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Full Length Research Paper

Analysis of the Gadaa System in Comparison to Western Democracy

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Abstract

All the nations of the world have their own unique indigenous knowledge (system) governing all their social, political, and economical spheres. The nature of the system may vary in which some systems are well structured, while, others not; some have prolific values while others have detrimental values. Regardless of their limitations, indigenous knowledge and cultures have been the driving factors and the concrete elements for the present modernization, and the sources and inputs for the existing progresses and developments. Nonetheless, different materials present various critics against the system (indigenous knowledge) considering as if it contributes nothing to the modern setup. Based on this diverging ideas, this paper assessed the nature, structure, and values of Gadaa System (Oromos' indigenous governance system), and compared it with the western model of democracy. It has been found that, apart from western model of democracy, there are other indigenous models of democracy in different communities with their own unique qualities and achievements. Accordingly, comparing Gadaa System with the western model of democracy; the study naked that, Gadaa System is more egalitarian than the western model of democracy in terms of the quality of decision making, accountability, inclusiveness, participation, political game and leadership development. Finally, the paper recommends that the government should support the development of indigenous knowledge particularly indigenous system of governance through the provision of policy and other structural adjustments.

Key Word: Community Participation; Gadaa System, Governance; Western Democracy

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Introduction

Indigenous Knowledge (IK) is defined as the cumulative body of strategies, practices, techniques, tools, intellectual resources, explanations, beliefs, and values accumulated over time in a particular locality without the interferences and impositions of external

hegemonic forces (Gloria and George, 2004). Since 1980s several scholars and international institutions such as the World Bank have indigenous characterized knowledge as significant resources for sustainable development (Zelalem, 2005: 2015). Particularly, indigenous knowledge of governance is defined as using indigenous institutions and practices for exercising of economic, political and administrative authorities to manage country's affairs at all levels (Sithole and Mbele, 2008; Warren, 1991).

In Africa many ethnic groups have their own [indigenous] forms of governance characterized with remarkable qualities (Avittey, 1991). Even though, in contemporary Africa, the mode of governance is undoubtedly influenced by Western values and ideals, the majority of African citizens value their indigenous culture as it influences the food they eat, the languages they speak, the way they dress, and the system of governance they practice (Kojo, 2017). Similarly, in Ethiopia, Oromos are one of the indiaenous peoples having their indigenous governance system. Prior to their colonization by the alliance of European imperialism and Ethiopian colonialism, they (the Oromos) were independently organized both culturally and politically using their own governance system called 'Gadaa' (Holcomb and Sisai, 1990; Aseffa, 2012). The term 'Gadaa' has no single and unanimously accepted definition, and it has been defined differently in different disciplines (Zelalem, 2012). This reveals that Gadaa system is a comprehensive and multidimensional indigenous system that can be conceptualized from diverse but complementary perspectives (Debela, 2017).

It has been defined from political, philosophical, sociological, anthropological, legal, theological, astronomical, and other point of views (Asmarom, 1973). For instance, etymologically, Tsegaye Gebremedihn conceptualized that *Gadaa* is coined from the combination of two terms *ka* (God or Creator) and *aada* (norms)-together to mean; norms of God (Tsegaye, 1964). Further, Asmarom (1973) defined 'Gadaa System' as an age grade system where a class of people assume politico-ritual leadership for a period of eight years during which elected officials take power from the previous ones. He stated that it is a system

which enabled the Oromos to unite their people both militarily and organizationally so that to expand or to recover their territories and accommodate their increased population and stock.

Vis-à-vis its emergency, Aseffa (2012) stated that nobody knows when and how 'Gadaa System' emerged as a system of governance. But, he argued that, irrespective of the absence of adequate knowledge of Oromo history before 16th century, it is reasonable to think that these people did not invent the system just at the moment they were consolidating themselves through the defensive and offensive wars that took place during the 16th century. Besides, Baissa (2004) also affirmed that the Oromos were already under the governance of 'Gadaa System' particularly during the movement of sixteenth century. Whereas, the special publication of Guji Culture and Tourism Bureau (2016) put that the System was there even during 15th century. In general, regardless of the varying conceptions of what 'Gadaa System' is and when it has been emerged, the system has been organizing the people around political, economic, social, cultural, and religious institutions for the last 500 years (Baissa, 2004; Asmarom, 1973).

