

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

**Society and State in the Balé Lowlands: Interplay of Divergent Interests in Center-
Periphery Interrelations in Southeastern Ethiopia, 1891-1991**

By:

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**SOCIETY AND STATE IN THE BALÉ LOWLANDS: INTERPLAY OF DIVERGENT
INTERESTS IN CENTER-PERIPHERY INTERRELATIONS IN SOUTHEASTERN
ETHIOPIA, 1891-1991**

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School of Graduate Studies

This to certify that the Dissertation prepared by Kefyalew Tessema, entitled “Society and State in the Balé Lowlands: Interplay of Divergent Interests in Center-Periphery Interrelations in Southeastern Ethiopia, 18891-1991” and in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy (in history) complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Society and State in the Balé Lowlands: Interplay of Divergent Interests in Center-Periphery Interrelations in Southeastern Ethiopia, 1891-1991

Kefyalew T. Semu

ABSTRACT

For much of its known history in the medieval period, Bali was known as the southern borderland of the Christian Highland Kingdom, where the latter stationed frontier guards and Muslim sultanates sent waves of raiding parties up to the 16th century. Bali's relation with these states was thus characterized by the latter's efforts to subdue and Bali's effort for autonomy. Its social landscape was diversified by the process of fusion and fission. (I don't think the reference to Bali/Bale before the 1890s is necessary in the abstract. That is background information)

This dissertation investigates dynamics, local narratives, regional complexities and minorities' role in society-state relation 1880s -1990s. (Explain a little more what the key issues are)The findings show that since the conquest of the region in the 1880s, state-society relations was shaped by the scramble of colonialists for the region, whose legacies polarized interest of the lowlanders, changed the pattern of local interactions and their collective relation with the Ethiopian state. These dynamics had accentuated both cooperation and competition in center-periphery relations by interlinking the interest of agents of the center on the periphery and vice versa. The study argues against writing of the history of pastoralists for peasants, a distant view of the periphery as a homogeneous entity and silence on the audible role of riverine cultivators in the regional history. (This is something that should come at the end of the abstract by way of conclusion.)

This history shows administration of the vast lowlands from distant garrisons that changed the pre-existing local power relations using its agents was unable to deliver immediate justice and therefore the region remained socio-economically and politically little incorporated into the center. Despite the growth of public grievances into localized protest before the Italian interlude, which gave it ethnic and religious catalysts imbedded in the ideology and technology of violence, the restored regime that was unaware of these emerging dynamics pursued coercive rule. Consequently, the Oromo and Somali pastoralists, who had conflicting interests, created a strategic alliance based on shared Islamic faith, **pastoral livelihood**, history of domination and **lowland ecosystem**. They waged the *jagahir*, *dhombur* and *sowra* wars against the imperial and *Dārg* regimes respectively in which some governors cooperated with them and loyalists among them served the state, which enjoyed also the partnership of some riverine societies. Somalia, intervened by arming and training the insurgents and worsened the violent state-society relations since 1960. These resistances therefore **contributed a lot** for the 1974 and 1991 revolutions but brought little reform on the periphery. In the 1990s, politicization of ethnicity brought new trends in identity competitions though unable to pacify the Balé lowlands. Consequently, instability, famine, insurgency and underdevelopment have dominated its history.

Three things that should be included in the abstract are: The key problem examined in the dissertation; the central argument of the work and the methodology used in the dissertation. Try to rework the abstract by leaving out the extraneous material about Bali and development before 1880s and clearly stating your argument and methodology. Use clear and concise terms and sentences as well.

PREFACE

This dissertation has developed out of a slight modification of my original dissertation proposal on “The Dube Nationality and their Neighbors: Identity and Interrelations of Peoples and Polities in Balé lowlands, 1880s-1990s.” But I faced shortage of written historical sources for some of the period covered by the dissertation and therefore the drafts of my first five chapters read more like an anthropological study of the Dube than a reconstruction of the experience of the Dube and their neighbors over a slightly one hundred year period. Since most of the available written and oral sources on Bale that I collected focus on state-society relations, my advisor encouraged me to modify the title of the dissertation with no change to the period or geography that was covered in the former proposal. The societies of the Balé lowlands that this dissertation deals with include the Dube who are endogamous riverine cultivators that live along the Wabé-Shebellé River and in offshoot sites and the Arsi Oromo and Somali pastoralists. The Dube are the least studied of the populations of lowland Bale as opposed to the Oromo and Somali who have received a better treatment in these studies.

This dissertation is a conclusion of over a decade of study of the Balé lowlands focusing on histories of minority groups, state-society relations, and resistance to state centralization efforts over a century period. Over this decade, I gained the experience of working with informants who revised their narratives on an issue in response to changes in local and national politics. But this does not make oral data totally unreliable. It requires additional effort on the part of the researcher to cross-check and verify these data. The recent violent conflict along the common border between the Oromia and Somali Regional States in the Balé lowlands, where conflict has become endemic, has changed my fieldwork effort from a tough task into mission impossible.

There was serious security problem that prevented me from visiting distant towns in the former El-Kere sub-province and conduct oral interview with informants. In the face of such a challenge, I had to be innovative and hence have managed to conduct several telephone interviews with notable elders and also meet a few of them in Addis Ababa.

The dissertation presents a historical analysis of convergent and divergent narratives of the societies of the Balé lowlands by focusing on separate and collective identities, interrelation among themselves and their relation with state. Towards this end, I have collected, analyzed, synthesized and interpreted oral sources such as oral traditions, genealogical data, lived experiences and eyewitness accounts, observation of cultural sites as well surveying of written sources in various depositories that have been important techniques and tools of data acquisitions. (This ends abruptly; These are issues that can be discussed in the methodology section)

Society and State in the Balé Lowlands: Interplay of Divergent Interests in Center-Periphery Interrelations in Southeastern Ethiopia, 1891-1991

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ABSTRACT See comments I made to the abstract above

For much of its scant history, Bali was known as the southern borderland of the Christian Highland Kingdom, where the latter stationed frontier guards and Muslim sultanates sent waves of raiding parties up to the 16th century. Bali's relation with these states was thus characterized by the latter's efforts to subdue it and Bali's effort to maintain its autonomy. Its social landscape was diversified by the process of fusion and fission. This dissertation investigates dynamics, local narratives, regional complexities and minorities' role in society-state relation in the period 1891 -1991.

My findings show that since the conquest of the region in the 1880s, state-society relations were shaped by several dynamics with the scramble of colonialists for the region, whose legacies polarized interest of the lowlanders, changed patterns of local interactions and their collective relation with the Ethiopian state. These dynamics had accentuated both cooperation and competition in center-periphery relations by interplaying interest of agents of the center on the periphery and vice versa. The study argues against writing of the history of pastoralists for peasants, a distant view of the periphery as a homogeneous entity and silence on the audible role of riverine cultivators in the regional history.

This history shows administration of the vast lowlands from distant garrisons that changed the pre-existing local power relations using its agents was unable to deliver immediate social justice and therefore the region remained socio-economically and politically little incorporated into the

center. Despite the growth of public grievances into localized protest before the Italian interlude, which gave it ethnic and religious catalysts imbedded in the ideology and technology of violence, the restored regime that was incognizant of these emerging dynamics had pursued coercive rule. Consequently, the Oromo and Somali pastoralists, who had conflicting interests, created strategic alliance rallying shared Islamic faith, pastoral livelihood, history of domination and lowland ecosystem. They waged the *jagahir*, *dhombur* and *sowra* wars against the imperial and *Därg* regimes respectively in which some governors cooperated with them and loyalists among them served the state, which enjoyed also the partnership of some riverine societies. Somalia, backed by long foreign hands, had intervened in arming and training the insurgents and worsened the violent state-society relations since 1960. These resistances therefore contributed a lot for the 1974 and 1991 revolutions but brought little reform on the periphery. In the 1990s, politicization of ethnicity brought new trends in identity competitions though unable to pacify the Balé lowlands. Consequently, instability, famine, insurgency and underdevelopment have dominated its history.

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A number of individuals and institutions have contributed to the success of this study. I owe my deepest gratitude to all of my informants, mentors and field assistants for sharing with me their wide and valuable knowledge, experience and eyewitness testimonies some of which lasted several hours and involved repeated interviews. It would be impossible to list all of them here but I would like to specially acknowledge the help of Mälläsa Masqala, Mohamed Dalmer, Mas'ul Arsene, Hussein Mohamed, Amino Eda'o, Ahmed Aburre and Sa'ad Ahmed, who continuously facilitated my fieldwork on oral sources in my research bases in Robe, Addis Ababa, Gasara, Goba, Asalla, Manna and Oda Roba respectively. Tilahun Kasa, Mälläsa Masqala, Amino Eda'o and Omar Abdigas provided me with written materials in addition to their indispensable oral information without which this study would have been incomplete.

I acknowledge with gratitude financial support I received from Addis Ababa University, The French Center for Ethiopian Studies (*Center Français des Études Éthiopiennes*), the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme via SALFNET Project, Universität Hamburg and Madda Walabu University. Financial support from all these institutions was invaluable in helping me spend more time in the field and especially cover some of the cost of informants from El-Kere in Addis Ababa and towns in Balé due to the violence in the lowlands during the time of the fieldwork. I am particularly indebted to Dr. Alexander Meckelburg and Dr. Ahmed Hassan for facilitating my research travel to Hamburg (Germany).

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academic life. I appreciate the collegial academic atmosphere that existed in the history PhD program at AAU and the help I received in the formulation of the dissertation proposal from Professor Tekeste Negash, Professor Tesema Ta'a and Dr. Tekalign Wolde-Mariam and my fellow candidates (Asrat Abera, Damte Asfaw, Nega Menasbo, Setegn Getanäh and Tariku Dagu, whom we lost too early). I am grateful to Dr. Samuel Negash, Dr. Techlehaimanot Gebresellasie, Dr. Chikage Oba-Smidt and Dr. Alexander Meckelburg for their insights on issues I have consulted them on. I am thankful to Professor Dr. Serena Tolino at the Asien-Afrika Institute, Universität Hamburg for her guidance during my stay in Hamburg.

My research stay in Germany for a few months would have been difficult without the friendly hospitality of the family of Mrs. Alexandra Greiss. I had a wonderful time and work experience in a family atmosphere offered to me by Mrs. Greiss, which helped me to adapt to German life. I also appreciate the collegial approach of Dr. Getie (Tilaye) Gelaye and Magdalena Krzyzanowska (Hiob Ludolf Center for Ethiopian Studies), who familiarized me to the Universität Hamburg system.

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Finally, I wish to extend my appreciations to all individuals and institutions that helped me in the process of this work but not mentioned here due to space limitation.

KEY TO THE TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM

I. The Seven Sounds of the Amharic alphabets and in *Afan Oromo* their long sounds are represented as follows:

Short sounds for Amharic	Long sounds for <i>Afan Oromo</i>
1 st ቤ = Bā	Ba
2 nd ቤ፡ = Bu	Buu
3 rd ቤ፡ = Bī	Bii
4 th ቤ = BaBaa	
5 th ቤ፡ = Bé	Bee
6 th ቤ፡ = Bi Bi	
7 th ቤ = Bo	Boo

II. Regarding the sixth form in the above list, it must be noted that “i” will be suffixed to the letter only if the letter is vocalized or stressed. Otherwise it won’t be required at all. As a general rule also, the “i” is not required when the sixth form is the last letter of a word.

Example: - መግህር = Mämhir
 ብድር = Biddir

III. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

Amharic	Example as in	<i>AfanOromo</i>	Example as in
ሸ = Shā	Shāmane-weaver	Sha	Shan-five
ሻ = Chi	Chilota-ability	Cha	Gaachana-shield
ሻ፡ = Ṃā	Nañā- famous	Nya	Nyaata-food
ሻ፡ = Zhi	Zhigra- VultureZhi	Teeleeviizhinii-	Television
ጆ = Jā	Jāmbār- Sun	Ja	Jaha-six

IV. Glottalized sounds are represented as in the followings:-

<u>Amharic</u>	Examples	<u>Afan Oromo</u>	Examples
ϕ = Qä	Qäbäle	Qa	Qamadii
ṃ = Ṭä	Ṭämäne	Xa	Xaxaa
ጨ = Çhä	Çhälama	Ca	Call'isi
θ = Tsä	Tsähay	Tsa	Tsahaayi
ጰ = Pha	Phagume	Pha	Salphataa
ጸ =	Dha	Daadhi	

V. Germination should always be indicated by doubling:-

Example: - ከበደተሰማ = Käbbädä Tässäma or Kabbadaa Tasammaa

VI. General Examples of how names written in both languages

<u>Amharicin</u>	<u>Afan Oromo</u>
ተናኘወርቅ	Tänaññawärq Tanaanyawarq
ሚካኤል	Mikael Miikaa'eel
አዛዥ	Azzazh Azaazhi
ኢሳያስ	Isayas Issaayaas
ጴጥሮስ	Petros Pheexroos
ሸሬ	Shire Shiiree
ጨዋ	Çhäwa Cawwaa
ጽዮን	Tsiyon Tsiiyoon
ኤርምያስ	Ermyas Eermiyaas
ጅፋር	Jifar Jiifaar

ဂဇာဗိဗိ = Girazmach Giraazmachi

ACRONYMS (Take outb the most obvious one like km;

BGG	Balé Governorate General
BZAOA	Balé Zone Administration Office Archive
BZCTO	Balé Zone Culture and Tourism Office
Bir/Gen	Brigadier General
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
CTO	Culture and Tourism Office

Col ColonelObvious

Dāj.Dājzmach

EMPD	Educational Material Production and Division
EOC	Ethiopian Orthodox Church
EC	Ethiopian Calendar
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
ETB	Ethiopian Birr
FGD	Focus Group Discussion

FitFitawrari

g. governed/ governor

Gir Grazmach It should be *Grazmach* and not *Girazmach*

HOA	Horn of Africa
HOF	House of Federation
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
km	kilometres

km ²	meter square
l.	lived
Lieu/ Gen	Lieutenant General
masl	meters above sea level
Maj/Gen	Major General
MOD	Ministry of Defense
MOI	Ministry of Interior
NALAA	National Archive and Library Agency Archive
NUPI	National Urban Planning Institute
OCTB	Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
PA (PAs)	Peasant Association/ Peasant Associations
SALF	Somali Abbo Liberation Front
SLM	Sidama Liberation Movement
SNM	Somalia National Movement
SNNPRS	Southern Nation and Nationalities People Regional State
SSDM	Somalia Salvation Democratic Movement
Sq. km (km ²)	Square kilometers
WSR	Wabé-Shebellé River
WSRV	Wabé-Shebellé River Valley
WSGDB	Wabé-Shebellé Gannalé-Dawa Basin
WSLF-	Western Somali Liberation Front

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Introduction

Literature Review

Most of the existing historical studies on Balé primarily examine themes relating to the Balé highlands by especially focussing on the post-conquest (post-1891) period. Particularly, research by students have focused on issues like impacts of Menelik's conquest on the region, urbanization, land tenure, the introduction and expansion of modern social institutions and the nature and praxis of development projects implemented in the region.¹ Some of these studies provide overviews of developments in Balé as a whole by way of providing historical background to their studies.² Masters theses written by Ketema Meskela and Mindaye Abebe give us good insights to wider areas of Balé than other studies.³ The study of the lowlands of Balé in general, therefore, has remained a "periphery within a periphery."

Travelers' accounts provide detailed information on a wider range of topics on the Balé lowlands that help us bridge the pre-conquest period with the early 20th century. These include accounts by Martial De **Salivac**, H. C. G. Swayne, Arthur Donaldson-Smith, C. W. Gwynn and Arnold

¹ Assefa Teshome, "The History of Azmach Daglehan School, Goba (1950-1974)," (B.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 1990); Ketema Meskela, "Foundation, Growth and Development of Ginnir Town to 1974," (B.A Thesis in History, Department of History, AAU, 1978); Sintayehu Kasaye, "Goba, Foundation, Growth and Development to 1974," (B.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 1978); Solomon Korsa, "Rural Land Distribution and Management in Highland Bale: A Study of Goba, Dodola and Sinana, 1975-1991," (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 2005); Tamiru Abate, "A Spatial Analysis of Modern School System in Bale Administrative Region," (B.A Senior Essay in Education, AAU, 1985).

² Abdurahiman Ketebo, "Allo Arsi: The Institution of Customary Law the Upper Wabe-Shaballe Region," (B.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 1991); Gannat Taddasa, "A Comparative Study of Marriage among the Oromo and Somali People." (B.A. Senior Essay, Department of Applied Sociology, AAU, 1980); Daniel Deressa, Continuity and Change in the Status of Women: The Case of Arsi Oromo Living Adjacent to Upper Wabe Valley (Dodola)," (M.A. Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, AAU, 2002).

³ Ketema, "The Evolution of Land-ownership ..."; Mindaye Abebe, "The Oromo of Bale: A Historical Survey to 1974," (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 2005).

Wienholt Hodson.⁴ These reports give us detailed description of the societies and their interaction with each other, the natural environment and impact of the war of incorporation on societies of the Balé lowlands. De Salviac's account focuses more on social and historical narratives of the wider Oromo nation with important note on Balé while the works of Donaldson-Smith and Swayne focus more on geographical descriptions and travel route memoirs in greater detail than any traveler account. Their visit to the region immediately after the incorporation of the region into the Ethiopian Empire afforded them a good opportunity to document early state-society relations in the region. Gwynn's account is vital for its exceptional detail on the geographical and climatic features of the areas along his route, responses to Menelik's conquest that ranged from resistance to peaceful submission and various boundary issues to which he was commissioned like Major Swayne. Hodson's visit to Balé two decades after its incorporation helps us understand the early 20th century administrative history of the region. In sum, these traveler accounts have served as important basis for later studies of the region.⁵

There are materials devoted to themes on the efforts of the state to subdue its **principalities** that give us thin insights in one or two chapters devoted to the subject on the Balé lowlands. Especially the works of Richard Pankhurst, Mohamed Hassan, Enrico Cerulli, John Markakis and Gabru Tareke are important in this regard.⁶ The first two works give us good details on the

⁴Martial De Salviac, *The Oromo: An Ancient People; Great African Nation*, (Paris, 1901), trans. from the Original French Edition, Ayalew Kanno, Finfinne: Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2008); Donaldson A. Smith, *Through Unknown African Countries: The First Expedition from Somaliland to Lake Lamu*, (London: Edward Arnold Publisher, 1897); Gwynn, C. W. "A Journey in Southern Abyssinia." *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1911, pp. 113-139, The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers); H. G. C. Swayne, *Seventeen Trips through Somaliland and Visit to Abyssinia: A Record of Exploration and Big game Shooting with Description on the Fauna of the Country*, (2nd Ed.), (London: Rowland Ward Ltd., 1900); Arnold Wienholt Hodson, *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*, rpt, Westport: Negro University Press, 1927.

⁵ These materials are used by most historical studies reviewed and listed in the reference of this dissertation.

⁶ Richard Pankhurst, *The Ethiopian Borderlands: Essays in Regional History from Ancient to the End of 18th century*, (Lawrenceville and Asmara: The Red Sea Press Inc., 1997); Mohammed Hassan, *The Oromo and the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia 1300-1700*, (UK: James Currey, 2015); Erinico Cerulli, *Folk –Literature of the Galla of Southern*

relations between the societies of Bali with the Medieval Christian Kingdom and provide a background to study the nature of society-state relations in modern Balé. Cerulli collected folk literature and analyzed Menelik's conquest of the Arsi, who tried to make use of the Cult of *Sheik* Hussein in evoking the solidarity of Arsi clans in Arsi and Balé provinces. The last two devote chapters to the "rebellion" (why is this in quotation?) in Balé against the imperial and *Därg* regimes. There are only a few student theses on the effort of the center to subdue its "rebellious" periphery that involved trans-border insurgency.⁷ Conversely, there are PhD studies on a range of themes related to the history of pastoralists, state-society relations and anthropological studies on regions circumscribing Balé.⁸ The works of Belete Bizuneh and Samuel Negash discuss some aspects of the Balé lowlands in some detail than others.

The religious history of Balé is a theme that has attracted the attention of many writers. J. S. Trimingham, Enrico Cerulli and Ulrich Braukämper have carried out pioneering works on the history of Islam in the Horn of Africa.⁹ Trimingham's monograph is a standard point of reference on the topic. In addition to his illuminating scholarship on Islam, he gives us lengthy descriptions of the geographical, cultural and social setting of the region from the earliest period to recent

Abyssinia, (Harvard African Studies III: Cambridge, 1922); John Markakis, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopia: Power and Protest, Peasant Revolts in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 126).

⁷ Abera Ketsela, "The Bale Peasant Rebellion," (B.A. Thesis, Department of History, Haile Sillasse I University, 1971); Assafa Addisu, "Peasant Apprising in Southern Ethiopia: The Case of Gedeo and Bale," (B.A. Thesis in History, AAU, 1980).

⁸ Belete Bizuneh, *An Agrarian Polity and Its Pastoral Periphery: State and Pastoralism in the Borana Borderlands (Southern Ethiopia), 1897-1991*, (PhD Dissertation, Boston University, Graduate School of Arts and Science: ProQuest LLC, 2009); Berhanu Lameso, "A History of the Guji Oromo (ca. 1850s-1974)." PhD dissertation, Department of History, AAU, 2012; Cedric Barnes, "Background History to the western Somalilands: The Ethiopian State and Its Somali Periphery C. 1888-1948," (PhD Dissertation, Cambridge University, 2000); Ketebo Abdiyo, "The Political Economy of Land and Agrarian Development, 1941-1991," (PhD Dissertation, Department of History, AAU, 2010); Samuel Negash, "Pastoralism and Settlement in the Ogaden Region, 1930-1991," (PhD Dissertation in History, AAU, 2013).

⁹ Enrico Cerulli, *Islam: Yesterday and Today, the Most Salient Part Mainly Focused on Ethiopia*, ((trans. Emran M. Waber, 2013), Rome: NP, 1971); Ulrich Braukämper, *Islamic History...*; J. Trimingham Spencer, *Islam in Ethiopia*, (London and Liverpool, Oxford University Press, 1952).

times. His work is enriched by a diverse range of sources. He presents Ethiopia as a region comprising all of the Horn of Africa and treats differences in Islamic orders and their relations with the Christian state. Cerulli has compiled his previous works on Islam with exception of those on Somalia into a voluminous monograph. Like Trimingham, he also covers a range of historical periods and places and treats Ethiopian Islam within its global setting. His book devotes more than one big chapter to the history of Islam in Bale including stories of miracles of *Sheik Hussein of Balé*, which is unavailable anywhere else. Yet, his major focus is on the history of Islam in Harar. Ulrich Braukämper's work which consists of revised versions of his earlier articles is critical than the former two in examining the typical features of Islam in Balé.¹⁰ His analysis on the impact of the Oromo expansion on Islam in Balé, new waves of Islamization after Emperor Menelik's conquest of the region and the Italian interlude is interesting. The Islamic history of Balé has also attracted the attention of student researchers.¹¹ These have focused on Sufi Islam. But a more detailed and a wide ranging study on this subject is found in the works of Terjie Østebø. The role of Islam in interethnic relations, which still needs in-depth explanation, is Østebø's major contribution to the cultural history of the societies of the Bale

¹⁰ Ulrich Braukämper, "Islamic Principalities in Southeast Ethiopia between the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." (Part I), *Ethiopianist Notes*, (Vol. I, no. 1, 1977a, pp. 17-25, 27-45, 47-56); Ulrich Braukämper, "The Sanctuary of *Sheikh Husain* and the Oromo-Somali Connection in Balé Ethiopia, *Frankfurter Afrikanistische Blätter*, (Frankfurt, Number 1, 1989), pp. 109-35; Ulrich Braukämper, "Oromo Country of Origin: A Reconsideration of Hypotheses," *Sixth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, (Tel Aviv, 1980, pp. 25-40), p. 26; Ulrich Braukämper, "Islamic Principalities in Southeast Ethiopia between the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," (Part II), *Ethiopianist Notes*, (Vol. I, No. 2, 1977b), pp. 1-31, 33, 35-43.

¹¹ Eshetu Settegn, "*Sheik Hussein of Bale and His Followers*," (Addis Ababa, Haile Sillasse I University, B.A. Thesis in History, 1973); Teshome Amenu, "The Rise and Expansion of Islam in Bale of Ethiopia: Socio-Cultural and Political Factors and Inter-religious Relations," (M.A Thesis in Philosophy of Religious Education, the Norwegian Teacher Academy, Department of Philosophy of Religious Education, Norsk Lærerakademi, Bergen, Norway), 2008).

lowlands.¹² Islamic tradition as an influential factor in society-state relations, in the context of state repression in the Balé lowlands, is the prime focus of this dissertation.

