



Power Consolidation, Modernization and Commercial Splendor in Pre-Colonial Africa:

The Case of Wolaita Kingdom (1500's-1894)

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Abstract

This article investigate about the pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita(1500's-1894) that founded by Shuma Gibe(Shum Gayim); a Tigre Malla king who trace his origin from Tembien of Tigray. It gave due emphasis to major socio-economic and political innovations that had been achieved by subsequent kings of Tigre Malla Dynasty. The research had consulted the pre-colonial material culture of the society, work of Chroniclers, European travel accounts and oral data collected from purposively selected ten informers to conclude that pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita, which extends north-south from Ambaricho to Sugamo and east-west from Sidamo to Jimma, was far better than the post 1894 Wolaita Awuraja in socio-economic and administrative novelty. To strengthen this argument, noticeable modernization efforts in administration, modern army organization, improved system of agriculture and dying technologies, mining and minting of coins, telecommunication infrastructure, construction of world class palace, long distance trade routes that connects major market hubs to the coastal area as well as their diplomacy with the neighboring chiefs and colonial powers had been presented. The research also identified that the conquest of Emperor Menilik II had twisted the prestige of ordinary Wolaita in to the subject people whose values, religion, language, dignity, indigenous knowledge of administration, innovation, architecture and olden trade routes were either totally abandoned or deliberately marginalized in favor of the conquering Showa. Finally, the denial of the history of Wolaita's contribution in the battle of Adwa and degrading of the status of indigenous cottage industry had been presented as an indicator of the degree of post conquest marginalization and societal disorder.

Key Words: Wolaita kingdom, Tigre Malla, Modernization, conquest, Wolaita Awuraja

1. Introduction

The term Wolaita stands for both the people who call themselves Wolaita and their country of origin Wolaita land in southwestern Ethiopia. Relatively, Wolaita land is located east of River Omo, west of River Bilate, north of Lake Abaya and south of Kambata and Hadiya(Abesha,2016) Wolaita land, with its total population of 1.7 million, is one of the Zones of Southern Nation, Nationalities and Peoples Region(CSA,2008). The People of Wolaita, which has been the largest among Omotic speaking groups, were settled in a wider area of southwestern and central Ethiopia before the 16th century (Adejumobi, 2007; Merid, 1971; UNESCO V.4, 1981). Nevertheless, the map of Balisky(2009) had depicted the pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita was located to its present position at about 1500's. This assumption was also confirmed by the chronicler of Imam Ahmed Ibrahim el-Ghazi who visited Wolaita in the first half of the 16th century (Shihab al-din, 2003). Archeological, linguistic and oral sources had validated the fact that socio-economic transformation that evolved during the last days of Wolaita Malla(clan)dynasty had resulted in the origin of pre- colonial kingdom of Wolaita (Elias, 1987). Therefore, the research had gave due emphasizes to the history of pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita which extends from 15000's-1894.

There is no agreement among Eurocentric intellectuals on the origin of early state in Africa including the pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita. Some composed works which compiled together by chroniclers appears while denying the very existence of an independent kingdom of Wolaita before the era of colonialism. The scant literatures, which compiled by local chronicles, had discussed the pre- colonial kingdom of Wolaita was large and the most powerful kingdom in what is now southern Ethiopia. The pre- colonial kingdom of Wolaita was governed by a dynasty known as Tigre *Malla*(clan)Dynasty, which ascended to political power owed to their marriage relation with long-standing Wolaita *Malla* Dynasty as well as the extraordinary virtues of their dignitaries that capture the attention of ordinary Wolaita people (Elias, 1987). The Tigre *Malla* Dynasty had governed the kingdom from several administrative centers such as Mount Didaye, Woshi Garuwa and Dalbo. Nevertheless, it failed to discuss the contribution of each Tigre *Malla* king in establishing the modern state structure together with territories under their dominion.

The social compositions of Wolaita's pre-colonial kingdom belong to more than 200 clans which had been stratified in to the three hierarchies. The king holds the highest hierarchy of the society, followed by the ruling elites known as Wolaita *Malla* and Tigre *Malla* clans. The second social hierarchy was represented by *Qoga*(ordinary Wolaitans), which further divided in to several clans and sub-clans. The last level had been represented by *Wogachiya*(smith),*Degela*(tanners) and *Chinasha*(pottery) (Elias,1987). Economically, the people of Wolaita were practicing agricultural activities before the era of colonialism (Medihanit, 2015; Bachech, 2005; Berhanu, 1995). Chiatti (1984) had characterized Wolaita's economic activity as intensive mixed farming where crop production combined with animal husbandry. Mostly, Wolaita's prosperity in terms of surplus production and abundance of cattle population had been discussed by scholars; nevertheless none of them tried to substantiate how this socio-economic splendor was achieved.

The wisdom of Wolaita's sedentary type of farming was also witnessed by the early European travel accounts. Wolaita had been recorded in travel accounts as warehouse of the Ethiopian region and the horn of Africa. The travel account of Europeans and the research findings of economic historians proved the fact that the kingdom of Wolaita bears a comparable economic status with other neighboring pre-colonial states such as the Christian Highland kingdom, Kafa and others (Abbink, 2008; Freeman, 1999). Similarly, the travel account of Alvares (1961) had illustrated that sedentary farming to be the occupation of the inhabitants of the pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita. However, none of these writers had tried to analyses the development of agriculture, crafts and trade in relation to socio-economic transformation which leads to the state formation and modernization. Therefore, this article attempted to fill the gap based on relevant evidences that collected from various sources.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

The rise of states, kingdoms or chiefdoms among the people of southern Ethiopia and Wolaita in particular had been the major themes discussed by the scholars. However, here is no consensus among scholars concerning the status of their socio- economic development and the degree of political loyalty to northern hegemony before the era of colonialism. Ethiopianist thinkers had fabricated a mystical ancient empire known as the 'Greater Ethiopia', whose territorial extent tends to be stretching from the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean and Kilimanjaro area (Habtemariam,1986; Getachew,1997). As noted by scholars; Imperial ideology, which is based on the myth of three thousand years of history, had argued that the whole of Eastern Africa, was

always united, and the people who inhabited these lands including Wolaita were Abyssinian subjects(Tsehay,1975;Abbas,1995). In essence, this mythology had been not supported by tangible evidences instead of justifying Abyssinian conquest and domination over other people.

