Indigenous Communication System of the Oromo Society: The Case of the Oromo Community of Haramaya District

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Abstract: Human beings cannot exist without communication. This paper, therefore, focused on the indigenous communication system of the Oromo community of Haramaya district, East Hararghe Zone, Oromia Regional State. The theoretical frameworks used were social learning theory and multistep flow model of communication. While the sampling technique was purposive, the data were collected through non-participant observation, focus group discussion of the elders and youths in the study area, and interview held with selected elders of the district. The finding showed that forms of indigenous communication in the study area were *Og-afaanii*/oral literature (folksongs, proverbs, riddles, folk stories), extramundane communication, color scheme, obejectifics, dhaamsa/messenger system, indigenous organizations like mosque and afooshaa/edir/mandandraa (traditional associations), signals, symbolic display, deliberate instruction, direct observation, and informal channels like waarii (one another's visiting at any time), aborade (one another's visiting during fasting season). In addition, the finding proved that these forms of indigenous communication had their own actors such as daminoota (clan leaders) and roles such as to entertain and socialize the community members, to express and educate stories, and cultural values and disseminate social, economic, and political concerns of the community. However, the credibility of these indigenous communication forms is decelerating though they are still in use. It is, therefore, recommended that governmental and nongovernmental organizations, educated members of the community, and families should stress on the indigenous communication system when they want to reach the community and preserve the system for future generation.

Keywords: Assessment; East Hararghe; Haramaya; Indigenous communication; Oromo community

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1. Introduction

Indigenous communication system is more functional in the socio-cultural life of Africans than in any other continents (Oyesomi, Nelson, Frederick, and Itsekor, 2014; Oyesomi, Salawu, Olorunyomi, 2017). Being one of these African countries, Ethiopia has 85 nations and nationalities which have their own languages (Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Housing Census Commission [FDREHCC], 2007). One of these nations in Ethiopia is the Oromo.

The Oromo is a considerable national group of people in Africa that encompasses a substantial portion of the Ethiopian population (Getahun, 2012; Martial, 1901; Hussein, 2016). Similarly, Klemm (2009) agrees with the aforementioned scholars by stating that even though the Oromo population lives mainly in Ethiopia, the population also lives in Somalia and Kenya.

Apart from its largeness, the Oromo has its own indigenous philosophies in economic, social, and political realms of which one and the most known is the *Gadaa* system. According to Legesse (1973) Gadaa is a system of "age-sets" in which political, military, judicial, legislative and ritual responsibility is transmitted to the eligible members every eight years. As *Gadaa* is a wide and complex concept which constitutes general philosophy of the Oromo, any research work that is conducted on Oromo culture and history necessitates wide-ranging and profound understanding of *Gadaa*, which otherwise will not have life (Haile, 2009).

Though the Oromo is known for its indigenous philosophy like that of *Gadaa* and *Waaqeffannaa*, it had been an oral society until it adopted a transcribed system of its own language at about the end of 1960s (Mollenhauer, 2011).

The midpoint of all the aforementioned scholars authenticates three things about the Oromo-indigenousness, largeness and singleness. Having large number of indigenous members on one hand and keeping the ethnic singleness of the group (mentioning itself as Oromo) for long time on the other hand is impossible for one ethnic group without having significant indigenous communication system as Velasquez (2019) and Pierce (1972) ascertain that no human being can exist long on earth without communication-indigenous communication in this case.

Indigenous communication is a type of communication whose means (media) originates from inside of the culture of a society. According to Ahamefule (2013), indigenous communication is a continuous process through which a society disseminates information, news, persuasion, entertainment, announcements, education, and social exchanges of every type among its members through its own media such as oral literature rather than western media such as televisions, radio and the internet. Ahamefule (2013), further states that the owner of the media in indigenous communication is the society itself. Compton and Mundy (2001), in their part, affirm that indigenous communication is a cultural system of transmitting entertainment, news, influence, declarations, and any other public exchanges. This indicates what makes communication indigenous is that the media emanates from the society itself rather than external media like that of the westerners.

Scholars of the field have explained not only definition of indigenous communication but also its forms as explained below.

Oral literature: oral literature is an inclusive notion that denotes any form of verbal arts that is disseminated by word of mouth and may be accompanied by membranophones (skin or leather drums), idiophones (gong, wood lock, wooden drum, bell and rattle), aerophones (flute family, whistle, reed pipes, horns and trumpets) and others and consists of ritual texts, curative chants, epic poems, musical genres, folk tales, creation tales, songs, myths, spells, legends, proverbs, riddles, tongue-twisters, word games, recitations, life histories or historical narratives (Ahamefule, 2013; Oyesomi *et al.*, 2014; Malinga, 1998; Oyesomi *et al.*, 2017).

Extra-mundane communication: this is a type of communication which is done between the alive and the dead or between the living being and the supernatural or Supreme Being as a belief system in a specific cultural setting and it is usually done through forms of incantation, spiritual chants, rituals, prayers, sacrifice, invocation, séance, trance, and hysterics or libation (Ahamefule, 2013).

Color schemes: this is the overall idea and use of mixture of colors in a strategy to convey some meanings as color uses the advantages of pictorial communication by uniting the speed of its impact and freedom from linguistic boundaries to achieve instant and effective communication and the common and important colors used to communicate different meanings across culture are, for example, red (danger), white (peace or pure), black (mourning), green (life) (Ahamefule, 2013).