The works of Amerom Legesse and Ulrich Braukämper are valuable on the significance of Bali as the hub Oromo *gadaa* system and its cultural centers like *Oda* Roba, Madda Walabu and Haro Walabu since the 16th Century.¹³ These works have focused on the cultural connection of the Oromo to Madda Walabu, which was the seat of *AbbaMuuda* of the Oromo after their expansion. These materials have served as a background for researchers such as Dereje Hinew and Mindaye Abebe, who have studied various themes relating to the post-conquest history of Balé.¹⁴ This dissertation focuses on Bale's role, being the hub of Oromo *gadaa* centers and folk religion, in the society-state interrelations.

Ulrich Braukämper's *Islamic History and Culture* and Terje Østebø's *A History of Islam and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Bale* discuss institutions of social interrelation on the periphery such as Sufism, marriage and *moggaasa* (adoption) tradition of the Oromo. But both studies have overlooked the Somali people despite their extensive settlement in Balé.¹⁵ Institutions of social interrelation among the Somali speaking pastoralists and riverine cultivators are detailed in elaborate historical and anthropological studies by Lee V. Cassanelli, Catherine Besteman,

¹² Terje Østebø, "History of Islam in Bale, Ethiopia: an Outline," in Henrik Petersen (ed.) *Stories of Bale: Religious Development and Evangelical Christianity*, (NP: Addis Ababa, 2005a, pp. 27-30); Terje Østebø, "The Question of Becoming: Islamic Reform Movements in Contemporary Ethiopia." *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol. XXXVIII, No.4, 2008, 416-446; Terje Østebø, "The Revenge of the Jinns: Spirits, Salafi Reform, and the Continuity in Change in Contemporary Ethiopia," *Cont Islam* (2014) 8:17–36; Terje Østebø, "Islam and State Relations in Ethiopia: From Containment to the Production of a "Governmental Islam," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, (Vol. LXXXI, No. 4, 2013, pp. 1029–1060).

¹³ Salviac, *The Oromo...*; Braukämper, "Oromo Country of Origin..."; Asmerom Legesse, *Oromo Democracy: An Indigenous African Political System*, (Asmara: the Red Sea Press Inc. 2000); Braukämper, *Islamic History*

¹⁴ Dereje Hinew, "Historical Significance of Some Major Gada Centers in Oromia," (M.A Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 2005); Mindaye, "The Oromo of Bale..."

¹⁵ Braukämper, *Islamic History...*; Terje Østebø, *A History of Islam and Inter-Ethnic Relations in Bale, Ethiopia*, (NP: Stockholm, 2005b).

Christian Webersik and Francesca Declich.¹⁶The first two are monographs on history and socio-economic anthropology of slavery in southern Somalia. Articles by Webersik and Declich describe social, economic and political exclusion of riverine minorities by pastoralists of Somalia despite interconnections through institutions such as *qabil*, *soddon*, *sheegad* and *Iskashaato*. They also discuss the origin and status of minorities such as hunters, runaway slaves and Bantu descendants of southern Somalia, whose sections expanded into the Balé lowlands using the Wabé-Shebellé and Gannalé Rivers as gateways. But relation of these communities with their neighbours and the state has remained the least studied theme in this scholarship.

In addition to dissertations by Samuel Negash and Cedric Barnes, monographs by Asnake Kefale and John Markakis have devoted sections of their books to resource based conflicts and identity politics among pastoralists of southeastern Ethiopian borderlands particularly after 1991.¹⁷ Asnake compared and contrasted political participation by the local populations in the Somali borderlands with Beni-Shangul Gumuz of the western periphery in the context of the ethnic politics in Federal Ethiopia. John Markakis's *National and Class Conflict* and *The Last Two Frontiers* illuminate conflicts in the Horn Africa in socialist perspectives, competition over resources and border disputes to recent times. Sarah Vaughan brilliantly explained features of

¹⁶ Lee V. Cassanelli, *The Shaping of Somali Society: Restructuring the History of Pastoral People, 1600-1900*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1982; Catherine Besteman, "Land Tenure, Social Power, and the Legacy of Slavery in Southern Somalia," (PhD Dissertation, The University of Arizona: 1991); Francesca Declich, "Fostering Ethnic Reinvention: Gender Impact of Forced Migration on Bantu Somali Refugees in Kenya, (*Invention de l'ethnicité et modification des rapports de genre chez les réfugiés Somali du Kenya*," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*), Vol. XL, Cahier 157, 2000, pp. 25-53); Francesca Declich "Gendered Narratives", *History, and Identity: Two Centuries along the Juba River among the Zigula and Shanbara.* *History in Africa*, Vol. XXII, 1995, pp. 93-122. Christian Webersik, "Differences That Matter: The Struggle of the Marginalised in Somalia, Africa," (*Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 4 2004, pp. 516-533); Francesca Declich "Dynamics of Intermingling Gender and Slavery in Somalia at the Turn of the Twentieth Century." *Northeast African Studies, New Series*, (Vol. X, No. 3, the Horn of Africa between History, Law, and Politics, 2003, pp. 45-69).

¹⁷ Samuel, "Pastoralism and Resettlement..."; Barnes, "Background to the Western Somalilands..."; Asnake Kefale, *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Ethiopia: A Comparative Regional Study*, (London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2013); John Markakis, *Ethiopia: the Last two Frontiers*, (UK: James Currey, 2011); John Markakis, *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa, African Studies Series 55*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

ethnicity and identity in the context of federal Ethiopia.¹⁸ Samuel Negash's article analyses the play with identity in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, where clans relied on identity to attain their political and economic goals.¹⁹ This dissertation tries to narrow the gap in the study on conflicts based on oscillating identities, multiple identities and mobile borders in Balé lowlands since the 1990s.

The resistance against socioeconomic and political domination of the center in Balé has led to the production of a contested narrative in the oral historiography of Balé. Many informants narrate the resistance as struggle to end Ethiopian state's exploitation and to secure good governance. Some enthusiastically elevate the "qabsoo" (struggle) from resistance against local injustice into a national liberation movement from "Ethiopian colonialism" aimed at creating an independent state. This narrative associates the undermining of the "struggle of patriots" as 'protest' or as 'rebellion' by agents of the state. Conversely, another story line portrays the resistance in Balé as "banditry activity by outlaws" sponsored by external powers, who used them as "mercenaries." The name "Somali Abbo", under which the Oromo fought against Ethiopia on behalf of Western Somalia Liberation Front, was part of the critic. Key leaders of the struggle thus have contested image in Balé; some are heroes for many and "traitors" for some. This tendency was also observed by Teshome Amenu, who collected oral sources a decade ago in which some referred to Balé as "*YäShifta Agär*" (lit. region of rebels).²⁰ This thesis approaches the subject neutrally accepting both views by cross-checking oral and written sources.

¹⁸ Sarah Vaughan, "Ethnicity and Power in Ethiopia," (PhD Dissertation, the University of Edinburgh, UK, 2003).

¹⁹ Samuel Negash, "Colonial Legacy, State Intervention and Secessionism: Paradoxical National Identities of the Ogaden and the Ishaq Clans of Ethiopia," in Barhu Zewde (ed.), *Society, State and Identity in African History*, (Forum for Social Studies: Addis Ababa, 2008. pp. 275-298).

²⁰ Teshome, "The Rise and Expansion of Islam in Bale..." p. 46.

Polarized perspectives prevail in the sources regarding the uprising in Balé. A group of writers described it as ‘rebellion’ or ‘banditry activities’ led by some demoted chiefs, who had no more objectives other than securing personal gains. These writers include Abera Ketsela, Bahru Zewde and Andargachew Tiruneh.²¹ These writers relied on government sources or informants in the service of the state. Some of these writers described the uprising as ‘peasant revolt’ or ‘peasant rebellion’ or ‘peasant mobilization’. Abera Ketsela, who carried out his study soon after the event, was the first to label it as “The Bale Peasant Rebellion.” Abera might have been influenced by the negative attitude of his informants and government sources towards the resistance at the time and wrote the predominant history of pastoralists in the name of peasants. Abera’s approach was adopted by later writers. Gebru Tareke was modest in dealing with his chapter on the uprising in Balé titled as *Bale: nationalities armed...*, which is a good step towards recognizing the diversity of participants of the uprising. Though these writers admitted that local injustices and repressions were the cause of the uprising on the periphery, they overstated the religious factor and foreign intrusion which is tantamount to legitimizing the measures taken by the state.

On the contrary, a group that including writers like Gadaa Melbaa, Paul Baxter, John Markakis and Christian P. Scherrer, who have used oral sources interpreted the uprising as a national liberation movement by the periphery against the center.²² Gadaa Melbaa and Paul Baxter

²¹ Abera Ketsela, “The Bale Peasant Rebellion”...; Gebru Tareke, “Continuity and Discontinuity in Peasant Mobilizations: the Case of Bale and Tigray,” in Ottaway, Mariana (ed.), *The Political Economy of Ethiopia*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1990, pp. 137-155), p. 141; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, (2nd Ed.), (Oxford: James Currey, 2002), p. 216. Marcus, Harold, *A History of Ethiopia*, (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1994), p. 178; Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 102-3.

²² Gadaa Melbaa. *Oromia: an Introduction to History of the People*. Minneapolis: Kirk House Publishers, 1988; Paul Baxter, “The Problem of the Oromo or the Problem for the Oromo,” in I. M. Lewis (Ed.), *Nationalism and Self Determination in the Horn of Africa*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1983, pp. 129-150); John Markakis, *Ethiopia: the Last*

sympathised with the anti-government forces in the token of Oromo national question i.e. the struggle for self determination as the antithesis of the above sources. These sources and a body compiled materials (in *Afan Oromo*) analyzed the national question and struggle in Balé in the context of struggle for freedom against repressive regimes.²³ John Markakis and P. Scherrer interpreted the struggle in Balé from the perspective of Oromo nationalists. A neutral interpretation of the materials would help to represent the history of social resistance in Balé with all its diversity and complexity.

The relevance of clan as the most pervasive form of social organization **to most all** societies in the Bale lowlands needs review of works on the subject.²⁴ The applicability of clan to the 20th century social organization has caused historiographic debate marked by bias. Many European scholars including some pioneer ‘Somalists’ view the clan as an ‘old model form of social organization’, despites its role as the foundation of the Somali identity and social organization. Francesca Declich stated how significant clan identity was/is in Somali society and how it was perpetuated by factional leaders to access resources. Yet, writers like I. M. Lewis argue against such critics stating that though ‘traditional’ as a form of social organization, clan can be compatible with modernity. Still, some blame “clannishness” as the root cause of the Somali

Two Frontiers...; Christian P. Scherrer (Ed.), *Ethnicity and State at the Horn of Africa I: Ethiopia versus Oromia, the Empire Strikes Back*, (Institute for Research on Ethnicity and Conflict Resolution (IRECOR), ECOR-13, 1997), p. 32.

²³Balé Zone Culture and Tourism Office Archive (BZCTOA), “Waaajjira Aadaa fi Tuurizimii Godina Baalee,” *Seenaa Qabsoo Qotee Bulaa Baalee, Abadir Jeyilan*, (A Computer script in *Afan Oromo*, “History of Bale Peasant Rebellion, by Abadir Jeylan,” Caamsaa 2003,” May 2011); BZCTOA, “Seenaa Jeeneraal Huseen Bune,” Alamuu Wdaajoo, Addolessa 2003, Baalee- Roobee,” (A Computer script in *Afan Oromo*, “History of General Hussein Bune,” by Alemu Wadajo, June 2011, pp. 1-26).

²⁴I.M. Lewis, “Pre- and Post-Colonial Forms of Polity in Africa,” In Lewis, I. M. (ed.), *Nationalism and Self Determination in the Horn Africa*, (London: Ithaca Press, 1983, pp. 67-76), p. 67-68. Clan indicates social groups people closely related to each other by common language, history, culture, geographical contiguity and usually by common patrimonial descent. Clan is a functional organization of peoples and unit of territory that it occupies among societies of Balé lowlands.

crises being a nation of ‘single ethnic, professing a religion, speaking a national language and dominant pastoral economy’.²⁵

Other writers oppose this view and interpret ideas about ‘primordial clannishness’ as inapplicable to the socioeconomic progress and political consciousness of the Somali people in the 20th century. They argue the former’s view to have overstated individual loyalty to clan lineages and for not reconsidering of traditional ‘feuds’ and conflicts among different Somali clans, sub-clans and *reers* within a single Somali clan. This group criticized the first group for romanticizing “clannishness” as a tantamount to rejecting modern political thinking and the progress of nationalism among the Somali people. Their view is based on reflecting on certain diversities within the Somali, a nation ostensibly taken for socio-cultural uniformity. Yet, they blame colonial legacies and neighbors for internal instabilities and misrepresentations in historical writings.²⁶ Neither the traditionalists’ nor modernists’ view, therefore, suits the purpose here, which is to elucidate the role of clan as an institution of social interrelations in the study area. Thus, assessment of “clannishness”, either as an exposition of society or as a discordant force in the state formation and modernization, is the central idea of this essay.²⁷

²⁵ Lewis, “Visible and invisible...,” p. 509; Declich “Differences that....,” pp. 528-29, Markakis, *Ethiopia: the Last Two Frontiers...*, pp. 56-57; Lewis, “The Somali Conquest of the Horn of Africa.” *The Journal of African History*, (Vol. I, No. 2 1960, pp. 213-230), p. 216; Lewis, “Doing Violence to Ethnography: A Response to Catherine Besteman’s “Representing Violence and ‘Othering’ in Somalia”,” *Cultural Anthropology*, (Vol. XIII, No. 1 1998, pp. 100-108).

²⁶ Tobias Hagmann, “Beyond Clannishness and Colonialism: Understanding Political Disorder in Ethiopia’s Somali Region, 1991-2004,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, (Vol. XLIII, No. 4, 2005, pp. 509-536), p. 513; Webersik, “Differences the Matter...,” pp. 516-18; Catherine Besteman, “Primordialist Blindness: A Reply to I. M. Lewis,” *Cultural Anthropology*, (Vol. XIII, No. 1 1998, pp. 109-120), pp. 110-11; Said S. Samatar, “Somalia’s Horse That Feeds His Master,” *African Languages and Cultures*, ((Supplement, No. 3, Voice and Power: The Culture of Language in North-East Africa. Essays in Honour of B. W. Andrzejewski), 1996, pp. 155-17), p. 162.

²⁷ *Ibid.* See discussion on moving and multiple identities among societies of Balé lowlands in Chapter 8.

Conceptual Frameworks of Center-periphery Relation

The concept of center-periphery relation is envisaged in this dissertation as intertwining two paradigms. The first paradigm conceptualizes center-periphery relation as interaction between political, economic and culture of a dominant core and its dependant outlying domains. Abbas H. Ganamo in *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire* explicitly stated that “Ethiopia has a clearly identifiable dominant center and dominated periphery.” He related this concept with the term “dar agär” (border county), which was given to conquered peripheries at the time. This meant the relation between the imperial and military state of Ethiopia i.e. the center and its subordinate periphery including Balé, which was conquered by wars of expansion, was based on political and economic policy from the core to be implemented on the periphery.²⁸ Similar relation between Ethiopian core and its borderland was also observed by Donald Donham in “the Old Abyssinia and New Ethiopian Empire...” Donham argues that center and periphery are relative divisions based on identity markers such as language, religion, *rist* land ownership and other cultural elements. He observed that the core spoke Semitic languages and observed Orthodox Christianity and regarded as ‘citizens’.²⁹ The periphery, which included semi-independent enclaves and fringe peripheries inhabited by ‘subjects’, was preserved for future use of the core. But some parts of the peripheries were gradually included into part of the core.

The second paradigm views center-periphery relation in terms of core-frontier ties. John Markakis in his *Ethiopia: the Last Two Frontiers* divided Ethiopia’s periphery into two as highland and lowland peripheries. He approached this geographical classification based on

²⁸Abbas H. Ganamo, *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire, 1880-1974: The Conquest of Arsi Oromo*, (African Social Studies Series Vol. XXXII, Brill: 2014), pp. 209-13

²⁹Donald Donham, “Old Abyssinia and the New Ethiopia: Themes in Social History,” in Donald Donham and Wendy James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 3-50), pp. 3, 13, 17, 42-45.

similarities and differences of the frontiers with the core.³⁰ The frontier paradigm of center-periphery relation is explained by Alessandro Triulzi in his *Frontier History in Ethiopia...* in which he observed that the frontier itself as a multi faceted and fluid entity because of the expansion oriented political culture of the ‘Ethiopian polity’. Triulzi approached the frontier concept in comparison with the core’s notion of the border of the state. He analyzed terms such as *wäsän, darecha, dar agar* which were views of the core about the periphery. This view was at the heart of the concept of center-periphery relation that emanated from a political ideology of Ethiopian state, which viewed the periphery as defensive buffer zone for the core.³¹ This concept was shared by Emperor Hailä-Sillassié, who sent a note to his governor of Harar stating his stand about Somali periphery. He wrote “as a house cannot stand without fence, Ethiopia’s main fence is the Somali and its desert.”³²

The dissertation envisaged center-periphery relation as a paradigm of economic, political, economic and cultural linkage of the center, through its structures, with the periphery to enforce its policies and ensure hegemony. Relativity of the concept also shows that there are centers in the periphery and vice versa. But, the periphery is not envisaged as ‘frontier caste’ in this study.

Methodological Issues

Working on the social history of societies with a deep tradition of orality offers both methodological opportunities and challenges. I have experienced these in studying the history of

³⁰ Markakis, *Ethiopia: the Last Two...*, pp-7-8.

³¹Triulzi, “Center Periphery Relations in Ethiopian Studies...,” p. 339-43.

³²Tibebe Eshete, “British Administration in the Ogaden and Its Legacy: Challenges and Responses,” in Bahru Zewde, Richard Pankhurst and Taddese Beyene (eds.), *The Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. I, (Institute of Ethiopian Studies, AAU, 1994, pp. 323-38) p. 327.

the Balé lowlands over the period 2007-2019.³³ I had the good opportunity to meet with elderly informants who witnessed and participated in significant events in the history of the region since the Italian interlude. I was lucky enough to interview dozens of informants whose age is over one hundred years. Some recounted oral traditions about major events like the incorporation of Balé into the Ethiopian Empire, which they had learnt as children from their parents who lived at the time. Some informants had served in the military, civil service, police force and religious institutions and accumulated lived experience. They were enthusiastic to share these with me. I also interviewed some leaders of Balé's uprisings against successive Ethiopian regimes since the 1960s. This gave me opportunity to collect a bulk of oral data, cross-check these against each other and corroborate them with archival and secondary sources.

Another real opportunity in collecting oral data from the diverse communities of the Balé lowlands was the multilingual skill of my informants, who expressed themselves in different languages such as *Afan Oromo*, Amharic, Somali, Dube and some even in English. Most Somali informants spoke *Afan Oromo* and rarely spoke Amharic and English while Dube informants spoke Somali, *Afan Oromo* and Amharic. Oromo informants in the lowlands also spoke Somali and some Amharic. This gave me the chance to interview them without an interpreter. Therefore, I was able to verify narratives imbedded in traditions of the diverse societies in the region directly from their respective knowledgeable elders.

A big challenge in studying the oral history of the Balé lowlands was the issue of “entrepreneurship” associated with oral interviews.³⁴ In over a decade of collecting oral data in Balé, I had the experience of working with informants who were promoted by District Culture

³³ I have conducted fieldworks in Balé lowlands from December 2007 up to August 2019. I took interview notes, audio records, photo of sites, persons, cultural rituals, historic items and videos of live events for further study.

³⁴ I have collected oral data taken notes (on several books) and over 1,855 minutes (31 hrs) of recorded audio.

and Tourism Offices as key informants. Experts on history and folklore in these offices tried to collect stories in the process of which they identified a few notables, who tended to be “key informants” and hence acted as “authorities on history.” These informants were invited to meetings organized by Culture and Tourism Offices at district levels and beyond. They were also selected for interviews by journalists who collected oral data on the struggle in Balé and broadcasted narratives on mass media programs.³⁵ In the process, some of these “key informants” publicized one side of the story, excluded others (views, regions and societies of Balé) and revised oral traditions by adding their own assumptions. Furthermore, some of these “key informants” tended to accuse those who question their information or try to crosscheck it with other source for writing fake history by connecting it with personal background (religion or ethnicity) of the researcher. Many elders however opposed these “entrepreneurs” who work with officials and the mass media for ‘corrupting history’ **by the way of imaginative predilection**. ??

Another challenge in working on oral sources was informants’ tendency to revise or change their stories in response to changes in political situations. I faced this challenge in particular when collecting oral sources among the Dube, who at first unanimously told me that they had a different descent from both the Oromo and Somali. But after they found out that the Somali region has rejected their application for recognition of a separate identity, they began to claim that they had connection to the Oromo in descent not with the Somali. Similarly some informants among the bilingual Gurra and Girrira changed their narratives over the years. The same informant who claimed Somali descent five years ago changed his mind and connected his narrative to the Oromo after the recent boundary tension between the Oromia and Somali regions

³⁵I had notes of some of these Radio and TV programs broadcasted in *Afan Oromo* by Oromia Broadcasting Network, Fana Broadcasting Corporate and Oromia Broadcasting Service over the years. I have attended interview of “Colonel” Siraj Ishaq, a key leader of insurgents of Balé in since the 1970s. There were also interviews of Asha Mohamed Gada Qallu and Ali Baraki (a militia in the Ogaden war). Most are of less importance for my purpose.

that resulted in dislocation of tens of thousands of peoples. David Henige has suggested good strategies for addressing such issues which include selecting better informants and how to handle challenges in cross-checking data obtained from informants.³⁶ Inconsistency of oral data therefore cost me long time in identifying neutral and eyewitnesses who were critical to differentiate hearsays from real events in this hazardous field site.

Conducting archival research was also a challenging exercise. Its basic challenge was to not locate depositories but to select pertinent sources from among the available varieties.³⁷ The National Archives and Library Agency has well organized and rich documents mainly from the former Ministry of Interior (MOI). The Wäldä-Mäskäl Tariku Memorial Research Center of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) is a good depository (though some of it was disorganized) archival materials from the former Ministries of Interior, Agriculture, State Treasury and Land Management. The challenges here were time factor, patience and resistance to dust and suffocated rooms in finding sources on Balé Province from the many files that have the name Balé on their cover but nothing of Balé inside their folders. In Balé, Balé Zone Administration Office Archive had deposited documents of the former Balé Province Administration in an abandoned warehouse and invited me to wrestle with rodents and reptiles in finding relevant sources for my dissertation. These documents ‘miraculously’ escaped burning by a committee that was established to dispose off ‘dead files’. The committee destroyed most files when the capital of Balé Province was shifted from Goba to Robe town in 1994. The ‘miracle’ by which a few documents escaped destruction was related to the confusion the committee faced in sorting out private files of civil servants from that of official correspondences. Some files were also

³⁶David Henige, *Oral Historiography*, (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1982), pp. 47-48.

³⁷ I have collected archival materials by note taking, photocopy, camera images and using cell phone software in which over 5,000 software pieces and many hardcopy pieces. I will deposit them in the Madda Walabu University library for future use.

misplaced in the folders of individuals'. The Balé High Court Archives are good depositories consisting of documents dating to the 1920s. But some of these files are terribly damaged due to their sheltering with birds and rodents in abandoned rooms in an Italian era building in Goba. I had the assistance of a retired High Court registrar in finding these important documents.

Archival sources on Dube and other riverine minorities of the Balé lowlands are available at the Public Petition Department of the House of Federation (HOF) and in the Manuscripts Section of the IES. The former are recent materials but contain important petitions documenting retrospective narratives, historical surveys of these societies and field observation notes of a team established by the HOF. The IES has collections from the former Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities (ISEN), which was established by the *Därg* along Soviet lines. The challenge here was the tedious note taking due to prohibition of photocopy and scanning.

The Culture and Tourism Offices of Arsi, West Arsi and Balé Zones have compiled research materials studied by their staff members and reports from districts. The challenge with these materials is that they document exaggerated stories that need authentication. In Balé some of these stories were published in *Afan Oromo*, widely publicized, influenced informants and even student who joined the history department in my home university. Such writers were commercial oriented and did not crosscheck sources against each other. The challenge from these sources is that they disseminated flowery stories that people regarded as “best history books” and cited them often.

In sum, in spite of the aforementioned challenges, I was able to collect a bulk of archival sources and was able to select documents that were produced based on field surveys and interview of local witnesses among the available varieties. The content of these types of documents also

partly concur with petitions presented to government agencies at the time. Information from archival sources on topics like anti-government resistance, quest for recognition of identity and Somalia's intervention in the Balé lowlands, therefore, agree with the content of data obtained from my informants on several instances. This gave me the chance to try to balance the use of oral and written sources in as much as possible in the dissertation.

Chapter Summaries

The central thesis of this dissertation is a synthesized history of state-society relation in the Balé lowlands (1880s-1990s) emphasizing on both collective agency and contested narratives of the diverse populations of the region in the process of interaction among themselves and their response to policies of the state. It also analyses the narrative from the side of the Ethiopian state and intervention of Somalia in the lowlands. Each of the eight chapters augments sub themes to this overarching theme as follows.

