enemy he defended, the ponds and wells they excavated, the laws they made, and so many life accomplishments during their *kusoma*, *raboma*, *doroma*, *gadoma* and *yuboma*. However, the evaluation is specific to a party and do not include the whole community members. Successes of the fathers gives sense of pride for the fathers themselves and motivate the sons to do more to excel their fathers in their *gadoma*. Fathers' failure may create sense of guilt and shame. As a result, the children can develop a desire to do their best to rebuild the failure history of their fathers.

Model of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system

Analogy of Robert Gagne's model (2009) of developing giftedness into talent may help us to sum up over all understanding of the process of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. Like the process of talent development described by Gagne (2009), leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system is also a process in which the developing *hayyu* pursuit excellence in community leadership over significant periods of time in their life time through engagement in culturally designed curriculum. Individuals join the process through identification and election that takes place at the end of the second period of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. Only very few individuals having potential leadership qualities can join culturally designed program of *hayyu* development. The developing *hayyu* individuals invest their time, money and psychological energy to gain the objectives set by the community for *Gadaa* leadership position. The progress of the developing *hayyu* individuals from initial

access to the process to peak performance can be broken down into a series of *Gadaa* stages and periods as discussed above. Both environmental and personal catalysts can be taken as factors of leadership behavior development.

However, the model does not fully explain the nature of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. As development is a lifelong process that integrates leadership talent expansion with personality development, it may be impossible for someone to represent the whole procedure of leaders and leadership development in the system using a single model. The process is part of the life of an individual in the system and it is difficult to distinguish personal life of individuals and leadership development process. The process is not a straight forward that one can indicate relationships among different variables using mechanical input output variables diagram. The model given below is developed just to simplify our understanding of the process. It does not represent the whole situation of *hayyu* development process.

Hence, the natures of giftedness transformation process into talents described in Gagne's model and course of leadership development in *Gadaa* system are different in at least four ways. First, unlike Gagne's model, the community gives chance for children to develop *natural abilities* before selecting the best out of them in the process of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. Second, the age range of children involved in the process of transformation is not clearly indicated in Gagne's model while in *Gadaa* system a newborn baby can join the process of leader and leadership development. Third, the development in *Gadaa* system focuses on general leaders and leadership development unlike Gagne's model, which focus on ranges of gifts and talents. Finally, leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system is a lifelong process and it is difficult to separate one's life, personality development and leadership competence acquisition.

During the first three stages (*dabballumma*, junior *gamme* and senior *gamme*) of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system, the community identifies children who have potential leadership qualities to engage them in the process of transforming those qualities into actual leadership talents. In the system, children are born during the first three stages by chance and the community socializes the children to develop leadership *natural abilities* and personality predispositions. The community gives these children the chance to develop leadership *gifts*. They provide support and care for them to develop leadership inclinations. While nurturing leadership

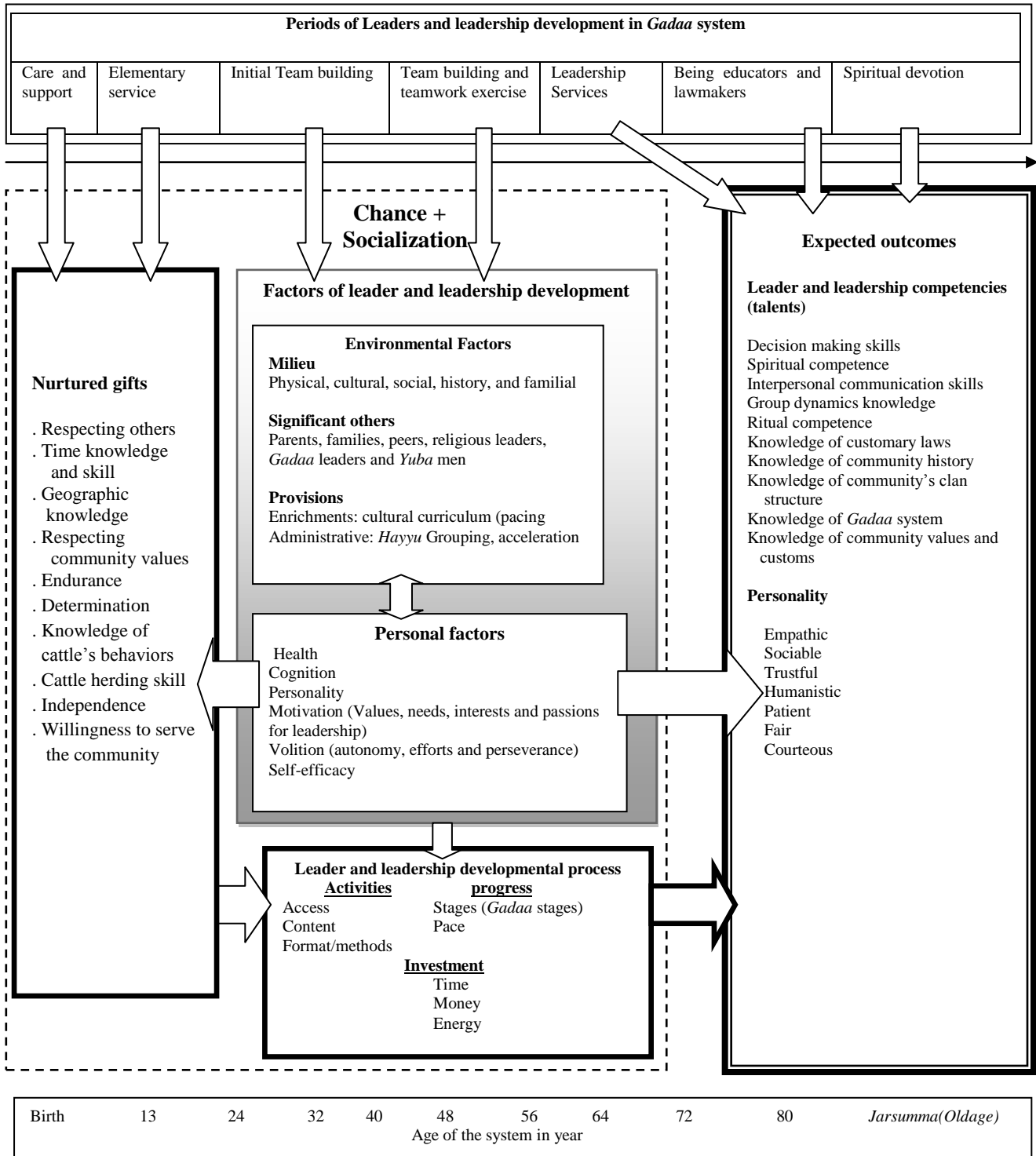
competences, the community identifies potential leaders for further more advanced cultural education. Hence, in *Gadaa* system, development of leadership values and identification of potential leaders takes place simultaneously.

In *Gadaa* system, inclusion of individuals in the process of leadership development is not necessarily based on biological age of individuals. It is the age of the system that determines whether a person can join the process or not. The community allows individuals of different age group to engage in the process. In the process, Individuals of different age group come together to learn from each other and to provide leadership services during different periods. Hence, individuals of different biological age but similar leadership potential form *Gadaa* leadership core team after period of elementary services.

Even though *Gadaa* leaders are expected to acquire ranges of leadership knowledge and skills in leader and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system, it is difficult to find and list out areas of specialization like Gagne did in his model as outcomes of talent development process. The process in *Gadaa* leaders' development focuses on holistic leadership behavior development. *Gadaa* leaders' knowledge, skills, attitudes and practices are all geared towards the purpose of community leadership. Talents of making peaceful, fair, free and reliable decisions are expected outputs of the *hayyu* development process. At the end of team building and teamwork exercise period, *Gadaa* leaders should have knowledge and skills of their community's religion, rituals, and time conception. The leaders should know their community's clan structure, history and geographic territories. In terms of personality, they have to acquire patience, fairness and enthusiasm. Generally, they have to develop the competences that help them to maintain the culture of their community.

The process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system, it is difficult to disintegrate personality development from leadership behavior enrichment. In the system, one enters the process of leadership development at birth and departs during *jarsuma*. Even during *jarsuma*, people treat a person who has been serving the community and give them priority during blessings. However, in Gange's model, entry and exit time of talent development is not clearly stated. It simply says, "Talent development begins when a child or adult gains access (DAA), through identification or selection, to a systematic, talent-oriented program of activities" (2008, p. 6).