Contexts of the Problem

Gadaa System has been investigated by both domestic and expatriate scholars from different perspectives. For instance, the prominent scholar Asmarom in his series publications Asmarom (1973, 1980, 2006), mainly focused on the nature of the system and how it is operating among the Oromos. Similarly, scholars like Baissa (1994); Aseffa (2011) Dirribi (2011) and Zelalem (2012, 2015, 2018) have also conducted different studies on the system. Analogously their analysis also focused on the characterization of the system, and putting the suitability of the system in to particularly different contextssystem's feasibility to the reality of Ethiopian context.

Besides, other scholars also studied the system from the point of its contribution to conflict resolution and its grand philosophies towards women's empowerment. For instance, Kuwe (1997) stressed on the role of Siiggee (women's organization) institution in promoting women in to decision making process under Gadaa System. Whereas, Debela (2017) analyzed system's suitability and feasibility to be used as an alternative system, and argued the prominence of the system to be considered as one of the recognized means of Afsol (Africa Solution) - focusing on the role of the system in resolving local conflicts and empowering But all the above studies mainly women. focused on describing the nature and structural setup of the system, and tried to put its values from different perspectives. And only very few of them have considered the critical analysis of the system in comparison with the western model of democracy. Thus, the main objective of the paper is to identify the values of Gadaa System and to make a comparison with the values of western model of democracy.

Indigenous Knowledge and Western Democracy

In parallel to the old and indigenous system of governance, the so called modern governance system (western model of democracy) is often defined as 'the rule of the people where rules are determined by the people who are to obey those rules. Thus, as this western democracy has a positive connotation, many governments of the world connect themselves with it, and even having a little or no communal participation, they (the governments) claim that they belong to it (western democracy)¹. For instance, among the 193 countries of the world that are recognized by the United Nations, 123 are said to have modern system of governance with the connotation of western model of (www.freedomhouse.org). democracy than half of those states claim that they have already set up the form of government that is characterized by the communal participationunder whatever forms (legal or illegal) they are operating (Paula and Jean-Aime, 2008).

Notwithstanding its popularity, modern model of governance (western democracy)-is never perfect and never complete, and it was with this mind that Karl Popper has even said, "Democracy is the word for something that does not exist"² and democratic society is more than a democratically elected government. Even there is a universal concern about the status of western democracy, and political discontents and skepticisms are wide spreading, and citizens often feel powerless and discouraged from taking more active role in their society (ibid). Consequently, the need for alternative governance, particularly the need for indigenous knowledge³-is now celebrated by many of its advocates as a single and largest knowledge resource not yet mobilized in the development enterprise (Paul cited in Warren et al., 1996). That is why policy makers recognized the importance of indigenous knowledge system and have developed funding mechanisms, legislations and policy frameworks to identify and protect indigenous knowledge systems (Tshwane University, 2013).

Particularly in Africa, indigenous knowledge plays a significant role in the thinking, behavior and welfare of the community. For instance, in Ethiopia, the Oromo⁴ people have their own indigenous governance system called Gadaa - which has been described as an autonomous, egalitarian, and inclusive system of governance covering all sections of the society. Hence, it is the main objective of this paper to analyze the fundamental principles of "Gadaa System" and make a comparison with the fundamental principles of western democracy in terms of its

²www.google.nl/search?q Org iities of Abya Yala: of Citizens (ATTAC): Iipftaa. Org/ the Principles of Democracy.

¹ www.google.nl/search?q Org iities of Abya Yala: of Citizens (ATTAC): Iipftaa. Org/ the Principles of Democracy.

³is defined as the cumulative body of strategies, practices, techniques, tools, intellectual resources, explanations, beliefs, and values accumulated over time in a particular locality, without the interference and impositions of external hegemonic forces (Gloria and George 2004).

⁴ Ethiopia's largest ethnic group living at central, and southern part of Ethiopia.

governance and power transferring procedures/practices.