In the contrary, pro Africanist thinkers like Abink(2006), Bisra(2016) and Abesha(2016) who relayed on archaeological sources and comparative analysis of the living culture of the people, had argued that the pre- colonial kingdom of Wolaita bears a comparable economic and political status with the neighboring kingdoms of Jimma, Kaffa and Showa. Although they had conducted remarkable research, the works of Africanist thinkers had limitations while discussing the dominant ruling dynasties, components of Wolaita's modernization, the societies with whom they had established diplomatic and trade relationship. Hence, in an attempt to strengthen the idea that pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita deserves the most extraordinary civilization in Africa the author of this article had attempted to discuss socio-economic and political achievements that transformed the society before 1894.

1.3. Objective of the Study

The major objective is to reconstruct the history of pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita. Specific objectives of the article are to:

- ✓ Identify the founding dynasty of the kingdom and unique features of the pre- colonial civilization of Wolaita.
- ✓ Explain the major motives of the conquest and strategies that helped the pre- colonial kingdom of Wolaita to annex neighboring territories
- ✓ Describe the components of Wolaita's modernization and its significance in transforming socio-economic and administrative life of the society
- ✓ Identify neighboring societies that had well established diplomatic relation with the pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita.
- ✓ Mention major export items and long distance trade routes that radiates from Wolaita.

1.4. Significances of the Study

The result of the research could bring a variety of benefits for policy makers, local officials and non-governmental organizations that work on alternative development opportunities, peace and wellbeing of the society. Firstly, knowledge about historical premises that led to the rise of pre-colonial civilization could be helpful for policy makers to mobilize the present generation for socio-economic and tourism development. Besides, the pre-1894 indigenous cottage industry could also help future industrialization development of Wolaita. Second, knowledge about social diplomacy improves awareness of the society and other stockholders that concerned with social welfare policy. In this context, it provides them with local experience while articulating tolerance and peaceful co-existence related policies. Therefore, the research findings has a vital significance in boosting agricultural innovation, industrialization process, inter regional commercial activities and investment which leads to economic growth of the nation. Finally, the major findings could be also useful for future researchers that interested to conduct research in the field of the history of pre- colonial kingdoms of southern Ethiopia and Africa in general.

1.5. Scope of the Study

This research gave due emphasis to investigate the effects that modern nationalism had brought on socio-economic and political spender of the pre-colonial Wolaita. It analyses the consequence of administrative reforms, diplomacy, modernization of agriculture, and labor specialization in achieving the objectives of transforming Wolaita society before the colonial era. The research also examine the relationship between long distance trade routes and economic prosperity of the kingdom in the 19th century as well as its long term significance in strengthening military might of kings. The information included in this research was collected from memories of local residents interviewed in Wolaita Zone and Jimma town as well as external travel accounts which had direct time relevance to the topic.

2. Research Methodology

2.1. Research Design

The selection of research design depends on the type of data used in the research and objectives to be achieved. As the research depends up on qualitative data and the motive of the research was to describe major historical events as well as explain major achievements of the pre- colonial kingdom of Wolaita, the use of descriptive type of research design could be suitable.

2.2. Participants of the Study and Sampling Techniques

This research was conducted in Wolaita Zone of southern Ethiopia. As the focus of the study was on pre-colonial history of Wolaita, searching knowledgeable person instead of accommodating diversified informants had been obligatory. Hence, due to the limited nature of knowledgeable informants and difficulty to include the entire population, the research had purposefully selected only ten individuals for interview.

2.3. Tools of Data Collection

The article was written based on data collected through interviews made with ten knowledgeable informants. This process was conducted through presenting unstructured questioners in the form of oral interviews. Besides, the research had employed observation method to see archaeological sites where this civilization emerged and visited museums such as Shoya village, Sodo town and Addis Ababa University where European travel accounts, written documents, records about major export items found. The researcher also employed maps and photographs as a method of documentation and illustration

2.4. Data Analysis Methods

After collecting raw data from the sample population, information had been organized, selected, coded and gave meaning to focal themes for qualitative narrative. Finally, data were analyzed and interoperated through triangulation of the historical data analysis, content analysis and descriptive analysis methods so as to increase validity of primary and secondary sources.

3. Result and Discussion

3.1. The Evolution of Pre- Colonial Kingdom of Wolaita

Some Eurocentric scholars had argued that the idea of state formation was reached southern part of Ethiopia including Wolaita after northern conquest (Haberland, 1975). Some other scholars

like Chiatti (1986), who were not in line with Eurocentric thinkers, had explained the origin of state in Africa in relation to internationally recognized theories. Globally it has been believed that four theories; namely the evolutionary theory, the divine right theory, the force theory, and the social contract theory, are helpful to clarify the origin of any state (Herichon, 2018). As far as the state development is concerned, Wolaita had been characterized by evolutionary theory, the divine right theory and forceful conquest of alien territories. The evolutionary theory or the traditional state specifies early states were developed out of the early settler of the land, which could be at tribal or clan level. The ancient state of Wolaita was evolved from twelve original settlers of the land such as Wolaita *malla*(clan) which later on evolved in to Wolaita *Malla* Dynasty. Historically, it has been believed that Egyptian had adopted divine kingship from Wolaita at about the 15, 000-13,000 B.C, when the clan number in Wolaita were only twelve (Lachias, 2009). The sources in my disposal reveals that there was five elders committee in traditional administration of Wolaita; namely *hayo chima*(administrative and law making committee), *firda chima*(justice committee), *chaqo chima*(crime investigation committee), *sigu chima*(conflict reconciliation committee), and *ola chima*(defense committee) (Offa Woreda Culture, Tourism and Government Communication Office, 2019).

The divine kingship of Wolaita was also evolved during the period of the Wolaita *Malla* Dynasty when the Wolaita clans were only twelve in number. This has been confirmed by the article of Lachians that based up on the data collected during an interview made with a notable American Anthropologist known as Christopher Ehret. According to the research findings of Ehret(1995) and Wendorf, *et al*(1982), ancient Egypt was adopted divine kingship together with the belief in one god(monotheism) from the Horn of Africa. The divine kingship, also characterizes the Wolaita kingdom up to 1894 (Dawit, 1989, Deressa, 1999; Zeleke, 2007). As a divine power, the king exercises not only political power but also had religious authority. Almost all the informants had agreed that the Wolaita kings, both Wolaita *Malla* Dynasty and Tigre *Malla* Dynasty, had a divine power (Zeleke, 2007). In the divine king arrangement, the king had representation of both political and religious power which was exercised through the *Ayana* intuition. According to the Chiatti(1984) “wellbeing of the monarch could be interpreted by the commoners as the wellbeing of the kingdom, ...the king was as much as worshiped because he was God” (p.541).