In terms of factors of leaders and leadership development, both environmental and personal circumstances influence changes in leadership behavior in *Gadaa* system like that of Gagne's model. Personally, children born in the system should have *gift*, interest, and motivation to acquire leadership competencies. They have to engage in different cultural practices such as *nyachisa* and *wal-argi* to gain knowledge and skills required for leadership. Both unstructured general socio-cultural situations of the community and culturally structured program play roles in the process of leaders and leadership development. Parents, religious men, knowledgeable elders, clan leaders and *Gadaa* leaders support, care, monitor, coach and educate developing *Gadaa* leaders. However, in Gagne's model, influences of environmental and personal catalysts seem to be limited to talent development periods. In *Gadaa* system, influences of these factors appear during the whole process of changes in leadership behaviors.



Birth	13	24	32	40	48	56	64	72	80	<i>Jarsumma(Oldage)</i>
Age of the system in year										

*Simplified diagram of leaders and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system*

Threats of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system

Based on its culturally designed system of leadership education and democratic participation in decision-making processes in almost all spheres of life, one can gauge leadership conception and practices in *Gadaa* system as one of the good cultural practices that can be adapted for better leadership performances and peaceful co-existence in contemporary public, government, and business organizations. It encompasses a number of excellent values that can be taken as good lesson for political, legal, economic and social activities. However, this valuable leadership practice is not immune to internal drawbacks and external threats that challenge its continuity in the future unless community members themselves and other concerned bodies outside the community will do something to save the practice. The practice is deteriorating from time to time.

Internally, some family members of some parties of Borana Oromo community stick to the power and not willing to give the chance of *hayyumma* to others for so long period. They maintained the power of *gadoma* for generations through corruption. Even though the interrelationship among the five parties is perfectly democratic, some people already made corruption as normal part of the system to maintain familial power in their parties. They systematically deny others the chance to learn culture by selecting *hayyu medhicha* and *makala* (service men) from their family and close relatives into their team of *intellects*. Inclusion into the core band of *Gadaa* as *hayyu* or service man gives great chance for individuals to learn the culture. Accordingly, some families of some families are violating competence based election of *intellects* for leadership development and the sons of leaders inherit the power of *gadoma*, which is a dangerous move to violate age old and established values of the system. Most of research participants of the current denounce the move very bitterly.

Culture, authority and power exist together in Borana Oromo community's conception of leadership. Authority without culture has no meaning. Authority and culture are inseparable. A leader does not know what to do and not to do without cultural competence. That is why cultural knowledge is one of the main election criteria of *intellects*. *Abba Gadaa* is given the responsibility to take care of the culture. Therefore, if a family refuses to give authority, it also denies others the chance to learn and exercise the culture. It owns power and culture without sharing for others based on fairness and merit principle of the community. If a family continues

transferring power from grandfather to father and from father to son in the same family, other families who did not get their turn to be *hayyu* will be distanced from culture and forget it after sometime. They alienate themselves from cultural performances. If they forget culture, their feelings, cognitions and behaviors, thinking, clothing, speaking/speech, etc will be against the moral of the culture. They become unashamed. They will be desperate of getting turn to be *hayyu*. Even, if they (the marginalized families) get power of *gadoma* after many generations, they will not have cultural knowledge. They already missed many things that they should know before power take over.

Similarly, these families are denying people who have been serving the community as *hayyu* and *makala* from getting authority. If an individual, who have been serving the community as *makala* and *hayyu* does not get the chance to be *Abba Gadaa* in the next generation, he will decline from attending cultural performances again. If a family served as *makala* for two or three generation and those in power refused to transfer the power to them, that family will stop *godansa* (*camping for ritual activities*). If a family is desperate of getting authority and refuses to migrate, it will forget culture and start violating morality. If he breaks morality, he will become shameless (*salphachaa deema*). He will become out of the system. If things continue like these, the system will fracture and lose many people. Significant number of individuals may abandon the system and join other communities, which already emerged as Muslim, protestant and others.

Another significant threat to the system is irregularities of some cultural procedure of *hayyu* representation and replacement. According to the culture of *Gadaa* system, clans of the community are fairly represented in *Gadaa* leadership groups and there is culturally predetermined status hierarchy among the group members. For instance, three *adula intellectuals* are elected from *sabbo* while the other three elected from *gona* sub-clan. If the one elected as first person in the group dies or fails to stay in the system, the person elected as second person substitute him. Sometimes, people are not maintaining that balance. For instance, one of *hayyu* men (head of *arbora Gadaa* branch) at *doroma* stage has died two years before my fieldwork and they substituted him with his brother, which was not in the core team. The substituting brother had limited cultural knowledge as he missed *kusoma*, *raboma* and some *doroma* practices with the group because of his school education.

Shift in the community from nomadic life to sedentary livelihood is another internal threat to exercise of rituals of the system in the process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. Some community members started permanent settlement at specific locations and own lands for farming and grasslands. People start protecting and fencing some areas where the community used to perform rituals in the past. Consequently, migration from place to place with cattle for ritual celebrations is getting difficult. Similar to this is other communities' encroachment into the territories of Borana Oromo community. Some neighboring communities like Geri and Somali already settled at ritual celebration locations in the eastern border and hindered Borana from stepping in such places. As places and rituals have strong relationship in the community's conceptualization, such mess up has significant negative impact on the continuity of the system.

The other threat to the system is the dual roles of the *Gadaa* leaders. Over engagement of *Gadaa* leaders in central government affairs made them to give less time for ritual exercises the community expected of them to perform during their *gadoma*. In fact, the relationship between central government and the leaders may have benefited both parties. However, the ritual practices and community leadership services need more time. There are rituals that should not to be missed by the leaders. The time they should give to educate their sons for tomorrow will be minimal if they attend more government meetings and trainings. They overlook decision-making processes that require their consistent engagement. As a result, they fail short of accomplishing the objectives *Gadaa* leadership.

Even though the data needs physical witness of the activities, central government political party interferences in the election process of *hayyu* are also reported as threat to the system. Government party members working at regional, zonal and woreda level order the people to elect the person they need to be elected as *hayyu*. They threaten the people by force to elect the person they want without proper cultural evaluation they used to conduct during election of *hayyu* individuals into *kusoma* leader and leadership stage. The cultural procedural irregularities of *hayyu* representation reported above may be partly because of such interferences. Even though working in harmony have some positive results, interferences without getting permission of the community may have some negative impact on normal flow of the system and the relationship

between the community and the government. People may be reluctant to attend the process of election that can lead to the weakening of the system.

The other major threat to the system is expansion of religion. People living in *Gadaa* system are followers of *Waaqeffata* religion. As Individuals in the process of leadership development are members of the community, they also learn the doctrine of the religion in the process of leadership competence development. *Waaqeffanna* and *Gadaa* leadership go hand in hand. However, this harmony is under big threat due to fast expansion of Islam and Protestant religious in the community. These two religions already absorbed significant number of community members. The community is highly concerned about the expansion and considers the situation as threats to their system as people who accepted these religions refuse to meet the obligations of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Leadership is the process of social influence by which an individual or individuals mobilize group members towards the attainment of some common goals. Leadership affects almost all aspects of human group activities, and it is determinant factor to achieve collective goals. It plays a significant role in performances of small group of friendship to international levels. Because of its importance and broadness, leadership is the most studied topic across disciplines. Researchers produced a number of documents on leadership related issues. Scholars have suggested many theories, models, styles, and approaches of leadership. Most of these theorists described the “what” and “how” of leadership in public and business organizations than its developments. Those scholars who tried to explain practices of leaders and leadership development forwarded some mechanisms by which organizations develop leaders’ leadership knowledge and skills. These mechanisms such as 360-degree do not take influences of individuals’ background experiences on leadership competence development into account.

Although the concept of leadership has been the focus of many researchers, the topic is the least understood concept. Specifically, the emergence and development of leadership in groups need more research to increase contextual understanding of the concept for better practices. With these gaps of leadership knowledge and practices across the world, the researcher attempted to contribute some indigenous knowledge and practices of leaders and leadership development by conducting research on “*Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.*”

In this study, an attempt was made to identify and describe indigenous knowledge and practices of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community. The study targeted leadership notion of the community, procedures of its development, and community’s role in cultivating leadership competences.

In order to achieve the objectives of the current study, cross-sectional qualitative case study research design was followed where qualitative methods were implemented to reach the research participants. Based on the understanding gained from literature review and analysis, five types

of qualitative research data gathering tools were developed to collect information related to indigenous knowledge and practices of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system from individuals in the main-stream of the system, their parents and known elders in the community, who were selected purposively. The tools used were naturalistic observation guidelines, semi structured interviews guidelines, in depth interview guidelines, key informant interview guidelines, and focus group discussion guidelines. Accordingly, 5 observations, 15 semi-structured confirmatory interviews, 9 in-depth interviews, 4 key informant interviews and 9 focus group discussions were conducted.