Objectifics: these are media existing in concrete systems which may have meaning for a specific society only or may be the same worldwide in their traditional inference with specific contextual meanings and these media, for example, include, kolanuts, the young unopened bud of the palm frond, charcoal, sculptures, white pigeon or fowl, feather, white egg, cowries, pictures, drawings among others (Ahamefule, 2013).

Indigenous organizations: these are organizations which take forms of congregations of indigenous people such as household heads that discuss their problems, mutual-help work groups, revolving-loan associations etc (Oyesomi *et al.*, 2014; Malinga, 1998; Oyesomi *et al.*, 2017).

Signals: these are the physical embodiments of a message. Some of these signals include fire, smoke, gunshots, canon shots and drumbeats which are used to deliver their main news broadcast, announce time, close down or prepare for the broadcast of the local or national leader (Ahamefule, 2013).

Symbolic display: these may be used in specific culture or may be the same in the world. These include smiling, sticking out the tongue, way of showing anger, disgust, happiness and fear, way of walking or sitting, use of gestures, voice qualities, and facial expressions (Ahamefule, 2013).

Symbolography: this refers to symbolic writing or representation communication that happens when an encoder uses graphic representations to transfer a message which can be understood within the context of a recognized social event and an associated verbal message. The use of fresh unfolding frond of the palm tree usually with greenish yellow color in Nigeria can be a good example. This palm leaf can be tied and shaped in various ways to bear meaning (Ahamefule, 2013).

Deliberate instruction: this is a type of instruction like that of parents' teaching of their children, elder's guide of youth; adolescents undergo initiation rites, religious leaders' instruction of their followers (Oyesomi *et al.*, 2014; Malinga, 1998).

The crier: a fluent fellow whose massage is considered important in the community whenever he acts (Oyesomi *et al.*, 2014; Malinga, 1998).

Informal channels: these channels cover most of indigenous communication; they include tea houses, fields and roads, market and principals' houses. While these channels are locations and contexts where technical information and skills can be communicated, the information from which we gain is not controlled or arranged, but spontaneous and informal (Oyesomi *et al.*, 2014; Malinga, 1998).

Direct observation: this is a type of communication form where the generations observe the act of the elders or the actors in the indigenous communication (Oyesomi *et al.*, 2014; Malinga, 1998).

Whatever the form of indigenous communication is, its importance, especially in countries where there are indigenous groups, has attracted attention of researchers. According to Ansu-Kyeremeh (2005), indigenous modes of communication such as oral tradition, drama, indigenous entertainment forms, cultural modes and local language radio are essential to the societies within which they exist and which create them. Indigenous communication performs what mass media cannot operate when a need comes whether to educate or inform people in developing countries (Oyesomi *et al.*, 2014). These days development paradigms emphasize on the use of indigenous communication system and networks in a given society in order to achieve a desired economic, social, and political objectives as indigenous communication systems are originated from the society itself and they are not so expensive and difficult to use as the modern media are (Mohan, 2012; Picq, 2012). Oyesomi *et al.*, (2017) also note that indigenous communication eases reaction and enables the people to communicate with acquainted channels which are fully accessible, and is more operative than the modern media.

In addition to the aforementioned research works, several studies were done on the importance of indigenous communication system. For example, Ahamefule (2013) conducted a research work entitled "Indigenous Communication as an Enabling Factor for Rural Development in Nigeria." The finding of his research reveals that indigenous communication is significant to socio-economic development of the rural communities. Similarly, Oyesomi *et al.* (2017) carried out a research work on "Indigenous Communication: Socio-Economic Characteristics Influencing Contemporary Female" in Lagos and Ogun. Their finding shows that indigenous communication is vital for women's participation in politics. In Ethiopia too, *Dagu* (Indigenous communication system in Afar) has been researched. For example, Menber and Skjerdal (2008) researched "The potential of *Dagu* communication in north-eastern Ethiopia" and they concluded that it is paramount to use this indigenous communication system for health education. Likewise, Mohammed (2016) investigated *Dagu* on a title "Dagu: Its Nature, Attributes and Reporting Praxis" and the finding of his research shows that *Dagu* is important as it is more interactive than the modern mass media. As has been stated earlier, the aforementioned researchers' works were on indigenous communication system of the Afar community.

Even though their main focus was not directly on indigenous communication system as a whole, and not specifically in Haramaya district, there are researchers who conducted their studies on the Oromo culture in Hararghe. For instance, Teresa and Raga (2018) have explored the role of folk songs of Hararghe community for environmental conservation by entitling "Oromo Oral Literature for Environmental Conservation: A Study of Selected Folksongs in East and West Hararghe Zones" and the result of their research work reveals that the Oromo people are rich of folksongs used to strongly promote environmental conservation for utilitarian reason, visualization, aesthetic values, and morality purpose. In addition to the fact that it does not specifically focus on Haramaya district, Teresa and Raga's research work tried to explore only folksongs used for only environmental conservation purposes and does not address other indigenous media used for environmental conservation and other economic, social, and political purposes.

In the same vein, Mekbib (2009) qualitatively and quantitatively studied bioecocultural heritage of sorghum by folksongs and the title of his research was "Folksong based appraisal of bioecocultural heritage of sorghum (Sorghum bicolor (L.) Moench): A new approach in ethno biology". The finding of his research shows that farmers in Hararghe are rich of folksongs through which they convey and preserve their indigenous knowledge and practices. Similar to that of Teresa and Raga (2018), Mekbib (2009) focused on how the farmers in Hararghe used their folksongs for bio-cultural heritage of sorghum, but he did not see the whole communication system of the community for other social, economic, and political concerns.