The third theory which characterizes Wolaita state was the force theory; a forceful conquest of territories. There had been several factors which initiate Wolaita kings to expand their territories in to diverse areas, but religious and economic factors were the most dominant (Abir, 1980; Henze, 2006 and Kirwan, 1972). It was believed that the similarity of atrocities perpetuated up on traditionalists by the Christian invaders and the resultant socio-cultural marginalization imposed up on them gradually obliged Wolaita to develop religious nationalism which led to the emergence of powerful state at about 6th century by king Sasu (Saso) furnishing fertile ground for king Motolomi’s empire building in the 13th century for economic motive (Kirwan, 1972; Balisky, 2009). Likewise, kings such as Ogato(1759-1799)and Amado(1799-1834) were remembered with forceful conquest (Bisrat, 2011). Therefore, the legitimacy of Tigre *Malla* Dynasty had been secured through the divine power and forceful conquest of territories.

3.2. Tigrean Hegemony: Power Consolidation and Territorial Expansion

The rise of Christian and Muslim States had greatly affected the survival of traditionalists. The Christian kings were conducting repeated raids against traditionalist kingdoms of the southwest

including the Wolaita kingdom. The Christian dominance, the people who had less interest in trade activities, and the subsequent alliance with the Muslim communities helped the Sultanates to control resource of the southwest leading to the shift of power balance in the Horn of Africa (Mohammed, 2015; Sergewu, 1972). The magnificence of the Wolaita kingdom was no more continued as the years of pre-Solomonic dynasty due to the several factors. The humiliating defeat of Medieval Wolaita by the forces of the Christian kings and the subsequent threat from neighboring societies forced the people of Wolaita to confine them in fortress of Kindo Didaye. Although the weaker Wolaita *Malla* Dynasty remains in power, the people didn't stopped in search of a capable king who had the might of restoring the glory of ancient Wolaita (Derese, 1999; Zebdiwos, 2018). Therefore, it was the need for security which necessitated the coming of a strong dynasty capable of defending the people. At this historic moment, the powerful Tigre *Malla* Dynasty came to power by the consent of the people in the 16th century.

The Tigre *Malla* dynasty, which secured its legitimacy through the divine power of kings and forceful conquest of territories, was founded by Shumagib (Bureau, 1990; Chiatti, 1984). Though there was no consensus among scholars concerning the period during which the founder of Tigre *Malla* dynasty interred Wolaita, two assumptions had been proposed by scholars about the origin of Tigre *Malla* Dynasty. For example, Fanchu and Eyob (2006) had noted that the founder of Tigre *Malla* Dynasty were soldiers of king Yishak (1414-1429) who sent for Hadiya campaign, but then cut off and interred Wolaita via river Bilate. The statement of these scholars could be acceptable as it confirmed with the idea of the royal chronicle. The second assumption, which was compiled by chronicle of Tigre *Malla* Dynasty, stated that the founder of Tigre dynasty were merchants who came first to Gurage and then to Wolaita from a place called Tembien at about the 16th century (Bureau, 1990). In both cases the information points out Tigran origin of the new dynasty.

The years of the 1500's were perceived as a turning point in the history of Wolaita kingdom for two reasons. Firstly, due to the improvement made in geographical knowledge about the region, scholars like Zozi had managed to locate the kingdom with its name Wolaita, exactly at place where the present day Wolaita Zone has been located (Balisky, 2009). Secondly, the year of 1500's was also marked with the transfer of power from Wolaita *Malla* Dynasty to Tigre *Malla* Dynasty, which ruled Wolaita for nearly half millennium. The founder of Tigre *Malla* dynasty was Shumagib; a person who came from Tembien, Tigray (Bisrat, 2016). The first administrative seat of the new dynasty was at mount Didaye which overlooks the valley of river Omo. Most oral informants had argued early kings of Tigre *Malla* Malla Dynasty gave more emphasis to internal power consolidation. As most of them had been highly concerned by good governance, they were well-known administrators and visionary leaders. Some of them such as King Kote were recognized as prophet king who prophesied about the future conquest of Wolaita by the forces of Menilik, Italy and the military regime (Ashko, 2019).

Some scholars believe that early Tigre *Malla* kings were weaker than those who came to power after king Sana (1707-1748). Nevertheless, it could be too difficult to agree with this idea when we refer the works of Muslim chronicles and early European travel accounts. During the 16th century, the Tigre *Malla* kings had defeated the Muslim power led by Imam Ahmed Ibrahim el Ghazi and the Oromo forces; which were the most powerful in the Horn of Africa (Shihab ad-Din, 2003). Together with, Wolaita phallic stone, which dated back to the 16th and 17th century, had validated that Wolaita's dominion extends up to areas known as Sidamo, Bargamo, and Sufgamo (Lamberti, 1997). The sources also substantiate the fact that the Tigre *Malla* Dynasty's

expansion interest was not northwards; rather it was directed towards southern and south western neighboring territories.

Shihab-al Din(2003) had confirmed that the rulers of Tigre *Malla* Dynasty had been masters of the present day Sidama, Gedeo, and Amaro area, which remembered in history as Sidamo, Bahir Gamo and Sugamo, were under the kings of Wolaita at about 1527. Shihab ad-Din (2003) and Tekletsadik (1966) had elaborated that the inhabitants of Sidamo, Bargamo and Su Gamo were under the administration of the Wolaita king during the wars of Imam Ahmed Ibraim el-Ghazi. In Sidama oral tradition, the pre-17th century inhabitants of Sidama were the *Hoffa* people which Gasparini (1983) had identified as the *Offa* people and their king *Gololche Orde*. In Wolaita language *Offa* and *Orde* represents place name and bigger size respectively. We have villages in Damot Gale and Sodo Zuria which are known by the name *Offa* and a district with the name *Offa*. Probably, indigenous *Offa* who settled around Lake Awasa was pushed westward after the 17th century as a result of repeated pressure from Muslim, Oromo and Sidama forces. Next to King Gololche *Orde's Offa* (late Sidamo), lies the territories of Bahir Gamo and Sugamo, which were located east of Lake Abaya and Lake Chamo respectively (Ministry of Information Ethiopian, 1989). The exact location of these territories could be unclear in modern time, but Lewis (1966) and Braukamper (1980) had located Bahir Gamo eastern shores of Lake Abaya whereas *Suga* denotes a place name that located east of Lake Chamo near Amaro's south western border area.