The qualitative data gathered was analyzed thematically. The analysis method which best fit for the data was found to be interpretive phenomenological analysis. The analysis of the qualitative data collected through the above means reveal that leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system is lifelong process and it is difficult to distinguish the development from one's life long behavioral changes. In *Gadaa* system, individuals are born to, live in, and work in the system. There is no clear boundary between personal and institutional affairs in the process. The leaders learn and work for community leadership as they live.

Conclusion

The current study reveals that Borana Oromo community's leaders and leadership development practices are rooted in their cultural belief system. The community believes that God, truth, human being, culture, and people's actions are indivisible components of the universe. *Waaqa* is God. Truth is facts and realities that happened in Borana as the will of *Waaqa*. The people are Borana Oromo community members living in Borana land. People's actions refers to individual and collective activities performed by the community such as leadership, spiritual activities, herding cattle, caring and supporting children, and performing rituals. It seems to represent any intra-personal and interpersonal tasks of individuals living in the community. Culture includes people's cognitive, spiritual, social, economic, political and material life. They believe that people's action should reflect the culture. Therefore, people should act according to the established values, customs, mores, and traditions of the community. Every spiritual, socio-political and economic activities have their own set cultural plan within the years and nothing is haphazard. Community members' interpersonal relationships, generation set, political structure,

clan and sub-clan structures, religious activities, leaders' roles, decision making, and over all socio-economic activities are guided by this belief system.

The very objective of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system is to make individuals learn, exercise, and internalize knowledge, attitudes, and skills of leadership. Prospective leaders learn how to make decision and solve problem so that they can maintain the culture, peace and security of the community when they come to power. In the system, individuals develop leadership competences both independently and in groups through exercise and practice of leadership related knowledge, skills, and attitudes over a long period. The society works toward individual's leadership personality and group's leadership behavior development.

The current study reveals that leaders and leadership development are a lifelong process and it is difficult to distinguish individual's personality development and learning of leadership philosophies, skills, and knowledge in the community's *Gadaa* system. A person who is born to the system starts developing leadership characteristics right after birth and continues his learning/service until death. Individuals live with their parents for about 30 years during which they gain the necessary care and provide basic services. Parents provide care and support for their children born in the system. They teach, coach and mentor their children's leadership behaviors development. Then, they learn and work together as *ya'a* – team/group for another 21 years before they take power in *Gadaa* leadership.

Leader and leadership development process in *Gadaa* system can be classified into three phases, seven progressive periods and thirteen stages. It involves three phases: pre leadership, leadership, and post-leadership. The period are periods of care and support, period of elementary services, period of initial team building, period of team building and team work exercise, period of leadership service, period of being educator and law maker, and period of religious devotion. *Dabballumma*, junior *gamme*, senior *gamme*, *kusoma*, *raboma*, *gadoma*, *yuboma I*, *yuboma II*, *yuboma III*, *yuboma IV*, *gadamojjumma*, and *jarsumma* are the stages in the process.

Generally, in the process of leaders and leadership development, children are given the chance to develop leadership *gifts* before they start the period of initial team building. Then, those children (and parents) who developed culturally acceptable leadership related behaviors are elected by the community to learn various components of their culture in-group before they come to power.

Then, they take *Gadaa* leadership power and serve the community for eight years. At the end of their service year, they transfer leadership authority to another group of individuals who have been preparing itself for the position like them. After they give *Gadaa* leadership authority to their successors, they become educators and lawmakers. Then, in the last period of religious devotion, they dedicate their time for prayers.

During election to the system's leadership core band at the end of the second period of leader and leadership development, people evaluate individuals against many criteria. They evaluate their behaviors, knowledge of their culture, readiness for leadership education, ancestors' previous roles in the system, parents' willingness to elect their sons, clan's willingness to allow the individuals to represent them, and parents' roles in the previous stages.

In their aim to produce all-rounded *hayyu – intellects*, the community have a “cultural curriculum” (Rogoff, 1990) in their institution of *Gadaa* system. They educate leadership candidates about different components of their belief system, and philosophies of leadership gradually. Individuals learn a number of things before they assume power. They learn history of the people, geographical land escape and its resources, customary laws, social structure, culture, and religion. Mainly, they have to know how to make decisions and solve problems. They also need to know and exercise different skills such as interpersonal communication, listening and speaking, conflict/dispute resolution, counting time, conducting war, etc. They learn how to work in team all during the periods before *gadoma*. They learn and develop these things with the help of community members.

At the end, the community aims to have leaders who are patient, trustworthy, harmless, empathic towards others, and capable of working in groups for the well-being of the society. They want a leadership that can maintain the continuity of their culture and ensure peace and justice.

The common strategies implemented in *Gadaa* system's leader and leadership development resembles the methods of socialization identified by socio-culturalists (Miller, 2011). Modeling, explanation, leading question, discussion, joint participation, encouragement, and control of children's attention are the methods used by more competent person such as parents, lawmakers and religious leaders with in social situation in order to move the prospective leaders in their development. The developing leaders also engage in activities such as communication, *formal*

and informal instructions using technical and psychological tools in the culture. Accordingly, we may conclude that observation, participation, lecturing and cooperative learning are the main teaching strategies used to educate leaders in the process of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community.

In the process of leader and leadership development of *Gadaa* system, parents, lawmen, *Abba Gadaa* men, peer members, elders, religious leaders, and the community at large can be taken as agents of the development. They educate the prospective leaders contents of their *cultural curriculum* described above using different socialization strategies.

Gadaa leaders and their team members mainly engage in activities of community development, decision-making, conflict and dispute resolution, and religious practices to ensure the social, political, spiritual, economic well being of the community. They work together to guarantee peace, justice, and wealth for the people during their eight years of leadership periods. The community wants *gadoma* during which they are free of conflicts, hunger and drought, diseases and other problems.

In *Gadaa* system, the people evaluate leaders or *Abba Gadaa* men in terms of their personality, socio-economic performance, political achievement, spiritual services, humanitarian activities, and cultural accomplishments. These are the ultimate goals of leader and leadership development in Borana Oromo community's *Gadaa* system. The community considers *Gadaa* leaders who fulfill these personal, social, economic, political, spiritual, humanitarian, and cultural obligations during their *gadoma* as good leaders.

Leadership practice in *Gadaa* system is teamwork exercise where individuals of different ages and experiences come together to serve the community during specific period. Young men of *adula* and *medhicha intellects* and experienced adults of *garba* intellects team up themselves to deliver culturally appropriate leadership for their community during *gadoma*.

The current study reveals that decisions are made in teams. Group members come together to investigate problems to provide solutions. Once the group identifies the cause of a problem, decision is made based on set rules and regulations of dealing with problems and challenges in the society. Decision making process has its own predetermined steps and procedures in the system and looks like that of the procedures we commonly experience in literature. First, elders

should deal with a case before it reaches *Gadaa* men. If the disputing parties are not satisfied with the decision given by the elders, the elders and the parties go for *Gadaa* men. The elders describe the case to the *Gadaa* men first. Then, the *Gadaa* men investigate and give their decision. If still the parties are uncomfortable with the decision, they can take their case to *Abba Seera*. *Abba Seera* checks the consistency of the available customary laws and the decision made. Then, he confirms or corrects the decision given by the *Gadaa* leaders. A decision given by *Abba Seera* becomes the final decision. If a person fails to accept and implement the decision, they denounce his/her Borana citizenship. Otherwise, the punishment is cattle. The perpetrator is made to give number of cattle specified in their customary laws depending upon the crime s/he/they committed.

Considering that the behavior and performance of *Gadaa* leaders affect all aspects of their life, Borana Oromo community evaluate the competences of *Gadaa* intellects on continuous bases. During single period of leader and leadership development cycle in *Gadaa* system, individual leader's behavioral performance is evaluated four times: during election, at *gumi gaayo*, after *balli* transfer, and during transfer of *gadoma* within party.

Based on its culturally designed system of leaders' education and democratic participation in decision-making processes, one can gauge *Gadaa* system as one of the good cultural practices that can be adopted for better leadership performance in contemporary public, government, and business organizations. This valuable leader and leadership development system is not immune to internal and external threats that challenge its continuity in the future unless something will be done by the community themselves and another concerned bodies. Expansions of different religions, corruption scandals, political interferences, change in people's livelihood, and some families' failure to give party leadership are the main threats identified by the community themselves.