The first chapter traces major developments in state-society relations and the peopling of Bali region to the 1880s. The chapter argues that early settlement, military conquests, population expansions and wars between peoples and states in the region at different times had contributed to the formation of a heterogeneous social landscape of the region rather than replacement of pre-existing inhabitants by waves of later incomers. Balé has been therefore characterized by great social diversity being a hub of social interactions evidenced by survival of elements from various languages, social groups, religions, cultures and economic activities. A view from a distance however overlooked this diversity. Not clear

The second chapter examines responses of populations of Balé to incorporation into the Ethiopian Empire in the 1890s. Populations of Balé were defeated by the expanding Ethiopian

army under *Ras Dargié* mainly due to lack of unity, preparation and armament as compared to that of the latter. The resistance in Balé was much less than anticipated by the conquerors. The chapter argues this that was not because of submissiveness, but it was a strategy to avoid massacre like that of their kinsmen in Arsi, buy time to recover from plague and know more about the invaders. The various Arsi Oromo and Somali clans of the lowlands lived in loose traditional federation of clans and were unable to put a common front due to internal competition. Some highlanders had retreated into the Balé lowlands and Somali clans avoided open battle due to various factors. Vague

The third chapter explores early administration, cooperation and competition in state-society relations up to 1937. It examines reactions of societies of the Balé lowlands to various policies of the Empire in the forms of cooperation and competition among the various societies and between state and society. It argues that an exploitative, semi-direct and inefficient rule by the armed governors reduced the inhabitants of the region to the status of tenants which bred discontent.

Chapter four investigates major dynamics of state-society relations in the period 1937-1963. The period saw the fermentation of challenges to the empire following the Italian interlude and restoration of the absolute monarchy. Dynamics of growing ethnic nationalism, religious sentiment and Somalia irredentism were intertwined with corruption and coercion of the regime, which were gradual causes that grew into full-scale war on the periphery in the 1960s and 1970s.

Chapter five explores the period of violent conflict in the state-society relation in the lowlands in which divergent interests were interplayed. The *Dhombur* war (1963-1970), which erupted due to immediate causes have allied the Oromo and Somali pastoralists, riverine cultivators and peasants evicted from their lands, who controlled most of Balé for over five years. It argues that

despite their contested interests, the Oromo and Somali pastoralists created common alliance against the Ethiopian state in which some among them worked undercover with both the Ethiopian and Somali regimes. The success of the imperial regime in defeating the insurgents in the *dhombur* war was short lived when societies of Balé lowlands rose up again in arms in the 1970s.

Chapter six examines the *Sowra* war (1976-1980) in which Somalia openly invaded Ethiopia using allies on the periphery and its regular army. This war was a proxy war of major powers using the political turmoil in the country as good opportunity. The chapter argues that the long peaceful resistance and armed uprisings on the periphery had played significant role in the downfall of the old regime marked by power transfer in the core in 1974. Both the *dhombur* and *sora* wars therefore were societies' resistance to state's repression in the Balé lowlands that contributed to revolution. Societies of the Bale lowlands welcomed the revolution for its popular early reforms.

Chapter seven illustrates reactions of societies of the Balé lowlands to reforms and policies of the *Därg* 1975-1991. The regime introduced popular reforms like distribution of land to the peasants, end of *gäbbar* system, administrative reorganization and nationalization of extra urban houses and lands. Its policies like collectivization, villagisation and producers cooperatives **seemed useful** for the war torn lowlands. But the regime lacked enough manpower to implement them properly at first and the public hated these policies when the *Därg* raised enough cadres, who used force henceforth in implementing them. The *Därg* also thus faced fierce opposition in the Balé lowlands.

The last chapter investigates new trends in state-society relation after the introduction of federalism based on ethnicity and language in the 1990s. The lowlands were divided between the Oromia and Somali regions. Societies in El-Kere however had closer socioeconomic ties with the Oromo of the lowlands than with Somali to the east of the Wabé-Shebellé River. The areas inhabited by bilingual clans in the region become a bone of contention in a new pattern of identity based conflicts that raged in the region. It argues therefore that the traditional alliance between the Oromo and Somali pastoralists had declined due to ethnic and language identity based conflicts and boundary disputes. Similarly the alliance between these pastoralists and the riverine societies declined due to the latter's struggle for their right to self rule and for recognition as separate identity since the 1990s while the former rejected the struggle in the pretext of unity.

Chapter One

Chapter Seven

The *Därg*, Pastoralists and Riverine Cultivators in the Balé Lowlands, 1974-1991

Introduction

This chapter examines the reactions of pastoralists, agro-pastoralists and riverine societies in the Balé lowlands to the various policies and praxis of the *Därg* regime from 1974-1991. Some of policies of the *Därg* were euphorically seen as “revolutionary and progressive” by cadres and their supporters of the regime but vaguely conceptualized and their implementation lacked consensual enforcement and skillful efforts of its officials on the periphery. The various populations of the Bale lowlands Socio-economic

Revolutionary and Anti-Revolution Measures on the Periphery

The “*Zemecha*” in the Balé Lowlands

The 1974 revolution was the cumulative effect of long time struggle of Ethiopians to which the Balé lowlands contributed a great deal as discussed in this thesis so far. The struggle was marked by the demise of the government of Emperor Hailä-Sillassié I, though claimed elect of God, on 12 September 1974. Then euphoric measures like rural land proclamation, banning of *gäbbar* system and nationalization of extra urban houses and land were seen optimistically in the periphery. Following the collapse of the *ancien régime*, a military government hijacked state power by the name of Provisional Military Administrative council (PMAC) or with generic name *Därg*. Under the *Därg*, the politics and administration of land was prioritized aimed at winning

public support in the rural areas. It was the demand of the revolutionists to see reforms in the land tenure in favor of the cultivators through the slogan of “land to the tiller”.¹

The seed of the revolutionary germinated with the introduction of the land reform proclamation on March 4, 1975. The overall objective of the proclamation was to improve the living conditions of the landless peasants. The private possession of land acquired through whatever means either through government land grants or personal efforts was abolished. It also banned the hiring of wage labor on private farms. All commercial farms brought under the control of the government and the peasants were allowed the possession rights to the land they had previously cultivated under sharecropping arrangement. The peasants were entitled by usufruct on the land not exceeding ten hectares. Tenancy and related duties were abolished. In addition to land, the landless peasants were also allowed to preserve agricultural inputs such as oxen and plough.²

To implement revolutionaries policies such as nationalization of rural land reform, restructure administrative system and emancipate the mass from tenancy, *The Progress through Cooperation Enlightenment and Work Campaign* was declared in 1975. It was commonly known in Amharic as *zämächa* (campaign).³ The *Zämächa* in Balé set up a provincial coordinating office at Goba in February 1975. It opened sub provincial or district stations at selected sites in the lowlands. The main tasks of the *zämächoch* (pl. campaigners) were to create awareness on the land proclamation, organize Peasant Associations (PAs), pave roads, dig water wells, establish open markets, solve social problems, teach alphabets, how to read and write and aware

¹ Paul Brietzke, “Land Reform in Revolutionary Ethiopia,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (14, no. 4 (1976: 637-60, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/160150>), p. 637.

² Solomon, pp. 25-26. He writes some 3,794 hectares of private commercial farm lands were nationalized from 13 owners by the proclamation in Balé. But informants estimate more this figure.

³ Brietzke, “Land Reform in Revolutionary...,” p. 649. See the difference between Brietzke’s definition and that of Andargachew. Andargachew, pp. 102-3. He stated that campaigners consisted of teachers and students, who were deployed in the countryside to ‘enlighten’ the rural masses about development starting from January 14, 1975.

the public about socialist philosophy of “Ethiopia Tiqdem” (Ethiopia Shall Lead).⁴ In Wabé *Awraja zämächa* stations were set up at Gindhir and Gololcha towns.⁵ The *zämächa* in Dallo had stations at Manna and Bidirre towns.⁶ In El-Kere, the *zämächa* was delayed due to drought, insecurity and absence of shelters for *zämächoch*, which led to controversy between provincial and *awarja* officials.⁷

In sum, successes of *zämächa* in Balé lowlands were imperative for subsequent developments in the region. *Zämächa* succeeded in creating awareness on the reforms, basic literacy, formation of Peasant Associations (PAs) in agrarian and agro-pastoral areas and established markets, dug water wells and paved dry weather roads. It took place in two rounds. The first round of *zämächa* started on February 15, 1975 and the second round in 1976 but was interrupted by the *sowra* war.⁸ In both rounds, 216 and 76 PAs were established in Wabé and Dallo *Awrajas* respectively.⁹ Informants who campaigned among the Dube and other societies of the lowlands state that the *zämächa* was an eye-opener for many of peripheral societies not only giving them farm land just

⁴ AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 Entitled “አድገት በህብረት የአውቀትና የስራ ዘመቻ”/Campaign of Knowledge and Work for Development through Cooperation/ letter Rf. No. 3462/5697 dated *Miyaziya* 2, 1967 EC (10-04-75) from Fasil *Awraja* Administration Office to Balé Province Share Company Office about duties of Campaigners in the *Zämächa*.

⁵ AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 letter Rf. No. 3917/409 dated *Ginbot* 22, 1967 EC (30-05-75) from Fit Bashir Abda to Balé Administration Office on drinking water problem of campaigners at Jarra town and asked help.

⁶ AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 letter no Rf. No. dated 14-08-1967 EC (22-04-75) from Gizaw Gashaw (Secretary General, Balé Administration Office) on iron roofing of campaigners’ shelters at Manna town; AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 letter Rf. No. 2061/493997 dated *Yakatit* 18, 1967 EC (25-02-75) from Alämayähu T̄ilahun (Dallo Administrator?) to Balé Administration on digging of water well by *zämächa* at Bidirre before they leave it.

⁷ AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 Telegram Rf. No. 2/ 3987/67 dated 08-09-1967 EC (16-05-75) from *Shaläqa* Mälaku Bäqälä (El-Kere *Awraja* Administrator) to Balé Administration Office on problem of housing campaigners in Kare due to drought in the area; AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 letter Rf. No. 3329/67 dated 15-09-1967 EC (23-05-75) from *Shaläqa* Hailä-Mariyam Lençho (Balé *Awraja* Administrator) ordering to mobilize the public in building temporary house for the campaigners as the advantage is for the public.

⁸ AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 Telegram Rf. No. ዘ/መ/መ/92/926 dated *Ginbot* 17, 1968 EC (25-05-76) from Brihanä Gäbrä-Wäld, Head for Administration and Treasure of Balé *Zämächa* Coordinating Office about closing *zämächa* stations in different districts...; AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 Telegram Rf. No. ዘ/ጠ/2/98/4727 dated *Mägabit* 26, 1969 EC (04-04-77) from Käbbädä Simägn (Head for Administration and Treasure of Development through Cooperation Central Office) to Balé Administration on properties of *zämächa* and success in two rounds...

⁹ AFBPAO, Folder No. በፀ3: report Rf. No. መ3/16/3/146 dated *Ginbot* 8, 1970 (16-05-78) from *Shambäl* Gétachäw Waqqira, to MOI on status of the war in Balé and response of the mass to call of the nation in mobilizing.

be able to attend meetings with the former propertied class. These successes, seen in terms mass support it rendered, which led to the raise of the anti-revolutionary groups in the Balé lowlands.¹⁰

Pro and Anti-Revolution Groups in the Balé Lowlands: “በባሌም በባሌም”

Revolution had been long waited in Balé lowlands, where grievances of exploitation led to public discontentment and then to social resistance, which erupted to be regional armed struggles such as the *jagahir*, *dhombur* and *sowra*. In peaceful resistance, which has been less studied in case of Balé so far, had been a persistent form of opposition in lowlands since 1940s. Later, when there were demonstrations of students in Addis Ababa (the center), the periphery also voiced similar demonstrations, strikes and anti-Hailä-Sillassié’s regime rallies in Goba and Gindhir towns. For instance, demonstrations, workers strikes and petitioners’ demands were reported in these towns in 1974. In Goba, center of the periphery, student and teachers of Azmach Daglähan Secondary, Nägade Säfar, and Jämari schools were reported to quiet classes in demand for salary pays and increments. The beginning protest in the regional core spread to Gindhir town, the capital of Wabé *Awraja*, students and teachers of Mäkuria Tässäma School demonstrated and presented petition containing 17 demands on March 25, 1966 EC (April, 3, 1974) among which the major once were: “Land to the Tiller!, Listen to voice of the starved! The government must look at our problems! Destroy corrupt officials!”¹¹

However, two opposite forms counterrevolutionary activities had been mushrooming in the country after the revolution. One was by sections who felt that the revolution was abducted and moving in the wrong direction and urged for the formation of civilian government. This idea was

¹⁰ Informats: Jarso Baléda, Mäkuriya Disassa (Goba, January 2018); Ahmed Aburre (Manna, November 2017).

¹¹ NALAA, FN 17.2.469.01. A letter Rf. No. 3/Tm4/39/47 dated *Miyaziya* 2, 1965 EC (11-03-73) by *Shaläqa* Haylä-Giyorgis Gutama to MOI of The Imperial Government of Ethiopia concerning demonstration and petition by students and teachers of Mäkuria Tessema School of Gindhir to governor of Wabé *Awraja*.

held by educated circles and people who were organized in different political parties. There repression and subsequent power struggle for power led to underground offensives and *Dräg's* purging of its rival political parties in the infamous “Red Terror”. To escape the purge, members political parties runaway in search of safe haven to reorganize themselves and struggle against the junta on power. One of these areas seen as safe haven, particularly by the Oromo intelligentsia in various political parties, was Balé lowlands where there were long resistances against the government. For instance, security report notified officials of Balé that persons coming from different areas of the center to border towns of Dolo Odo and Dolobay for work and political purposes to pave their exile into Somalia in 1975. It proposed tight security control, prior notification to security officials of their visit to the towns and arrest of people who move in the area without official permission.¹² Thus, it has been alleged that the ways out were by plane from Bole Airport and via Balé. Apparently, this could have been the reason why the phrase via “Bole and Balé” (በቦሌም በቦሌም) was coined at the time. Others state the phrase was coined to imply centers of the struggle i.e. center and periphery, Bole for Addis Ababa and Balé, homonym of the former, representing peripheries taken refuge by opposition in the northwest and the like.¹³

The other counterrevolutionary resistance was from landed class of the old regime, relatives of the nobilities, *näftännas*, *mälkäññas* and local appointees such as *balabbats* and *burqas*, which were disadvantaged by the politics of land reform.¹⁴ They rallied internal and external elements of counterrevolutionary groups raised in arms as discussed in detail under *Sowra* war. The magnitude of the resistance against the reform reached its climax when the government of

¹² AFBPAO, Folder Title: የባሌ ፀጥታ መረጃ/Balé Security File, letter Rf. No. 2/3/48/20/53 dated *Mägabit* 18, 1967 EC (27-05-75) from *Shaläqa* Mälaku Bäqälä, to Balé Administration Office about persons exile via Balé in disguise.

¹³ Informants: Hussein Mohamed (Goba, Februry 2017); Kefyalew et al, “A Comprehensive History of Balé...,”p. 15.

¹⁴ Informants: Kätäma Dingu, Faqi Hasano (Goba, February 2017); Solomon, p. 26.

Somalia assisted the local opposition in Balé and provinces adjacent to its boundary with Ethiopia. Informants that many former officials, paramilitary groups and prominent resistance leaders continued party based armed struggle in Balé lowlands until 1991. This made the next chapter of resistance.¹⁵

Därg's Policies and Pastoralists in the Balé Lowlands

Most societies of the Balé lowlands viewed the *Därg* and its policies both as progressive but at the same time vague. According to informants who participated in the *Zämächa* and subsequent programs of the *Därg*, Many lowlanders, including the key leaders of the *dhombur* war, had seen these policies optimistically because of some reforms of the early years of the revolution. But the reforms and policies were not correctly understood and not properly implemented by the officials who were in charge of their enforcement. This led pastoralists and farmers to confusion who begun to dislike these policies. The lowlanders associated this to the *Därg's* inheritance of the imperial government's image of "armed highlanders" being a new junta from the old center made it to be seen skeptically by the lowlanders.¹⁶ *Därg's* victory over Somalia, whom the lowlanders had taken for a progressive and powerful republic of pastoralists, however, had persuaded many to take a for wait-and-see position.¹⁷ Measures against imperial officials and against its political rivals made the *Därg* to be seen halfheartedly among the pastoralists. Conversely farmers and agro-pastoralists had seen some of early reforms of the *Därg* such as

¹⁵ Informants: Burqa Cuqurru (Dodola, June 2014); Jilahun Kasa (Goba, March 2017); Andargachew, pp. 40-47.

¹⁶ Informants: Damise Bäqälä, Hussein Mohamed (Goba, February 2017); Jarso Balda (Goba, January 2018).

¹⁷ Informants: Adam Tobe, (Manna, May 2014); Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2018); Alo Adam (Oda Roba, May 2018). These informants lived and educated in Somalia and knew the difference between Somalia and Ethiopia in terms of administration, infrastructure and social life, they confidently stated that thought both were countries under dictatorial regimes, Somalia was better than Ethiopia.

distribution of rural land to the peasant and abolishment of feudal economic relations have created a sense of euphoric optimism.¹⁸

However, the anticipated hope with the *Därg* had faded away eventually. This had to do with the mere paper value of the apparently progressive proclamations and policies of the *Därg*, which lacked adequate manpower and structure to enforce them in the remote lowlands. The keystones for the March 4, 1975 Rural Land Reform Proclamation that focused on economic development, social transformation and political freedom were progressive reforms.¹⁹ But Peasant Associations (PAs), which according to Article 8 and 10 of this proclamation were responsible for administering public property including rural land, direct patterns of land use, eliminate feudal relations and execute villagisation programs were not adequately established in the Balé lowlands. They were not organized at all in the whole of El-Kere, much of Dallo and in about half of Wabé *Awraja* until 1980. On the top of this, much of the Peasant Associations (PAs) were destroyed during the *Sowra* war. A comparison of the number of PAs set up in the highland and the lowlands of Balé illustrate the gap in their distribution as well as the level of their destruction during the *Sowra* war in table 7.1.²⁰

¹⁸ Informants: Damise Bäqälä, Tilahun Kasa, Hussein Mohamed (Goba, February 2017); Some 17 and 10 officials of imperial regime executed in mass without trial in Goba and Gindhir towns respectively in 1975. See also Andargachew, p. 382 for social expectations and actual achievement of the revolution when it first appeared.

¹⁹ Brietzke, "Land Reform in Revolutionary...," p. 637; *Nägarit Gazette*, Year 34, No. 31, 1975. It goes: "... all Ethiopians live in equality, freedom and fraternity..., in order to increase agricultural production and make the tiller owner of the fruits of his labor....it is necessary to free the productive forces of the rural economy by dissolving the feudal system..."

²⁰ *Ibid.*; AFBPAO, Folder No. 3291:1:2 Telegram Rf. No. 2/ 3987/67 dated 08-09-1967 EC (16-05-75) from *Shaläqa* Mälaku Bäqälä (El-Kere *Awraja* Administrator) to Balé Administration Office on problem of housing for campaigners in Kare due to drought; AFBPAO, Folder No. 103: report Rf. No. 03/16/3/146 dated *Ginbot* 8, 1970 (16-05-78) from *Shambäl* Gétachäw Waqjira, to MOI on status of the war, its aftermath, resettlement, in Balé ..., p. 4. The total in the source is 843 but the sum vale gives 833. Similar errors are seen in other sources.

Table 7.1 Comparison of Peasant Associations formed in Balé Province in 1975 and in 1980

No.	<i>Awraja</i>	Area in sq.km	No. of PA established in 1975	No. PA destroyed by <i>Sowra /Jan-Adde</i> War	Percentage of Destruction	No. of PA Reorganized after the War, 1980	Remark
1	Dallo	27,700	76	71	93.42	19	Lowlands = 106,000 km ²
2	El-Kere	56,300	-	-	-	24	
3	Wabé	22,000	216	132	61.11	210	
4	Gannalé	8,100	220	37	29.59	201	Highlands =18,600 km ²
5	Mandoyu	13,900	321	95	18.14	336	
Total		128,300 ²¹	[833]	335	40.21	[790] ²²	

Source: AFBPAO, Folder No. 003: report Rf. No. 03/16/3/146, 8-09-70 EC (16-05-78) by *Shambäl Gétachäw Waqjira*, p. 4; organized in chart and additional data by the author.

The empirical data in table 7.1 shows that relatively densely populated highland *awrajas* of Balé were more organized under the PAs than the vast *awrajas* of the lowlands. After the war, some of the destroyed PAs were re-organized with new PAs and new Pastoralists' *Qäbälés* (villages) were established in El-Kere. But most of them were either seasonal or dependent on government food aid and located near *wäräda* capitals. Seasonal PAs were those which operate during rainy seasons and stability but temporarily dysfunctional during drought months and security threats. Even in Dallo and Wabé *Awrajas* there were attempts to re-establish the dismantled PAs in 1979. By 1980 they were less successful as compared to that of 1975. This was shown in archival document as follows:

... አብዮቱ ግቡን እንዲመታ ለማድረግ አርሶ አደሩ በ849 ቀበሌ ማህበራት ተደራጅቶ የመደብ ትግሉን ሲያፋፍም አድራው የሰማሌ መንግስት በፈፀሙበት ወረራ ምንም እንኳን አብዛኛው የባሌ ህዝብ ከቤት ንብረቱ የተፈናቀለ ቢሆንም የባሌ ህዝብ ከነፃ አውጪው አብዮታዊ ሰራዊት ጎን ተሰልፎ የአድራውን የዝያድ ባሬ ወታደሮችና ሰርጎ ገቦችን ደቁሶ ካስወጣበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ የፈረሱትን ቤቶች መልሶ በማቋቋም የታፈኩትን ጭቁኖች ከሰርጎ ገቦችና ከአድሃሪ የሰማሌ

²¹ IES: MS, Folder No. 4079, “የኢትዮጵያ ብሔረሰቦች ጥናት ኢንስቲትዩት፤ የመስክ ስራ ቡድን 5 በአርሲ በባሌና በሐራርጌ ክፍለተ ሀገር ከየካቲት 28 ቀን እስከ መጋቢት 17 ቀን 1976 ያካሄደው ጉብኝት ዘገባ፤ ሚያዝያ 1976፤ አዲስ አበባ” (Amharic Typescript, Institute for Study of Ethiopian Nationalities (ISEN), “Field Work Report by Team 5 in the Provinces (*Kiflä-Hagärs*) of Arsi, Balé and Hararge from March 7 to March 28, 1984, Addis Ababa, 1984, pp. 1-102), p. 31. It shows 3700 km² of oversize.

²² NALAA, FN, 17.1.5.505.03 letter Rf. No. WS66/1/568 dated 24-08-1972 EC (02-05-80) from Abduljalil Haji Hassen to Vice Director for Public Relation Directorate of Balé to MOI on the status Villagisation in Balé (pp. 1-4), p. 3. The sum value in the original report is 784. There seems either summation error or mistake of figures used as input. Reorganized PAs include those destroyed by war and newly formed.

ወራሪዎች አፈጻጸም በማላቀቅ የፈረሱ የገበሬ ማህበራትን በማቋቋም የባሌ ሰፊው ህዝብ በየሰፈራ ጣቢያው ተጠቃሎ በመግባት በየገበሬ ማህበራቱ አምራቾች የህብረት ስራ ማህበር በማቋቋም ላይ ይገኛሉ።²³

...so as for the revolution to attain its goals, while the peasants has been organized into [790] Peasant Associations and accelerating the class struggle; the bourgeoisie government of Somalia committed invasion on us and most people of Balé had been displaced; thus allied with the Revolutionary Army in crushing and driving out the invading army of the bourgeois Said Barre and insurgents. Then the people started to rebuild destroyed house and rehabilitated the oppressed people librated from the iron-fist of the insurgents and the Somalia's bourgeoisie invaders and reestablished the dismissed peasant associations so as to move the wider population of Balé into settlement centers, where each peasant association has been establishing Producers' Cooperative Associations.