Hassen (2014) also investigated Hararghe oral literature on a title "Orality, Power and Resistance: Reconstructing a Social History of Hararge Tenants (1941-1975" and he concluded that topical and political songs performed by the mass were strong weapons of the tenants to resist their oppressors. Though the emphasis is different from that of the aforementioned scholars, Klemm (2009) studied women's fashion in eastern Oromo community and her title of research was "Oromo Fashion: Three Contemporary Body Art Practices among Afran Qallo Women" and the researcher concluded that the *Afran Qallo* women use body art practices that underline how fashion can be used to convey meaningful networks to indigenous notions of individuality, community, and memory. This researcher, further, explains that beaded bands and color strips in the arts the *Afran Qallo* women practice designate the individual style of each young woman though they are recognized to be within the Oromo culture. Even if wearing style can be one means of communication and Klemm's research shows how *Afran Qallo* women communicate their individual style, memories, and their identity that belongs to the community in their fashion; it is only single part of the indigenous communication system.

In spite of the fact that all aforementioned research works directly or indirectly touch slight parts of indigenous communication of the Oromo community in Hararghe, none of them explored indigenous

communication system of the Oromo community in Haramaya district from communication perspective but they studied a single part of the indigenous communication forms for a single purpose. The researcher, in this study, also believes that one of the unstudied cultural components of the Oromo is its indigenous communication system. Haile (2009) states that the Oromo people are among the Ethiopian people whose culture and history have not been deeply studied until the recent time. Unlike other studies, this research, therefore, could be the first to explore the indigenous communication system in fuller manner in the study area.

One theoretical framework supposed to be appropriate for this research is social learning theory as it goes with indigenous communication system. Bandura (1971), in his social learning theory, states that observing other people's behavior and its consequence for the observers can result in learning phenomena from direct experience. Tham-Agyekum and Loggoh (2011) affirm that Bandura states that people acquire one another's knowledge, via observation, imitation, and modeling. Similarly, David (2016) posits that social learning theories are concerned with the capability of human beings to absorb and reflect whether bad or good behaviors displayed within their environment by many powerful models, such as parents, characters on media, friends within their peer group, religious leaders, and other members of the society. Tham-Agyekum and Loggoh (2011), in their turn, state that information dissemination ways and function of indigenous media go with Bandura's social learning (cognition) theory, which asserts that most manners, actions, and performances are learned through modeling. They explain further that people in a society follow indigenous media performers as role models to learn new things and disseminate them to others just as children learn by observing their role models

The other theoretical framework supposed to inform indigenous communication system is multistep flow model of communication. This theory is important to study how information is disseminated within a society. Multistep flow of communication was supposed to be appropriate theoretical framework for this research because, on one hand, the indigenous communication forms are media by themselves; on the other hand the main concern of the theory is how the opinion leaders determine the media message and its influence in the community. The theory states that media does not have direct influence on the audiences but the opinion leaders who watch the media and disseminate the information in the community. Opinion leaders intensify influence and information stream in their community (Ognyanova, 2017). As this theory, a piece of information reaches first these opinion leaders and then reaches other member of the society step by step.

The principal objective of this research was to investigate indigenous communication system of the Oromo community in Haramaya district. Under this objective, forms of indigenous communication system in the study area, the roles these communication forms play in the society, the credibility extent of indigenous communication system, the actors in the system, and how these actors disseminate information in the community were assessed.

2. Research Methods

2.1. Description of the Study Area

Haramaya district is situated in Ethiopia, Oromia national regional state, east Hararghe zone. The district is about 550 square kilometers wide and about 510 km far from Addis Ababa to east on the main road to Harar. Haramaya district is surrounded by Kurfa Chele district on the south, Karsa district on the west, Dire Dawa city administration on the north, Kombolcha district on the east, and the Harari region on the southeast. The district has a total population of 271,394 people of whom 138 376 are males while 133018 are females and out of the total population, 220,408 live in rural area where as 50986 live in urban area. Majority of the district inhabitants (96.66%) are Muslims while the rest practice Christianity, and others. Of the ethnic groups in the district, 96.43% are Oromo who speak *Afan Oromo* (the language of the Oromo) as their mother tongue while the rest are the Amhara, Gurage and others (Central Statistical Agency [CSA], 2007).

2. 2. Research Design

This research was conducted qualitatively. Qualitative research is needed when a researcher wants to study observed life of people and it enables the researcher to speak human experience and unobserved facts (Creswell, 2009). For this qualitative research the logical structure selected was descriptive case study. Descriptive case study is used to describe phenomena in its real life contexts and answers the questions such as who, what, how, and to what extent (Yin, 2003). On the basis of this design, forms of indigenous communication of the Oromo community in the study area, the actors and how these actors disseminate information in the community, credibility extent of the indigenous communication forms, and the roles indigenous communication plays in the community were assessed.

2.3. Data Sources and Data Collection Methods

The researcher used primary data sources (informants and discussants) to collect the data and the data collection methods were focus group discussion, in-depth interview, and non-participant observation. These methods of data collection are suitable data collecting tools for qualitative research as they are helpful to better explain, understand and analyze research subjects' opinion, experience, and phenomena (Jamshed, 2014).