Recommendations

Recommending for other communities, organizations and individuals to adopt leader and leadership development approaches in *Gadaa* system into their contexts in its fullest sense seems impractical and illogical. Historical, social, spiritual, economic, and political contexts of Borana Oromo community may not exactly fit with any other society or community in the world.

However, adaptation of some of the findings of the current study may be possible and the following recommendations should be understood with this assumption in mind.

Qualitative analysis of knowledge and practices of the lifelong leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo community may have theoretical and practical implications. Community's approach of developing leaders into leadership position can be an alternative or an input for the existing knowledge and practices of leadership. The community cares for, supports and educates leaders so that they can develop leadership behaviors before they come to power. In the community, leadership is something that one should specialize in and serve the people for many years in his lifetime. The child grows with purpose of being a leader. He is allowed to develop and practice leadership knowledge, skills, and attitudes both personally and in groups throughout lifetime. Group members live and work together in the system to learn, practice and provide leadership services. As an outcome of development, leaders are expected to be patient, wholehearted, honest, trustworthy, assertive, and communicative. They have to have knowledge of their people, culture, customary laws, history, religion, and land. They are expected to know and apply decision-making and problem solving skills that require analytical abilities. These attributes can be taken as desirable characteristics of individuals to be considered in many circumstances of leadership exercises and child development in general. If parenting, educating and socializing such attributes is impossible, considering individuals having similar personal characteristics and practical knowledge of leadership with that of *Gadaa* leader can be achievable.

Once the leaders acquire the expected attributes stated above, they lead the social, political, economic and legal affairs of the community according to the established customary laws based on common understandings of Borana Oromo community. The roles and responsibilities of the leaders are all out there. Everybody knows the obligations and rights of the leaders. The roles of the community and that of leaders are known. There is no role ambiguity and confusion in the community. All possible wrong doings have orally stated penalties and the perpetrators are accountable of their ignorance. In principle, many of us may agree that the rule of law, oral or written, is determinately important for human co-existence. Role confusion and ambiguity are also not something that the people desire in many situations. Therefore, the practice of *Gadaa* system also tells us the realization of these values.

The other point is that in modern practice of leader and leadership development, which is very rarely practiced in its fullest sense, is the roles of those leaders who have completed their service years is not well known, utilized and *documented*. The emphasis is only on the active period during which the person and the group is in power. However, in the custom of Borana Oromo community, all the phases of leadership development: before a group assume the power of community leadership, during the time when the group is in power and after the service year are given due attentions. In *Gadaa* system, individuals who served the community for eight years as leaders play significant roles as advisors, educators, and lawmakers during their years of partial retirement and spiritual devotion. They play advisory role in the group who take over power of community leaders. They educate men in the system and their children about their culture. They are prominent attendants of Borana general assembly, *gumi gaayo*, during which new laws are made/amended and announced for the public. They monitor performances of leaders in power and check whether they are acting according to the laws. These can be a good example for government, public and private organizations' leadership practices too.

The existing practices of leaders and leadership development and that of *Gadaa* system is different in that the former focus on specific skill and experience enrichment while the later give emphasis to holistic leadership personality development. The former is specific to individuals' world of work whereas leadership development is part of one's life in the second case. We can say that the approach of leaders and leadership development is integrative and holistic in *Gadaa* system than the strategies discussed in the literature part of this manuscript. Therefore, if not possible to make leadership part of individuals' development as the contemporary world is complex than that of Borana Oromo community, it may be possible to cultivate leadership attributes through school system and parenting styles. It may be possible to incorporate some of leadership components in teaching from early grades. It can be institutionalized. It is rare to find school curriculum or parenting style where children learn and exercise leadership before they come to power. Therefore, parents, schools and the community at large should have to set some clear purpose in the mind of their children based on their aptitudes and help them to achieve their objective through practices in clubs and through other means. Because it is difficult to believe that leaders' personality do not affect leadership performance or leaders group behavior has nothing to do with leadership.

In their effort to maintain social well-being in their neighborhoods, local communities can adopt the practices of Borana Oromo community. It will be good if there is mutual understanding of leadership exercises in their social organizations. The leaders should serve their community with ethics of leadership while the community avail the necessary support for their leaders. They have to build genuine leadership in their local organizations.

There may be also lessons from leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system that nation leaders can adopt. By coining core objectives of their nations, especially most African nations, individuals in power of government leadership can develop nations' ethical leaders who have leadership competencies and personality of providing servant and ethical leadership. They need to have a system where they can develop prospective leaders in their political parties before they try to assume leadership power.

Political organizations can also take some concepts of leader and leadership development outcomes of this study to materialize their political objectives through good leader and leadership development approach. They can have, for instance, their own system of democratic elections and representations. They have to cultivate leadership qualities in their system.

Borana Oromo community has five representative and stable political parties that come to power every eight years in turn. The power transitions occur very peacefully and democratically. All the parties have representation in the group leading the nation all the time. All the parties lead the communities solely based on their customary laws during leadership periods. All the parties have a common goal, which is maintaining the culture of the community. The parties should ensure peace, development and well-being of the community during their administration. Hence, it may be good to have stable political parties that act according to the laws of nations in other communities too.

The other possible recommendation drawn out of this study is suggestion for grouping individuals for a given task. When organizations plan to form a group of individuals to work together to achieve a specific organizational goal, they need to make the group to learn each other's behavior before they start functioning. The group should develop sense of group belongingness through minor task accomplishments before they begin the bigger ones. In doing so, senior leaders should consider personality of the members before they bring them together for

leadership position. They should elect leaders based on their merit. It was also advised by Hernez-Broome and Hughes (2004) that organizations should develop a culture of nurturing and reinforcing the enactment of the kind of behavior desired of leaders besides hiring them. Therefore, approaches of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system can give an insight for developing culture of nurturing future leaders in organizations

Leaders and leadership development approach in *Gadaa* system can also give us insight about child development and support in family and community. The family, neighbors, and the community at large participates in the process of leadership development through different ways in *Gadaa* system. The community provides children the maximum care and support they require. For instance, at early stages of leadership development, Borana Oromo do not scare and harm children. They do not usually punish them to discipline. They protect their children's right through their religious ideology and customary laws. Therefore, these parental and societal values can be considered as good examples in teaching parenting styles and maintaining child rights.

In the context of Borana Oromo indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development, it is not only the leader who develops his skills, knowledge and competence of leadership, but also group leadership process as a whole develops before it reaches the highest intellectual level of leading others as a group. Their practice is not specific to an individual and certain period like contemporary modern business and public organizations. Therefore, both leader and leadership development activities should be taken into account than simple selection and nomination of one person for leadership position.

The leader and leadership evaluation approaches designed and implemented by the community can also be good example for nations and institutions. In Borana Oromo community, leaders and their leadership service are evaluated four times: at the time they come to power, at the midterm of their leadership period, at the end of their leadership and when they transfer party authority to the next generation. They established their own system of ensuring accountability. These can be good example of leadership practice which can be adapted to leaders of nation and various institutions.

The other good practice of Borana Oromo community is team formation. The members of the group vary in ages and experiences that can enable them to address the needs of different sects of the community. Moreover, for Borana Oromo community, leadership is team performance. They work together to make decisions. As reported by the participants, none of their decisions is made privately. This kind of practice can be a good example in organizational team building activities and teamwork.

The finding of the current work also indicated that there are threats to the practice of leadership in *Gadaa* system, which they use to develop their leaders. Expansion of other religions, some internal undemocratic practices, procedural irregularities due to external interferences and change in community's livelihood are affecting the good leadership practices in the system. Therefore, there should be mechanisms of adaptation to these challenges. The community should have to have written documents of their culture and the system so that they can maintain them. As change in livelihood of the community is inevitable, they need to accommodate this change in life style by adjusting the locations of ritual celebrations. They can also make their culture part of formal education system in their locality. They have to work to reduce emerging undemocratic practices and procedural irregularities. They can build facilities at ritual locations so that no one claims them privately.

The issue of inclusion and exclusion criteria that discriminate females from being *Abba Gadaa* can be another source of worry if not harmful. Although, they have their own cultural reasons for not electing females as *Abba Gadaa* and females' rights are culturally protected/she is *Hadha Gadaa*/, they still can revisit their practice and address this worry as they have mechanisms of accommodating new challenges through their *gumi gaayo*.