Right after safeguarding its hegemony, Tigre *Malla* dynasty kings had conducted protracted wars with neighboring Hadiya and Oromo groups who expanded their possession in to Wolaita territory exploiting the decline of Wolaita *Malla's* power. The Tigrean *Malla* Dynasty kings such as Sana, Ogato Amado, Damote, Gobe and Tona had embarked several wars of liberation and conquest in order to restore Wolaita's former glory (Bisrat, 2011). Sana, the son of King Tube, was coroneted as king of Wolaita at about 1707. King Sana (1707-1748) was highly concerned about the annexation of Wolaita territories by strangers and determined to fight against them. He annexed Kulo and Dawuro, and liberated Offa, Humbo, Sore and parts of Boloso from Arsi Orom, Gujji Oromo, Kambata and Hadiya. He tried to liberate the whole Wolaita nevertheless interrupted by a natural death. On the spot of his death, he vowed to bury half of his body out of the grave yards holding shield and spear pointing his face towards the enemy front. And he ordered the fighters shout loudly saying Sana, Sana so that his spirit terrorizes their enemy (Zebdiwos, 2019; Ashko; 2019). King Sana's nationalistic enthusiasm was comparable with France's early nationalism. As Joan of Arc inspired French peasants to fight against English domination of northern France, king Sana had inspired his fellow Wolaita men to liberate their ancestral land from Oromo and Hadiya invaders.

This act of king Sana had inspired the subsequent Woaita kings such as Ogato (1759-1799) to wage war campaign towards North western and north eastern directions and chase those remnant enemy forces who settled there. King Ogato was also made campaigns against the localities of Lante and Malo which are located south and Southwest of Wolaita respectively. King Ogato had acquired all the territories not only through fighting, but also through trickeries and the use of spays which he recruited among the people of Gamo, Gofa, Kucha, Kambata. King Ogato was replaced by his son king Amado who liberated Damota area and established his capital at historic Damota(kawo-Garusa). Having defeated the forces of Marako(Hadiya), king Amado(1799-1834) had finished unification of Wolaita and started the construction of- 67.2 km or 42 miles defense

system around the kingdom. The purpose of this defensive wall known as *Amado Kela* was to protect Wolaita from the attack of enemy cavalry. The defensive wall, which incorporated the entire territory of Wolaita, also served as boundary demarcation (Bisrate, 2011; Zebdiwos, 2019). After King Amado(1799-1834), what king Gobe(1845-1890) had done was constricting fortification in Konta and Dawuro country to stop periodic raids of Menit and Goldia pastoralists coming from the lower Omo valley whereas king Tona(1890-1894 raided illegal Showan hunters who were held in Churchura dominion of Wolaita. .This was because, as Aba Jiffar II accepted king Menilik's vassalage, Showa and Wolaita kingdoms became neighbors after 1880's(Girma, 2017; Marcus, 1966; Zebdiwos, 2019)

The major factor behind Wolaita's success in liberating their territories and annexation of a vast area of alien territories was associated with effectiveness in army training, equipment provision and organization together with its strong-minded army leadership. The kingdom possesses large army, which partaken traditional trainings in both physical fitness and cavalry tactics. Training that had been offered to pre-colonial Wolaita army was classified in to two; physical stamina and horse riding techniques. To guarantee physical endurance of the fighters, exercises such as (throwing), *habelue* (wrestling), *Salute* (jumping) and swimming were given to each soldier. The sources in our disposal reveals horse riding techniques of the army comprises *Sholawa Tuwaa*(swift attacking), *Sonde Pretewa*(to ride on slopes), *Aderaswa*(for tuning the activity of the enemy),and *Germamuwa*(to spy enemy standing on horses back). Army organization of the pre-colonial kingdom was very unique in its nature (Solomon and Sudhakara 2018). According to Asela, (2011) the king ordered each first born son of the family to be assigned in borderlands with new farm lands as salary. The system of assigning youngsters on several military outposts makes Wolaita's army organization similar with Zulu's army organization of South Africa (Ilife, 2007).

3.3. Diplomatic Recognition to the Might of Wolaita Kings

Diplomatic relation of Wolaita with its neighbors had been one of the major themes that attracted researchers. Most scholars had argued that Wolaita kings were established diplomatic relations through political marriage (Chiatti, 1984). On the other hand, when we analyze the political marriage of Wolaita in relation to marriage tradition of the Horn of African societies, it could be too difficult to accept this assumption. In older times, political marriage had been common among the kings of Ethiopian principalities. Most of the time, political marriage was arranged by weaker kings to minimize threat coming from the powerful regional lords, *Imams* and kings or else to expand his influence among neighboring kingdoms and principalities. The king of Hadiya had offered his daughter for Imam Ahmed Ibrahim el-Ghazi whereas *Ras Ali* had arranged marriage relation with Emperor Tewodros ;(Shihab al Din,2003;Bahiru,2002). In the contrary, it was not heard while Wolaita kings present their daughter to the neighboring kings calculating its political gain. Therefore, the marriage between daughters of neighboring rulers and Wolaita kings could be not associated with political marriage, but it was a diplomatic recognition for might and the growing power of the Wolaita kingdom.

Before the ascendancy of the Tigre *Malla* dynasty, southern, southwestern, western neighboring principalities were not controlled by Wolaita. Meanwhile, the lower banks of river Omo, which was major hunting ground for northern Ethiopians and Swahili adventurers(Garretson,1980), had been effectively controlled by Wolaita's king Gobe(1845-1890)(Girma,2017;Zebdiwos,2018).

As it annexed vast territories, Wolaita becomes the master of enormous resources such as musk, ivory, animal hides and gold which merchants and hunter wanted to benefit from. At the same time, merchants had doubts to exploit these resources without the consent of Wolaita kings who were always in parade of demonstration their supremacy in the region. For example, when marriage between Temima(Digiti) Jiffar I and king Gobe had been celebrated at Jiren, he arrived with five thousand tough soldiers holding five live tigers to show Wolaita's supremacy at the court of Jimma (Nejib,2019). Therefore, the first reason for the neighboring kings to establish marriage relation with the kingdom of Wolaita was attributed to the presence of unexploited resource in the hands of its undefeated kings.