2.4. Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

From Haramaya district whose total *araddaale* (administrative villages) are 33, seven *araddaale* were purposively selected because Haramaya district culture and tourism office informed the researcher that, in these seven *araddaale*, there were influential elders assumed to know the culture of the district. The bureau also informed the researcher that these elders would give the required data as it works with these elders on cultural issues of the community. Totally, seven group discussions and seven in-depth interviews were held. That means one in-depth interview with an elder suggested by culture and tourism bureau of the district and one focus group discussion with purposively selected youths (males and females who are assumed to actively participate in cultural activities like wedding) and elders were conducted in each *araddaa*. The reason the focus group discussion involved both elders and youths was that they could discuss and verify the indigenous communication systems now and in the past and discuss changes. The number of the focus group discussion participants varied from six to nine according to the availability of the discussants.

2.5. Method of Data Analysis

Qualitative method was employed to analyze the collected data. In this qualitative data analysis process, notes were taken during the observation and the data was qualitatively analyzed. The indepth interviews and the focus group discussions were first recorded and transcribed verbatim. Then coding was carried out by sorting out similar and dissimilar ideas based on the concepts discussed in the introduction part of this research. Finally, the coded data were thematically analyzed on the basis of narrative analysis techniques. Narrative analysis is suitable for analyzing data from focus group discussion and interview in the form of narration in the realm of social sciences such as literature, media and culture (Cronin and Earthy, 2008)

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. Assessing Forms of Indigenous Communication in the Study Area

Indigenous media are the media whose ownership, control, and model are in the hand of the society itself (Ahamefule, 2013). Accordingly, the focus group participants and the interview informants explained that there are the following indigenous communication forms/media practiced by the Oromo community in the study area.

3.1.1. Oral literature

Both the interview respondents and focus group discussants affirmed that the Oromo community of the study area employs oral literature such as folk music (*sirba hawaasa*), proverb (*mammaaksa*), riddle (*hibboo*,), folk stories (*sheekkoo*), and jokes (*goofata*) as their media. Similar to this finding, Teresa and Raga (2018) state that oral literature of different forms and genre is very important for Oromo community to deal with their day to day life.

A. Folksongs (sirboota hawaasaa)

As discussed in the focus group discussion and assured in the interview, and the observation of the researcher, the Oromo community in the study area uses folk music (melody and poem) along with the dance as media as summarized below.

Table 1. The summary of folk music used as media in the study area

Folk song	Explanation	
Hellee	A call-and-response folksong and dance performed by young or adult females	
	with a solo leader and responsorial group.	
Shaggooyyee,	A type of folksong and dance style performed by pairs of usually young males	
	and females in the study area.	
Dhiichisa,	A folksong and dance common to denote and connote necessary messages to	
	their community members and performed usually by young males.	
Darashi	A folksong sung by guuza / debo (communal labours) with dual purpose-	
	motivating the workers and conveying other messages.	
Geerarsa	A folksong genre used to praise heroes, their traits and heroic	
	accomplishment, to defend any negative remark about one's image, and to	
	motivate others to take a heroic action, but less practiced now in the study	
	area.	
Mirriysa	Similar to geerarsa but wider functions such as praising heroes, and those	
	who did good in the community, inspiring hard working people and ridiculing	
	the lazy ones etc. and different melody and more practiced in the study area	
	compared to geerarsa.	
Faaruulooni	Folksongs used to praise cattle.	
Maamada	Song by children 15 days before arafa /eid al-adha (feast of sacrifice that	
	commemorates Ibrahim's (Abraham) willingness to obey God even to	
	sacrifice his son.) and <i>Ramadaan</i> (Islamic fasting season) begin.	
Shaasho	Song with game of breaking calabash performed by children once a year	
	based on <i>Hijra</i> (Islamic calendar), but not practiced now.	
Manzuma	Spiritual song still practiced by Muslims.	
Daddisaa	Spiritual song sung during wodaaja (alms the community gives to the poor in	
	the form of festivity when there is lack of rain, when a person dies, when	
	something good happens to a person to praise God etc).	

Source: Field inquiry 2020

The aforementioned folksongs are indigenous media which the Oromo community in the study area uses. Teresa and Raga (2018) found out that the Oromo community most commonly uses folksongs such as *heellee, mirriysaa, shaggooyyee, guuzaa/daboo, tapha ijoollee, manzuma* and other ritual songs to express their beliefs, attitudes, feelings and other activities. Likewise, Melba (1999), as cited in Mollenhauer (2011) asserted that the Oromo people have long utilized their songs, poems, and dance to embody their grief and repression under the political oppressors, to toughen the enduring political and armed struggle by keeping their spirit of resistance alive, to preserve their identity and

culture, and to resist against cultural dominancy of the northern Ethiopia. Bessa (2013) supports this idea by stating that while the Oromo song is as old as the Oromo language, the Oromo community uses it to reflect what it feels and he added that the Oromo community uses songs and theatre to express its sadness, inconvenience, complaint, opposition, annoyance, encounters, accomplishments, triumphs, remarks, wishes, and fondness

According to discussants and informants, none spiritual songs in Table 1 such as *mirriysaa*, *shaggooyyee*, *dhiichisa*, *hellee* etc are, however, influenced by the doctrine of Islam. For example, weddings in the countryside where *shaggooyyee*, *dhiichisa*, and *hellee* were highly performed are now being made based on Islam principles. Among these folksongs, the informants and the discussants rated *hellee* as the most common and factor resistant folk song to communicate their cultural values, political, economic and social issues. One informant stated that "Resisting the influence of the religion, *hellee* is still the voice of the community to express and disseminate existing political, social and economic questions."