Methodology of the Study

In answering research questions and achieving the objectives set, the study utilized both primary and secondary data sources, and the study fully took qualitative approach. Primary data was gathered through observation by observing all the ceremonies and events in power transferring process under Gadaa System at a place called Mi'ee Boku- a place where power transfer is carried out per eight years. Besides, Abbaa Gadaas, Hayyuus, elders, and key informants from local communities were selected using snowball sampling, and in-depth interviews were intensively employed. While secondary data sources were collected from books, Journals, bulletins, newspapers and official publications.

Oromo's Governance System before Gadaa System

In order to analyze the governance system of Oromo people before the development of Gadaa System, the study used both primary and secondary sources-where the kings (Abbaa Gadaas) and senior law makers (Hayyuus) were interviewed intensively; and publications were referred thoroughly. Accordingly, the study found that the Oromo people came across two phases of governance system before the establishment of "Gadaa System". Firstly, there was the period of multiple kingships-where each family trees and clans used to govern themselves by appointing their own kings. However, there is no concrete data for how many years that this multiple kingships governed, the oral tradition from Abba Gadaas and Havvuus depicted that it had sustained for many centuries (Jiloo Mandhoo, Guyo, March, 2015)

The second stage was the period of single kingship and queen-ship where men and women ruled as a king and a queen one after the other respectively. Finally, many social problems were seen during the kingship/queen-

ship period, and these social problems forced the then governors to think over another alternative system of governance. As a result, the concept of dual administration gave them the chance to think over the system of team leadership and through evolution⁵, they (the then governors) devised a system of governance for their own social, cultural, political, economic problems and named it as "Gadaa System" (Guji Zone Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2016). Therefore, though some scholars presents as if the system has emerged as a full fledge system with its present qualities, and rejects its evolutionary nature, the Guji Zone's Culture and Tourism Bureau (2016) , and the key informants confirmed that the system has reached its present status through evolution.

Leading Laws under Gadaa System

Like any other society, the Oromos have been conscious of their cultural identity, their relation to nature, and the existence of powerful force that regulates the connection between nature and society. Accordingly, their knowledge of society and the world is classified into two: a) Cultural and Customary knowledge known as Beekumsa Aadaa, and b) Knowledge of laws known as Beekumsa Seera. The knowledge of laws is further subdivided into the laws of God (Seera Waaga), and the laws of human beings (Seera nama). The laws of God are immutable, and the laws of human beings could changed through consensus and democratic means. Oromo customary knowledge is a public and common knowledge that guides and regulates the activities of members of society; some elements of this customary knowledge be developed into rules or laws could depending on the interest of society (Gemetchu, 1993).

The Oromos' political, social, economic and cultural aspects are highly determined by the values of Gadaa system. There cannot be

⁵ Gadaa System took its own today's structure only during 15th century, before that system was very complex and not as strong as of today's.

development (finna), peace, social justice, freedom (kao), prosperity, success, happiness, and moral values (safu) without Gadaa System (Assefa, 2012). This was also confirmed by Abbaa Gadaa Waqo Duubee as "Gadaa is our system of governance with age; grade and party descriptions and we use it for all of our spiritual, cultural, political, economic and social matters (Waaqoo Duubee, 2015), and Abbaa Gadaa Jiloo Mandhoo strengthened the argument by saying "Gadaa system is all in all for us, and it is a means of governing each other, preserving our culture, and protecting our boundary, our peace and security" (Jiloo Mandhoo, 2015).

Structural Set up of Gadaa Sytem

The below picture depicts that, Gadaa system has its own governance structure showing the relationship in between different actors. Under the system, out of the two fundamental laws (the laws of God and the laws of human beings), the laws of God is the guiding principle in the overall governance system. Thus, the

Gadaa and its officials are further accountable to the guiding laws of God than to the people. Means, the fear of God and His values are the most guiding and leading rules. Likewise, under God/next to God, the general public is the most respected and the highest influencing stakeholder in any kind of decision making process. Then, the assembly (qumi gayo) takes the next top decision making sphere, and the Abbaa Gadaa is highly accountable to the general public and the assembly- most importantly act and work as per the interest of the people. The seven cabinets are Abbaa Torbiis (monitors of the implementation of any decisions and laws delivered during qumi (formulators gayo), Hayyuus of rules, regulations, and laws), Fagaa (Spiritual counselors/advisors and Supporters of Luba /Abba Gadaa), Jalkeenya (the protocol officers of Abba Gadaa, and facilitators of the cases), Jaldhaaba (protectors of the laws of the land). and the Waamuras (Facilitators of the meetings/assemblies and supporters of Abbaa Gadaa).