The final strong recommendation emanated from this study is suggestion for researchers interested in the area of leader and leadership development in *Gadaa* system. There are a number of leadership research issues identified in this study. For instance, one can study the dynamic functions of *hayyu intellects* groups and their leadership styles and decision-making processes in *Gadaa* system, and community's attitudes towards *Gadaa* leaders. Based on the findings of the current study, interested researchers can develop quantitative tools and can measure status of leadership behaviors, knowledge and skills that the leaders could have acquired during their development. Interested researchers can also conduct comparative study on *Gadaa* leadership

and that of public and private institutions leadership. Generally, the periods of leaders and leadership development in *Gadaa* system can be an issue of investigation for greater depth using different objectives and research methodologies.

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Annexes

I. Data collection guidelines

A. Interview guidelines – For parents of *dabballe children (Stage I)*

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program

Introduction

Dear participant!

My name is **Habtamu Disasa**. I am a staff of Dilla University working my PhD in social psychology at Addis Ababa University, college of Education and Behavioral Studies, School of Psychology. As a requirement of the program, I am doing my dissertation research on “*Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.*” I came here to gather information related to the issue under investigation. I got the permission from Oromia Regional State and Borana Zone to spend time here with your community and collect the necessary data related to your knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in your *Gadaa* System.

Objectives

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders, and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

For the sake of confidentiality, any personal identifiers, such as your name and photographs, will not be indicated in the report of the research. Moreover, the information we share will not be given to any third party without your consent. So feel free to express your ideas, conceptions and experiences of your *Gadaa* system.

Are you willing to participate? Yes No

Part one: Basic information questions

1. Date of interview _____
2. Start time:- _____:_____
3. Location _____
4. Name _____
5. Age _____
6. Relationship with the *dabballe* (s)_____

Part Two: Interview guidelines

1. How do you describe the *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo in general?
2. How do you feel of having *dabballe* Child/children? Why? What characteristics make the *dabballe* child/children unique? Why unique?
3. How do you interact with your *dabballe* Child/Children? Why?
4. Do you give them different care and support? What kind? Why?
5. How you discipline them when they make mistakes? Why?
6. How the *dabballe* children are expected to act in the family? Why?
7. Where do they mostly spend their time? Why?
8. How do describe the relationship of *dabballes* with other *dabballe* children? Why?
9. How do you describe the relationship of *dabballee* children with other children in the family?
10. How do you describe the relationship of *dabballe* children with other children in the neighborhood?
11. Do they have roles in the family? (only for younger ones)? Why?
12. How do you describe the reactions of your neighbors towards them? Why?
13. Are there any especial ceremonies held for them at home, neighborhood or at a community level? Why?
14. What do you think is the importance of treating the *dabballe* children in such a way for later leader and leadership development stages?

Many thanks !

End time:- _____:_____

B. Interview Guides – For parents of junior *gamme* (Stage II)

**Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program**

Introduction

Dear participant!

My name is **Habtamu Disasa**. I am a staff of Dilla University working my PhD in social psychology at Addis Ababa University, college of Education and Behavioral Studies, School of Psychology. As a requirement of the program, I am doing my dissertation research on “*Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia*” I came here to gather information related to the issue under investigation. I got the permission from Oromia Regional State and Borana Zone to spend time here with your community and collect the necessary data related to your knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in your *Gadaa* System.

Objectives

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

For the sake of confidentiality, any personal identifiers, such as your name and photographs, will not be indicated in the report of the research. Moreover, the information we share will not be given to any third party without your consent. So feel free to express your ideas, conceptions and experiences of your *Gadaa* system.

Are you willing to participate? Yes No

Part one: Basic information questions

1. Date of interview _____
2. Start time:- _____:_____
3. Location _____
4. Name _____
5. Age _____
6. Relationship with junior *gamme* _____
7. Educational status _____

Part Two: Interview guidelines

1. How do you describe the *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo in general?
2. How do you feel of having junior *gamme* children? Why?
3. What characteristics make the junior *gamme* children unique?
4. How do you interact with your junior *gamme* children?
5. Do you give them different care and support? What kind? Why?
6. How you discipline them when they make mistakes? Why?
7. How the junior *gamme* children are expected to act in the family? Why?
8. Where do they mostly spend their time? Why?
9. How do you describe relationships of junior *gamme* with other junior *gamme* children?
10. How do you describe the relationships of junior *gamme* with other children in the family?
11. How do you describe the relationships of junior *gamme* with other children in the neighborhood?
12. Do they have roles and responsibilities in the family or in the community? Why?
13. How do you describe the reactions of your neighbors towards them? Why?
14. Are there any especial ceremonies held for them at home, neighborhood or at a community level? Why?
15. What do you think is the importance of treating the junior *gamme* children in such a way for later leader and leadership development stages?

Many thanks!

End time:- _____:_____

C. Interview Guides for parents of senior *gamme* (Stage III)

**Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program**

Introduction

Dear participant!

My name is **Habtamu Disasa**. I am a staff of Dilla University working my PhD in social psychology at Addis Ababa University, college of Education and Behavioral Studies, School of Psychology. As a requirement of the program, I am doing my dissertation research on “*Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.*” I came here to gather information related to the issue under investigation. I got the permission from Oromia Regional State and Borana Zone to spent time here with your community and collect the necessary data related to your knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in your *Gadaa* System.

Objectives

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

For the sake of confidentiality, any personal identifiers such as your name and photographs will not be indicated in the report of the research. Moreover, the information we share will not be given to any third party without your consent. So feel free to express your ideas and experiences of your *Gadaa* system.

Are you willing to Participate? **Yes** **No**

Part one: Basic information questions

1. Date of interview _____
2. Start time:- _____:_____
3. Location _____
4. Name _____
5. Age _____
6. Relationship with senior *gamme* _____
7. Educational status _____

Part Two: Interview guidelines

1. How do you describe the *Gadaa* system of Borana oromo in general?
2. How do you feel of having senior *gamme*? Why?
3. What characteristics make the senior *gamme* adolescents/children unique?
4. How do you interact with your *gamme* adolescents/children? Why?
5. Do you give them different care and support? Why?
6. How you Discipline them when they make mistakes? Why?
7. How the senior *gamme* adolescents/children are expected to act in the family?
8. Where do they mostly spend their time? Why?
9. How do you describe the relationships of senior *gamme* with other senior *gamme* adolescents/children?
10. How do you describe the relationships of senior *gamme* with other children in the family?
11. How do you describe the relationships of senior *gamme* with other adolescents/children in the neighborhood?
12. Do they have roles and responsibilities in the family or in the community? Why?
13. How do you describe the reactions of your neighbors towards them? Why?
14. Are there any especial ceremonies held for them at home, neighborhood or at a community level? Why?
15. What do you think is the importance of treating the senior *gamme* adolescents/children in such a way for later leader and leadership development stages?

Many thanks

End time:-_____:

D. Focus Group Discussion Guides - Kusa individuals (Stage IV)

**Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program**

Introduction

Dear participants!

My name is **Habtamu Disasa**. I am a staff of Dilla University working my PhD in social psychology at Addis Ababa University, college of Education and Behavioral Studies, School of Psychology. As a requirement of the program, I am doing my dissertation research on “*Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.*” I came here to gather information related to the issue under investigation. I got the permission from Oromia Regional State and Borana Zone to spent time here with your community and collect the necessary data related to your knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in your *Gadaa* System.

Objectives

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

For the sake of confidentiality, any personal identifiers, such as names and photographs, will not be indicated in the report of the research. Moreover, the information we share will not be given to any third party without your consent. So feel free to express your ideas and experiences of your *Gadaa* system.

Are you willing to participate? **Yes** **No**

Part one: Basic information

Date of focus group discussion_____

Starting time:-_____:_____

Participants

No.	Participants' name	Age	Educational status	Gadaa stage	Gadaa class	Remark
1						

Part Two: Focus group guidelines

1. What can you say about the *Gadaa* leadership of your community in general?
2. Would you tell me about your experiences of the previous *Gadaa* grades?
3. Who is eligible to be a member of *kusaa*? What election and selection steps and processes you have gone through to reach at this stage?
4. How do describe the core values of this Grade?
5. How do you describe your current roles and responsibilities, and obligations in the *Gadaa* System?
6. What do you think is the importance of your engagements in all the activities of this stage of *Gadaa* for your later leadership roles and responsibilities? How?
7. What leader and leadership skills, experiences, attitudes, knowledge and competencies you are expected to develop at this grade level? How do develop them? What are their importance for later stages?
8. How do you describe your relationship as a group? How you function as a group?
9. How do you describe the relationships you have with members of the other *Gada* grades?
10. How do you describe your relationship with your age mates who are not members of the grade?
11. What you do when you will be leaders of the community in the future?
12. How do you feel about of being a part of the system?
13. Is there any special ceremony held at this level of *Gadaa* Grade? What are their implication for *gadoma*?