The second reason that motivated Wolaita's neighbors to establish political marriage with its kings was the relative peace and stability that prevail though out pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita. Like European democracies, pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita was led by elected bi-cameral national council known as *balimola*; which comprises the house of 8 *balimola* and and house of 54 *balimola*(Bisrat,2016). The pre-colonial kingdom had managed to develop modern state structure, which subdivided in to the kingdom, sub-province, district, village and sub village with respective political authority of *kawo*(king) at the top hierarchy and followed by, *mandida danna*, *heeraga danna*, *huduga* and *uduma*. Throughout Wolaita, the king had managed to establish a tight state structure and administration in order to sustain peace and order. The kingdom was divided in to seven districts known as *Lapun Danna*, which farther subdivided in to *Shucha* (villages). In every hierarchy officials who had both political and legal authority were assigned. As a result, pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita was in a complete peace where everybody from outside could travel and trade peacefully (Ayele, 2015). Therefore, one of the major achievements of Tigrean hegemony could be credited to economic opportunity that gets momentum as a result of peace and stability of southwestern Ethiopia. In those days, the free movements of peoples, ideas, values and merchandises were possible across the vast kingdom of Wolaita.

Attracted by resource of Wolaita and the peaceful environment of Wolaita merchants from the kingdoms of Jimma, Hadiya, Kambata,Gamo,Dawuro and Sidama had traded across Wolaita without any security problem. For example, more than one hundred Muslim from Jimma were arrived at the court of Gobe in Wolaita accompanying queen Tamima(Digiti) and settled there. Then after, merchant caravan from Jimma had been traded as far as Dilla and Gardula making their center among Muslim communities of Wolaita (Seyoum, 2012; Yonas and Zahorik, 2017). The movement was not only from neighboring kingdom, but the people of Wolaita were also traded with faraway regions (Betana, 1983; Surafel, 2008). Externally, the fame of Wolaita kings and its untapped natural resources attracted not only merchants and hunters of neighboring kingdoms and principalities, but also engineers (architects), explorers, missionaries and other fortune seekers Europeans. In both cases, it created favorable condition for Wolaita to establish pleasant relation with its neighbors and colonial powers such as France (Asela, 2011).

3.4. Modernization of Wolaita: Economic and Administrative Novelties

The pre- Menilik modernization of Wolaita appears vague conclusion until it has been supported with eye witness account of travelers. Stigand (1969) had stated“[Wolaita] appear to have reached a very advanced state of civilization for an African tribe, until just lately, entirely cut off

from the outer world” to substantiate the fact that pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita had really managed to revitalize modernization and socio-economic transformation. Economically, the period was characterized by Wolaita’s agricultural innovation. In European history, the years of the 18th and 19th century were associated with agricultural revolution, the period during which European agricultural productivity increased to supply food sufficiently for their ever growing population. According to Chappine, (2020), increased availability of farm land, improved crop yield, more livestock and a favorable climatic condition of Europe were the major contributing factors to agricultural revolution. Likewise, the kingdom of Wolaita was also interred the era of agricultural revolution in between the 18th and 19th centuries when its charismatic rulers had introduced modern system of cattle breeding and land holding reforms in lowland areas (Besrat, 2011;Eyasu, 2018).

Agricultural modernization program of pre- colonial Wolaita kingdom had been attached with increasing the size of farmland, provision of irrigation canals and improvement of cattle breed needed to establish modern dairy farming. The initiative to expand agricultural farmland in to peripheries was started during the period of king Ogato(1759-1799). *Ogaton Otta Kesssiyageeta*, which means, “King Ogato had conquered low land areas, and provided us additional farmland” (Besrate, 2011). Of course he died of malaria before accomplishing his task; king Ogato’s initiative was followed by the subsequent kings. According to Zebdiwos(2019), king Amado (1799-1834) had sustained the idea of king Ogato’s modernizing the agricultural sector. He constructed irrigation canal known in history as *Sumamo bohuwa* (*sumamo* canal) which radiates from river Shapa to irrigate the adjacent farmlands. King Amado also introduced modern cattle husbandry at *Woshi Garo* and distributed among the farmers. When the pre-colonial kingdom was at its peak during the period of King Gobe(1845-1890), the fertility of cattle and crop yield had reached amazing stage. Agricultural revolution enabled Wolaita to produce an extra crop yield which could sufficiently feed ever increasing population as well as the emergent elites such as *ballimola*(representative of the people) *tora gadawa*(war leader), *dana*(judge) and several types of craft workers (Zebdiwos, 2019 and Asela,2011).

Historically the origin of division of labor or labor specialization was related with the growing need for particular product and the development of trade activities leading to early form of industrialization. The criteria for Wolaita’s labor specialization had been comparative advantage in which craftsmen were best at producing certain goods and easily exchanged them with other societies. Accordingly, labor specialization of the pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita gave more emphasis to iron smelting and weaving cottage industries instead of pottery (Chiatti, 1984). Iron was the most valuable item produced by a distinctive social group known as *wogachia*(smith). During pre- colonial period, iron was excavated from Wandara near Damota Mountain, Dame River valley along Qucha - Wolaita border areas (Deressa, 1999; Cerulli, 1956; Fancho and Eyob, 2006). Weaving skills was also well known in pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita. In those days, Wolaita rates one of the centers where cloth manufacturing was evolved in Africa. Ethno-archaeological materials reserved at *Shoya* Museums and the research work of Bisrat(2016) had authenticate that the people of Wolaita used to wear dyed cotton made cloths. Besides, European early travel accounts witnessed weavers in pre- colonial Wolaita were using modern looms comparable to Europeans (Hodson, 1927). Weavers of pre-colonial kingdom had demonstrated a civilization more advanced than its neighbors. In those days, weaving was conducted by a special group known as *shimagna*.