B. Proverb (Mammaaksa)

Proverbs are suitable form of communication in and out of cultural settings because they are summarized but memorable sayings similar to metaphors or stories intended to express some important facts of experience, and to assist formal or informal family or folk learning (Ehondor, 2017). In the same fashion, the focus group discussants and the interview informants noted that the Oromo community uses proverbs to communicate important facts, allegorical messages, its practical experiences, and values to the community members. In the same way, The Oromian Economist (TOE) (2014: 1) confirms that "Mammaaksa (proverbs) are also used as a medium of transmission of sociocultural information (customs, beliefs, norms, moral codes etc.) from elders to the youth and among the people in the present times."

C. Riddles (Hibboo)

Meyer (2005) states that riddles are important parts of oral art used to communicate social creations, or notions of a society by signifying a distinct kind of communal phenomenon.

According to discussants and informants, riddles are one of the indigenous media performed in gathering of people such as weddings in the study area though less frequent these days. Holtz- Bacha and Norris (2011) state that one of the media roles is edutainment-educating the audiences while entertaining them. Similarly, the Oromo community of the study area uses riddles for infotainment, and for edutainment such as to communicate its cultural value, identity, knowledge etc to children in entertaining manner; to help children be aware of their environment, and to make them critical thinkers. Similarly, Kedir (2015) notes that riddles in Oromo language are important to help second cycle primary grade students advance their listening, speaking, writing and reading skills and widen their knowledge, attitude and cultural values.

While riddles in the Oromo community are performed between a challenger and a respondent in the form of enigmatic, misleading and puzzling questions posed by the challenger and surprising and clever answers are given by the respondent, the challengers are usually elders and the respondents are children when the communication is for edutainment purpose. Riddles are also performed by children taking turns to be a challenger, and a respondent for entertainment and sometimes for edutainment and infotainment purposes. A riddle below can be an example in the study area as observed by the researcher and explained by discussants.

Challenger: *Hibboo* (Take a riddle!) Respondent: *Hibbaka* (Let it come!)

Challenger: *Sabbata aayyoo tiyya maree maree fixuun dadhabe*, *maali*? The literal meaning is "Even though I turned round and round on my mothers' girdle, I could not reach its end; what is it?"

The respondent critically thinks, contemplates, thinks back and forth and guesses the answer. If he or she succeeds, he or she finds the answer –Car road! It is to teach the children how long the car road

is or to augment their criticality, or to entertain each other by challenging each other's intelligence. When the participants succeed or fail, the audience who watches them shares the information being entertained as social learning theory states so.

D. Folk stories (Sheekkoo)

The study showed that the folk stories of the Oromo community where this study was conducted include fairy tales, fables, trickster tales, and 'why' stories (myth). As the interview informants and the focus group discussants asserted, the Oromo community in the study area uses these folk stories to describe its culture and norm, educate the youngsters about their origin, entertain the members of the community, teach ethics to their children, create a sense of unity, and solve problems. In general, folk stories are common indigenous media of the Oromo community of the study area to transmit what the community feels including for educational purposes. The finding of Boru (2017) indicates that folktales are used to transmit everything that is manifested in a society's everyday life in addition to its life in ancient and modern class room, tradition, politics, superstition and culture.

E. Jokes (Goofata)

The data from the focus group discussion and the interview showed that the Oromo community of the study area has jokes which they call *goofata*. They explained that they mainly use this joke as entertainment media to ease their lives by creating humor, to relieve stress, to express their feelings, and to socialize the members of the community, but this joke (*goofata*) is not always just to laugh; the joke may be about politics, social matters or economic issues, or about criticizing wrong doing or vice versa.

3.1.2. Extra-mundane communication

This is a type of two-way communications in the study area that is done between people assumed blessed by the community (warra kadhataa/ gabroota Rabbii) and God/Allah/ Waaqaa (interchangeably used in the community) when there occur draught, epidemic diseases, war, hail that destroys the khat, and any other bad events in the community. At this time, some of the community members carry khat as a sacrifice and go to warra kadhataa/ gabroota Rabbii (as they are assumed to communicate with God) who live in each mandara (village association) and give them the khat they brought and inform them all that is happening so that these Gabroota Rabbii could communicate to God/Allah to stop the bad occurrence. The warra kadhataa, in turn, order the community members to go to Amngus, a known place where extramundane communication used to take place. According to the participants of the study, the community of the study area believes that when these prayers communicate with God, the bad event stops soon. Gabroota Rabbii are also assumed to communicate one another being far apart at more than 5 kilometers with idea in mind without producing oral speech. Extramundane communication is done through prayers, spiritual chants, rituals, sacrifices (Ahamefule, 2013).