The functional peasant associations and pastoralist *qābālés*, therefore, were too small compared to the area and population size of the lowlands. This in turn limited the implementation of policies and programs of the reform in the region.²⁴

Though article 3 (I) of the land reform proclamation declared “[a]ll rural lands shall be collective property of the Ethiopian people....”, in practice they either lacked contextual applicability in the situation of pastoralists like that of the vast Balé lowlands and were therefore impractical. Consequently, seasonal movements of pastoralists, clan based competitions over resources and traditional ways of land management continued in the region. Moreover, though the proclamation abrogated all preexisting laws concerning land use and access to resources associated to it, pastoralists continued to use preexisting alliances, traditions and customary tributes in the form of gift to clan chiefs possessing *hora* and *hara* and access pastures and water wells in the lowlands. The *Därg* policies towards agro-pastoralists and the pastoralists, therefore, remained ill defined and impractical.²⁵

²³ NALAA, FN, 17.1.5.505.03 letter Rf. No. WS66/1/568 dated 24-08-1972 EC (02-05-80) from Abduljalil..., p. 2.
²⁴ Informants: Adam Kadir, Ali Omar (Jarra, May 2018); Abuna Abdulatif (Oda Roba, May 2018); Ezekiel Gebissa, Leaf of Allah: Agricultural Transformation in Harerge, Ethiopia 1875-1991, (Oxford: James Currey, 2004), p. 142.
²⁵ Informants: Adam Tina (Manna, May 2014); Jarso Balda (Goba, February 2018); Brietzke, “Land Reform ...,”p. 645.

One indicator for the impracticality of the land reform in the lowland was confusion of customary laws of land use with the concept of the proclamation. Article 24 of the 1975 proclamation declared that the pastoralist people shall have ‘possessory rights’ over the land they customarily use for grazing or other purposes related to agriculture.’ Paul Brietzke commented that the ‘possessory rights’, which replaced all various forms of customary tenures, were ill-defined. The proclamation however leaves the specific use of pastoral lands to traditional laws. But it abrogated “all preexisting laws” related to land use as stated above.²⁶ ‘Possessory rights’ also led by some Somali clans to claim land they had been grazing as *magantaa* (dependents) of Arsi Oromo clans in Wabé *Awraja*. For instance, this was among reasons for dispute between the Adenker and Rayitu, Dawwe and Kerenle in the lowlands since 1995. The proclamation allows the *magantaa* clans to remain where they were as its owners after the revolution and that created conflict. The proclamation therefore was very general and vaguely conceptualized.²⁷

Another controversial issue to implement the proclamation was the absence of legal document to resolve claims over land among rival clans in the lowlands. Informants in Wabé *Awraja*, where land reforms were partly implemented, stated that since there was no private land in pastoralist areas before the revolution, the proclamation created conflict even among members of an extended family in the process of allotment of the land from 1975-77. According to Dämissié Bäqälä who was a *Zämäch*, when the land was allocated to specific group (villagers) of a clan, other members the same clan complained because there was no document like tax receipt or any other to prove complaints.²⁸ The preexisting customary pastoral tenure system was only claim of

²⁶ Brietzke, “Land Reform in Revolutionary...,” p. 648.

²⁷ Informants: Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2018); Alo Farah (Oda Roba, May 2018), Banja Adam (Gindhir, May 2018).

²⁸ Informant: Dämissé Bäqälä (Goba, February 2017).

grazing and watering rights. This was because the Balé lowlands were unadministered by the imperial government.²⁹

The absence of peace and stability in the region due to continued guerilla activities throughout the *Därg* era weakened the efforts at implementing of these policies in the lowlands. Despite its defeat, Somalia never ceased from assisting the low level insurgency in the region, which hindered government plans in some parts of El-Kere and Wabé *Awrajas* and a few localities in Dallo *Awraja* (see chapter six for detail). Pastoralist societies, therefore, considered the land policies of the *Därg* as no more than a strategy designed to benefit the highlanders alone. This led the public to hold a notion of being neglected, excluded and left to mounting disillusionment particularly among those who know Somalia's irredentism. Consequently, this periphery remained politically unstable, ecologically deteriorating and economical impoverished to the present.³⁰

By the time the *Därg* was able to raise ample human power to enforce its programs, it cadres pursued forcible strategies in implementing policies such as quota system, compulsory national military service due the public dislike to the programs. Quota system was a strategy that the government designed to provide market for the peasants and PAs. The quota system was closely related to two types of organizations. One was the Agricultural Producers Cooperatives (APCs), which was organized by farmers who have continuous farmland zone introduced to Balé in 1976/77. Theoretically, peasant households of the area would join the APCs based on their willingness. In practice however the government designed pulling and pushing factors that directly or indirectly forced peasants to join the APCs. Individual peasants and members of the

²⁹ Brietzke, "Land Reform in Revolutionary...", p. 649.

³⁰ Informants: Ibrahim Kadir, Hassan Aliyi (Manna, November 2017); Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2018); Nuho Guled (Oda Roba, May 2018).

APCs were not equally treated as local officials worked in favor of the latter. Fertile lands were granted for APCs by evicting from private peasants under various pretexts. This created the atmosphere of insecurity of land use right particularly for those individual farmers whose land was found in the nearby areas of the APCs.³¹

The APCs moreover designed a system to stabilize market by an organization known Peasant Service Cooperatives (PSCs), which was in charge providing various agricultural inputs and commodities. But due to the resistance it faced from peasants due to low price and incontinences in the process of marketing with PSCs, peasants were forced to sell pre determined amount of grain to PSCs at fixed price. This was called quota for every farmer. The Quota system, therefore, was popularly known as a forced sell of fixed amount grain allotted for peasants at fixed price every year. It prohibited peasants from selling their own product on the market freely. Those who refused to deliver the quota allotted to them were not allowed to buy fertilizers, pesticides and seeds which were provided only by the government through the PSCs.³²

For instance, the quota system forced peasants in parts of Wabé and Dallo to sell their produce to the government at a price lower than the market value, was one of the most hated policies of the government. Informants who worked with PAs and PSCs remember that the quota system was accepted in its early years of operation. In Dallo *Awraja* even natural coffee collected from the forest was allotted on those engaged in it. In Wabé *Awraja* it was mostly grains that taken as priority area because of nationwide commercialization of grains. Towns like Gindhir and Manna

³¹ Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuities in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 171-72.

³² Alemayehu Lirensso, "Grain Marketing in Post-1974 Ethiopian Revolution: Policies, Problems and Prospects," in Tadesse Beyene (ed.), *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Addis Ababa: IES, 1988), p. 392.

were hot spots of peasants who for first time were free to sell use their grains and livestock without share cropping arrangements.³³

The quota had some merits at first. It encouraged farmers to produce market oriented products with quality requirements. Eventually as the many farmers joined PAs, competition increased and the absence of guideline for marketing different quality levels of a particular type of grain like wheat and barley led to disagreement between producers and PSCs. This led to the use of force to force peasants sell grains. Then agro-pastoralists of the Balé lowlands refused to appear at PSCs and used different techniques such as using animal composts and traditional cleaning of farms to substitute modern chemical fertilizers and pesticides. This time, PSCs intimidated for confiscating land and allotted quota to every farmer.³⁴ It also used different pretexts to snatch farmlands from peasants who refused to join PSCs. This forced PSCs to improve the price to attract producers to sell grains to it. An Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC) therefore took the initiative to facilitate a nationwide marketing of agricultural products at a relatively better price in 1976. It is apparent however that peripheral areas like Balé lowlands were forced to sell their grain to at a very low fixed price to PSCs than other areas in the center of the country.³⁵ The aggregate outcome led to the decline of agricultural production even on government controlled farms. As Harold Marcus summarized as “agricultural production had declined at an average annual rate of 0.4%, whereas population had grown consistently at 3%

³³ Informant: Hassan Aburre (Manna, May and November 2017); Mäsärät Çhanyaläw (Manna, November 2017).

³⁴ Informant: Dämissé Bäqälä (Goba, February 2017); Ahmed Aburre (Manna, May and November 2017).

³⁵ *Ibid.* Kefyalew et al “A Comprehensive History of Bale...,” p. 125. The intervention of the government in the grain trade began during the imperial regime with the establishment in 1960. Agricultural Marketing Corporation was institution established in 1976 under the name of Ethiopian Grain Corporation with limited scope of grain marketing business but reorganized and renamed AMC.

throughout the *Därg* period. State farms also accounted for only 3-4% of total crop production, and only half the land at their disposal had been cultivated.”³⁶

Similarly, pastoralists were required to sell their livestock at low price for use in battle fronts in the late 1980s. The government used traders to buy oxen in pastoral market centers and district capitals. Informants remember key livestock markets in Balé such as Gindhir, Malka Oda, Imie, Bälé, Manna, Bidirre, Oborso and Çharati were dominated by traders and their brokers who used to set the market price for the animals. Such trader had the support of political, military and police officers.³⁷ Traders who tried to compete with them face challenges such as arrest, irregular taxes and confiscation under pretext of supporters of “rebels.” This forced small business owners (traders) to trade in contraband with merchants from Somalia and Kenya mainly through Dolo. This affected the market value of the products and significantly demoralized pastoralists and pushed them to engage in contraband trade with Somalia.³⁸

On the top of declining agricultural productivity and pastoralists’ income from its livestock, the lowlanders carried the burden of a number of financial contributions. The populations had to contribute in kind and cash to finance several “anti-rebel” campaigns conducted in the Balé lowlands in which thousands part took. These however were done contrary to revolutionary reforms that outlawed forced payments and contributions. They also had to contribute for the “call of motherland” like Ethiopians elsewhere. This turned away the people of the lowlands from the government. In addition, obligatory subscriptions to various mass organizations,

³⁶ Marcus, pp. 209, 212-213. Marcus stated that *Därg*’s spending of \$1,500,000,000 on arms in 1988 was 54% of government’s revenue. Ethiopia’s international debt reached \$530,500,000 in 1988 from \$51,400,000 in 1974. The country was bankrupt and the value of *Birr* against the U.S. dollar was at 2.07 until 1992 when devalued to 5.00.

³⁷ Informants: Alo Farah, Ismael Adam, Nuho Guled (Oda Roba, May 2018).

³⁸ AFBPAO, Folder No. 003: letter Rf. No. 003/16/491 dated 28-02-1976 EC (19-06-83) from Godana Tuni (Administrator of Balé) to MOI on security of the province after coordinated campaigns in Balé.

subservience not to a landlord but to a multitude of government officials, peasant association leaders, cadres, forced resettlements, collectivization, villagisation, cyclical labor and financial contributions that the new officials exacted from the peasant were seen as new forms of the old feudal production relations.³⁹

Most disliked policy of the *Därg* was compulsory national military service. The *Därg* forcefully conscripted 3,922 youths in the first and second rounds of the national military service from Balé excluding El-Kere *Awraja* 1988. Some 2562 persons were conscripted for militia and commissariat duties trained at Shawwe (*Tatäq* 4).⁴⁰ Thus, the youth abandoned towns and villages for the bush. Consequently, all the above policies impacted the national economy. Nevertheless, there were some policies like resettlement and collectivization experimented in the Balé lowlands and were later recommended to be applied in the whole of Ethiopia.⁴¹

Resettlements and Collectivization in the Balé Lowlands

Resettlement and collectivization were intertwined programs, which have often been used in the sources interchangeably.⁴² But they were different in terms of their motives and time they were implemented in Balé. Settling people had legal base in chapter 4 Article 18 of the land proclamation, which gave the government the responsibility to *settle* rural population to ‘pave

³⁹ Informants: Ibrahim Kadir, (Manna, November 2017); Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2018); Andargachew, p. 275.

⁴⁰ NALAA, Folder No. 17.1.5.05.01 report Rf. No. 1/6/3/467/ dated to 5-12-1980 (11-08-88) from Gizaw Gashaw (Head of Administrative Service of Balé) to MOI on annual report of Balé Province for the period 1987/88; Informant Mäsärät Çhanyaläw (Manna, November 2017).

⁴¹ Informants: Ibrahim Kadir, (Manna, November 2017); Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2018).

⁴² Solomon Korsä, “Rural Land Distribution and Management in Highland Bale: A Study of Goba, Dodola and Sinana, 1975-1991,” (M.A. Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 2005), pp. 39-40; Andargachew, p. 337.

the way for development'. But in practice what happened was *resettlement* involving displacement.⁴³

There were three types of resettlement programs in Balé that involved collectivization. The first was the relocation of war displaced peoples into villages started in Balé lowlands in 1978. This type of resettlement had double face. One was rehabilitation of societies already dislocated by the war in villages located in areas suitable for collective defense. But in time it involved selection of better sites for villages, which were known as “የሰፈራ ጣቢያዎች” (settlement stations), with the prospect of growing into rural towns. Areas selected for the purpose were those with permanent source of water, convenient to connect them with main roads linking capitals of districts, fertile plains suitable for large farming and in consideration of similar settlement villages in close range. This program had strong backing from the public as it was the only way to defend themselves from *Sowra* raids.⁴⁴

Likewise, resettlement of peoples liberated from areas controlled by the anti-*Därg* forces in Wabé and in Dallo *Awrajas*. This was carried out by the *Därg* in 1978 and 1979. The *Därg* also resettled people who had taken refuge in towns during the invasion by Somalia. The army resettled 15,900 people in Wabé *Awraja* in March 1978.⁴⁵ This increased to 30,000 persons

⁴³ Getachew Woldemeskel, "The Consequences of Resettlement in Ethiopia," *African Affairs* 88, no. 352 (1989: 359-74. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/722691>), p. 360.

⁴⁴ Informant: Jarso Balda (Goba, February 2018); AFBPAO, Folder No. 003: report Rf. No. 03/16/3/146 dated *Ginbot* 8, 1970 (16-05-78) from *Shambäl* Gétachäw Waqjira, to MOI on status of the war, its consequences, resettlement, in Balé lowlands..., pp. 3-5.

⁴⁵ NALAA, Folder No. 17.1.5.01.01, report Rf. No. 3/ ፆ/፩/22/6/ 2/149 dated *Mägabit* 4, 1970 (13-03-78) from *Shambäl* Gétachäw Waqjira, Vice Administrator of Balé to *Därg* Council of Balé... on the status war in Balé.

resettled in Dallo by July 1978.⁴⁶ Resettlement villages of war displaced peoples numbered to 18 in Wabé, 2 in Dallo, 57 in Mandoyu and 8 in Gannalé *Awraja*.⁴⁷

The other face of resettlement in Balé lowlands was collectivization of scattered villages (rural neighborhoods) in the vast lowlands and reorganizing these into villages under the aforementioned criteria. Most of the societies covered in this program were previously allied (at least unwillingly) with the anti-*Därg* forces and relocated after the defeat of the insurgents to deter further contact between the two sides. Informants stated that it was at this time that forceful resettlement started because not all people were willing to leave their former homes. Though initially it had some acceptance because of its defensive merits, people objected to it due to various reasons. This happened in Balé since 1980, much earlier than the commencement of the national villagisation program (see below). For instance, the army resettled 33,000 people in Beltu and 7,000 in Rayitu Districts in 1981 and 3,000 in El-Kere in three villages.⁴⁸ This face also included resettlement of people displaced from areas designated for Wabé-Shebellé Valley Development Project.⁴⁹

The second type of resettlement was a government sponsored national relocation program of peoples from drought and famine affected provinces to resource-rich but sparsely settled provinces. It was headed by The Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RCC), which coordinated the resettlement of people from Wällo Province in Balé and Wallaga beginning in 1979. In Balé, people from Wällo settled in Harawa and Laga-Oda in Gindhir District of Wabé

⁴⁶ AFBPAO, Folder No. 003: report Rf. No. 00/22/6/2/149 dated *Hamlé* 18, 1970 (25-07-78) from *Shambäl Gétachäw Waqjira*, to MOI, 4th Army Division and Balé *Därg* Council reporting status of the war, plans, casualties...

⁴⁷ Folder No. 003: report Rf. No. 03/16/3/146 dated *Ginbot* 8, 1970 (16-05-78) from *Shambäl Gétachäw Waqjira*, to MOI on status of the war, its consequences, resettlement, in Balé lowlands..., p. 4.

⁴⁸ AFBPAO, Folder No. 003: report Rf. No. 003/16/3/31/6 dated 27-06- 1973 (25-07-78) from Aychiluhim Jifar, Vice Administrator of Balé to Tayyé Tilahun (Minster MOI) on the progress of the revolutionary forces on resettlement.

⁴⁹ John M. Cohen and Nils-Ivar Isaksson, "Villagisation in Ethiopia's Arsi Region," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 25, no. 3 (1987: 435-64. <http://www.istor.org/stable/160830>), p. 435.

Awraja. The number of settler households in Balé was 5,216 in 1980, 2,749 in 1981, 1,538 in 1982 and 606 in 1983, which gives a total of 10,109 households.⁵⁰ These settled in 10 villages in Harawa and one village in Laga-Oda, where they were given political and military trainings that was supposed to make them “progressive and productive forces.”⁵¹ Some of these settlers were reported to have escaped from settlement sites and returned to their place of origin. Therefore, top *Därg* officials warned provincial cadres to give urgent solution to the matter.⁵²

The third type of resettlement was collectivization, which was aimed basically at establishment of nucleated and structured settlement centers in a broad program known as villagisation. This was implemented throughout Ethiopia as a national campaign in Hararge in 1984, Arsi in 1985 and much of the country in 1985/86 based on the experience of Balé.⁵³ The program coincided with the outmigration of people from the northern provinces such as Wällo, Tigray, and Gondar into sparsely settled southern provinces. This was caused by the famine of 1984/85.⁵⁴ Thus, areas with major net gains were Addis Ababa, followed by Balé, Arsi, [Illu Abba Bora] and Wallaga provinces of southern Ethiopia. Thus, Balé was the main destination for settlers in Ethiopia.⁵⁵ In

⁵⁰ NALAA, Folder No. 17.1.5.05.03 letter Rf. No. unclear dated *Säné* 28, 1974 EC (05-07-82) from Hailä-Mariyam Säyfu, Head for Villagisation Management and Cooperatives Service, to MOI on the situation of Wällo Settlers in Balé, challenges, reasons for return their run to place of origin.... (pp. 1-3), p. 2. The document stated the settlers in Wallagga 1980-1983 to be 6,459 households.

⁵¹ AFBPAO, Folder No. *ወፀ*, Titled/ የዋቤ አውራጃ ፀጥታ/ *Wabé Awraja* Security, letter Rf. No. 3/ም/12ፀ/24/772/214 *Ginbot* 7, 1971 EC (15-05-1979) from Lieu/Col Läggässä Laqāw Officer of 12 Army Division 3rd Directory to Balé Administration on training for Wällo Settler on Socialism and military techniques to make armed producers.

⁵² NALAA, Folder No. 17.1.5.05.03 letter Rf. No. 123/አ90/2 dated *Yäkatit* 14, 1975 EC (21-02-83) from Fisäha Dästa, Vice Council of Ministers to RCC on urgent solution for settlers’ escape of from villages.

⁵³ Cohen and Isaksson, "Villagisation in Ethiopia's Arsi ...," p. 435.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*; Informants: Rashid Ame, Aliyi Tore (Malka Amana, May 2014), Bushe Abbäbä (Robe, July 2014).

⁵⁵ Markos Ezra, "Ecological Degradation, Rural Poverty and Migration in Ethiopia: A Contextual Analysis," No. 149, 2001, p. 9

sum, the total number of villages established in all types of resettlement in Balé was 589 of which 22 were in El-Kere, 198 in Wabé, 280 in Mandoyu and 93 in Gannalé.⁵⁶

Villagisation (collectivization) in Balé was put under the RCC for supervision of cooperatives and humanitarian situations because of continued war with the insurgents in Balé lowlands throughout the 1980s. The RCC's Balé branch had planned to resettle over 320,061 people displaced by war into 184 relief centers from 1982-1985.⁵⁷ At this time, collectivization of rural people from their pre-existing scattered hamlets into villages involved forceful ways. Particularly, semi-pastoralists and pastoralists who objected to the program were labeled as “anti-development” and “anti-peace” elements by *Därg* officials. Although it was hoped that collectivization of rural work force and its integration into a central national planning system would increase the productivity and resource use of the peasantry, the process of its implementation was messy.⁵⁸ Despite a few initial successes, therefore, villagisation was met with stiff opposition from the public among whom some even allied with insurgents in carrying out attacks on villages.⁵⁹

The major reasons for the unpopularity of villagisation or resettlement for collectivization scheme in Balé lowlands were socioeconomic and cultural shocks. The Oromo of Balé lowlands lived and preferred to live mainly near areas of socioeconomic and cultural significance inherited from the past such as *ardaa jilaa* (cultural centers), *ujubaa* (ancestral graves), *qe'ee abbooti* (homesteads of forefathers), *elaa* (wells), *hora* (mineral for livestock) and so on. Pastoralists take into account these ritual sites in their seasonal movements. Permanently abandoning these sites

⁵⁶ NALAA, Folder No. 17.1.5.505.03 letter Rf. No. WS66/1/568 dated 24-08-1972 EC (02-05-80)..., p. 2. No data for Dallo Awraja.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3; Andargachew, p 383; Solomon, p. 40.

⁵⁸ Andargachew, pp. 278, 337.

⁵⁹ Informants: Damissié Bäqälä, Hussein Mohamed (Goba, February 2017) Jarso Balda (Goba, February 2018).

without assigning someone to take care of them was considered by the pastoralists *safuu* (immoral) and believed to result in bad luck. But the villagisation program threatened these ritual centers for the purpose of settlement due to resources therein. Moreover, the villages were not convenient for extended families and large herd size valued by the people. There were occasions in which human and livestock epidemics hit the villages, which led people to avoid them. Besides, when the *Därg*'s opponents grew stronger in the Balé lowlands in the 1980s, many villagers conspired in the assaults on the villages.⁶⁰

Consequently, the basic reasons for the failure of villagisation and cooperative associations designed therein were multifaceted. Most peasant associations were dysfunctional and incompatible with the way of life of pastoralists and semi-pastoralists. This was why villages and cooperative associations were seen by many as “Trojan horses” that aimed to trap the mass by *Därg*'s cadres. Besides, producers' cooperative services, which were designed to increase resource management and productivity, were responsible for wastage of a great deal of resources.⁶¹ This was partly because its leaders, who were elected peasants, did not have the skills required for keeping the accounts of the associations and partly because of corrupt practices.”⁶² Moreover, management capability, peasant initiative and government support appear to be the major factors deciding their efficiency.⁶³ For instance, in the Balé highlands, 100 hectares were developed for irrigation with government input, but 40 cooperatives with members all settlers from Wällo (in the Balé lowlands) were unable to cultivate their farmlands because of lack of labor and working capital. As a result they opted to leave for their former home giving

⁶⁰ Informants: Adam Tinna, (Bidirre, May 2014); Lenjiso Roba (Oda Roba, May 2018); Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2018).

⁶¹ Cohen and Isaksson, "Villagisation in Ethiopia's Arsi ...," p. 436.

⁶² Andargachew, p. 282.

⁶³ Kloos Helmut, "Peasant Irrigation Development and Food Production in Ethiopia," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 157, (1991, 295-306,) p. 301.

various reasons.⁶⁴ In sum, not only in the Balé lowlands, but elsewhere in Ethiopia the program was criticized for causing dislocations, separation of families and death of thousands as well.⁶⁵

***Därg* Policies and the Riverine Societies of the Balé Lowlands**

Därg's relations with riverine societies of the Balé lowlands can be assessed in terms of the latter's response to policies of the government. Unlike among most pastoralists, the *Därg* succeeded in implementing its programs of establishing peasant associations and producers' cooperatives among the riverine communities. Starting with the *zämächa* of 1975, the Dube in Dallo *Awraja* were appreciated by the government for their fast implementation of the literacy campaign and formation of peasant association in Helgol and Gomgoma. This was because they already lived in clustered settlements. The Dube also got their own land for the first time to produce crops freed from share cropping arrangements. Since the *zämächa* was not conducted in Imie, a number of Dube families moved from Imie to Dallo Manna District to get access to land. However, these peasant associations were ravaged by the *Sowra* war, in which Dube notables were killed, and the Dube people evacuated these areas into Dallo Manna town for security.⁶⁶

The two other programs implemented among the Dube were resettlement and villagisation. The Dube were displaced from Helgol and Gomgoma were resettled in Burqitu, Birbire and Haya Oda *Qäbälés*, where they improved their living conditions in 1978-1979. The Dube used the Yadot and Irba Rivers to irrigate their farms and were able to produce crops at least twice a year. Their proximity to Manna, the *Awraja* capital, gave them access to market and plots of land in the town. The Dube were settled in close proximity to neighborhoods settled by the Oromo and

⁶⁴ Sonja Fransen and Katie Kuschminder, "Migration in Ethiopia: History, Current Trends and Future Prospects," *Paper Series: Migration and Development Country Profiles, Maastricht Graduate School of Governance*, 2009, pp. 10-11. This source state the program resulted in the death a minimum of 50,000 people" in the 1980s.

⁶⁵ Informants: Bäqälä Dagaga, Girma Feyisa, Gizachäw Waqtola, Bushe Abbäbä (Robe July, 2014).