King Gobe(1845-1890), who was charmed for his innovation, had been ambitious to introduce western technological and administrative advancement in Wolaita. The period of Gobe was coincided with the time when more and more westerners began traveling to Wolaita for colonial conquest, trade, hunting and other reasons. As a matter of fact, king Gobe had managed to inaugurate telephone network which links Dalbo, capital city of the kingdom with Wachamo town of the northern neighboring kingdom of Hadiya. Through this telephone network, his grandson king Tona had managed to communicate with neighboring colonial forces such as France, Italy and England to support his struggle against southward expansion of King Menilik II (Asela, 2011). An Indian engineer known as Tikham, who built King Aba Jiffar II's palace at Jimma, also came to Wolaita and constructed royal palace at a place called Dalbo. The palace, which was at ground plus one level, had been the most sophisticated and built by European standard (Kibru, 2019; Woldemariam). As proven by archeological excavation, architectural design of the palace was rectangular instead of the traditional circular Wolaita houses (Meskele, 2020; Zeritu, 2020; Bushare, 2020 ; Bergene, 2020).

Traditionally, the kings in Wolaita used to punish political opponents with capital punishment, which had been executed at a place called *Holoze* near Wosh Garo by the special squadron of *Chinasha*(pottery). Besides, some critics had blamed the ruling elite for abusing the rights of citizen to own property (Asela,2011). In older days, forced labor conscription had been also common in Wolaita(Eyasu,2018 and Ashko,2019). However, pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita had developed a mechanism which could help to protect the right of its community members, entitle freedom of ownership and rational justice in the court since the 19th century. Particularly, during the period of Gobe(1845-1890), the kingdom stopped forced labor, preserved freedom of people and allowed the right to own property. King Gobe had also introduced salaried soldiers and banned the use of *Holoze* for capital punishment of political opponents (Asela, 2011). Therefore, human right and ownership reforms of king Gobe, which materialized in the 19th century, had precedence to the post WWII universal declaration.

3.5. Major Trade Routes, Market Places and Merchandises

The livelihood of pre-colonial society of Wolaita was not only dependent up on mixed farming but also supported by trade and the production of various craft works such as smiting, weaving and tanning activities. Craft skills such as weaving were well known in pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita. Wolaita's surplus products were exported to distance places and communities through a system known as long distance trade route. There was four trade routes, namely Dawro-Jimma(slave and ivory) trade rout, Kucha-Zala(iron) trade route, Sidama-Gedeo(Buluko and Salt) trade route, and Kambata-Hadiya (Woyaka) trade rout which radiates from the biggest market center of Yakima Woga and the later Dalbo (Chiatti,1984;Betana;1983;Surafel,2008; Zebdiwos,2018). Among these trade routes, those of Sidama- Gedeo and Dawro-Jimma trade routes were the most important interns of the volume of its export items and revenue.

Sidama-Gedeo trade route which had been frequently used by Wolaita merchant caravans was identified as Berbera trade route before the 17th century. In this commerce, commodities such as *Buluko*(the heavy Wolaita coats), *Shaluwa*(cotton thread), *Karetta* (red brown or dyed threads), iron ore and others had been exported through Yekima Woga-Koyra-Offa(later Sidama)-Dawaro(later Bale)-Berbera. Yakima Woga was located in the area of mineral abundant Kindo Didaye and Kindo Halale mining centers. According to Merid (1972), this trade route connects

Wolaita and its vassals such as Koyra and Offa with the port city of Berbera via ancient Dawaro kingdom of the present day Arsi-Bale area of Oromiya regional state. However the Berbera trade rout was converted in to Sidama-Gedeo trade route after the fall of Offa in to the hands of Sidama in the 17th century (Betana, 1983).

The Sidama-Gedeo trade was diverted to south eastern territories of Sidama, Gedeo and Guji-Borana land instead of Berbera whereas the route was also converted to Dalbo-Shabadino Dilla trade route (Betana, 1983). The major export items were *buluko*, *shaluwa*, *karetta* and traditional cloths of both male and female with various age groups (Bisrat, 2016). The *Buluko*, which has a comparable quality with the *Dogon* cloth of the ancient Mali (West Africa), was much popular and appreciated in all markets of its neighbors. When the weavers wanted to make a commercial *buluko*, they adorn the border strips near the *buluko*'s end with indigenous red brown thread that prepared through the process of thread dyeing technology. In the early days of the trade, cotton thread known as *Shalwa* was used as a currency before it totally replaced by iron made Wolaita currency known as the *Marchuwa*. *Shalwa* and *Marchowa* as a currency were used not only in Wolaita, but also among the societies that settled along this trade rout as well (Betana, 1983). This in turn substantiates the fact that the development of agriculture and trade had brought tremendous improvement on the living standard of the people leading to socio-political transformation in the region.

Wolaita was known for its cultural and artistic traditions such as cloth dyeing. Like many West Africans, cloth dyeing was practiced with special quality. In West Africa, the dyeing process takes place after weaving of the cloth has been completed whereas it takes place before weaving takes place in Wolaita or in its thread form. The color with which the dyeing process takes place also varies in both cases. While plant sources such as bark, leaves, berries and roots used in West Africa, colorful soil types were preferred in Wolaita (Tussah, 2015). In an attempt to explain the procedure, Surafel (2008) "After it was weaved ...the [cotton thread] was buried in the soil for fifteen days so that it would take the color of the soil (red brown) and becomes heavy" (p.43). Like *buluko*, *karetta* was also the main source of income among weavers of medieval Wolaita (Besrat, 2016). Since Wolaita deserves the only place in the south where cloth dyeing had been a long established tradition, and trade items such as red brown threads (*karetta*) was exported to other places. Before the introduction of *marchua*, *karetta*(thread)was serving as a medium of exchange in the business of Wolaita and its neighbors like Sidama(Surafel, 2008 and Betana, 1983).

The second major trade route, which had been termed as Jimma-Omo-Dilla trade route in older times, was Dawuro--Jimma trade route. Besides its strategic location on this long-distance trade and the presence of trading Muslim communities of Jimma who dominated trade activities, king Gobe's conquest of the western Omo valley area had helped Wolaita to control the major sources of commodities (Girma, 2017). Therefore, this trade route gets momentum after the conquest of Dawuro and Konta. While Wolaita merchants were trading up to Bonga and Jimma, merchants from Jimma traded up to Dilla and Gardula crossing the vast Wolaita country. In those days, tropical product of Wolaita such as musk, ivory, tiger hides, and gold was traded with perfumes, manufactured cloths, muslin (*shash*), colored silk and other articles that came from Red Sea littorals via Jimma(Zebdiwos,2019; Seyoum, 2012 ;Yonas and Zahorik, 2017).