I thank you for your participation!

End time:- _____:_____

E. Focus group discussion – *Raba* and *dori* individuals (stage V & VI)

**Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program**

Introduction

Dear participants!

My name is **Habtamu Disasa**. I am a staff of Dilla University working my PhD in social psychology at Addis Ababa University, college of Education and Behavioral Studies, School of Psychology. As a requirement of the program, I am doing my dissertation research on “*Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia*” I came here to gather information related to the issue under investigation. I got the permission from Oromia Regional State and Borana Zone to spent time here with your community and collect the necessary data related to your knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in your *Gadaa* System.

Objective

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

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Are you willing to participate? **Yes** **No**

Part one: Basic information questions

Date of focus group discussion_____

Starting time:-_____:

Participants

No.	Participants' name	Age	Educational status	Gadaa grade	Gadaa class	Position	Current position	Remark
1								

Part Two: Main questions

1. What can you say about the *Gadaa* leadership of your community?
2. How do describe the procedures and criteria implemented by the community to elect and select eligible person for *raboma/doroma* grade?
3. How do describe core values and norms of *raboma/doroma* stage in your *Gadaa* System?
4. What are your current roles, responsibilities and obligations in the *Gadaa* System?
5. How your experiences in the previous grades helped you to have leader and leadership qualities at this stage?
6. How do you describe your relationships to each others? How the group members function together?
7. What personal qualities and group behaviors expected from the members of the grade? What will happen if an individual failed to acquire and perform these behaviors?
8. How do you describe your relationships with your age mates and members of the class?
9. How do you describe your interactions with members of other *Gadaa* grades? Why?
10. How do describe your relationship with other community members such as family members?
11. What leader and leadership skills, attitudes, knowledge and competencies you are developing at this grade? How you develop this? How much they are important for you in the next stage?
12. How do you describe the personal life of members of this grade?
13. How do you describe community's trust of your roles and responsibilities in your exercise of leadership at this level?
14. How do you feel of being a member of stage of *raboma/doroma*?

I thank you for your participation!

End time:- _____:

F. Focus Group Discussion – Gadaa men (stage VII)

**Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program**

Introduction

Dear participants!

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Objective

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

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Are you willing to participate? **Yes** **No**

Part one: Basic information

Date of focus group discussion _____

Starting time: _____ : _____

Participants

No.	Participants' name	Age	Educ. status	Gadaa stage	Gadaa class	Previous Position(Kusa)	Previous Position(Raboma)	Current position	Remark
1									

Part Two: Focus group guidelines

1. How should be community leadership? Why?
2. How do you describe the *Gadaa* System of Barana Oromo Community in general?
3. How do you describe the best leader in the *Gadaa* System?
4. How you came to *Gadaa* leadership position? Who is eligible to be a member of *Gadaa* grade? What personal and group qualities brought you to the leadership position?
5. How community roles and responsibilities can be described in the process of *Gadaa* leader and leadership development?
6. How do describe the major roles and responsibilities of *Gadaa* leaders in *Gadaa* system and in the community? Are you fulfilling these?
7. How do you exercise community leadership? [Your authority, power, autonomy, and the like].
8. How do you solve community related problems and conflicts? How do you make decisions related to your community? Do community members accept your decisions?
9. How do you describe your relationships as a group?
10. How do you describe your relationship with members of other *Gadaa* grades?
11. How do you describe your interactions with your age mates and members of the *Gadaa* Class?
12. How do you describe community's trust of your roles and responsibilities in your exercise of leadership?
13. How do you describe your experiences in the past *Gadaa* grades? How much it helped you to develop your current leader and leadership behaviors, skills, knowledge and competencies?
14. How do you feel about your passage through the system?

I thank you for your participation!

End time:- _____ : _____

G. Focus group discussion guidelines – Yuba individuals (stage VIII - XI)

**Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program**

Introduction

Dear participants!

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Objective

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Are you willing to participate? **Yes** **No**

Part one: Focus group guidelines

Date of focus group discussion_____

Starting time:-_____:

Participants

No.	Participants' name	Age	Educational status	Gadaa stage	Gadaa class	Previous Position			Remark
						Kusoma	Raboma	Gadaa	
1									
2									

Part Two: Main questions

1. How should be community leadership? Why?
2. How do you describe the *Gadaa* System of Barana Oromo Community in general?
3. How do you describe the best leader in the *Gadaa* System?
4. How community roles and responsibilities are described in *Gadaa* system?
5. What are the major roles and responsibilities of the members of these *Gadaa* stages in the community?
6. How do you describe your current roles and responsibilities in the *Gadaa* System?
7. What privileges you are getting from the community? How do you describe? Why?
8. How do you describe your relationship to each others? Why?
9. How do you describe your relationships with members of other *Gadaa* grades in the system?
10. How do you describe your relationships with your class/age mates?
11. How should be the behavior of each member of *yuboma* stage?
12. Would you tell me your experiences of the leadership when you were in *Gadaa* grade and the grades before?
13. Do you believe that you have contributed what your community expected from you when you where *Gadaa* leaders and in the stages before? Is there any recognition from the society because of your leadership services?
14. How do you feel about your passage through the system?

H. Focus group discussion guidelines - *Gadammojji* individuals (stage - XII)

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program

Introduction

Dear participants!

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Objectives

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Are you willing to participate? **Yes** **No**

Part one: Basic information questions

Date of focus group discussion_____

Starting time:-_____:

Participants

No.	Participants' name	Age	Educational status	Gadaa stage	Gadaa class	Previous Position				Remark
						Kusoma	Raboma	Gadoma	Yuboma	
1										
2										

Part Two: Main questions

1. How should be community leadership? Why?
2. How do you describe the *Gadaa* System of Barana Oromo Community in general?
3. How do you describe the best leader in the *Gadaa* System?
4. Why Borana Oromo Community developed such a system of leaders and leadership development?
5. What are the major roles and responsibilities of the members of this *Gadaa* stage in the community?
6. How community roles and responsibilities are described for the *Gadaa* leader and leadership development?
7. How do you describe *gadamojjumma* stage of the *Gadaa* System? What are your current roles and responsibilities, interaction with each other, communication with other *Gadaa* grade members, and relationship with others in your class and age mates?
8. What privileges you are getting from the community? How do you describe?
9. What personal and group qualities are expected from you as members of *gadamojjomma*?
10. Would you tell me your experiences of the leadership when you were in *Gadaa* grade and in the grades before?
11. Do you believe that you contributed what your community expected from you when you where *Gadaa* leaders? Is there any recognition from the society because of your leadership?
12. How do you feel about your passage through the system?

I thank you all for your participation!

End time:- _____:

I. Focus group discussion guidelines - *Jarsumma men* (Stage - XIII)

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program

Introduction

Dear participants!

My name is **Habtamu Disasa**. I am a staff of Dilla University working my PhD in social psychology at Addis Ababa University, college of Education and Behavioral Studies, School of Psychology. As a requirement of the program, I am doing my dissertation research on “*Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.*” I came here to gather information related to the issue under investigation. I got the permission from Oromia Regional State and Borana Zone to spent time here with your community and collect the necessary data related to your knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in your *Gadaa* System.

Objective

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

For the sake of confidentiality, any personal identifiers, such as names and photographs, will not be indicated in the report of the research. Moreover, the information we share will not be given to any third party without your consent. So feel free to express your ideas, conceptions and experiences of your *Gadaa* system. Are you willing to participate? Yes No

Part one: Basic information questions

Date of focus group discussion_____

Starting time:-_____:

Participants

No.	Participants' name	Age	Educational status	Gadaa stage	Gada class	Previous position				Remark
						Kusoma	Raboma	Gadoma	Yuboma	
1										
2										

Part Two: Main questions

1. How should be community leadership? Why?
2. How do you describe the *Gadaa* System of Barana Oromo Community in general?
3. How do you describe the best leader in the *Gadaa* System?
4. Why Borana Oromo Community developed such a system of leaders and leadership development?
5. What are the major roles and responsibilities of the members of this *Gadaa* stage in the community?
6. How community roles and responsibilities are described for the *Gadaa* leader and leadership development?
7. How do you describe *jarsumma* stage of the *Gadaa* System? What are your current roles and responsibilities, interaction with each other, communication with other *Gadaa* grade members, and relationship with others in your class and age mates?
8. What privileges you are getting from the community? How do you describe?
9. What personal and group qualities are expected from you as members of *jarsumma*?
10. Would you tell me your experiences of the leadership when you were in *Gadaa* grade and in the grades before?
11. Do you believe that you contributed what your community expected from you when you where *Gadaa* leaders? Is there any recognition from the society because of your leadership?
12. How do you feel about your passage through the system?