⁶⁶ Informants: Ahmed Aburre (Manna, November 2017); Omar Dalmar (Addis Ababa, November 2018).

other peoples of the township which facilitated cultural exchange. Peasants associations and producers cooperatives were reestablished at new settlements and the Dube became among the known *qäbälés* in the region due to their acquaintance with irrigation and riverine farming for a long time when compared to the agro-pastoralist who began the practice recently. Therefore, individuals like Ahmed Aburre and Ali Gurracha rose to significant positions in the *Awraja* Peasants' Association Committee. The former became the Deputy Head of Dallo *Awraja* Peasant association while many more were promoted to various posts in the militia and in the cooperatives. These can be considered among the successes of the revolution for formerly silenced minorities.⁶⁷

After the *Sowra* war, the Dube in El-Kere were used as role models for pastoralists who were resettled in relief centers seeking humanitarian aid. Trainers and site managers were assigned from the Dube to help pastoralists to practice flood cultivation and divert river for irrigation. This made the Dube, Reer Barre, Gherri-Mero, Karnale, Girrira and Gurre agricultural extension experts for the pastoralists along Wabé-Shaballé, Wayib and Gannalé Rivers. Many workers from these communities were employed in the Wabé-Shebellé Valley Project at Gode as laborers and team leaders. Seen from the precarious position these communities held during the imperial regime, therefore, the *Därg* was seen as sympathetic to the 'black populations' as these communities were called by the pastoralists.⁶⁸

The *Därg*'s economic and cultural development campaign /“የኢኮኖሚ እና የባህል እድገት ዘመቻ”/ enabled the Dube to emerge from obscurity and become phenomenal performers of a unique ethno music at national level. The economic and cultural development campaign policy

⁶⁷ Informants: Ahmed Aburre, Ali Gurracha, Hamdi Madobe (Manna, May 2014; November 2017).

⁶⁸ Informants: Jamal Bar (Addis Ababa, February 2017); Omar Dalmar (Addis Ababa, November 2018); Nuho Guled Ismael Adam (Oda Roba, May 2018).

encouraged the formation of music and sport teams in each peasant association with competitions at district, *awraja* and provincial levels to select the best to represent them at national events such as the annual anniversary of the revolution. According to both Dube and Oromo informants, a Dube Music team had won national and provincial awards during the *Därg* regime. In 1978 there was cultural festival held at consecutive administrative levels starting from the district up to the national stage in which one music team from the Dube eventually had won the best Music performance prize of Imie district and then that of El-Kere *Awraja*. Moreover, the Dube Music and dance performed at the level of Balé Province was said to have received warm appreciation from the majority spectators in Goba town, where urban people were said to have asked “do these people live in Ethiopia?”⁶⁹ The Dube music of Bantu melody and dancing style was appreciated by many of the audience in these performances. This clearly indicates that the Dube had been unknown to most people even in the provincial towns of the region. Dube performance was reported in *Addis Zämän* Newspaper which stated that the Dube who had been oppressed and forgotten by the *old regime* were enjoying the “fruits of the revolution”.⁷⁰ Similarly, the Dube in Arsi Province were included in the Arsi Cultural Art Band as a Dube music unit.⁷¹ Oral narrative has it that the Dube team was part of Balé’s culture team that represented the province at the Ethiopian National “People to People Cultural Festival” held in Asmara City in 1981.⁷²

⁶⁹ Informants: Hussein Mohamed, Mekuria Dessisa (Goba, February 2017) Jarso Belda (Goba, January 2018). These informants worked at various positions during the regime in Balé and state to know about participation of Dube culture team in Balé’s Cultural Team. See the detail in the list of informants.

⁷⁰ *Addis Zämän, Nähassie* 20, 1970 EC (26-08-78), “*YäWarra Dube Biheräsäb YäBahil Täçhāwachoch Dāmaq Aqābabäl Tädärägälachāw*”/ Dube Cultural Team Received Warm Welcome/. The team had 26 members.

⁷¹ *Addis Zämän, Hidar* 5, 1974 EC (14-11-81), *YäArsi YäBahil Kinät Guad Täquaquamä*/ Arsi Cultural Art Band established/ The team comprised of Arsi Oromo, Amhara, Warra Dube, Nole, Gurage and [Zay] nationalities.

⁷² Informants: Abdi Omar (Addis Ababa, January 2017); Ahmed Aburre, Hamdi Madobe, (Manna, November 2017). The first informant is son a member of Bale’s Cultural Team that traveled to Asmara and he listed 10 members who

However, the *Därg*'s policy of resettlement of pastoralists along the Wabé-Shebellé put the livelihood of the Dube under pressure in several ways. One of these pressures emanated from the resettlement of large group of Somali pastoralists and other agrarian populations from the northern-central Ethiopia on the land which they had cultivated in the past and led to shortage of flood plains. Secondly, the Somali used their numerical advantage to push away the Dube from their traditional homes in East Imie and eventually from West Imie as well. This also had cultural influence on the riverine minorities which they sustained previously by separating their living spaces from the pastoralists. Thirdly, the fluctuation in the volume of the Wabé-Shebellé River appeared to be a major problem during this time. During the dry season the volume of the river shrinks due to the construction of the Malka Wakana Dam in the upstream and the pumping of the water in the Wabé-Shebellé Valley Project downstream. This hindered the Dube from diverting the water in to their old irrigation canals using traditional methods and required them to buy water pumps which they could not afford to purchase. Therefore, they drew more closely to the river, which exposed them to instant flooding when the rain fall in the highlands. There were many accidents involving floods washing away villages of the Dube, Gheri-Mero, Barre and Karanle.⁷³

Issues of Development in the Balé Lowlands to 1991:

Development was a priority of *Därg*'s socialist propaganda to the public at least theoretically. There were some successes of development though they were marred by demerits on their process, which paradoxically characterized the issue of development in Balé lowlands to 1991.

were part of the team from El-kere *Awraja*. Ahmed Aburre states that he knows this story because he was one of the top ranking officials of Dallo *Awraja* at the time. But there is no document available to prove this matter.

⁷³ Informants: Jamal Bar (Addis Ababa, February 2017); Omar Dalmar (Addis Ababa, November 2018); Nuho Guled Ismael Adam (Oda Roba, May 2018).

In the Balé lowlands (as the case also for the whole of Ethiopia), development was synonymous with rural development.⁷⁴ To achieve rural development, the *Därg* focused on reorganization of rural population, construction of rural roads, improving agro-pastoral means of production and conservation of natural environment. Regarding the reorganization of the rural mass it had some success during the *zämächa* and in the early stages of resettlement as discussed elsewhere. The first challenge of *Därg*'s rural development programs, therefore, emerged with ineffectiveness in the public coordination and winning the acceptance of societies of the lowlands which in turn affected the success of other development programs and strategies therein.⁷⁵

A priority for the implementation of *Därg*'s development packages in Balé lowlands was construction of roads. National and provincial officials unanimously agreed that the absence of transportation and communication in Balé lowlands has been the paramount problem for development and security. Starting from the early days of the revolution, therefore, the *Därg* established a national committee to monitor the construction of a road from Goba to Manna town and then to Bitata (near Gannalé River). The plan was also to connect Manna with Haro-Dibbe, Oborso, Angentu and Bäle (Barbare) in November 1974. There was urgency due to Somalia's preparation for war. So the construction of the road from Goba to Manna, which is about 110 km was commenced but was interrupted by the aggression of Somalia.⁷⁶ Then it was restarted in 1980, when the provincial branch of Highway Authority reported the construction of 250km of rural road in Balé. 20km of road was constructed in Wabé *Awraja* by mobilization of the

⁷⁴ Brietzke, "Land Reform...", p. 637,

⁷⁵ Informants: Nuho Guled, Ismael Adam, Lenjiso Roba, Abuna Abdulatif (J)Oda Roba, May 2018).

⁷⁶ NALAA, FN, 17.1.1.270.07, meeting minute dated *Tiqimt* 26, 1967 EC (05-11-74) meeting of seven officials chaired by Tsägga Wäldä-Mariyam (Chief Engineer of Highway Authority) to speed up the construction of Goba-Manna-Bitata road in urgency to keep the security of the province and provision of relief aid for drought victims.

public.⁷⁷ However, the length of rural road in Balé by the end of the *Därg* era was less than 1,000km, which was small compared to the size of the province. Corruption and lack of coordination limited this sector.⁷⁸

Transformation in mode of agricultural production saw little progress under the *Därg's* state led command economy. The government introduced mechanized state farms, cooperative producers' farms and limited irrigation schemes. By 1980, 30,027 hectares (ha) of land was covered by Balé State Farm most of which locate in the Balé Highlands except its branch in Wabé *Awraja*. Even its effectiveness was never questioned as it snatched the most fertile plain land from the locals. For example, 524,896 quintals of crop was harvested from 44,939ha of land cultivated by the state farm, which was less than 12 Quintals per hectare in 1981.⁷⁹ Cooperatives' and private farms were hampered by deficiency of modern agricultural inputs. Besides, the lowlands were forgotten and resorted to the traditional mode of production due to lack of attention even to the scale of the highlands. There were some irrigation practices along perennial rivers which did not show the case of the vast escarpments.⁸⁰ Government source stated that 11 rivers used for irrigation, 20 km of terrace for soil protection, 10 ponds were dug to conserve water for irrigation. *Zämächa 3* performance in Balé reported success in awareness creation and hence peasant associations participated in campaigns of soils, water and forest conservation in 1982. There was futile plan to expand the Wabé-Shebellé Valley Project scheme, which had its base at Gode *Awraja* of Hararge Province, into the lowlands. But little practical step was taken. It was

⁷⁷ NALAA, FN, 17.1.5.505.03 letter Rf. No. WS66/1/568 dated 24-08-1972 EC (02-05-80) from Abduljalil..., p. 4.

⁷⁸ Informants: Ibrahim Rufa (Goba, January 2018). He stated that Ibrahim Mohamed, who was among elders who petitioned for the construction of asphalt road since the Hailä-Sillassié times up to the EPRDF period. Ibrahim won the heart of Mäläs Zenawi saying "All my friends with whom we litigated long for Balé's road have died what I would tell them when I join them soon?"

⁷⁹ *Addis Zämän, Mäskäräm* 30, 1974 EC (10-10-81), "*BäBalé YäZämächa 3 Afätsastäm*" /Report on the *Zämächa 3* performance/.

⁸⁰ Informants: Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2018); Ali Omar (Oda Roba, May 2018), Jarso Balda (Goba February 2018).

irrigation from the Wabé-Shebellé River with plan of expanding agricultural extension and irrigation projects in areas around West Imie in Balé.⁸¹

There were serious challenges of development faced the societies of Balé lowlands since the *Sowra* war. These challenges of were partly natural problems compounded by human factors. One was severe drought that hit the Balé lowlands repeatedly in 1974-75, 1978-79, 1981-82 and 1984-86. These droughts led to livestock and human famine, displacement and epidemic and deaths in variable degree. In the 1974-75 drought acute shortage of water threatened over 575,000 people in Hararge and Bale lowlands.⁸² Next, the *Sowra* war was followed by famine in large parts the lowlands and Ogaden for which Colonel Mängistu Hailämariyam blamed Somalia. He writes Somalia used the livestock of the pastoralists to feed its invading army and drained out the labor force and livestock, which are mainstay of the population, while retreated along taking much of it up on its defeat.⁸³ This partly concurs with my discussion on the disagreement between Somalia and the WSLF in chapter six. But this drought was seen as bad lack of the *Därg*. It caused crises exacerbated by the scarcity of rainfall in 1977/78 in the region.⁸⁴

Specially, the drought that reappeared after short interval from 1981-1982 caused famine in El-Kere, Wabé, and Dallo *Awrajas* and estimated 700,000 people sheltered in 338 relief camps. The government set up a national committee headed by Brigadier General Tayyé Tilahun, Minister of Interior with members from concerned ministerial offices. El-Kere *Awraja* was badly affected by

⁸¹ *Addis Zämän*, *Mäskäräm* 30, 1974 EC (10-10-81), “BäBalé YäZämächa 3 Afätsastäm”/Report on Zämächa 3 performance in Balé/.

⁸² *Addis Zämän*, *Ginbot* 2, 1966 EC (10-05-74), “BäHararge Na BäBalé YäWuha Chigir”/Shortage of Water in Hararge and Balé.

⁸³ “Mängistu Hailämariyam, *Tigilachin: YaEtyophiya Hiziboch Abiyotawi Tigil Tarik, Qitsi 1*, (Tsehai Asatami Dirijit: Maskaram 2004 EC)/መንግሥቱ ኃይለማርያም, ትግላችን፡ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ አብዮታዊ ትግል ታሪክ፡ ቅፅ ፩ (ፀሐይ አሳታሚ ድርጅት፡ መስከረም፡ 2004 ዓ.ም.)” pp. 481-82.

⁸⁴ Informants: Lejiso Roba, Alo Hussein (Oda Roba, May 2018); Ali Omar (Jarra, May 2018).

the drought that epidemic was reported before the said relief aid reached the victims. Though the national committee underscored the need for a lifesaving intervention as soon as possible, it ordered investigation of what it thought exaggerated number of victims by registration of name, age and gender of the victims in every relief center. It also recommended the “aid” introduction of food for work program apparently to save the people from dependency syndrome.⁸⁵ The 1984-85 drought hit of the entire Horn of Africa. But there is no data of victims for Balé. It seems not as worst as in the northern part of the country. But, El-Kere and parts of Dallo and Wabé were affected.⁸⁶

Another challenge to development was spread of epidemic disease. Concomitant with each of the above drought years (particularly with that of the 1984/85) sporadic epidemic disease affected societies in Balé lowlands. Cholera epidemic, which was understated in the sources as water-born dysentery, spread to most areas Balé lowlands and some parts of the highlands. Official report stated that the effort of the provincial health sector in saving the life of victims was remarkable. Report to Epidemiological Department of the MOH discussed preparation to minimize the effect of the epidemic started in January 1985 and the first patients were reported in Wabé *Awraja* settlement villages of Malka Oda, Diniq, Garjeda Duksi and so on. By February 1985, the pandemic spread into many settlement villages in Gindhir, Rayitu and Gololcha Districts of Wabe *Awraja*, to Goro and Gassara Districts of Mandoyu *Awraja* and to Dallo Manna District of Dallo *Awraja* in short time. The situation in El-Kere was unknown other than stating many people lost their life due lack of ample health facilities in the *awraja*. A total of

⁸⁵ NALAA, Folder No. 17.1. 14.1.3.1, letter Rf. No. አው-47/ሠ-11 dated *Ginbot 4*, 1972 EC (12-05-80) form Brigadier General Tayyé T̄ilahun (Minister, MOI) to Vice Administrator of Balé on the urgent delivery of humanitarian aid for drought victims in Balé lowlands. It stated the starting from the end of April various committees were set to it.

⁸⁶ Informants: Nuho Guled, (Oda Roba, May 2018), Kadir Ibrahim (Manna, November 2017), Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2108). They state it was sever as they heard from people who migrated from northern Ethiopia into Balé.

3,883 patients got clinical treatment of which about 239 died in areas covered by the report. The report concluded the epidemic was caused by polluted water.⁸⁷ However, Informants stated this figure of victims was very small even for the patients received treatment as most of dwellers abandoned settlement villages for unsettled areas to escape the epidemic. This was remembered as “bara uummani safaraa baqate” time when villages were deserted for causing pandemic.⁸⁸

The instability due to guerrilla resistance, discussed hitherto, were serious development challenges in the Balé lowlands. Conflict and drought had coexisted in the Balé lowlands in such a way that one resulted in the other. The prolonged tradition of resistance in the region absorbed large amount of weapons which different groups use to instigate violence due to scarcity of resources particularly during drought seasons. Both delayed some weak attempts of the government to introduce reforms and development. For instance, the *zämächa* in El-Kere was cancelled due to drought and instability in the region.⁸⁹

Smaller revenue from the vast lowlands and instability resulted in absence or little development intervention in the lowlands. As late as 1988, government revenue from Balé was small. It was about double the amount in the last years of the imperial era, due to absence of peace and stability on one hand and lack development that would generate better revenue on the other. The province collected a total revenue of *Birr* 3,015,504.06, of which *Birr* 758,803.02 was obtained from El-Kere, Wabé and Dallo *Awraja*, which was less than half of the total income from that of Mandoyu *Awraja Birr* 2,118,852.04. This had direct relation with instability in the lowlands.

⁸⁷ AFBPAO, Folder No. መፀ1:1, /የመንጃዩ አውራጃ ፀጥታ/Mandoyu *Awraja* Security, letter Rf. No. 105/2/3484 dated 27-08-1977 EC (05-05-85) from Alämayähu Säyifu (Executive Manger of Health Service of Balé Province) to Epidemiological Department of Ministry of Health on the summary of Chronic Dysentery in Balé Province (pp. 1-4).

⁸⁸ Informants: Ibrahim Rufa (Goba, February 2018); Adam Kadir (Jarra, May 2018); Ali Omar (Jarra, May 2018).

⁸⁹ AFBPAO, Folder No. አ3291:1:2 Telegram Rf. No. 2/ 3987/67 dated 08-09-1967 EC (16-05-75) from *Shaläqa* Mälaku Bäqälä (El-Kere *Awraja* Administrator) to Balé Administration Office on problem of housing for campaigners in Kare due to drought.

It was apparent, therefore, that the government use delaying of provision of development as punishment to its rebellious periphery. This in turn continued to create public discontentment and then to rebellion. This was a vicious cycle (of instability – underdevelopment – discontentment – uprising – poverty –instability...).⁹⁰

In sum, Godana Tuni, administrator of Balé, summarized the relationship between instability, underdevelopment and lack utilization of natural resources of Balé as follows:

የባሌ ክፍለ ሀገር፡ የመስፋፋት ምኞት ካሰከረው የሶማሊያ መንግስት ከሚያስተዳድረው ግዛት ስለምትዋሰን፤ በቅድመ አብዮት ኢትዮጵያ እጅግ ከተረሱት ክፍላተ ሀገራት አንዱም ስለነበረች፤ ከፍተኛ የመገናኛ ችግር ስላለባት በተሸከርካሪ እንደልብ መንቀሳቀስ ስለማይቻል... ጥቅጥቅ ባለደንና ከክረምት በጋ የማይደርቁ ወንዞች በከፍተኛ ተራሮችና ሰበርባራ መሬቶች የተሸፈነች በመሆኗ... በተለይ ከአብዮት ፍንዳታ በኋላ ለፀረ-እነድነትና ፀረ-አብዮት ቡድኖች ሲለማ ሆና ቆይታለች።⁹¹

Balé Province: because it share boundary with Somalia, which was ruled by a regime intoxicated by dream of territorial expansion, and one of the most forgotten provinces in the pre revolutionary Ethiopia, having sever problem of road communication to move through with vehicle caused by its converge by dense forest, perennial rivers, highland terrains dissected by higher altitude... remained as target of anti-unity and anti-revolutionary groups.

Therefore, little progress was made in the development of infrastructure, delivery of social institutions like schools, clinics, veterinary centers, drinking water in the lowlands. On the top of this, some of few institutions were destroyed following the collapse of the *Därg*.⁹²

Conclusion

Societies of the lowlands had resisted repressive policies and corruption of the imperial state’s which contributed to the collapse of the regime and to the 1974 revolution. Though the dream to end imperial regime’s domination over the Balé lowlands was proved by its total collapse,

⁹⁰ NALAA, Folder No. 17.1.5.05.01, Rf. No. ቅፅ-003 ቁ. በረ1/6/3/467 dated 5-12-1980 EC (11-08-88) from Gizaw Gashaw (Head of Administrative Service of Balé Province) to MOI reporting performance of 1987/88 fiscal year.

⁹¹ AFBPAO, Folder No. በፀ3: letter Rf. No. በፀ3/ 16/3/491 dated 28-02- 1976 EC (09-12-83) from Godana Tuni (administrator of Balé) to MOI reporting security situation of Balé.

⁹² Informants: Tilahun Kasa, Faqi Hassano, Hussein Mohamed, Katama Dingu (Goba, February 2017).

anticipated reforms brought little success. The *Zämächa*, which was designed to introduce reforms and relieve the pastoralist and agro pastoralist from old socio-economic relations, were not implemented in El-Kere which was about half of the province due to security reasons. Even in Wabé and Dallo Awrajas PAs, APCs and other associations established by *Zämächa* were dismantled by the *Sowra* war. The region became a war zone and reformers were suspended.

The policies of the *Därg* such as the rural land proclamation, resettlement of war displaced people and collectivization of scattered communities for the purpose of collective defense in Balé lowlands were seen optimistically at the beginning. The success of revolutionary forces in expelling Somalia's army increased the *Därg's* confidence to strengthen its socialist policies. Yet, the government lacked the necessary manpower to create public awareness, implement policies in public friendly ways and used force on those who complained taken as anti-revolutionaries. Therefore, vague policies such as compulsory military services, quota system, forced villagisation, contribution to many state-promoted fund-raising and subscriptions to the numerous mass organizations mushroomed in the course of the revolution made it unpopular.

This prolonged armed resistance, however, hampered development in the lowlands. The provincial budget was used to finance military campaigns to clear out insurgents than to finance development projects. Therefore, Balé lowlands saw little improvement in provision of social service institutions, infrastructure and pastoralists' livelihood improvement schemes. Absence of development in turn was interpreted as bias against pastoralists by separatists.

CONCLUSION

In the history of interrelations of societies of the Balé lowlands with each other as well as with the Ethiopian state in the period 1880s-1990s the medieval period laid its foundation. In the long period before the 1880s, Bali, the medieval state in the region, was an arena of social interrelations that contributed to its diversity mainly due to its resources which invited persistent competition between the major states and movements and expansions of peoples to control it. Early inhabitants were intermixed with late incomers to the region through hubs of social interactions like traditional religions sacred places, *gadaa* centers, Islamic shrines and in the process of their livelihoods. Bali's location in a distinct region endowed with natural resources, favorable climate and at a distance from immediate influence of powerful states helped it to be prosperous a state. Since the 14th century however the Highland Christian Kingdom succeeded in sending its frontier guard regiments that controlled Bali at times until the 16th century. Such military expedition to Bali was costly and must have been necessitated by the dire need for its resources. This was the case that forced Emperor Amdä-Tsiyon to strengthen his emergent "Solomonic Dynasty" and its empire. Similarly, Emperor Menelik II conquered the region to resource his empire affected by the great famine. Similarly, Muslims Sultanates like Ifat and Adal had sent series of campaigns but only few were able to penetrate its natural protection, the Wabé River gorge that surrounds Balé with its rugged terrain and hostile climate. All of these conquests caused population movements into Bali and added layers to its social diversity.

The social diversity of Bali constituted Cushitic speaking peoples such as the Hadiyya, Oromo, Somali and Sidama and Semitic speaking peoples like the Harla-Harari and Amharic speaking frontier regiments. There were also descendants of the Bantu intermixed with the Cushites that are known as the riverine minorities such as, Dube, Degine, Reer Barre, Gurre and Gheri-Mero,

who inhabited along the perennial rivers such as the Wabé-Shaballé, Gannalé, Weyib Rivers and their tributaries. The Cushites mainly practiced pastoralism in the lowlands while some in the highlands practiced mixed farming. They were interconnected through marriage, adoption, patron-client related alliances, Islamic faith and pastoralism. The riverine societies practiced flood farming, hunting and fishing and kept some livestock. They were also interconnected with each other and rarely with the pastoralists through aforementioned institutions. Due to their precarious economic, social and political conditions and physiognomic attributes stereotypically associated with slave, however, these societies were presumed to have descended from slave ancestors by the pastoralists. Nevertheless common to all societies of the lowlands at the meta-regional level were marginal ecology, Islam, competition over meager resources and the impacts of the intervention of states in their region.

Societies of the Balé lowlands, who lived in traditional federations of clans, were unable to respond collectively in defense against campaigns of incorporation in the late 1880s. The 1880s, a period that marked shade in the history of Balé region, saw series of external intervention such as Shāwa's campaigns of territorial expansion, diffusion of Islamic revivalism following the Egyptian occupation of Harar and European colonial scramble in the Horn of Africa. The lowlands had become bone of contention between the Ethiopian forces from the north and Italian and British colonialists in the south. The incorporation of Balé region into Ethiopia was achieved through strategies of political persuasion, psychological pressure and military campaigns. The Arsi of Balé, who witnessed cruel punishment of their Arsi kinsmen north of the Wabé-Shaballé River by *Ras Dargié*, decide to fight for their autonomy with spiritual guidance of *Sheik Hussein* of Balé. Despite weakening of their defense force due to the role of collaborators, smallpox epidemic and cattle plague that wiped out their resource therefore the Arsi of Balé fought at the

battle of Weyib River and conceded defeat. Some chiefs in Balé who realized their defeat was due the lack of firearms plotted isolated attacks like at Karmamida incident in which few soldiers of *Dāj* Asfaw were assassinated in 1892. This event necessitated the continuation of the incorporation into the Somali inhabited lowlands as far as Lugh in collaborative campaigns of *Dāj* Asfaw and *Ras Wäldä-Gäbriél*, who after the mission governed Balé one after another. The response of various Somali clans to the incorporation also had localized features.