3.6. The Conquest of Wolaita and the Subsequent Center- Periphery Dilemma

The coming of king Tona(1890-1894) was preceded by forty years of complete peace and prosperity of pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita. Meanwhile, the kingdom had faced two serious problems in the years of 1880's which could destabilize its survival as well as socio-economic and political splendor of the people of Wolaita. In 1888, the aged king Gobe announced his younger son *Bushasha*(crown prince) Hadero was heir to the throne after the death of his elder son *Bushahsa* Gaga. In addition to the sudden death of the crown prince Gaga, the threat of colonialism had shocked the welfare of Wolaita. When revival of Showan interest was heard, it created division among the Wolaita society. The overwhelming majority had supported fighting against the enemy force whereas the minority supported peaceful submission. The two parties were represented by Tona Gaga and Hadero Gobe respectively. Analyzing the interest of the people, the *balmola* (people's representatives) had declared Tona to be the next king of Wolaita. As described by social contract theory, the radical government of king Tona came to power by consent of the people (Bisrat, 2016). King Tona also became commander in chief of the Wolaita army which had been nearly 20,000(Asela, 2019). When Tona's kingship was realized, the people of Wolaita became very happy and confident enough to defend their country from the threat of enemy force due to his extraordinary military capability and tactics.

Initially, king Menilik had planned to subdue Wolaita through his generals such as *Dejazmach* Beshah, *Dejazmach* Tekle, *Ras* Leul Seged and *Ras* Mengesha Atikm. After seven unsuccessful wars of the generals, the king had decided to lead the war himself accompanied by notable generals of Adwa. In addition, king Menilik had been supported and consulted by some defected groups who were against king Tona. The deceive battle was fought in between 1-16 December 1894(Bisrat, 2016). Wolaita-Showan war represents the bloodiest battles Menilik had never fought in other parts of Ethiopia (Bahru, 2002). Unfortunately, the victory of the last combat; the battle of *Qontola*, had been in favor of Showa and king Tona was retreated to Boroda around river *Chilash*e for tactical reason (Bisrat, 2011). Nevertheless, the wounded king was captured after three days of defensive war and deported to Addis Ababa the capital city of Showa. In Wolaita-Showa war thousands were killed indiscriminately, and more than 25,800 men and women captives were deported elsewhere in the Horn of Africa (Asela, 2011; Zebdiwos, 2019).

After king Menilik's victory, his soldiers had looted everything they found including, the *kalacha*(crown) and 200 kg gold from the kings treasury more than 40,000-54,000 cattle. Dalbo, the capital city of the kingdom and the most populous urban center in colonial Africa, where the palace and several government offices found, was set fire. All the houses with its five hundred year treasuries including the magnificent palace of Tona; seventy houses in the palaces inner circle which served as residence of top dignitaries, court, a treasury house and meeting center and 2800 houses of generals and warehouse of exportable items in the outer compound were turned in to ash (Bisrat, 2016; Zebdiwos, 2019; Woldemariam, 2020). The plunder, which had been characterized by looting of human and material resources, was remembered in history as the total collapse of the kingdom and the beginning of Wolaita's socio-political humiliation (Marcuss, 1966). The kings status was decreased from kingship to *balabat*, (hereditary owner of the land) whereas the kingdom's status was changed in to *Awraja*(sub province). Wolaitans were no more governed from king's capital city Dalbo, but from the military garrison or *ketema* at Sodo (Woldemariam, 2020; Marcuss, 1966).

Some scholars like Bisrat(2016) had argued that the major reason for the defeat of king Tona's army was only due to the presence of European modern arms in the hands of Menilik. But I do't think so when we evaluate the previous seven battles which were won repeatedly by Wolaita. I think king Tona overlooked those who betrayed him. Tona's uncle Hadero, who had been competing for the throne, was exiled to Jimma(Zebdiwos,2018). Other anti Tona individuals such as Wozito Wobilo and Lomina Adare were also submitted to Menilik(Ashko,2019). Almost all the formants had substantiated that it was the advice of these people which break up Wolaita's resistance instead of Menilik's modern armaments. Wozito Wobilo and Lomina Adare had advised Menilik to open additional three fronts from the direction Sidamo,Dawuro and Gamo instead of fighting only in Kambata-Qontola front in which Wolaita was advantageous. They also advised Menilik to burn the entire Wolaita villages from behind to demoralize morals of the front fighters.

Why Menilik preferred Wolaita campaign instead of preparing himself for the battle of Adwa? Some had argued that king Menilik was decided to fight against Wolaita to minimize the probable Italian subversive policy in the south in collaboration with king Tona. Of course, when we analyzed Wolaita's repeated raids in to Showan realm together with king Tona's enthusiasm to communicate neighboring colonial powers; it could be acceptable to some extent (Marcuss, 1966). Some other groups, who recall lootings of those days, believe that Menilik's hasty campaign to Wolaita was to get economic resource desired to fight Italian advance in northern Tigray (Holcomb and Sisay, 1990). However; their analysis failed to consider the extra ordinary capabilities of Wolaita's cavalry which halted Menilik's advance almost for seven years. As to me, it was not only resource which attracted Menilik, but also in search of Wolaita's human resources needed to fight against Italian colonialism. Hence, the major reason for Menilik's campaign to Wolaita was to recruit cavalry fighters which remain vanguard of Ethiopian army at the battle of Adwa in 1896. After the fall of Wolaita, numerous Wolaita's young men, which had been member of king Tona's cavalry force, were recruited and taken to *Duke Zale* in Konta country to stay there till the battle of Adwa (Zebdiwos, 2019).

The heroes of Wolaita were participated in the battle of Adwa in two ways. Some brave men, who easily understood the consequence of colonialism, were directly involved in the battle leading their own army contingent. Wolaita's leading fighters such as *Dejazmach* Girma Sanato, Hatero Haniche and others had played a vital role in the struggle against Italian colonialism at Adwa. Hundreds and thousands of war captives, who incorporated in to several imperial army units, were also vanguard fighters at the Battle of Adwa (Ashko, 2019; Woldemariam, 2020). Wolaita's heroic dead was not restricted at Adwa, but also had manifestations in anti-fascism during the Second World War. Anti-fascist personalities such as Abune Petros(born in Gununo), who refused to condemn the act of freedom fighters, became a martyr in 1936. However, the extraordinary contribution of these people was deliberately ignored in the historical discourse of Ethiopia (Zebdiwos, 2019). Similarly, the fate of Wolaita's technocrats who played a great role at national and regional level was almost the same.