3.1.3. Colour schemes

This is a type of media through which message is conveyed using colors. According to the informants of the interview, the discussants of the focus group discussion, and the observation of the researcher in the study area, white color has wide place in the indigenous communication of the Oromo community in the study area. For instance, white color is used to communicate mourning in the study area. If a man dies, his wife communicates her sorrow, and the fact that she cannot marry other person by wearing white cloths for four months and 10 days (130 days) whereas the other members of the family wear as usual. At the 130th day, a sheep is slaughtered for her and the relatives request her to take off the white cloth; this is called *azaayaa*. Once she takes off this white cloth, she can marry other person. The focus group discussants and the interview informants also noted that the community of the study area communicates peace by wearing white cloth. They explained that if a person in one

clan kills other person in another clan, three days are declared for revenge; they call this orisaa guyyaa sadii. If the criminal surrenders to the leader/Damiina of the clan from which he killed the person, the Damiina goes to the battle field holding up a long stick with a white piece of cloth at its end so that it can be seen from far. This, as one of the informants, is to mean "As the criminal is here in my hand, stop the war." Then those who are fighting stop the war when they see the white cloth. The criminal is punished based on the indigenous rule. During war in ancient time too, responsible people used to wear white cloth and stand on awaajaa (a high mountain where the community discusses its current issue) to communicate the nearby members that the area was conflict free, and the one who saw this, in his/her turn, used to do the same thing and communicate to the nearby members of the community that there was no war in his environment. In this way, the whole community used to be informed about the environments free from war. According to the discussants and informants of this research, white color which is supposed to be sign of peace in the culture played a great role during Ethio-Somali war in the Derg regime. The dwellers of the study area used to show white cloth to the Ethiopian solders to communicate that they were peaceful people. Similar to this finding, Schloss, Lessard, Walmsley, and Foley (2018) proved that colors are important aspect of visual communication as people make mental meaning from colors. The informants and discussants also informed that colors other than white do not have especial implication or meaning in the Oromo community of the study area.

3.1.4. Objectifics

These are objects used as media existing in concrete systems which may have meaning for a specific society only or may be the same worldwide in their traditional inference with specific contextual meanings (Ahamefule, 2013). As the elders participated in this study, Kuruphoo (Bush Duiker) is sign of bad luck. For example, if a bush duiker crosses the road before a person who searches his or her lost property, it is believed that this person never finds what he or she lost. On the contrary, Waraabessa (Hyena) is considered a sign of donors, generous people, and distributor. Likewise, Jeedallo (Fox) is considered a dog of warra kadhataa (people assumed blessed by the community). Similarly, Qocaa (Turtle) is a sign of prayer and blessed people. Related to this, when the elders in the study area bless a person, they say "Qocaa sihaagodhu", which literally means "May God make you a turtle." According to the elders that participated in this study, it is traditionally believed that skin of turtle was changed into shell after she prayed to God when wild beasts encircled her to eat. The other object used as a means of communication is a bean seed left uncooked in boiled beans. This bean seed which they call Qawwisa is a symbol of courageous and danger resistant person. Concerning this, the elders in the study area bless "Qawwisa shummoo keessaa sihaagodhu", which literally means "May God make you as a bean seed left uncooked in boiled and cooked grains." Similarly, in wedding of the study area, the bride, the bridegroom, and the best men are given a leaf of a tree locally called Urgeessa to communicate their good wish to the bride and the bridegroom. The youths in the focus group discussion also explained that if a girl wears a string with keys around her neck; it means she is married as she is given a box as a gift to keep her cloths in it. However, the elders did not confirm this. This implies that this may be newly created cultural practices. These are some examples among several objectifics that the participants explained in the study area. Agyepong (2017) asserts that the local people use objects like clothing, hairstyle or symbols as a non-verbal means of indigenous communication.

3.1.5. Messenger systems (*Dhaamsa*)

The data from focus group discussion and the interview showed that the Oromo community of the study area still uses a structured messenger system they call *dhaamsa* which literally means massage and this is widely used to disseminate hard news like death of a person through the indigenous administrative structure. Messenger system was widely used in other parts of the world in the middle

age. Concerning this, Bellerby (2017) states that, in ancient time, important people such as bishops and rulers used trusted messengers to disseminate messages.

The messenger system in the community of the study area takes place through their indigenous hierarchical administrative structure called *Raabaadoori* (taken from *Gadaa* system). In this structure, at the top is *Damiina*, the clan leader in the community and the next below *Damiina* is *Bokku* who gives information to the *Damiina* and has close relationship with the community. In addition to *Bokku*, there are other eight people with different responsibilities to facilitate the administrative issues. The message moves two ways through this administrative structure as below.

Damiina Bokku Community members

During the regime of emperor Minilik II, the roles of the *Damiinaa* were half taken by appointed representative persons called *Melkegna* and such communication used to take place through one *Melkegna* to the other. When emperor Haileselasie came to power, he restructured the system and appointed landlords called *Garaadaa* and the communication structure became as seen below.

Damiina Bokku Garaadaa Community members
Unlike the present time, Bokku was not necessarily important during the regime of emperor
Haileselassie.

This structure of communication is used in the study area when serious short lived information such as death of a person is disseminated within one clan, but when it is found important to disseminate the information to the whole community across clans, the *Damiinoota* from different clans communicate first and then information is disseminated by messengers traveling on foot or using mule or horse down in each structure and the messenger is asked different crosschecking questions for verification. Then responsible opinion leaders in the community that magnify the information further disseminate the information in the community. Ognyanova (2017) states that, in multistep flow of communication model, the movements of influence and information in a community are augmented by opinion leaders:

Albeit the coming of mobile phone has reduced the role of the messengers at this time, the structure has still been in use in the study area.

3.1.6. Indigenous organizations

As focus group discussants and the interview informants noted, the Oromo community of the study area uses indigenous organizations like mosques and *afoosha/mandara* (traditional associations used to help one another during mainly sad times and happy times) as mass media.