The administration of the Balé lowlands from 1892-1937, which was the early period of state-society relations, was marked by a few areas of cooperation and many aspects of competition. An area of cooperation was in the appointment of local *balabbats* and *burqas* in which chiefs of clans in the process of their traditional rivalry cooperated with the imperial governors. The other aspect of cooperation was in administrative division of the lowlands which gave recognition for almost major clans in the lowlands. Since the beginning of the incorporation, Kabir Hubba of the Koloba clan (in the Balé highland), Entele Bararti of the Illani clan and Sida Gobana of the Rayitu clan (in Dallo), Bu'i Falama of the Shedama clan (in Gadab), Dadhi Tarre of the Rayitu and Elemo Shuti of the Hawaṭu clan in Wabé *Awraja* were among chiefs cooperated with imperial forces only with the little or no resistance. Consequently these chiefs became the first generation of local *balabbats*, who were succeeded by their heirs that rose to important post later. Among the Somali of El-Kere Taqane Farah of the Reer Afghab, Suban Waqo of the Girrira, Gedi Dubar of the Degodia clan, *Sheik* Gudal of the Gurra clan, Adan Ali of the Dube were local chiefs recognized in return for loyalty to the imperial suzerainty. These clans also enjoyed relative dominance over their former competitors in their respective areas. They got authority which was the key to control over resources in pastoralists' ecology and influence the societies. Changes in the local interrelations therefore had began since the incorporation.

The imposition of *näftäñña-gäbbar* system, land alienation, taxation and administrative injustice were serious areas of competition between the state and the peripheral societies. The former used various strategies and military force in its power to ensure its hegemony over the latter which looked for good governance and livelihood autonomy. The quests for autonomy to pursue traditional livelihoods by the frontier societies and the core's determination to keep in control were divergent interests that led to persistent competitions between the two sides in the study period. The diverse societies of the borderlands had limited contacts with their rulers based in remote nuclei of settlers known as *kätämas*, where public institutions, administrative services and markets were located. Except for their markets, the lowlanders were least interested in the *kätämas* due to their distant location, cultural and linguistic factors that limited amicable interrelations between the settlers and the diverse lowlanders. The state's need for revenue to finance its economy affected by recurrent droughts and new projects had led to repressive state-society relation in the early period. This unfriendly relation was accentuated by the movement of peoples from the north into the lowlands in search for fertile farmlands.

The state's response to the resentment of the lowlanders was heavy-handed which scaled up the tension between to the two sides into violence. Governors appointed from the center exerted pressure on *balabbats* and *burqas* to control outlaws and "rebels" by enforcing government laws and taxation. This led to conflicts between clans and chiefs who put pressure on the pastoralists like imprisonment of their chiefs and raided them under the pretext of collecting livestock tax. This volatile relationship grew into armed uprising in Harana Buluq and Angentu areas of Dallo *Mislané* since the late 1920s, which were among the earliest armed resistances in the whole of Ethiopia. In Harna Buluq, Mohamed Abba Shaqe began uprising by deterring the population from paying tax. It took the government over three years to control the region of dense forest

though not succeeded in capturing the ringleader. In short time however another uprising was waged by Mohamed Gada in covering wider areas in Walabu, Dallo and Angentu 1935-1937. Despite series of campaigns into the region, the administration of Balé *Wäräda* over distance from Harar *Awraja* was unable to pacify Dallo until the Italian occupation in 1937.

Since 1942, the restored imperial regime had faced challenges on the periphery. The regime had designed strategies to increase government revenue so as to recover from financial crises caused by the collapse of its government and sweeping of the country's resources by the enemy controlled the national treasury for five years. These strategies included the introduction of *qälad* measurement of land, concession of resources on *gibrä-täl* lands to entrepreneurs, enforcing livestock tax and increase of the pre-occupation land tax tariff. The *qälad* in fact was opposed by the *balabbats* and *burqas*, who were allies of the center on the periphery. These policies and the process of their implementation had created controversies which eventually evolved into low-key violence in areas where peoples were expropriated of farmlands, communal coffee and forest lands conceded to the ruling class and pastoralists lost livestock to sudden raids. Even top officials including the viceroy and *awraja* governors had used these policies as opportunity to instigate rebellion indirectly through ruthless enforcement of the policies. This was aimed to show their resentment against their overlords due to competition they had faced from the royal family and some ministers over coffee land in Harana and Kubbayyo forests and their demotion in being sent to the borderlands.

The peoples of the lowlands who had tasted a different administrative scenario under short but unforgettable Italian rule however resisted the restoration of the Emperor let alone the *gäbbar* system. But the state wanted firmer control more than the pre-occupation period. These interests were extremely divergent. The tension between the two sides increased as the coercion increased

in the 1950s and 1960s. The state-society relations thereafter experienced dynamics such as orientation of divisive and “anti-Amhara” politics implanted by the Italians, environmental pressure driven inter-clan violence exacerbated by misadministration, outcry for fair governance dismayed by coercion and corruption of governors. Religious nationalism was accentuated by anti-religious measures of governors and ever-growing diffusion of irredentist ideology across the border from Somalia. The diverse societies of the borderlands, who shared grievances of socioeconomic and cultural exploitation, were united by ideology of Islamic resistance embedded in Sufi cult of Balé. They were encouraged by Somalia’s clerics, who inherited colonial legacy of ideology and technology of violence, to fight against the Ethiopian state. These gradual causes had erupted into a regional scale anti-government war in the 1960s.

These gradual problems were ignited by climatic change that led to drought which in turn spread famine in the Balé lowlands in 1963-1966. The famine was accompanied by smallpox epidemic and the worst cattle plague since 1891-1893. Consequently uneven movement of peoples across the border from Somalia into Ethiopia and armed conflicts between clans erupted in the region. The government tried to stop the movement of people though made little effort to provide food, medicine and veterinary service for the drought affected remote areas mainly due to lack of facilities than the negligence of local officials.

As the result, uprising breakout in El-Kere, where armed Afghab clansmen sacked a private Salt Mine Company in Afdher in 1963. The uprising continued with attack on Hargale town that was defended by the policemen. In 1964 uprising spread to Wabé and Dallo *awrajas* in response to officials’ attempts to stop violence and to restore law and order. By 1965 the government lost control of the lowlands which accounts about three-fourth of the governorate and the government was forced to declare a martial law in the sub-provinces of El-Kere, Dallo and Wabé and more.

The insurgents established their own administration in the areas under their control and pursued planned attacks on targets in towns under the control of the government. Since 1968 the government launched counter-offensive against the insurgents by forces drawn from the 7th and the 4th infantry brigades of the 4th Army Division, the police army and tens of thousands of volunteers from farmers in the highlands. The counter-offensive however brought fewer results than expected due to stiff resistance from the lowlanders strongly united by common religion, shared exploitation and peripheral identity. They used effectively the landscape and forest shield in Wabé and Dallo *awrajas* respectively. The insurgents were assisted in information by insiders among the *balabbats* and *burqa's* who helped them to aborting several military operations. The government also infiltrated its own spies in the insurgents which show interplays of interests.

The government therefore decided to use the Air Force and committed indiscriminate aerial bombardment of livestock and villages on targets in El-Kere and Dallo to force the key leaders of the uprising to surrender in return for pardon. The Air Force also used supersonic explosion aimed at frightening the insurgents and pressurizing them to surrender in fear of massacre of their populations. The combined campaigns of terrestrial and aerial forces succeeded in securing the surrender of Waqo Gutu, Waqo Lugo and Kadir Waqo among key leaders of the resistance. The outcomes of *dhombur* war were consequential in many ways. It had resulted in material destruction and loss of human lives on both belligerent sides whose aggregate loss was substantial for the country. The seven years of dictatorship of the lowlanders over their own matters however was unforgettable experience of self rule since the incorporation. The imperial state also learned lessons such as inefficiency of its administration, lack of coordination between security and defense apparatuses and collaborators of insurgents among rank and file of its officials as well as identities of its external enemies that helped Somalia in arming and financing

border insurgency that posed serious threat to its control over the area ever since the Italian occupation.

The imperial government made little practical reforms to pacify its rebellious periphery so that a major uprising reappeared coinciding the revolution that created chaos in the core of the empire in 1975. The uprising began as inter-clan conflicts and soon joined by diverse groups of opposite interests. This was the *Sowra (jan addee)* war (1974-1980). It was a civil war internationalized by external aggression. Its first stage looked like an extension of the *dhombur* war but characterized by heavily armed, well organized and led by trained veterans of the previous war. As the early stage (1974 -1977) of the war was not satisfactory to the furious leaders of Somalia, its regular army overrun the southeastern provinces from the ground and on the air in July 1977. Despite inefficiency in coordinating the regular army with the WSLF, SALF and *sidiis* al-Islamia guerillas, Somalia's army advanced as far as the vicinity of Gindhir, Goro and Jarra towns. Only major towns and their environs on the highlands remained under the control of the government and much of the province was controlled by the *Sowra* bands.

The *Sowra* war allied diverse groups of divergent interest against the emerging military regime. Former landlords, officials of the imperial regime, ethnic identity based armed political groups and religious militant parties, the mass of lowlanders led by chief had forged common alliance in cooperation with Somalia against the *Därg*. They had no common interest other than countering the revolution. The revolution had some early success in distributing rural lands to the peasants, abolishing feudal duties and nationalization of extra urban land and house apparently for use of the public. Those who were affected by these measures had joined the anti-government forces. But the measures earned wide public support when the *Därg* turned its attention from internal power struggle to defense national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.

In March 1978 the war turned in favor of Ethiopian forces due to massive mobilization of the peasant militias, wide opening of the USSR arsenal for the *Därg* and the help of soldiers from Socialist states of Cuba, Yemen and military technicians from the USSR. The war ended with defeat and withdrawal of Somalia from Ethiopia by June 1978. There was no peace deal between the two sides and Somalia continued to infiltrate insurgents into the Balé lowlands, which are closer to its capital than to the provincial center Goba, in the third phase of the war 1978-1980.

Därg's relation with societies of the Balé lowlands was optimistic at the beginning. Its support to peoples displaced by Somalia's aggression, resettlements and RRC aid to the drought (1974-1976) victims were some positively seen interventions of the *Därg* in addition to its early reforms. Policies such as formation of the peasants' associations, produces cooperatives, collectivization and pastoralist *qābālés* were seen as progressive but not implemented convincing the pastoralists and agro-pastoralists due to *Därg's* lack adequate manpower. Programs like resettlement and collectivization were recommended for implementation in the whole of the country based on their merit from the perspectives of collective defense in the conflict ridden Balé lowlands. Eventually these villages and resettlement centers were however begun to be seen as traps of the socialist regime and targeted for attack by anti-*Därg* armed groups.

By the time when the military regime raised enough manpower to enforce its programs; the population fiercely resisted it in the 1980s. This led the regime to use of excessive force such as demolishing house of those agro-pastoralists who abandoned villagisation centers, forced conscription of the youths for military services and expropriation of livestock of the pastoralists for use in the war fronts. These measures were given pretexts such as helping "reactionary forces", "rebels" and spying for Somalia. Consequently, the Balé lowlands become the arena for theatre of war between the government and its various opponents. Peoples of the region

memorized this era as the period of dictatorship of the government during the day times and the rule of the opposition during the nights until the demise of the *Därg* in 1991.

The rise to power of the EPDRF signified a new trend in the state-society relation. It was a change from government's direct control over the periphery into ethnic identities based indirect rule in which officials speak local language and in most cases were coreligionists. This had always been the case with Somali speaking pastoralist of El-Kere, who were merged with Ogaden to form the Somali region. The only point they resented about was the naming of their region as "the Ethiopian Somali" Regional State. In the Oromo inhabited areas of the former Wabé, Dallo and part of El-Kere, the idea of Oromia was already inculcated by the OLF, which was active in the region. The newly drawn ethnic map that bisected the lowlands merged some Gurra, Girrira and Garre Oromos with Somali region. But they continued their socioeconomic ties with the Oromo in Balé Zone than with the Somali to the east the Wabé-Shaballé River. Traditional conflicts over meager resources in the pastoralists' ecology were replaced by conflicts over territories and ethnic identities which were accentuated by ethnic based political parties like the OLF, WSLF and ONLF. Clans along the border were sandwiched between polarized political factions, who claimed territories inhabited by bilingual clans as far as they moved from time to time. The identity based rule therefore deepened rifts than curbing them.

The riverine cultivators, who were divided into the two regional states, were struggling for recognition based on clearly endorsed constitution rights though far from becoming practical. The Dube, Degine, Reer Barre, Gheri-Mero used various strategies to attain their right to self rule. They had sent their representatives to the Federal government, founded political parties, created common identities and petitioned for over a decade but unable to achieve their goal. Politicization of ethnic identity therefore was unable to stabilize the conflict ridden lowlands.

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LIST OF INFORMANTS

No	Name of Informant	Ag	Place and Date (D/M/Y) of Interview	Remarks (Summary of the interview points and data considered valuable)
1	Abadir Jeylan Ismael (<i>Ato</i>)	34	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He studied the “Balé Peasant Struggle” from informants and documented from districts of Balé. He knows the local narrative about <i>Qabsoo Qotee Bultootaa Baalee</i> (‘Balé Peasant’s Struggle’).
2	Abba-Cabsa Hussein Tahiro (<i>Sheik</i>)	75	Barisa <i>Qäbälé</i> / near Dodola/ 10/07/2014	He knows about <i>Gadaa</i> laws, practices, <i>Gumaa</i> procedures and settlement pattern of Sikko and Mando lineages and the “struggle” in Balé.
3	Abba-Qote Waqayyo (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Kokkosa, July 2014	He knows detail on Oromo cultural practices in Kokkosa area. He knows various ritual prayers and festivals in <i>Waaqeeffannaa</i> religion such as <i>Ateetee</i> , <i>Gumma</i> , rainmaking rituals and the like.
4	Abdella Mohamed (<i>Ato</i>)	38	Jarra, June 2012	As an experts Culture and Tourism Bureau of Gololcha District of Balé Zone, he studied and knows about the Dube from elders and his observation as teacher before his current position.
5	Abdi Abdullahi (<i>Sheik</i>)	110	Malka Oda, Gindhir, May 2014	He knows about “Balé Peoples’ Struggle” particularly that was in Wabé <i>Awrajja</i> . He was an associate of <i>Haji</i> Isaaq Dadhi Taree one of the prominent leaders of Balé Peoples’ uprising.”
6	Abdi Gedi Abdi (<i>Sheikh</i>)	45	Gasara, June 2012	He knows traditions of settlement of the Dube in Gasara. He travelled in most Dube settlement in Ethiopia and Somalia. He claims to have met Dube in Nigeria. He told me that he met Dube who speak Dube language in Lagos. He knows about the origin, and history of Dube.
		50	Gasara, 13/1/2018	He knows the saga of Dube origin from Nigeria and he strongly believes Dube lives in west Africa for the second time of interview after six years. He also counts his genealogy connected Digil at 21 generations ago and then to Bantu.
7	Abdi Hussein Yousuf (<i>Ato</i>)	49	Haya Oda <i>Qäbälé</i> /near Manna Town/, 27/11/2017	He knows challenges of Dube students in schools, Dube’s musical art, economic status, population size of the Dube in Dallo Manna District and his parent’s irrigation skills in Helgol River.
8	Abdi Ibrahim Dalol (<i>Ato</i>)	50	Manna Town, 24/05/2014	He knows about interaction of the Oromo and Dube peoples. He knows the participation of few Dube in the armed resistance against the Ethiopian state while many others helping/siding the state.
9	Abdi Keynan Samme (<i>Sheik</i>)	87	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He knows the <i>Dhigg</i> system of resolving homicide cases among the Dube and its challenge when a Dube is killed by Somali and Oromo pastoralists.

10	Abdi Mohamed Abdulla (<i>Ato</i>)	79	Goba, 18/11/2018	He knows <i>qälad</i> measurement issue due to his participation as an employee in the <i>YäMärät Qiyas</i> (Land Measurement) enterprise. He knows various taxes, land alienation in Dallo due to its forest coffee. He knows 30 employees of the enterprise, its works, <i>balabbats'</i> plots against <i>qälad</i> , issue of land and economic history of the lowlands since imperial regime.
11	Abdi Omar Abdile (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Addis Ababa, 21/02/2017	He knows about history of origin and identity of the Dube and Dagine peoples, their political and economic situation under successive regimes. He narrates special affiliation of these societies with Ethiopian government since the imperial period.
		41	Addis Ababa, 06/07/2018	He knows the political situation of the Dube and its dynamics in the Somali and Oromia regions.
12	Abdigas Dalmer Harey (<i>Qäññazmach, Ogaz</i>)	c.121	Robe, 28/06/2017	He knows about history of the Dube whom he served as <i>Ogaz</i> . He knows the family story <i>Däj</i> Dalmer Harey and his own role as vice governor of Wabé-Shebelle District.
13	Abdiqeni Dalmer Harey (<i>Ato</i>)	c.115	Robe, 28/06/2017	He served as member of the Imperial Parliament 1960-70 for two consecutive terms and he knows parliamentary system of the imperial regime. He also knows about Somalia war of 1977/78.
14	Abdisamad Dalqas Jerir (<i>Sheikh</i>)	65	Gasara, June 2012	He knows narratives of origin, hunting history and traditional biomedical skill of the Dube. He narrates his experience as representative of the Dube in Arsi Robe District and with Oromia Regional State ex-presidents <i>Ato</i> Abadula Gamada and <i>Ato</i> Junegdi Sado. He provided me with an Arabic manuscript about the Origin of Dube people. He is looking for recognition of DUBE nation in Ethiopian House of Federation (HOF).
		71	Gasara, 14/01/2018	He narrates the fruitless effort of the Dube elites to be recognized as separate ethnic group by the HOF and different political challenges they faced.
15	Abdulahi Salad Abdi (<i>Ato</i>)	50	Manna Town, 26/11/2017	He knows clan structure of the Dube and narratives origin, identity, language and relation of his Gasas lineage with those in Somalia. He also knows traditional conflict resolution of the Dube.
16	Abdulkhakim Abda Waqo (<i>Ato</i>)	27	Robe, 26/07/2017	He teaches in Rayitu District Balé and he knows marriage relation between the Somali and Oromo about marriage and kinship ties and conflicts between the two sides. He observes the difficulty of teaching in <i>Afan</i> Oromo as many Oromo children speak Somali as their mother tongue and he studied its historical background. He knows

				religion surpassed ethnicity and marriage ties among Muslims of the area.
17	Abdulhamid Tesso (<i>Sheik</i>)	48	Gindhir, May 2014	He knows the origin of the name Gindhir chiefs like Nuho Dadhi Tarre of Rayitu, and the roles of Hussein Bune. He narrates informative idea about governors of Balé during the imperial era.
18	Abdullahi Buta Roba (<i>Sheik</i>)	74	Manna Town, 25/05/2014	He participated in anti government resistance as junior commander under ‘Colonel’ Tore Boru and ‘General’ Waqo Gutu with whom he was trained in Somalia. He narrates detail stories in the <i>qabso</i> .
19	Abdulqadir Abdurhiman (<i>Ato</i>)	38	Jarra, June 2012	He knows Dube’s relation with both the Somali and Oromo. He learned from elders Oromo-Somali kinship ties despite Arab origin saga of some clans.
20	Abdulwahab Jilo Habe (<i>Ato</i>)	57	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He knows different songs sung to praise fighters during the wars of struggle in the Balé lowlands and social interrelations between pastoralists.
21	Abdurjabar Kalil Farah (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Birbire <i>Qäbälé</i> /near Manna/ 27/11/2017	He knows about the story of origin, clans of the Dube, history of early Dube settlers in Helegol River area of Dallo Manna District.
22	Abuna Abdulaxif (<i>Abba Gadaa</i>)	45	Oda Roba 13/5/2018	He knows history of social interactions among pastoralists in Sawena District of Balé, system of livestock herding, <i>wayyoma</i> , <i>maganta</i> and so on.
23	Adam Abbas Kabir (<i>Ato</i>)	80	Sof Omar Cave 20/03/2013	He knows stories of <i>Sheik</i> Hussein, evolution of his cult, new threats to it, measures to sustain it and visits of Emperor Hailä-Sillassié to Anajina.
24	Adam Tinna Jarra (<i>Haji</i>)	56	Bidire Town, 26/05/2014	He narrates sociopolitical history of the Oromo since the 1960s. He knows military events in the resistance in Balé chronologically. He co-authored a book on Oromo history in which he tells struggle in against the Ethiopian regimes He knows culture and history of the Oromo in organized.
		60	Arda Tarre <i>Qäbälé</i> , (near Gindhir Town) 11/05/18	He gave good information about the <i>Guma</i> laws and right of women in the <i>Gadaa</i> government. He knows Oromo-Somali alliance in the resistance against the state and divergence of their interests.
25	Adam Tobe Yobo (<i>Haji</i>)	75	Manna Town, 25/05/2014	He knows well organized and information on military events in chronological order, list of military commander of the resistance to autocracy in Balé, himself was at the rank of Major and close companions of Waqo Gutu at a time.
26	Adam Kadir Aga (<i>Sheik</i>)	69	Jarra Town, 13/05/2018	He knows history of Wabé area since its occupation, resistance in Balé in the form of <i>muuda</i> ritual at <i>Sheik</i> Hussein shrine, resistance of 1960s, 1970s and 1980s in Balé, Ogaden and in Somalia, organization of the resistance army, life

				of the Ethiopian refugees in Somalia, responses of the government to the resistance in Balé...
27	Adem Edor Hussein(<i>Ato</i>)	35	Wabé Bridge, June 2012	He is a resident of Malka Oli of Gasara District. He knows about the livelihood of Dube in his PA.
28	Ahmed Abdi Shire (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Gindhir, April 2012	He is resident of Gindhir town and knows about life situation of Dube communities near Oda Roba of Gindhir District.
29	Ahmed Abure Abdi (<i>Ato</i>)	56	Manna Town, 24/05/2014	He members, as a Dube native of Dallo, how of Dube people in Dallo district settled there and the way they managed to adapt to the new area. He knows about the traditions of origin of the Dube. He knows the participation of Dube in Balé the struggle during <i>Dhombur</i> and <i>Jan Addee</i> wars.
		59	Manna Town, 24/11/2017	He knows the clan organization of the Dube their settlement pattern, distribution, marriage and cuisine culture, their traditional administrative hierarchies and Dube's status under successive regimes of Ethiopia.
			Manna Town, 26/11/2017	In the third round of interview Ahmed narrates types of marriage, cultural and social value of hunting and military prowess, listed <i>ogazs</i> of the Dube, traditional conflict resolution among the Dube and so on.
			Manna Town, 28/11/2017	He knows artisanship, changes and continuity in dressing styles, jewelry and attitude towards having many children among the Dube and Dube's experience in cooperatives under the <i>Därg</i> rule.
			Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He knows conflict resolution of the Dube and shared me his experience as Vice Chairmen of Dallo <i>Awraja</i> Peasant Associations of the <i>Därg</i> .
30	Ahmed Aliyi Waqo Lugo (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Madda Walabu <i>Qäbälé</i> 24/05/2014	As grandson of Waqo Lugo, one of the earliest leaders of resistance and struggle in Balé, he knows origin and battles of the war, government's reaction and cultural practices at Madda Walabu.
31	Ahmed Dheko Nure (<i>Haji</i>)	70	Arda Tarre. 12/5/2018	He knows the <i>Gadaa</i> practice among the Sikko-Mando, its ritual practices and participated in its revived version recently in West Arsi Zone.
32	Ahmed Galato Kawo (<i>Abba Gadaa</i>)	42	Arda Tarre, 9/5/2018	He knows about <i>gumaa</i> law of conflict resolution and his experience in resolving over 576 homicide cases. He knows <i>Gadaa</i> laws and its practices.
33	Ahmed Mohamed Dheko (<i>Haji</i>)	80	Asalla, 7/07/2017	He knows detailed history of Oromo groups, their distribution and organization particularly the five major Oromo branches in East Africa of which only three, the Borana and Barntuma and few of the ' <i>Sagaltamman Garbaa</i> ' live in Ethiopia. He believes the Dube and other minorities in