The post 1894 development had neither benefited Wolaita society nor merited by the central government. Almost all resource including its creative human labor was diverted towards Entoto, Awasa or Arbaminch towns instead of enriching the people of Wolaita. The continual movement of people and resource from the kingdom of Wolaita to Showa had changed center-periphery conceptualization in the region. Before 1894, Wolaita's capital Dalbo city had been a center

where the diplomats reside and very busy in receiving telephone calls coming from the Red Sea littorals and other places. Nevertheless, the conquering force who feels distressed at Wolaita's efficiency of constructing modern telephone network prior to Showa had ordered its soldiers to uproot poles that were erected from Dalbo to Wachamo. Wolaita and its capital had been the epicenter of modernization and a place where four trade routes converges. After 1894, Wolaita became periphery for the government at Addis Ababa; a place where less emphasis was given to allocate resources, political representation and investment flow. Since then, the past glory was drastically decreased to the extent whatever Wolaita demised (Bisrate, 2011; Zebdiwos,2019).

4. Conclusion and Recommendation

4.1. Conclusion

The Tigre *Malla* Dynasty rulers, which kindled the idea of modern Wolaita nationalism, were the founders of pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita(1500-1894). The nationalist kings such as Sana, Ogato Amado, Damote Gobe and Tona had been characterized by liberation of Wolaita's lost areas, territorial expansion and modernization of Wolaita. Politically, the pre- colonial kingdom was on the process of transforming from absolute monarch to a kind of monarch who exercised his power through consent of the people. Economically, it also characterized by modernization of agricultural production. In particular, extremely fertile soil and favorable climatic condition of Wolaita had made the kingdom to be identified with excess of crop production and large cattle population. Agricultural revolution had led to the production of more food which can sufficiently supply for ever increasing population, emergent court elite groups, craft workers, iron industry and revival of trade leading to urbanization and labor specialization.

Production system had been supplemented through labor specialization. The Wolaita society was divided in to artisan and tillers of the land. In those days, artisans were devoted their time in cottage industries making material needed for survival and agricultural production instead of thinking about what they eat. According to the law of the land, tillers of the land were expected to provide them with sufficient amount of grain per year. The minerals extracted and the materials produced by the artisan were stored in king's warehouses as treasury. For the above mentioned reason, we can conclude that pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita was better than post-colonial Wolaita *awuraja* in terms of agricultural transformation, modernizing of army organization, labor specialization, founding cottage industry, human right protection and so forth which could proudly be mentioned to the new generation. After the conquest, leave alone modernization elements, indigenous values of the people had been gradually abandoned to the extent they were undermined by the society.

The pre-colonial kings of Wolaita had consolidated their authority through military might to control resourceful areas and to get diplomatic recognition. As a result of its extraordinary war capability and modern state structure, pre-colonial kingdom of Wolaita was remembered by its peace and stability which had attracted several, merchants, hunters and travelers from several Ethiopian principalities and nearby colonial powers. Merchants from Dawro-Jimma trade rout, Kucha- Zala trade route, Sidama-Gedeo trade route, and Kambata-Hadiya trade route converges at market places to trade surplus production, craft works and iron ore. The pre- colonial trade network which benefited the entire Wolaita was blocked in favor of Showa after 1894, a society that had no history of trade link with Wolaita.

The year 1894 was a water shade in the history of pre- colonial kingdom of Wolaita. It marked by the decline of the status of pre-colonial Wolaita kingdom and its king. Since then Wolaita was no more became the center of enlightenment, investment and commerce; rather it was converted in to periphery; a place where nobody thinks about investment instead of looting its resource to enrich others. The overall marginalization had resulted in higher frequency of Amharanization and the subsequent amalgamation in to WOGAGODA, which was aimed at vanishing Wolaita identity. Therefore, any initiative of development in Wolaita should consider historical premises that led to the blossoming of pre-colonial kingdom. Hence, the forthcoming socio-economic and administrative inventiveness need to consider the people as major actors and Wolaita its center of development as king Tona and his ancestors did earlier.

4.2. Recommendations

The research had make known Wolaita's pre-colonial state structure, modernization efforts of its people in increasing production, improving administrative and army organization, building sophisticated palaces, minting of coins, diplomatic brilliance and efficiency in managing diverse trade routes, has multidimensional significance for national and local policy makers. As any purposeful research, the article has forwarded the following policy recommendations for economic, administrative reformers, heritage conservation, inter-regional social harmony policy makers of Wolaita and Ethiopia at large.

- ❖ Wolaita deserves the status of sovereign state in southern Ethiopia which had capable of controlling its territory effectively and preserving internal stability. The kingdom of Wolaita also had developed modem type of .administrative structure, kings, officials, elite soldiers and other institutions. However, the inventions of humankind in Wolaita had been less considered by subsequent Ethiopian rulers while establishing regional state structure since the 1894. Therefore, the research finding has great significance in justifying Wolaita's political quest for the Regional State instead of Zone which might be not compatible with its historic political status.
- ❖ Economically, the research finding could benefit policy makers of Wolaita in two ways. Firstly, conservation and restoration of old palaces, craftwork locations, numismatics and other intangible heritages of the period could serve as tourist sites which will be helpful for job creation. Secondly, king's inventiveness in establishing cottage industries at Dalbo could kindle industrialization initiatives of the present-day leadership of Wolaita.

In the near future, Wolaita has countless chance to become the major commercial hub of southern Ethiopia where large number of traders met at a point. Besides, there is a growing interest among the people of Wolaita to make their country one of the major destination of tourists, religious conferences and medical tourism. However, it could be too difficult to achieve this motive without ensuring strong inter-ethnic harmony and creating tourism friendly conducive environment. Therefore, pre-colonial marriage diplomacy of Wolaita kings with the dignitaries of neighboring societies could serve as an input for policy makers to boost multi-dimensional interaction among the people of Wolaita and their adjacent neighbors

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Dalbo Town

Interviews: Ashiko (12/02/2019) Areka Town

Interviews: Woldemariam Lisanu (05/02/2020) Sodo Town

Interviews: Zebdiwos Chama (04/12/2019), Woshi Garo village

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