Mosques are used to communicate religious doctrines to the followers. The children use the mosque as media to learn the doctrine of their religion as social learning theory of Bandura states. According to the discussants and informants, the mosques are also used as media to disseminate news of different types. For example, when cattle are lost, the owner of the cattle goes to a mosque and informs all the necessary information to religious leaders. These leaders, in turn, inform the followers. When epidemic disease occurs too, the information is disseminated to the community in the same process. The observation of the researcher, too, proved that even political news are disseminated in the form of prayers such as "May our God save us from the one who is killing our members in..." Those members who did not hear the news (the murder and the death) before hear it now. In all these processes, the role of the opinion leaders is considerable for both news dissemination and influence as has been stated in multistep flow of information discussed in the review of related literature. *Afoosha* is also used to disseminate news in the community in the same manner, but it is mainly known to disseminate death news. Similar to the finding of this research, Oyesomi *et al.* (2014) affirm that indigenous organizations such as assemblies of household heads, mutual-help work groups; religious clusters that gather for prayers are used as mass media in indigenous society.

3.1.7. Signals

In the Oromo where this study was conducted, it used to be customary that children play *Mamada* (religious play of children) beating *Dibbee* (drums made of skin and wood or bowl) and playing *Ulullo* (a flute made of bamboo) when there comes a holiday such as *Arafaa* or fasting season such as *Ramadaan*. When the holiday like *Arafaa* or fasting season like *Ramadaan* comes near, the children beat the drum and play the flute to communicate the coming of the fasting season or the holiday to the community and the same when the fasting season ends, but it is less practiced now. Moreover, *Azan/Adhan* (Islamic call to prayers) of *muezzin/mu'addin* (caller for *salat*- obligatory Islamic prayers) is used as signal in the study area. The *Muezzin* prays louder "*Allahu akbar*!" when something dangerous happens in the area. According to the discussants and informants, if *Azan* is heard out of the regular time in the community of the study area, it is considered as a signal of something new, especially bad news to the mosque or to the community. Therefore, the information is disseminated fast and the community members immediately reach the mosque or get ready in the place where they are.

3.1.8. Symbolic display

The young participants of the study asserted that it is common in the study area to use gesture opposite to what they say in words, especially when they want to escape from unwanted instruction of the government leaders. They call this system *Tiyso Miliyso*. If, for instance, a police man who came from other area searches a boy to jail and orders the father to call his son, the father says to his son "Koottu!" which literally means "Come on!" while moving his hand outward to say "Go away!" or "Escape!" However, the elders stated that this symbolic display is recent creation of the new generation, but not the culture of the community. Whatever it is, this symbolic display is used as a means of communication in the study area at the present time. Agyepong (2017: 1) supports that "Non-verbal mode of indigenous communication is a process of sending and receiving wordless messages such as gestures, postures, body language and facial expression."

3.1.9. Deliberate instruction

According to the data, the elders, parents, grandparents, religious leaders in the study area order and teach the youngsters to follow the value of their community, or what they order them to do. Elders, parents, grandparents, religious leaders communicate the value of the community in the form of deliberate instruction in day to day activities, mainly when there are religious and non-religious ceremonies in the community. One of the informants said "The main actors in deliberate instruction are parents, and grandparents, but mostly grandparents because parents are busy of doing other tasks. The children, too, like to listen to the grandparents." In the same way, Oyesomi *et al.* (2014) conform that parents educate their children, elders direct the youth and in the process, most of the necessary information is transmitted through deliberate instruction rather than through modern media.

3.1.10. Informal channels

The focus group discussants and the interview informants assured that informal channels in the study area include roads, market, *waarii or dori* (one another's visit), workplace, and *aborade* (a practice in which relatives visit one another during 15 days after *ramadaan* started). Oyesomi *et al.* (2014) supports that technical information and skills can be communicated in informal channels such as market, roads, tea house and the like.

3.1.11. Direct observation

As observed by the researcher and affirmed by the focus group discussants and the interview informants, observation is common in the study area. Whether the information is about political, economic or social issues, the children and the elders equally share it. The children also directly observe what the religious leaders do in the community. In this way, the people learn their identity,

cultural value, and share current economic, social and political information. Social learning theory states that people acquire one another's knowledge, via observation, imitation, and modeling (Tham-Agyekum and Loggoh, 2011).

3.2. The Key Actors in the Indigenous Communication in the Study Area

Table 2. Summery sheet of actors in the indigenous communication in Haramaya district

Types of indigenous media	Actors/ responsible persons/ indigenous organizations to disseminate information		
Color scheme	Any concerned persons in the community		
Oral literature	Gifted people in the community		
Deliberate instruction	Elders, parents, grandparents, religious leaders		
Extramundane communication	Warra kadhataa (Prayers)		
Informal channels	Anyone who has new information		
Symbolic display	Any concerned persons		
Signals	Children playing Mamada, Muezzin-people who beat		
	drum in <i>mamada</i>		
Indigenous organizations	Responsible persons in mosque and afooshaa		
Messenger system (Dhaamsa)	Damiinoota, Bokkuu, Opinion leaders		
Direct observation	Parents, elders, religious leaders		
Objectifics:	Animals and objects which have connotative meaning		
	in the Oromo culture of the study area		

Source: Field inquiry, 2020

The focus group discussants and the interview informants approved that the aforementioned human actors in the indigenous communication forms are opinion leaders that disseminate information and influence the community. In the same way, Ognyanova (2017) states that opinion leaders (important individuals who alter the belief and action of community members) magnify the streams of influence and information in a community.