I thank you all for your participation!

End time:- _____:

J. Naturalistic observation guidelines – *Dabballe* children’s activities

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program

Introduction

Dear participant!

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Objectives

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

Consent

For the purpose, I am going to spend some days with your son so that I can observe his behavior at home, playground, their interaction with family members and other children in the neighborhood. I grantee you that during the observation period, I will not cause any physical, psychological and social harm to your child. The information I will gather about your child during observation time will not be given to other

third party without your consent. Moreover, for the sake of confidentiality, any personal identifiers, such as the name and photos of your son, will not be indicated in the report of the research.

Are you willing to participate? Yes No

Part one: Basic information questions

1. Child's name _____
2. Child age _____
3. *Child's Gadaa* grade _____
4. *Child's Gadaa* class _____
5. Observation date _____
6. Observation time: Start time _____ : _____ End time:- _____ : _____
7. Location _____
8. Educational status _____
9. Observation session _____

Part Two: Main questions

1. What are the unique physical characteristics (appearance) of *dabballe* child/children? (Clothing, hairstyle, etc)
2. How the mother interacts with the *dabballe* child/Children?
3. How the father interacts with father?
4. How the *dabballe* interacts with other siblings in the family?
5. How *dabballe* children interact with other *dabballe* children/child?
6. How *dabballe* Children interacts with other non-*dabballe* children/child?
7. How *dabballe* Children are interacted with adults of their neighborhood?
8. How *dabballe* Children are fed?
9. How *dabballe* children are disciplined?
10. Do *dabballe* children have roles (the younger ones) in the family? What?
11. Where and on what *duties dabballe* children (younger ones) allowed spending most of their time?

K. Key informant interview guidelines

**Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program**

Introduction

Dear participant!

My name is **Habtamu Disasa**. I am a staff of Dilla University working my PhD in social psychology at Addis Ababa University, college of Education and Behavioral Studies, School of Psychology. As a requirement of the program, I am doing my dissertation research on “*Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.*” I came here to gather information related to the issue under investigation. I got the permission from Oromia Regional State and Borana Zone to spend time here with your community and collect the necessary data related to your knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in your *Gadaa* System.

Objectives

The major objective of this study is to systematically describe and explain philosophies of life, skills, values, attitudes, motivations, knowledge, experiences, competencies and behavioral components (individual competencies and group behaviors) Borana Oromo community cultivates before individuals are nominated or assigned to a leadership position to administer social, political, economic and spiritual affairs. It is also aimed at addressing the leadership performances of the specialized individuals as a group while they are in power, and the roles and responsibilities expected of the retired leaders and how they are treated after their years of services. The results of this research assumed to have theoretical and practical values in the areas of public and organizational leadership. The knowledge and understanding about leader and leadership development revealed by this study will have a significant implication in inspiring scholars to develop practical materials of leadership and leader development programs. Therefore, your participation as information provider about the issue under investigation is very vital for the validity and reliability of the finding of the study and subsequent work.

For the sake of confidentiality, any personal identifiers, such as your name and photographs, will not be indicated in the report of the research. Moreover, the information we share will not be given to any third party without your consent. So feel free to express your ideas and experiences of your *Gadaa* system.

Are you willing to participate? **Yes** **No**

Part one: Basic information questions

1. Date of interview _____
2. Start time:- _____:_____
3. Location _____
4. Name _____
5. Age _____
6. Role in the system _____

Part Two: Interview guidelines

1. What are the main characteristics that distinguish Borana Oromo Community from others (culture, religion, way of raising children, tradition ways of dealing with community issues, etc)
2. How do you describe the *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo Community in general?
3. Why Borana Oromo Community developed the *Gadaa* System?
4. What are the core values of the system?
5. How one can be *hayyu* in the system?
6. What kinds of attributes (personal and group behaviors) are expected from the individual who are part of core *Gadaa* band in *Gadaa* system? How can he develop these qualities?
7. How do you describe community participation in the system?
8. What main roles the *Gadaa* leaders should play in the system?
9. Do you think that the system has something to be improved?
10. Why only males are allowed to be part of the system?
11. Is the system important for the community? How?

Many thank

L. In depth interview guidelines

Addis Ababa University
College of Education and Behavioral Studies
School of Psychology
Social Psychology PhD program

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Are you willing to participate? **Yes** **No**

Part one: Basic information questions

1. Date of interview _____
2. Start time:- _____:_____
3. Location _____
4. Name _____
5. Age _____
6. Role in the system _____

Part Two: Interview guidelines

1. How do you describe the *Gadaa* system of Borana Oromo Community in general?
2. Why Borana Oromo community developed the *Gadaa* System?
3. What are the core values of the system?
4. Can you tell me how you and your group came to this stage?
5. How you and your group members were elected as prospective/leaders in the system?
6. What kinds of attributes (personal and group behaviors) are expected from the individual who are part of core *Gadaa* band in *Gadaa* system like you and your members? How you develop these qualities?
7. How do you describe community participation in the system at this stage?
8. What main roles the prospective *Gadaa* leaders/ *Gadaa* leaders should play in the system?
9. How do different practices and experiences help you and your group members engage in helps to develop leadership skills, knowledge, and behaviors?
10. What you and your group do in the future?

Many thank

II. Statement of confidentiality

This form is intended to further ensure confidentiality of data obtained during the course of the study entitled ***“Indigenous knowledge and practices of leader and leadership development in Gadaa system of Borana Oromo community of Ethiopia.”*** All parties involved in this focus group discussions, will be asked to read the following statement and sign their names indicating that they agree to comply.

I hereby affirm that I will not communicate or in any manner disclose publicly information discussed during the course of this focus group discussion on the topic raised above. I agree not to talk about material related to this study or interview with anyone outside of my fellow focus group members and the researcher [or moderator].

Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date _____

Moderator’s signature: _____ Date _____

III. List of Respondents

A. List of key informant interviewees (KII)

N	Name	Sex	Code	Date	Time	Place
1	Beeka Dhuga	M	KII 1	25/3/2015	1:38pm-2:32pm	Hara Dida town
2	Galgalo Wariyo	M	KII 2	22/03/2015	5:21 pm-6:11pm	Yabello town
3	Bule Gobba	M	KII 3	05/05/2016	8:40 am – 10:55am	Dambala Abba Chana
4	Tole Dadafo	M	KII 4	10/05/2016	3:09 pm – 5:39 pm	Dubluk town

B. List of Focus Group Discussion (FGD)

N	Participants	Code	Date	Time	Place
1	Members of <i>Gadaa Arbora</i>	FGD 1	27/03/2015	3:21 pm-4:10pm	Olla Guyyo Gobba
2	Members of <i>doroma stage</i>	FGD 2	21/03/2015	11:35am-6:34pm	Olla Dori
3	Members of <i>raboma stage</i>	FGD 3	25/03/2015	12:40 pm-1:54pm	Hara Didada
4	Members of <i>jarsumma stage</i>	FGD 4	06/05/2016	2:30 pm- 4:00pm	Yabello town
5	<i>Gadamojji</i> men	FGD 5	08/05/2016	3:00 pm – 5:10 pm	Yabello town
6	<i>Yuba</i> men	FGD 6	11/05/2016	1:30 pm – 3:07 pm	Haro Bakke
7	Members <i>Gadaa</i> Hawattu	FGD 7	13/05/2016	4:20 pm – 6:13 pm	Olla Hawattu
8	Members of <i>Gadaa</i> Konnitu	FGD 8	15/05/2016	2:09 pm – 4:15 pm	Olla Konnitu
9	Members of <i>Kusoma</i>	FGD 9	16/05/2016	2:20 pm – 4:05 pm	Yabello town