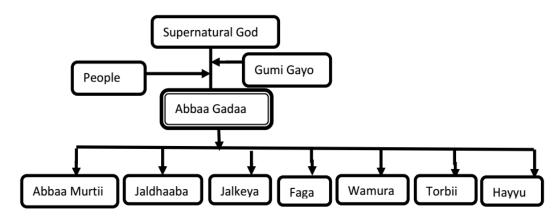


Diagram 1: Governance Structure of Gadaa System

Gadaa System's Party Structure

Under Gadaa System (particularly Guji's Gadaa system) there are five parties (Harmuufa, Roobalee, Muudana, Haalchisa and Dhallana) arranged to govern/rule as a government one after the other. One party rules for eight years and waits the other four parties to rule and come back to the power after forty years. For instance, the party which has been governing up to November, 2015 was *Dhallana* and the

Harmuufa came to power on January, 2016. Hence, the Harmufaa will govern for the coming eight years, and then will give power to Roobale on January, 2024. The last year's outgoing Gadaa will come back after forty years. Despite their peace full power transfer and peaceful candidates' preparation, the parties compete each other, and want their period of governance

more powerful and fruitful than the outgoing and the incoming party.

Comparative Analysis of Modern Approach with Gadaa System

Based on the data gathered through review of literatures on both the Gadaa System and the western model of democracy, and from the

field visits (observation) and key informant interviews, the researcher identified the basic elements and features of Gadaa System and compared it with the Western approach to democracy in the following ways. Accordingly, the below table shows the comparison made, and the argument set out of it.

Table 1. Comparative Analysis of Modern Approach with Gadaa System

No	Areas of Comparison	Gadaa System	Modern/Western Democracy
1	Values of Leadership	God's Value Approach	Law's Value Approach
2	Base of Decision Making	Truth Based	Evidence Based
3	Sovereignty	God's Sovereignty and then Popular	Popular Sovereignty and then Elites
4	Center of Leadership	In the community	Off the community
5	Result of Political Game	Win-Win Approach	Win-Lose Approach
6	Inclusiveness/ Participation	Inclusive	Exclusion-Limited Inclusive
7	Leadership Development	Mentorship /Continous Development	Reactive /Chance/opportunistic
8	Competition	Socially and Spiritually Guided	Personally or Group interests based
10	Means and Ends Correlation	Communal Grand Philosophy (Means Justify ends)	Majority (End justify means)
11	Tests of Leadership	Based on Excellence	Based on Laws

Values of Leadership

Values of leadership is the governing morals and beliefs guiding the practices procedures of leadership system. Under the western model of democracy, the guiding values and principles are the laws formulated by higher decision makers. Whereas, under Gadaa System priority is given for the values and principles of God (Waaga), and these God's values serve as the general frameworks for all laws and principles where the fear of God comes first, and respecting the laws of the land takes the second priority. This does not mean that the system resembles to theocratic system where the divinely appointed officials and priests claiming to know the will of God rule the people or where the state's legal system is based on religious law. It is a system with two foundations. Primarily, the first foundation is that Oromo philosophy, culture, governance, and politics builds its self on the fear of supernatural God, and not engaging in any evil acts. The Oromos' believe that doing evil is moving against the will of supernatural God, and they do have fixed norms for it. Secondly, under Gadaa system Qaallu- spiritual father and counsellor is very much autonomous and powerful in over viewing the performances, excellence and the decision making process of leaders (Abbaa Gadaa and his councils). Therefore, in contrary to the western model of democracy where the fear of God and powerful laws of God are overridden and departed from politics and governance in the name of secularism, Gadaa system prioritizes the fear of supernatural God for every actions and decisions, and gives Qalluu to be very powerful in over viewing the leadership, and leading some ritual and ceremonial activities. That is why any blessings and proclamations start with "Waaqa hin Wayyu"-which means "God shall not be better?'