				Ethiopian like the Waata, Wayto belongs to the <i>Sagaltamman Garbaa</i> ‘the ninety of <i>Garba</i> ’ or enslaved Oromo clans in the region.
		81	Arda Tare (near Gindhir Town) 10/05/2018	He claims of a book written in <i>Afan</i> Oromo using Arabic alphabet by Sof Omar of Balé some 800 years ago that listed many Oromo clans in Ethiopia at the time. He also knows an <i>Afan</i> Oromo version of the <i>Futuha al-Habash</i> (the 16 th C book by Arba Faqih) that the lowlanders wanted to use to deter the restoration of the imperial regime in the 1940s.
34	Alemu Wadajo (<i>Ato</i>)	27	Robe, March 2012	He as an expert on the study of cultural heritages of Balé Zone, he collected and documented stories of towns, historic sites, known figures of Balé and minorities like the Dube in the lowlands.
35	Ali Abbas Bidir (<i>Ato</i>)	30	Wabé River Bridge (Arsi), June 2012	He knows about the livelihood of Dube in Malka Oli <i>Qäbälé</i> and problems with uneducated Dube to survive in the completion of unemployment.
36	Ali Guracha Abdi (<i>Ma’alim</i>)	77	Manna Town, 24/05/2014	He knows about the traditions origin of the Dube minorities. He knows the participation of Dube in Balé Peoples Struggle. He is informed informant on traditions of the Dube.
		80	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He describes about conflict resolution and participation of the Dube in resistance against the autocracy in Balé with the Oromo and Somali.
37	Ali Omar Tahir (<i>Sheik</i>)	75	Jarra Town, 13/05/2018	He knows about story of the arrival the Dube in Wabé Sa’ada site in Gololcha District of Balé, the response of Hadido Hindas (Chief of the Arsi in the area), relation between the two sides henceforth, livelihood, genealogical line of the Dube, their relation with the Somali in Imie area.
38	Ali Warsame (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Gasara, June 2012	He is resident of Hay Oda Community of Dube in Madda Walabu District. He knows about the comparative situation in the life of Dube in upper Wabé and lower part.
39	Aliyi Bonaya Osule (<i>Sheik</i>)	65	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He knows very good information on the wars of struggle and social interaction between pastoralists of Dallo area.
40	Aliyi Çirri Jarra (<i>Haji</i> , Colonel?)	90	Bidire Town, 26/05/2014	He was the second in the command of Balé’s resistance army in Dallo Front after Waqo Gutu and he knows about military operations under his command. He remembers the tactics and trainings of his soldiers in Somalia, in Palestine, in the Peoples Republic of Korea.
41	Aliyi Hassan Ujuba (<i>Sheik</i>)	73	Manna Town, 25/11/2017	He knows the seven Manna clans in Dallo, religious history of Dallo area, traditional forest

				coffee management system of the people in Harana Forest (the <i>Dachota</i> and <i>Qorbitu</i>) and competition between local chiefs and higher government officials over the land in Dallo. He also knows competition for the office of <i>balabbat</i> among clans in Dalla after occupation and story the arrival of the Dube in Dallo.
			Manna Town, 26/11/2017	He narrates preaching of Islam by <i>Sayyid</i> Roba Grabi and local challenges, the legacy of the Italian in Dallo, resistance of the people of Dallo against the “Amhara”, Somali agitations in the area in the 1960s and 1970s, about competition for land between the Somali and Oromo in the late 1990s in Balé and Borana.
42	Aliyi Hasse Abdalla (<i>Ato</i>)	56	Madda Walabu <i>Qäbälé</i> , 26/05/14	He knows the <i>dhombur</i> and <i>sora</i> wars in Dallo in which he partook and closely new key leaders in the struggle and battle fields of the war.
43	Aliyi Isaq Ali (<i>Ato</i>)	48	Manna Town, 22/05/2014	He knows wars with the government in Dallo. He has military experience as a resistance fighter.
44	Aliyi Mussa Hamud (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Haya Oda <i>Qäbälé</i> , 27/11/2017	He knows settlement pattern of the Dube in Dallo Manna District, challenges to marriage relations with their neighbors (the Oromo and Somali).
45	Aliyi Tola Gada (<i>Ato</i>)	50	Manna Town, 22/05/2014	He knows sayings and songs sang to boast the fighting morale insurgents during the resistance against the government in the area. He remembers training of fighters in Somalia in his young age.
46	Aliyi Tore Boru (<i>Ato</i>)	49	Malka- Amana, 23/05/2014	As the son of Colonel Tore Boru, a renowned military commander of the rebels during <i>dhombur</i> war, he knows life of refugees, features of secondary education and military trainings in Somalia. He knows battles and tactic of insurgents.
47	Aliyi Waqo (<i>Ato</i>)	102	Sof Oamr Cave, 19/03/2013	He knows stories of <i>Sheik</i> Hussein and Sof Omar, rituals of the cult, threats to Sufi Islamic heritages of Balé, issue of its protection and <i>darga</i> tradition.
48	Alo Adam Farah (<i>Ato</i>)	80	Oda Roba (near Oda Town), 13/5/2018	He knows descent of the Barentuma Oromo, the Arsi and resistance in Balé against autocracy, OLF activities in Balé since the 1970s, WSLF plans to secede Balé and the Somali view towards the Dube. He claims the Dube to be Oromo descent.
49	Alo Hussein Ahmed (<i>Ato</i>)	62	Oda Roba, 13/5/2018	He knows about rehabilitation of the <i>Därg</i> , OLF and ONLF armies after 1991. He explains the <i>Sowura (sic)</i> war in which he took part in 1977/78.
50	Aman Mama (<i>Sheik</i>)	67	Gindhir, May 2014	He is native of Gindhir <i>Wäräda</i> and he knows settlement pattern of clans of the area. His information about the name of Balé is very good.
51	Aman Abdulla	55	Oda Roba,	He knows pressure on the Girrira since the

	Wariyo (<i>Ato</i>)		13/5/2018	formation of the federal government in Ethiopia.
52	Aman Haji Usman (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Wabé River Bridge (Arsi), June 2012	He is a resident of Oda Dima of Seru District. He knows about the livelihood of Dube in his village and he guard of the Wabé River Bridge.
53	Aman Nesha (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Robe, March 2012	He knows cultural heritages of Balé; he published flowery stories about heroes of the uprising. He knows state-society relations during in the 1970s.
54	Amino Eada'ō Ogato (<i>Ato</i>)	57	Asalla, 7/07/2017	He knows about Oromo culture and social history. He studied his M.A. in Fine Arts and culture in the former Socialist Countries which helped him to know in detail about social organization and interaction of the Oromo, Somali and Dube.
		58	Arda Tare (Balé, Gindhir District), 10/05/2018	He narrates Arsi Oromo <i>Gadaa</i> centers in Arsi, Balé, West Arsi, and East Shāwa Zones of Oromia with the number of clans and lineages attending each of them with procedures of <i>Gadaa</i> rituals and duties of leaders.
55	Amansis Wayyu Tesso (<i>Ato</i>)	46	Oda Roba 13/5/2018	He knows activities of political parties like the OLF and Somali Abbo in Balé since 1980s. He knows their organization, tactic and leadership.
56	Arfon Banow Ahmed (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	50	Jarra Town, 13/05/2018	She knows challenges of Dube women to reach markets in Jarra and Gasara towns over 30kms of distance, difficulties of women in making a living.
57	Arsane Hajire Abdullahi (<i>Ato</i>)	58	Gasara, 13/01/2018	He knows the story of Dube war with the Ogaden in Imie, their migration from there and the settlement in Gasara area, Dube culture, story of origin, clan structure, distribution, customary chieftdom, mechanism of conflict resolution, the role of the Dube in Balé's resistance and list of some of Dube <i>ogazs</i> .
		58	Gasara, 14/01/2018	He knows warfare among the Dube, cultural value of hunting for the Dube, the role of women in war, relation of the <i>Bogor</i> Osman Gabba with 'Mad Mullah' and relation of the Dube with neighbors.
58	Asadi Maulid (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Jarra Town, 13/05/2018	He explains language barrier and economic challenges of education for Dube children in Sa'ada <i>Qäbälé</i> .
59	Asha Udal Amole (<i>Wayzaro</i>)	50	Madda Walabu <i>Qäbälé</i> , 24/05/2014	She knows rituals practiced at Madda Walabu and the role of Women <i>Gadaa</i> and other traditional practices of the Oromo.
60	Awal Habib Ali (<i>Ato</i>)	58	Manna Town, 26/05/14	He was participant of the resistance in Balé and knows its key leaders closely and battle fields.
61	Awal Kadir Mazuri (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He knows relationship of the Somali and the Dube in Imie, raids of the pastoralists on Imie town during the 1970s, challenges to marriage from their neighbors.

62	Awal Kalifa (<i>Ato</i>)	33	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He knows sociological issues of the area as an expert in Dallo Manna District Culture and Tourism Office. He knows about marriage customs of Pastoralists of Dallo Manna District.
63	Ayub Guracha Abdi (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He tells the challenge of Dube in getting access to land in Somali region.
64	Balo H/Abdi Farah (<i>Ato</i>)	41	Gasara, June 2012	He is resident of Wabé Qilisa <i>qābālē</i> of Arsi Robe District, Arsi Zone. He explains about difficulties related to education in Dube villages due to high temperature and shortage of materials.
65	Banja Adem (<i>Ato</i>)	78	Gindhir, May 2014	He knows the origin of the name Gindhir, Nuho Dadhi Tarre of Rayitu, and about the beginning of the uprising of people Wabé <i>Awraja</i> and the roles of General Hussein Bune.
66	Bāqālā Dagaga, (<i>Ato</i>)	62	Robe, 15/07/2014	He knows detail military developments in Balé. He remembers military life during the <i>Dārg</i> regime and knows very good information on the causes and spread of the <i>sora</i> war to different areas in highlands Balé. He served as volunteer militia in repulsing Somalia's aggression knows it.
67	Bona Usman Haji (<i>Ato</i>)	80	Wabé River Bridge (Arsi), June 2012	He narrates details of Dube tradition and history. He helped me to understand the nature of relationship between the Dube and Oromo and Somali. He had about 100 children and grandchildren altogether. He knows the impact of dependency on government aid among the Dube.
68	Bosti Adam Ali (<i>W/ro</i>)	35	Wabé Qilisa (Robe district, Arsi), June 2012	She explains the difficulty the life of mothers many children (she has 12) in Wabé Qilisa of Robe district, Arsi Zone. She knows the problem of living depending on the government aid.
69	Burqa Cuqurru, (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Dodola, 10/07/2014	He knows about <i>Gadaa</i> laws, practices, <i>Gumaa</i> procedures and settlement pattern of Sikko and Mando Lineages in Gādāb area. He gave me good information on <i>Gadaa</i> centers and cultural justice practice in Dodola area.
70	Bushe Abbābā (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Robe, 5/08/2014	He explained about <i>Sora</i> wars and resource based conflicts in lowland areas between different pastoral societies. He has military experience as police officer in different districts of Balé.
71	Chikage Oba- Smidt (PhD)	-	Asalla, 4/07/2018	She knows anthropological and historical connections of the Rayya of southern Tigray and northern Wollo and the Rayitu of eastern Balé. She knows the dynamics of <i>Gadaa</i> System among the Rayitu and their relations with neighbors particularly with the Somali.
72	Dalis Yusuf	97	Manna Town,	He knows some Dube Ogazs, appointment rituals

	Samme (<i>Sheik</i>)		29/11/2017	of new <i>Ogaz</i> , funeral cult, challenges in marriage with pastoralist and identity issue of the Dube.
73	Dame Megersa (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Dodola, July 2014	He knows <i>balabbats</i> of Dodola and Adaba area. He gave traditional administrators or <i>burqas</i> , who later became <i>balabbats</i> . He knows economic disadvantages the local people due to government policies of large state farms expropriating land.
74	Dämissié Bāqālā Dinagde (<i>Ato</i>)	57	Goba, 9/02/2017	He knows the early history of <i>Dārg</i> regime as participant many in the events like in the <i>Edgāt Bāhibrät Zāmācha</i> and resistance in Balé of 1970s, and he knows the relations between the Tulama Oromo and Arsi Oromo in Balé.
75	Danabo Elemo (<i>Abba Gadaa</i>)	32	Gindhir Town, 11/5/2018	He knows the <i>Gadaa</i> practice among the Sikko-Mando, its ritual practices and participated in its revived version recently in Arsi Zone.
76	Dājāne Lāggässā (<i>Ato</i>)	34	Gasara, June 2012	He is worker in Gasara District Agricultural Development Bureau. He knows about aid given to Dube. He knows about the efforts of government to rehabilitate the needy Dube in the Safety-net Scheme. He lived with the Dube for about six years and knows much about their culture and live ways.
77	Elel Mohamed Ogad (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Jarra Town, 13/05/2018	He knows Somali perception and reactions towards the Dube, their conflict in Imie at the time of the Mad Mullah, the participation of the Dube in resistance against militarism in 1970s.
78	Endriyas Lāggässā Badhane (<i>Ato</i>)	63	Goba, 10/02/2017	He knows about the Dube in the Wabé valley that they engaged in business of transporting people across the river. He also tells their relations with their neighbors.
79	Eshātu Lāggässā Gābrā-Mikaél (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Gasara, 14/01/2018	He knows about dependence of the Dube on government aid in Gasara District with number and size of households due to flooding and backward production methods of the Dube.
80	Estifanos Taddässā Gābrā-kiros (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Robe, 20/7/2017	He knows about properties looted by Italians, buried at various places in Balé and religious history of Balé.
81	Fatuma Abdi Keynan (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	35	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	She knows some harmful traditional practices like early marriage, FGM of girls among the Dube and stigmas connected childlessness among the Dube.
82	Fatumah Haji Usman (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	45	Oda Dima <i>Qābälé</i> , June 2012	She is resident of Oda Dima <i>qābälé</i> (PA) of Seru district, Arsi Zone. She explains traditional roles of Dube women.
83	Gardi Lugho (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	35	Wabé Qilisa, June 2012	She is resident of Wabé Qilisa PA of Robe district, Arsi Zone. She explains how difficult it is life as mother of 10 children.

84	Gétachāw Wāldā-Mika’el Bui, (<i>Ato</i>)	75	Deneba <i>Qābālē</i> /near Dodola/ 10/07/2014	He knows very good information about the historical developments during the imperial and Dārg regimes. He knows the history parliamentary history of the imperial regime. He served as MP for three consecutive terms until 1974. As a son and follower of <i>Qāññazmach</i> Tibābu Wāldā-Mika’el in his anti- <i>Dārg</i> opposition from 1974 to 1982 in Adaba and Dodola area camped in Harana Forest. He knows impacts of the 1974 revolution and missionary education in Dodola area, where he served as teacher until his retirement.
85	Gétachāw Asfaw Shibāshi (<i>Ato</i>)	10	Manna Town, 26/11/2017	He knows military organization of the Ethiopian and the rebel army during the <i>dhombur</i> war, he was taken as captive and closely worked with Waqo Gutu under a name of Abdulaziz Aliyi, Somali <i>Abbo</i> activities. He participated in many battles in the region as a government soldier...
86	Gāzu Lamma (<i>Ato</i>)	34	Jarra, June 2012	He is worker in Gololcha District Agricultural Development Bureau. He knows about Aid given to Dube in Sa’ada PA. He knows about the efforts of the government to rehabilitate the needy Dube in the Safety-net Scheme.
87	Girma Feyisa, (<i>Ato</i>)	51	Robe, 15/07/2014	He knows very good information administrative changes and social interaction between different social groups in Balé. He knows about the impact of <i>Sora</i> war on the peoples of highland Balé.
88	Gizachāw Waktola, (<i>Ato</i>)	43	Robe, 17/07/2014	He knows very good information administrative changes and social interaction between different social groups in Balé.
89	Gutama Nagesso (<i>Abba Gadaa</i>)	35	Gindhir Town, 11/5/2018	He knows the <i>Gadaa</i> practice among the Sikko-Mando, its ritual practices and participated in its revived version recently in Arsi Zone. He knows history of the Arsi.
90	Habtamu Shumi Dadhi (<i>Ato</i>)	50	Robe, 23/12/2016	He knows about administrative system and cultural history of Balé and resistance to autocracy, political developments since 1970s and social relations in Balé.
91	Hadis Olol (<i>Ato</i>)	28	Wabé Qilisa <i>Qābālē</i> , June 2011	He knows the challenge of learning in with his own children in grade 4 in Wabé Qilisa Primary school.
92	Hailu Dachassa (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He is head of Education Office of Dallo Manna Districts. He knows status and challenges on education of Pastoralists In Dallo Manna District.
93	Halimo Adam Ali (<i>Wāyzāro</i>)	35	Gasara, June 2012	She knows traditional roles of Dube women and their relations with the Oromo and Somali women.
94	Hamdi Madobe	55	Manna Town,	He members events in Dube people’s experiences

	Hassan (<i>Ato</i>)		24/05/2014	in Dallo Manna District after his parents immigrated from Imie. He knows about the traditions about the origin of the Dube minorities. He knows the participation of Dube in Balé Peoples Struggle during the first and second phases in which he was commander of 100.
		58	Manna Town, 24/11/2017	He knows the clan organization of the Dube their settlement pattern, distribution, marriage and cuisine culture, their traditional administrative hierarchies and Dube's status under successive regimes of Ethiopia.
			Manna Town, 26/11/2017	He memorized songs students of Maslo Elementary school sung in welcoming Emperor Hailä-Sillassié in 1971. He also narrates types of marriage, cultural and social value of hunting and military prowess, listed <i>ugazs</i> of the Dube, traditional conflict resolution among the Dube .
			Manna Town, 28/11/2017	He knows artisanship, changes and continuity in dressing styles, jewelry and attitude towards having many children among the Dube and Dube's experience in cooperatives under the <i>Därg</i> rule.
95	Hassan Aburre Abdi (<i>Ato</i>)	66	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He knows relationship of the Somali and the Dube in Imie, raids of the pastoralists on Imie town during the 1970s, challenges to marriage from their neighbors.
96	Hassan Ali Hassan (Professor)	45	Addis Ababa, 06/07/2018	He knows the detail of ethno history of the Dube in Imie and in Somalia where he was born and raised before he moved to Saudi Arabia. He narrates the similarities and differences of the Dube language, history and tradition from other communities in southern Somalia. He knows the difficulties on minorities in Somalia since the collapse the Somali state in 1991.
97	Hassan Edor Hussein (<i>Sheik</i>)	45	Gasara, June 2012	He is a well respected <i>Sheik</i> of Dube people. He is well travelled in Dube settlement up to Somalia. He learned by heart about the origin, history and traditional biomedicine of Dube. He is clan leader of Dube in Gasara both of Malka Gadi and Malka Oli. He was my field work assistant and optimistic about the output my study.
98	Hassan Mohamed (<i>Ato</i>)	68	Wabé Qilisa <i>Qäbälé</i> (Robe District, Arsi), June 2011	He narrates Dube tradition and history. He explained me about the attack of OLF forces on Dube communities in 1992. He explains the responses of Dube forces as revenge in massacre of wedding attendants in Arsi and hopes the improvement of relation of the Dube and Arsi.

99	Husen Hassan (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Gasara, June 2012	He narrates how Dube first arrived in upper Wabé. He knows the difference in culture of marriage of the Dube and Oromo.
100	Hussein Cawwo Çamerri, (<i>Ato</i>)	50	Dodola, 12/07/2014	He knows organized information working as expert in Culture Tourism of Dodola District. He knows cultural, social and administrative history of northwestern Balé. He knows the interaction between different social groups in Balé.
101	Hussein Hamda Ida, (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Dodola, 11/07/2014	He knows about post 1991 changes in Gadab area. He explained me impacts of state farms on the local population.
102	Hussein Hasen Bame, (<i>Ato</i>)	58	Dodola, 11/07/2014	He knows very good information about the historical developments in Balé since the 1970s.
103	Hussein Alo Dhadacha (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Oda Roba, 12/05/2018	He knows about the <i>maganta</i> relation between the Dawwe and Adenker and Rayitu and other lineage of the Adenker in Wabé lowlands and the comment of Fit Abdulqadir Nuho on the matter.
104	Hussein Bararti Barraq (<i>Ato</i>)	64	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He knows very good information wars of struggle and social interaction between pastoralists of Dallo area.
105	Hussein Hassan Haphi (<i>Ato</i>)	48	Madda Walabu <i>Qäbälé</i> 24/05/2014	He has the most organized and information on cultural and social ceremonies at Madda Walabu. He also knows about <i>Gadaa</i> and <i>Jila</i> ceremonies there and the struggle of Balé.
106	Hussein Mohamed Adamo (<i>Ato</i>)	67	Goba, 6/01/2017	He was governor of Goba town and worked on survey of history of Balé and he knows about political history and impacts of the imperial and <i>Därg</i> rule on Balé.
		68	Goba, 18/11/2018	He knows disagreement of <i>balabbats</i> in Dallo area on the issue of power completion such as between Galchu Toge and Waqo Lugo and later Galchu Toge and Alämé Gäbrä-Silassié.
107	Hussein Somo Jilo (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He knows military leadership of Balé's struggle as son of a leader called Somo Jilo. He accompanied him and participated in the Balé peoples Struggle and closely new key leaders in the struggle and battle fields.
108	Hussein Gamada Barako (<i>Ato</i>)	30	Robe, 26/07/2017	He teaches in Malka Oli <i>Qäbälé</i> of the Dube in Gasara District and he knows Dube's participation in school and the issue of teaching in <i>Afan Oromo</i> to the Dube children.
109	Ibrahim Farah (<i>Ato</i>)	85	Wabé River Bridge (Arsi), June 20112	He is one of the well organized narrators of Dube tradition and history. He helped me to understand the nature of relationship between Dube and Oromo and Somali. He explains how the first four Dube men find their present Wabé settlements. He

				knows about the origin of the name Dube
110	Ibrahim Haji Adam (<i>Ato</i>)	62	Madda Walabu, 26/05/14	He gives eyewitness account in the uprising and closely new key leaders in the struggle and battle fields of the war.
111	Ibrahim Rufa Mudde (<i>Sheik</i>)	79	Goba, 11/01/2017	He knows about the early conquest of Balé, social relations, resistance and some of its prominent leaders in Balé like Mohamed Gadaa Qallu, Adam Saddo and Adam Jilo, about <i>qälad</i> land measurement issues in Highland Balé. He tells about <i>Futah al-Habasha</i> in <i>Afan Oromo</i> brought by three chiefs of the lowlanders.
		80	Goba, 22/01/2018	He knows <i>maganta</i> , <i>gayina</i> , <i>harma-hodha</i> , <i>guddifacha</i> , <i>sheegadt</i> institutions in detail and Oromo Somali connection through them. He has the experience of participating in these institutions as an elder.
112	Idris Abdi Keyanan (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He knows relationship of the Somali and the Dube in Imie, raids of the pastoralists on Imie town during the 1970s, challenges to marriage relations with their neighbors.
113	Ijigayähu Abbäbä (<i>W/ro</i>)	72	Gasara, June 2012.	She knows the condition of women in marginalized minorities. She has long experience with women of the minorities, knows their attitude towards the Oromo and Amhara in towns. She explains economic life of the Dube with whom she has a patron-clients type relations in Gasara town.
114	Irshad Reedi (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Wabé Qilisa June 20112	He knows challenges as head of family and student of grade 4 in Wabé Qilisa Primary school.
115	Isaq Abdi Alon (<i>Ato</i>)	75	Oda Dima, Wabé Bride, June 2012	He knows organized narratives on Dube tradition and history. He explained me about the attack of OLF forces on Dube communities in 1992. He explains the responses of Dube forces as revenge to violence on a wedding ceremony in Arsi. He expects hopeful improvement in the interaction of Dube and Arsi Oromo.
116	Ismael Adam Isaq (<i>Ato</i>)	68	Oda Roba, 13/5/2018	He knows descent of the resistance in Balé against autocracy, participation of the Gurra in the war and OLF activities in Balé since the 1960s.
117	Ismael Qasim Samme (<i>Ato</i>)	28	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He tells the challenge of Dube youths in getting access to government jobs both in Somali and Oromia regions and consequent economic impact.
118	Jarra Elemo Dule, (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Dodola 11/07/2014	He knows about land reforms and administrative reforms during the <i>Därg</i> in Balé.
119	Jarso Balda Gose (<i>Ato</i>)	64	Goba 12/01/2018	He knows history of Balé in detail because of his background as historian with bachelor degree and also participated in administrative and political

				events in Balé at various posts since the early <i>Därg</i> period. He narrates struggle in Balé, its leaders, their motives, social relationships between Muslims and Christians in Balé, political measures during the <i>Därg</i> and EPRDF regimes. He knows the Dube culture and very well.
120	Jemal Bar Tahir (<i>Ato</i>)	59	Addis Ababa, 17/02/2017	He knows the stories of origin and clans of the Dube and Reer Barre in Qalafo and Mustahil Districts of Somali Region and the formers relations with Somali people. He participated in ligation for Dube and Reer Barre identity since 1993 and narrates its process.
121	Jemal Kadiro Galgalo (<i>Ato</i>)	30	Madda Walabu <i>Qäbälé</i> , 24/05/2014	He as a school teacher at Madda Walabu, he knows traditions of the area and their attitude towards modern education.
122	Jerman Isaq Abdi (<i>Ato</i>)	32	Gasara, June 2012	He assisted me as an interpreter to Dube women; he knows the relationships between Dube and government officials in the area. He explains how Dube are interested in learning in <i>Afan Oromo</i> .
123	Jeylan Ismael Ali (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Robe, 15/04/2015	Key information on challenges of conservation, values of the heritage, threats of the <i>wahabbis</i> and on rituals of the cult at various sites
124	Jima Mamma Tahiro, (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Barisa <i>Qäbälé</i> /near Dodola/, 11/07/2014	He knows very good information the historical developments state farms and its impacts on the population of the area.
125	Kabeto Meribo (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Kokkosa, July 2014	He knows about Oromo calendar, the practices of <i>Ayyantu</i> in calculating days of festivals and historical origins of some names places in Balé. He gave names of days of a month clearly and decisions Oromo <i>Gadaa</i> at Madda Walabu.
126	Kadir Ibrahim Junegdi (<i>Haji</i>)	10	Manna Town, 22/11/2017	He knows the economic, religious and social progress of peoples in Dallo area since 1920, when his merchant (<i>Afkala</i>) parents settled there from Jimma. He narrates the livelihood of early dwellers of the area and how Islam was introduced shortly before the Italian invasion and its eventual firm establishment. He knows the first Dube settlers in Dallo as adopted artisans to <i>balabbats</i> of Ilani clan and their relations with peoples in the region. He also remembers how Dallo region was incorporated in the imperial regime.
			Manna Town, 25/11/2017	He knows conflict of Dallo people with governors who alienated their coffee land. He personally knows resistance leaders such as Abba Shaqe, Mohamed Gada, Waqo Gutu, Tore Boru, Boru Korme and Adam Jilo. He was not in the army but