C. List of in-depth interviewees (IDI)

N	Name	Sex	Code	Date	Time	Place
1	Nadhi Damma	M	IDI 1	29/03/2015	11:45 am – 2:27 pm	Yabello town
2	Hole Boneyya	M	IDI 2	28/03/2015	10:27 am – 12:09pm	Yabello town
3	Boru Jaldessa	M	IDI 3	28/03/2015	3:58 pm – 5:34 pm	Haro Bakke town
4	Jaldessa Doyyo	M	IDI 4	07/05/2016	10:38 am – 11:49 am	Yabello town
5	Boru Guracha	M	IDI 5	09/05/2016	9:17 am – 10:20 am	Olla Hawattu
6	Galgalo Bari	M	IDI 6	11/05/2016	4:06 pm – 6:19 pm	Metha Gefersa town
7	Adi Galgalo	M	IDI 7	14/05/2016	8:23 am – 10:03 am	Olla Dorii
8	Bule Jarso	M	IDI 8	15/05/2016	4:12 pm– 6:58 pm	Olla Raabaa
9	Liben Elemo	M	IDI 9	16/05/2016	4:30 pm – 6:45 pm	Yabello town

D. List of confirmatory interviewees (CI)

N	Name	Sex	Code	Date	Time	Place
1	Dhuga Hima	M	CI 1	21/03/2015	12:19 pm–1:01 pm	Olla Dori, Dharritoo
2	Elema Sayyo	F	CI 2	21/03/2015	9:12 am-9:00 am	Olla Dori, Dharritoo
3	Elema Jilo	F	CI 3	22/03/2015	2:13 pm – 2:57 pm	Olla Dori, Dhirato
4	Elema Dida	F	CI 4	27/03/2015	11:47 am-12:30am	Olla Guyyo Gobba, Areero
5	Dido Halake	M	CI 5	27/03/2015	12:09 pm-12:43 pm	Olla Guyyo Gobba, Areero
6	Morma Borana	M	CI 6	27/03/2015	1:26 pm-1:56 pm	Hafte Linben Jaldessa, Areero
7	Liben Guyyo	M	CI 7	20/05/2016	11:12 am – 12:02 pm	Olla Dori, Dhirato
8	Tadhi Buyyo	M	CI 8	20/05/2016	2:33 pm – 3:41 pm	Olla Dori, Dhirato
9	Obbe Dandi	F	CI 9	18/05/2016	10:25 am – 10:50 pm	Olla Guyyo Gobba, Arero
10	Siqqe Tole	F	CI 10	18/05/2016	11:09 am – 11:57 am	Olla Guyyu Gobba, Arero
11	Name Galgalo	F	CI 11	18/05/2016	2:00 pm – 2:30 pm	Olla Guyyo Gobba, Arero
12	Adi Dida	M	CI 12	18/05/2016	9:42 am – 10:22 am	Hafte Liben Jaldessa, Arero
13	Ifa Bule	M	CI 13	19/05/2016	10:37 am – 11:50 am	Haftee Liben Jaldessa, Arero
14	Elema Galma	F	CI 14	19/05/2016	1:09 pm – 1:35 pm	Hafte Liben Jaldessa, Arero
15	Chaltu Halake	F	CI 15	19/05/2016	4:10 pm – 4:01 pm	Hafte Liben Jaldessa, Arero

E. List of Naturalistic Observations (NO)

N	Name	Sex	Code	Date	Time	Place
1	Abdi Boru	M	NO1	12/03/2015 – 16/03/2015	3:00 am - 4: 00am	Olla Dori
2	Gammachu Tolcha	M	NO2	12/03/015 – 16/03/2015	4:20 am – 5:20 am	Olla Dori
3	Jaldessa Shallo	M	NO3	25/05/2016 – 29/05/2016	The time of observation varies from one day to half a day.	Olla Dori
4	Jaldessa Galgalo	M	NO4	25/05/2016 – 29/05/2016		Olla Dori
5	Jaldessa Koye	M	NO5	25/05/2016 – 29/05/2016		Olla Dori

IV. List of FGD Discussants and their Demographic Characteristics

FGD-1: List of Arbora Men FGD Discussants

No	Discussants'	Age	Luba/Gogeessa	Gadaa Position	Educational status
1	P1	42	Bule Dabbasa	Abba Gadaa (Adulaa)	Don't read or write
2	P2	45	Liben Jaldessa	Hayyuu Gerba- Head	"
3	P3	30	Bule Dabbasa	Medhicha	"
4	P4	96	Jilo Aaga	Wayyuu	"
5	P5	32	Bule Dabbasa	Adulaa	"
6	P6	38	"	Makalaa	"

FGD-2 - List of FGD Discussants from Doroma Stage

No	Discussants	Age	Luba/Gogeessa	Gadaa Position	Educational Status
1	P1	23	Jilo Aaga	Adula (Abba Gadaa Arbora)	University – 2 nd year
2	P2	40	"	Adula (Abba Gadaa Hawatu)	Grade 2
3	P3	23	"	Adulaa	Don't read or write
4	P4	30	"	Adulaa	"
5	P5	35	"	Adulaa	"
6	P6	25	"	Adulaa (Abba Gadaa Konnitu)	"

FGD-3: List of Raaba men FGD Discussants

No	Discussants	Age	Luba/Gogeessa	Gadaa Position	Educational Status
1	P1	22	Guyyo Boru	Adula	5 th Grade
2	P2	30	"	Adula	8 th Grade
3	P3	28	"	Adula Fite (Arbora)	10 th Grade
4	P4	18	"	Adula Fite (Hawattu)	9 th Grade
5	P5	34	"	Adula	5 th Grade
6	P6	30	"	Adula Fite (Konnitu)	10 th Grade
7	P7	30	"	Makala	Don't read or write

FGD-4: List of FGD Discussants from Stage of being Jarsa

No	Discussants	Age	Luba/Gogeessa	Gadaa Status	Educational Status
1	P1	76	Liben Jaldessa	Jarsa	Can't read or write
2	P2	72	Bule Dabbasa	"	"
3	P3	74	Liben Jaldessa	"	"
4	P4	69	Liben Jaldessa	"	"
5	P5	75	Bule Dabbasa	"	"
6	P6	79	Bule Dabbasa	"	"
7	P7	76	Bule Dabbasa	"	"

FGD-5: list of FGD Discussants from Stage of Gadamojjumma

No	Discussants	Age	Luba/Gogeessa	Gadaa Status	Educational Status
1	P1	72	Jilo Aaga	Gadamojji	Can't read or write
2	P2	77	Jilo Aaga	"	"
3	P3	68	Bule Dabbasa	"	"
4	P4	65	Bule Dabbasa	"	"
5	P5	70	Liben Jaldessa	"	"

FGD-6: List of Yuboma stage FGD Discussants

No	Discussants	Age	Luba/Gogeessa	Gadaa Status	Educational Status
1	P1	58	Jilo Aaga	Law person	Can't read or write
2	P2	70	Boru Medha	Law person	''
3	P3	55	Boru Guyyo	''	''
4	P4	64	Liben Jaldessa	''	''
5	P5	65	Boru Medha	''	''
6	P6	72	Bule Dabbasa	''	''
7	P7	61	Bule Dabbasa	''	Grade 2
8	P8	50	Liben Jaldessa	''	Can't read or write

FGD-7: List of Hawattu Gadaa Branch FGD Discussants

No	Discussants'	Age	Luba/Gogeessa	Gadaa Position	Educational Status
1	P1	41	Bule Dabbasa	Abba Gadaa(Adulaa)	Can't read or write
2	P2	56	Jilo Aagaa	Garba intellect	''
3	P3	49	''	Makala – Service man	''
4	P4	42	''	Medhicha intellect	Grade 3
5	P5	50	''	Medhicha intellect	Can't read or write
6	P6	43	Liben Jaldessa	Garba intellect	''
7	P7	34	''	Medhicha intellect	''

FGD-8: List of konnitu Gadaa branch FGD discussants

No	Discussants'	Age	Luba/Gogeessa	Gadaa Position	Educational Status
1	P1	35	Bule Dabbasa	Abba Gadaa(Adula)	Don't read and write
2	P2	38	''	Medhicha intellect	''
3	P3	41	''	Medhicha intellect	''
4	P4	41	''	Medhicha intellect	''
5	P5	60	Guyyo Boru	Garba intellect	''
6	P6	52	Liben Jaldessa	Garba intellect	''

FGD-9: List of Kusoma Stage FGD Discussants

No	Discussants	Age	Luba/Gogessa	Position	Education Status
1	P1	17	Boru Medha	Member	Can't read or write
2	P2	20	''	Member	Grade 7
3	P3	15	''	Adula (Arbora)	Grade 4
4	P4	23	''	Adula (Konnitu)	Can't read or write
5	P5	23	''	Adula (karrayyu)	Grade 9
6	P6	21	''	Adula (Hawattu)	Grade 9