Bases of Decision Making

It is apparent that any decision making process needs a base for its validity. For instance, under the western model of democracy, any decision making process bases itself on the existence of evidence, and the evidence at hand determines the result of the decision. In the absence of evidence either there is no decision or there would be wrong decision. Whereas, under Gadaa System, as the governance system is highly attached with the spiritual values and principles, priority is given for searching the truth than the evidence. For instance, under the western model, if someone is accused of making sexual harassment and there is no evidence for it; a person would be free, even committing the crime. Under Gadaa System, the spiritual values are the most respected elements and there is a belief that the result of lying is very harmful. Thus, even in the absence of evidence, the accused person would speak the truth.

Sovereignty

In the western model of democracy, the principle of popular sovereignty is prioritized and praised publically. But in practice, elites' sovereignty is highly appreciated. Whereas, under Gadaa System, God's values are the sovereign and highly valued principles with higher consideration, and popular sovereignty is valued as the second most important priority. As it has been described in the above section this does not mean that the politics is lead by spiritual fathers, rather it is to mean priority is given for the truth.

Center of Leadership

By its very nature, the western model of leadership spotlights on head quarter's leadership model-where the higher decision makers live and work at the capital city of the nation or the country so that leadership is by distance and, laws and procedures would be pushed down to the people. This system is called as off-the community leadership-where leadership is by far-off. But under Gadaa System, the leadership takes the power and immediately starts journey within the community. For the eight years of leadership, the officials move within the community so that all local communities' problems would be treated by the leadership closely. This leadership is called as leadership *in- the community leadership-* where the life and living of leadership based itself in and with the community.

The Result of Political Game

Politics is a game where the outcome of competing actors results in either lose-lose or win-win or win-lose scenarios. Hence, in a democracy of western model, political games mostly result in a win-lose outcome -where the incoming party would win the game of politics; and the outgoing one is always the loser- and election is the instrument of the game. Whereas, under Gadaa System, as a rule of politics there are five political parties, and age set generations with different stages. Both the incoming and the outgoing Abba Gadaas are winners in the game. For that reason when the incoming Abba Gadaa holds the position, his team is moving one step forward with in Gadaa class; likewise, the outgoing Abba Gadaa also joins the Baatu class one step forward with in the class. Then, with his team, the outgoing Abba Gadaa would become a senior advisor and the highest decision making class. Thus, power transferring system always results in winwin outcome where both the incoming and outgoing Abbaa Gadaas wait for the day of power transfer with a lovely gift of in kind for each other where they discuss and consult each other on how to go forward together in the future.

Inclusiveness/Participation

Basically in a western model of democracy, politics is dominated by those who can and are capable of running the affairs of the state. It implicitly excludes the kids, the young and the oldies from the stadium of political affairs. But as the political participation under Gadaa system is based on age set, any one joins the age set structure based on the age class, and the system is inclusive of all the age sets. On the other hand, the system is partly criticized by

its lower concern to women's representation particularly in the age-set of Gadaa class. This finding also confirmed the critics in two ways. Firstly, the system excludes the women from age-set leadership development process. Secondly, the system also puts zero probability for women to compete with men and hold leadership position-particularly Abba Gadaaship.

Nevertheless the system puts the following two main grounds to validate women's participation in various arenas. Firstly, under Gadaa system there is an assumption that there are two types of power-positional power and influencing power- where the men have positional power and the women have influencing power in decision making process. In other words, the women do influence the system of decision making process either through direct or indirect consultation process. Secondly, the system gives indirect mechanism for engaging women in to political and leadership positions. For instance, to protect their rights and to get their interests included in any spheres of decision making, the women have their own institution called Siiggee. This institution is a means through which women influence the processes and the structures of decision making under Gadaa system. Debela (2017) and Aseffa (2011) also confirm that Gadaa system promotes women's participation in all cases and that the women are the pillars of the Gadaa system.

Leadership Development

The western model of democracy is very known by its competitive nature. The one who is the fittest will gain of all the chances, and the survival of the fittest approach is the guiding principle of leadership. With this value, opportunistic approach to leadership is the most widely visible character where chances and opportunities help people to engage in a leadership and political environment. Whereas, under Gadaa System, mentorship of leadership starts from early childhood, and leadership

development is progressive by its very nature. Thus, leadership development is the main value of the system where all people attach themselves to their respective leadership development categories, junior-senior hierarchy, and mentorship process is arranged within the system.