3.3. Roles of the Indigenous Media of the Oromo Community in the Study Area

The empirical analysis proved that the indigenous communication forms have their own roles despite lack of technologies as American press institute [API] (2020) states the role of journalism is determined by the impact on the lives of the people rather than the technology it uses. That means the fact that the indigenous communication forms lack modern technology does not weaken indigenous media from serving journalistic role in the community of the study area. Even though media roles are various, researchers like Holtz- Bacha and Norris (2011) condense detailed roles of media into three basic categories- educating (educate the cultural value, identity, knowledge etc.), entertaining, and informing. On the basis of these three media roles, the roles of indigenous media in the study area have been summarized in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The condensed purpose of the indigenous media

Types of indigenous media	Roles played by the indigenous media
Color scheme	Informing
Deliberate instruction	Educating
Extramundane communication	Connecting the community to Waaqaa/ God
Informal channels	Infotainment (informing and entertaining)
Symbolic display	Informing
Signals	Infotainment (informing and entertaining)
Indigenous organizations	Informing and educating
Messenger system	Informing
Direct observation	Edutainment (educating and entertaining)
Oral literature	Infotainment and edutainment
Objectifics:	Educating and informing

Source: Field Inquiry, 2020

Similarly, Oyesomi *et al.* (2014) found out that while indigenous media such as songs, dances, puppetry, festival, storytelling, plays, debates, proverbs, parades and so on are the harbingers of the mass media. Their primary roles are to entertain the community member, educate their social value, cultural practices, and inform news, feelings and so on.

3.4. Credibility of the Indigenous Communication in the Community

The focus group discussants and the interview informants were asked how credible the indigenous communication forms practiced in the study area are. Their response has been summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4. The discussants' responses and their reasons on the credibility extent of the indigenous media

Responsible people/ institutions to	Credibility extent about three	Credibility extent now
disseminate information	decades ago	
Color scheme	High	High
Oral literature	High	Low
Deliberate instruction	High	Low
Extramundane communication	High	Low
Informal channels	High	Medium
Symbolic display	High	High
Signals	High	High
Indigenous organizations	High	Medium
Dhaamsa (messenger system)	High	High
Direct observation	High	Low
Objectifics	High	Low

Source: Field inquiry, 2020

The words high, medium and low are not exact words of the researcher coded from the speech of the informants and the discussants based on specific parameters, but they are direct words of the informants and the discussants. The discussants and informants explained that 'high credibility' means trusted by most of the audience and 'medium credibility' means trusted by fairly many but not many audiences and 'low credibility' means trusted by small audiences. In the same way, the reference time "about three decades ago" is the response of the discussants and informants to

approximately indicate since when they thought the credibility of the indigenous media in the community started declining.

Mundy and Lloyd-Laney (1992) uphold that indigenous media are more credible than the western media as the owner of the media is the community itself. However, the focus group discussants and the in-depth interview informants did not hide that credibility of the indigenous communication forms in the study area is gradually decreasing. Most of the young generation in the study area is getting reluctant to value the indigenous communication system due to the influence of modern education and the so called modernization (neglecting and belittling the indigenous knowledge while praising and appreciating the western ones), globalization, less attention of the government towards the indigenous communication system, and the clash between religious doctrines and the Oromo *Heera* (the Oromo indigenous constitution). According to the discussants and the informants, the local religions of the study area discouraged the indigenous communication culture like folksongs unless the origin of the communication culture is the religion itself.

As the informants and the discussants further explained, the credibility of these indigenous media was high about three decades ago even though difficult to fix the exact starting time. In addition, they clarified that as the then community members used to keep their cultural values and *kakuu* (vow) used to take place in each clan not to tell lie, the people used to trust information that came through indigenous communication forms of the study area.

4. Conclusion

The Oromo community in the study area has its own communication system rich of manifold indigenous communication forms, arts and knowledge derived from Islam, *Raabaa Doorii* (Indigenous administrative system in Hararghe taken from *Gadaa* system) and other ancient Oromo culture. While the indigenous communication system of the Oromo community is vital aspect of its culture, it has played important roles to preserve its cultural values and identity, to socialize its members, to disseminate its social, political, and economic concerns among them, and to fight for its all rounded rights. In the process of the communication, there are actors (opinion leaders as in multistep flow of communication model) who play their roles to magnify the massage and influence the society. The community members also communicate one another through direct observation and experience as in social learning theory, but now the practicability and credibility of this indigenous communication system is unfortunately decreasing time after time.

However, it does not mean that this indigenous communication system is totally out of function. Though its credibility and practicability decelerate, the indigenous communication system is still practiced and accepted in the study area, especially in the rural communities which, in turn, provides good opportunity to mobilize them to a desired goal. Still, if full attention attended by action is not given to it, this powerful indigenous communication system can be totally replaced by foreign communication culture when the western full-fledged media technology reaches all corners of the community.

5. Recommendations

On the basis of the research findings, the following recommendations have been forwarded.

Governmental and non-governmental organizations are expected to give emphasis to the indigenous communication system in addition to modern media when they plan to reach the community of the study area.

It will also be good if the community, families, and educated members of the community stress on their indigenous communication system to be profited and to preserve it for the future generation. For instance, the modern media and the media technology can be used in harmony with the indigenous ones by using the media technology in the indigenous communication structure instead of total replacement of indigenous communication system by western media. Therefore, it is expected from

religious leaders and influential elders to raise the awareness of the generation towards the use of indigenous communication system for addressing the community.

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