System of Political Competition

Under both systems there is competition for different reasons, especially for power and political representations. Under the western model of democracy, the culture of political competition is based on hate, personal decisions and determinations- where it even exacerbates conflicts, hates and hatred. under Whereas. Gadaa System. competition is very peaceful where it is based on performance and excellence; keeping social and spiritual values protected and respected. Any competition which runs out of the social values would be condemned publically.

Accountability

Regarding the level of accountability, in the so called western model of democracy, elected and appointed officials are responsible for their actions, and are accountable for the people. Officials must make decisions and perform their duties according to the wishes of the people they represent. Thus, irrespective of the interests and claims (good or bad) of the people, officials' leadership is supposed to be guided by the values of the people they represent-that is why homosexuality, racism, and immoralities are re-merging globally. As it has been indicated in the above section, now the system is criticized in many ways, and citizens often feel powerless, and discouraged from taking active role in their society (CEFFD. 2007). As a result, the reality shows the reverse-where party's accountability is the dominating concern over popular accountability. Whereas, under Gadaa System, the first and foremost accountability is for supernatural God (Waaga)-where all leaders believe that God (Waaga) is a master of everything, and a provider of any authority. Thus, let alone elitists'

and party's superiority, even popular accountability comes next to God's accountability.

For instance, the Abbaa Gadaas and the Hayyuus stated that, as soon as the incoming Abbaa Gadaa recieves power from the out going Abba Gadaa, the next event is a politicospiritual ceremony knowns as -Qumbii Nyaachisuu- where the Abbaa Gadaa sworn to lead with the truth, and take the burden of leadership for the coming eight years. Similarly, when the Abbaa Gadaa finishes his term, he (with his teams and councils) should go to Gennaalle river a place called Odaa sutallee and conduct a ceremony known as Hagalala Galchuu. It is a ceremony where the outgoing Abbaa Gadaa returns back his power for the provider (God) before giving it to the outgoing Abbaa Gadaa saying "Dear God I have lead the people by the power you gave me".

Means-Ends Correlation

In the western model of governance, the fundamental principle guiding any actions and efforts is the fact that ends justify the means. Whereas, the reverse works under Gadaa System. For instance, under the western model of governance, despite the intentions and the reasons behind a given act, if the majorities agree with the act, it will be valid. But under Gadaa System it is not the majority which matters, but what doesn't contradicts with God's and social values, what benefits the people, and what does not contradicts with cultural laws, and what conforms with the philosophies of the community values most.

Tests of Leadership

Under the western model of democracy there is no specific term of leadership for all countries - different countries use different period (term) of leadership. Leaders stay on power for the term of leadership given for them either by periodical election or by constitutional provision-the law gives the term of leadership. Whereas, under Gadaa system, firstly, the term of leadership is fixed —eight years by its very nature. Secondly, the term of leadership is not a guarantee to stay

on power-though the term is eight years -if the leading Gadaa class is not functioning well, evaluation will be carried out at the mid of the term (four years) and the leadership will continue leading based on the result of midterm evaluation.

Conclusion

In Africa, many ethnic groups have their own [indigenous] forms of governance characterized with remarkable qualities. In Ethiopia, the Oromos are one of the indigenous peoples having their own indigenous governance system called Gadaa System. The main objective of the study was to assess the basic qualities of Gadaa System and to compare it with the western model of democracy. The comparison was made based on the eleven identified values like Values of Leadership. Base of Decision Making, Sovereignty Center of Leadership, Result of Political Game. Inclusiveness/ Participation. Leadership Development. Competition Means and Ends Correlation, and Tests of Leadership. Finally the study found that Gadaa System is imbedded in the heart and soul of the people, and the system precedes the western model of democracy in terms of the above identified values. Finally, the study suggests that the government should support the indigenous knowledge particularly indigenous governance system in terms of policy provision and structural setup.

Conflict of Interest

The author is with fully responsible for any quest that could be raised as a conflict of interest on ownership, ethical and financial issues.

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