				he tried to arbitrate rebels with local officials though not succeeded.
127	Kadir Osman Abda (<i>Ato</i>)	63	Goba, 18/11/2018	He knows conflict created by tax collectors in Balé during the imperial regime and changes under <i>Därg</i> .
128	Kadir Walabu Çirri (<i>Sheik</i>)	78	Madda Walabu <i>Qäbälé</i> , 26/05/14	He is eyewitness and participant of <i>dhombur</i> war. He knows good information on steps and activities of resistance in Balé lowlands. He also knows <i>Gadaa</i> , <i>Gumaa</i> laws and its practices in Dallo.
129	Kadir Tahir (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Gindhir, May 2014	He knows valuable information concerning the movement of people into Somalia to get training and weapons that was used for the struggle.
130	Kadiro Geneo (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Kokkosa, July 2014	He knows origin of names such as Balé, Oda Roba, Kurkuru and Madda Walabu (<i>Gadaa</i> centers in Balé). He knows various ritual prayers and festivals in <i>Waaqeffannaa</i> religion.
131	Kasahun Dästa (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Jarra, June 2012	As workers in Gololcha District Administration, he collected information about Dube lived in a school very closer to the Dube.
132	Kätäma Dingu Gammada (<i>Ato</i>)	68	Goba, 9/02/2017	He knows about major development in Balé like the resistance in Balé, he befriended some governors of Balé and he knows their behaviors, attitude towards the people, <i>Därg</i> 's measures in Balé and the relations between the Tulama Oromo and Arsi Oromo in Balé.
133	Kätäma Masqala Dadhi (Doctor, PhD)		Robe, 16/07/2014	He is an expert on history of Balé and provides me with detail analysis about historical developments on issues land ownership, land tenure interethnic relations and anti-government resistance in Balé.
134	Kibnäsh Dämissé (<i>Wayzaro</i>)	50	Robe, 15/07/2014	She knows about <i>sora</i> attack in 1977/78 in Shallo Village. She remembers killings her family and burning of their houses at night at the time.
135	Lenjiso Roba Bosone (<i>Abba Gadaa</i>)	47	Oda Roba, 13/5/2018	He knows history of interaction between pastoralists in Eastern lowlands (<i>Wabé Awraja</i>), <i>Gadaa</i> practice in the area, the expansion of the Somali in the area, <i>wayyoma</i> institution, <i>maganta</i> , <i>gayina</i> , <i>guddifacha</i> , and other customary laws originated from the <i>Gadaa</i> system.
136	Limu Qasim Hamu (<i>Ato</i>)	57	Robe, 23/12/2016	He knows about Karmamida incident, <i>balabbats</i> of Goba area, and resistance to autocracy and social relations in Balé.
137	Magarsa Dabasa (<i>Ato</i> , Teacher)	30	Gasara, June 2012	He teaches in a Dube village of Malka Oli Primary School (Gasara District) knows the view of the Dube towards education, modernity, the way of life of Dube communities and their Oromo neighbors.

		35	Robe, 26/07/2017	He knows changes in their view towards education by the Dube based on his experience of six year living among the riverine cultivators.
138	Mahadi Mohamed Hussein (<i>Sheik</i>)	80	Sof Omar Welmel Cave (Dallo), 23/05/2014	He is the guardian of a Sof Omar shrine under the waterfall of Welmal River, 5 km from Malka-Amana town. He knows Sufi practices under attack by conservative Sunni (Islam) preachers whom he called “ <i>shabab of Abdul Wahab</i> ”.
139	Mahmud Lammi Roba (<i>Haji</i>)	102	Robe, July 2014	He knows detail information on early history of the Balé’s conquest, socio-economic and cultural exploitation during the imperial and <i>Därg</i> regimes.
140	Mahmud Arab Abdi (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Gasara, 14/01/2018	He knows the livelihood and interaction of the Dube in Gasara District with the Arsi Oromo.
141	Mahmud Tusa Mohamed (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Goba, 10/02/2017	He knows about resistance to absolutism in Balé and some prominent leaders like Adam Saddo, <i>qälad</i> land measurement issues in Highland Balé. He tells about <i>Futah al-Habasha</i> in <i>Afan</i> Oromo brought by three chiefs of the lowlanders.
142	Mahmud Mohamed (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Wabé River Bridge (Arsi), June 20112	He knows challenge of marriage to Arsi women as police officer of Gololcha District, which divorced because of his Dube background.
143	Mahmud Omar Adem (<i>Sheik</i>)	10 5	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He knows well organized data about <i>Gadaa</i> laws, <i>Gumaa</i> and its practices in Dallo area. He gave good information on steps and activities of Balé peoples Struggles.
144	Mäkuriya Dessisa Bulto (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Goba, 10/02/2017	He worked as <i>Zämächa</i> student among the Dube in 1975/76 and he knows about their livelihood, culture, economic activities and interrelations with Arsi Oromo and the Ethiopian state since then.
145	Maley Mohamed Ali (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Jarra, June 2012	He is resident Dube community in Sa’da <i>qäbälé</i> of Gololcha District. He explains how the first four Dube men find their present Wabé settlements. He knows about the origin of the name Dube
146	Mamma Hussein Roba (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Robe, 16/04/2015	He knows how personalities on government posts influence the youth and women to involve in the <i>dawa</i> ministries.
147	Mas’ul Arsane Hajire (<i>Ato</i>)	30	Robe, 26/08/2017	He knows the difference of Dube language and the Somali. He is one of educated Dube working as civil servant
148	Mälläsä Masqala Dadhi (<i>Ato</i>)	48	Robe, 16/04/2015	He knows good information on challenges of conservation of the heritages in Balé, Islamic values of Balé, threats of the <i>Wahabbis</i> , deep knowledge on rituals of the cult at various Sufi shrines in Balé, budget constraints of community based conservation.
		52	Robe,	He knows spiritual and social metaphor associated

			20/01/2018	to every Sufi Saints in Balé such as to <i>Sheik</i> Hussein, Sof Omar, Ali Wale, Sayyid Roba Garbi, Ayyo Makko and so on. He knows about evolution of Sufi cult and in Balé and its spiritual values...
149	Mäsärät Çhanyalāw Taddässä (<i>Ato</i>)	53	Manna Town, 27/11/2017	He knows military activities in Dallo and Balé during the <i>Därg</i> as he was a military trainer of the militia to defend the Somalia invasion of 1977/78 and knows major government responses to resistance of in Balé. He also knows history of growth of Manna town.
150	Mohamed Dalmer Harey (<i>Ato</i>)	42	Addis Ababa, 21/02/2017	He knows about history of origin and identity of the Dube and the institution of <i>ugaz</i> which he learned from his family. He narrates life history of his father <i>Daj</i> Dalmer and his uncle <i>Qäññ</i> Abdigas Dalmer.
151	Mohamed Haji Aliyi (<i>Ato</i>)	73	Robe, 15/04/2015	He knows detail on Sufi rituals practiced in the vicinities of Robe town and many people in Balé still covertly observe Sufi Islam despite pressures by the <i>Wahabbi</i> teachers.
152	Mohamed Omar Keynan	48	Oda Roba (near Oda Town), 13/5/2018	He knows the <i>maganta</i> relation between the Rayitu and Karanle since the 1950s and the Fit Abdulqadir Nuho's objections to this <i>maganta</i> connection.
153	Mohamed Omar Mazuri (<i>Ato</i>)	50	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He tells the challenge of Dube in getting access to land in Somali region.
154	Mohamed Usman Ali (<i>Ato</i>)		Birbire <i>Qäbälé</i> 27/11/2017	He knows about the story of origin, clans of the Dube, history of Dube settlers in Dallo Manna.
155	Mohamed Abba-Milki (<i>Haji</i>)	76	Gindhir, May 2014	He is an acknowledged informant and gave detail information on the Clan settlement of Gindhir Town area. He gave detail data about the beginning of Struggle against the imperial regime in Wabé <i>Awrajja</i> .
156	Mohamed Qabo Oge (<i>Ato</i>)	62	Barisa <i>Qäbälé</i> /near Dodola/, 11/07/2014	He knows good information on history expansion of Islam and its developments in Gadab region during the <i>Därg</i> regime.
157	Mohamed Abdullahi Mazuri (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He tells the challenge of Dube youths in getting access to government jobs both in Somali and Oromia regions.
158	Mohamed Ali Dawud (<i>Ato</i>)	25	Gindhir, April 2012	He is Oromo near Gindhir explain about the relationship between Dube and Oromo in Gindhir and Rayitu area.
159	Mohamed Hussein Kelil (<i>Ato</i>)	42	Madda Walabu <i>Qäbälé</i> , 25/05/2014	He knows about the Inter-ethnic relations between Guji and Borana, Guji and the Arsi and Borana and Arsi in Madda Walabu and Borana territories. He remembers some of resource based conflicts near Gannalé River.

160	Mohamed Mahmud (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Gasara, June 2012	He know the Dube culture and traditions in detail in his area.
161	Mohamed Sheka (<i>Ato</i>)	30	Robe, March 2012	He studied cultural heritages of Balé Zone. He collected information the settlement and origin of the Dube. He worked in Dube communities in Gololcha district of Balé Zone.
162	Mohamed Tore Boru (<i>Ato</i>)	56	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	As the son of one very famous leaders of resistance Balé, Colonel Boru Korme, he knows achievements of his father and significant commanders such as Waqo Gutu and Adam Jilo.
		60	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He knows the resistance to autocracy in Balé and life of Oromo migrants in Somalia during the wars with the government. He states to have revived training on guerilla warfare tactics in Qoriyole and Yeman. He also narrates <i>maganta</i> tie between Ajouran and Dawwe.
163	Mualim Ali Sugul (<i>Ato</i>)	64	Haya Oda 27/11/2017	He knows Dube culture and <i>maganta</i> tie of the Dube to Karrayu clan of Arsi in Dallo Manna.
164	Muftah Ajwad (<i>Ato</i>)	28	Wabé Qilisa June 20112	He knows about challenges of work and experience of the Dube youths in Gasara, Jarra and Gindhir towns.
165	Muktar Abdella (<i>Ato</i>)	59	Gindhir, April 2012	As resident of Arda-Tarre site in Gindhir district, he knows many Oromo traditions, rituals and the influence of Islam on the <i>Gadaa</i> system.
166	Muktar Ahmed Abdi (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Jarra, June 2012	As a Somali engaged in craft smith in Jarra town, he knows the difference between Somali and Dube culture and language and the view of Somali towards the Dube.
167	Mussa Bati Waqo (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Manna Town, 26/05/2014	He knows the uprising of the peoples of Balé on which he had collected vital oral data from elders.
168	Mussa Roba Jarso (<i>Haji</i>)	64	Manna Town, 22/05/2014	He was a military commander in the <i>dhombur</i> war at Rank of Lieutenant Colonel and a radion operator. He knows ill-treatment of the people by officials during the imperial and <i>Därg</i> regimes.
169	Nägash Eshätu Lotu (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Goba 12/01/2018	He knows the detail history of Balé by inquiring form elders about the Italian era, challenges to the monarchy and the military regime in Balé, Balé's promotion to the status of governorate general, the relation of the Somali and the Oromo during the 1977/78 war, issues land tenure, appointment and dismissals of governors, education in Balé in which he served as school teacher until retirement.
170	Nasruzaman Sultan Abubaker (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Robe, 26/07/2017	He teaches in eastern lowland of Balé in Sawena District and he knows marriage relation between Somali and Oromo about <i>maganta</i> relations and conflicts between the two sides. He knows

				difficulty of teaching in <i>Afan Oromo</i> as many Oromo children speak Somali as mother tongue.
171	Nagesso Gefersa, (<i>Ato</i>)	50	Dodola, 10/07/2014	He knows good information on social and cultural past of societies northwestern Balé and Gadab.
172	Nasha Ciqaqo (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Kokkosa, July 2014	He has detail information on the Clan settlement of Kokkosa area. He knows various ritual prayers and festivals in <i>Waaqeffannaa</i> religion and personal naming tradition of the Oromo.
173	Nuho Guled Shibaw (<i>Ato</i>)	66	Oda Roba (near Oda Town), 13/5/2018	He knows the Somali irredentism, political parties, war with Ethiopia in which he participated as a soldier, and repression of Girrira Clan in El-Kere by the Somali since 1980s. As a Girrira he claims Oromo descent.
174	Obah Adam (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	28	Oda Dima, June 2012	She knows the difficulty of life for Dube women with scarce resources and marginalization from their neighbors.
175	Omar Abdigas Dalmar (<i>Ato</i>)	66	Phone interview, Jigjiga, 16/07/2017	He narrates the power transfer rules and ritual among the Dube after the death of his father and he also knows the lists of Dube <i>ugazs</i> . He knows the repression of the Somali Regional State against the Dube and riverine cultivators to settle the Somali pastoralists on the Wabé Shaballé River.
	Omar Abdigas Dalmer (<i>Ogaz</i>)	66	Phone interview from Imie 20/07/2017	He narrates the procedures of the ritual <i>Alemasar</i> (appointment of <i>ugaz</i>) after the death of his father a month ago and the tradition of the Dube in power transfer. He narrates the cotemporary situation of the Dube in border conflict between the Somali and Oromo based on past experience.
		67	Addis Ababa, 30/11/2018	He knows history of the Dube in detail and the Dube and Ethiopian state administration since the late imperial era when he was the only Dube national to attend HSIU in 1974. He remembers the impacts of the fall of the imperial regime on the Dube. He also worked as governor of Imie District under the EPRDF government and knows the policy of the Somali region towards the Dube and other minorities.
		67	Addis Ababa 01/12/2018	Detail narration on the list of <i>ugazs</i> of the Dube, their power and duties, about life history of his father <i>Däj Dalmer Harey</i> , about the relations of the Dube with its neighbors, repression of the Dube under the <i>Därg</i> and the incumbent regimes, settlement of Dube in Imie.
176	Omer Mohamed (<i>Sheik</i>)	58	Malka Oda, Gindhir, May 2014	He was medical assistant of Soldiers during Balé peoples Struggle. He lived in Somalia for more than 20 years.

177	Qabato Fanjaja (<i>Abba Gadaa</i>)	60	Arda Tarre, 12/5/2018	He knows the <i>Gadaa</i> practice among the Sikko-Mando, its ritual practices and participated in its revived version recently in Arsi Zone.
178	Qasim Ahmed Abdi (<i>Sheikh</i>)	40	Gasara, June 2012.	As a well respected <i>Sheik</i> of Dube people, he knows most Dube settlement up to Somalia well and learned by heart about the origin, history and traditional biomedicine of Dube. He knows issues of clan leadership of Dube.
179	Qasim Aliyi Abdella (<i>Ato</i>)	32	Robe, 26/07/2017	He teaches in Rayitu District of Balé and he knows marriage relation between the Somali and Oromo, about <i>maganta</i> and conflicts between the two sides. He knows difficulty of teaching in <i>Afan Oromo</i> as many Oromo children speak Somali as their mother tongue.
180	Qnannisa Assäfa (<i>Ato</i>)	30	Bidire Town, 26/05/2014	As the director of Madda Walabu Secondary School, he knows about challenges education and attitudes of pastoralist communities towards modern education.
181	Qulu Kalil Aliyo (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	50	Oda Roba, 13/5/2018	She knows the life of Women in pastoral societies and suffering during the <i>Sora</i> war in El-Kere among the Girrira people.
182	Ragassa Aga Tufa (<i>Shalaqa</i>)	100	Manna Town, 23/11/2017	He knows about establishment of Manna Town, economic activity of early dwellers of Dallo area, war with government and Mohamed Gada <i>Qallu</i> and <i>Dombur</i> rebels, Somali Abo activities, he participated in many battles in the region as a government soldier.
183	Rahima Hussein (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	38	Jarra, June 2012	As a Somali engaged trader and resident of Jarra town, she knows the difference between Somali and Dube culture of marriage and mutilation of the female genitalia.
184	Rashad Mohamed (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Sof Omar Cave, 19/03/2013	He knows the cult of Sof Omar at Sof Omar cave, misuse of the income from tourists by few persons and economic life of the <i>darga</i> .
185	Rashid Amme (<i>Ato</i>)	52	Malka- Amana, 23/05/2014	He is a settler from Harar in Dallo Manna Town 12 years ago due to drought. He knows about the challenges of newcomers in the area and opportunities of about 10,000 settlers in Shawwe area of Dallo Manna District.
186	Redi Shebel (<i>Ato</i>)	80	Wabé Qilisa (Robe district, Arsi), June 20112	He narrates Dube tradition and history in a well organized manner. He explains how the Dube hunted and used the Hippo. He knows the nature of relationship between the Dube, Oromo and Somali in Ethiopia. His tells his genealogy connected the Bantu from southern Somalia.

187	Robe Mamma Jara (<i>Abba-Gada</i>)	70	Dodola, 12/07/2014	He knows well organized data on the Gadaa system like <i>Gadaa</i> laws, practices, <i>Gumaa</i> procedures and rituals. He knows the settlement pattern of Arsi clans in Gadab area, Balé and Arsi. He gave me good information on <i>Gadaa</i> centers and cultural justice practice in Dodola area.
188	Sadiya Kabir Hussein (<i>W/ro</i>)	80	Sof Omar Cave, 19/03/2013	She knows details of rituals at Sof Omar and Dirre, the role of women in the cult, economic life of the <i>darga</i> and its dominance by a few.
189	Sadiya Ibrahim Farah (<i>W/ro</i>)	35	Gindhir, April 2012.	She knows about life situation of Dube in Arda-Tarre and Oda Roba of Gindhir District.
190	Samule Negash (Doctor, PhD)	-	Addis Ababa, 10/07/2017	He is expert on the Somali and Ogaden history. He explains about the clan groups of the Somali and paradoxical identity issues of clans within clan blocs and lineages. He knows about development projects and its impact on riverine minorities like Dube and Reer Barre in Wabé-Shabellé Valley.
		-	Addis Ababa, 25/12/2018	He explains about the inconvenience of using the term clan in referring to larger group of people among the Somali like the Ogaden which has many sub divisions under it. The term does not fit to the reality of the Ogaden which is on use for about a century until now.
191	Särtsä Dästa Gäbrä-hiwot (<i>Merigeta</i>)	87	Robe, 07/02/2017	He served as priest at Zulla Mädhanialem Church located at the medieval site Zallah and he knows the <i>Däj</i> Asfaw's effort to establish the capital of Balé there, why he moved to Goba and the early imperial rule of Balé and <i>Çhäwa</i> regiment in Balé.
192	Shani Mohamed Abdi (<i>Ato</i>)	66	Manna Town, 24/05/2014	He knows traditions of origin and history of the Dube. He knows the participation of Dube in Balé's resistance against successive regimes.
193	Shimälis Taddässä (<i>Ato</i>)	43	Gasara, June 2012.	As an expert and head of Culture and Tourism Bureau of Gasara District of Balé Zone, he studies about the Dube from elders and his observation as teacher before his current position.
194	Shukri Dawud Ahmed (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Jarra Town, 13/05/2018	He knows economic and social hardship of the Dube in Wabé Sa'ada due to scarcity of farmlands and infrastructural facilities, flood of the Wabé River during rainy seasons.
195	Shukri Mahmud Bula (<i>Sheik</i>)	65	Gasara, 15/01/2018	He knows story of Dube immigration to Gasara from Imie, their settlement pattern there, their livelihood, their interaction with the Oromo in Arsi and Balé, government's responses to the drought in Dube. He narrates descent of the Dube from mixed Digil and Bantu ancestors in Somalia.
196	Shukuri Hassan	45	Birbire <i>Qäbälé</i>	He knows about the story of origin, clans of the

	Farah (<i>Ato</i>)		27/11/2017	Dube, of early Dube settlers in Dallo Manna.
197	Sulatan Ahmed Mohamed (Sheik)	75	Addis Ababa, 06/07/2018	He knows descent of the Dube connecting to Digil and counted it to the Bantu. He explained the situation of the Dube in Imie and other minorities.
198	Suye Jihad Hire (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Manna Town, 24/05/2014	He knows about the traditions of origin of the Dube minorities. He knows the participation of Dube in Balé Peoples Struggle. He is informed informant on traditions of Dube.
199	Taddässä Girma Ararso (Dr., PhD)	40	Addis Ababa, 05/07/2018	He knows historical linguistic of the Dube that he studied lexical documentation of the Dube with their grammatical sketch based on “Swedish word” lists and long word list analysis. He found out that the Dube language is 60% different from the Somali and <i>Afan Oromo</i> .
200	Taddässä Harato, (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Dodola, 10/07/2014	He knows culture of the Oromo of Warqa district in Balé.
201	Tahir Abdulqadir (<i>Ato</i>)	42	Jarra, June 2012	He knows the relationship between Somali and Oromo in Gololcha District of Balé
202	Tahira Ali Nure (<i>W/ro</i>)	54	Oda Roba, 13/5/2108	She explains the hardship of women among the Girrira Women in El-Kere under successive regimes of Ethiopia.
203	Täshomä Taddässä (<i>Ato</i>)	52	Gasara, June 2012.	He is one the experts and head of Culture and Tourism Bureau of Gasara District of Balé Zone. He knows about the Dube. He conducted a study on the Dube of Gasara <i>Wäräda</i> based on information from elders and field observation.
204	Teklehaimanot Gabrasilassie (Doctor, PhD)	-	Addis Ababa, 25/12/2017	He explains the distribution and social history of minorities in Ethiopia like the Wayto, Fuga and so on which has some similarities with Dube. He also explains the relation of the Hadiyya with Arsi Oromo and the former’s closer connection the historic <i>Bali</i> .
205	Tilahun Dämissié Wändiménäh (Major)	81	Goba, 9/02/2017	He worked as policeman before his retirement and he knows the Italian period, imperial government police force organization and detail of imperial rule in Balé.
206	Tilahun Kasa Hailä-Mikaél (<i>Ato</i>)	77	Goba, 04/03/2017	He narrates governors of the Balé in chronological order which he collected during his 45 years of service as Secretary General and at other posts in Balé administration Office.
			Goba, 05/03/2017	He narrates in a chronological order of resistance to the imperial regime since 1942 by Mohamed Gada Qallu by whom his father was killed as government soldier along with the stay of the Mohamed in prison. He also knows the diplomatic effort of the government with Somalia on the

				border issue of Balé.
			Goba, 10/02/2017	He knows the detail of administrative history of Balé and administrators' relations with the local officials and the people. He served as secretary of eleven governors since 1960 the end of the <i>Därg</i> regime. He participated in futile reconciliation effort of rebels with government in 1977.
207	Tufa Dararso Ebiso (<i>Abba Gadaa</i>)	40	Arda Tarre, 10/5/2018	He knows about <i>Gadaa</i> system, its rituals, its procedures, regulations of <i>Gadaa</i> assembly in the past, the Sikko-Mando <i>Gadaa</i> rites...
208	Tusa Deti (<i>Abba Gadaa</i>)	70	Arda Tarre, 9/5/2018	He knows resistance of the Arsi to Menelik's campaigns, efforts of Menelik at pacification and integration of the Arsi, Anole incident, and battles took place between the two sides in Arsi...
209	Tusa Waqo (<i>Haji</i>)	56	Arda Tarre, 12/5/2018	He knows the <i>Gadaa</i> practice among the Sikko-Mando, its ritual practices and participated in its revived version recently in West Arsi Zone.
210	Weliyi Tiqqari Bu'i (<i>Ato</i>)	75	Dodola, July 2014	He knows <i>balabats</i> of Dodola and Adaba area. E was close relative <i>Fit</i> Bu'i Falama of Dodola and he knows the live of <i>gäbbars</i> under the imperial regime. He gave data on the livelihood of pastoralist in Balé.
211	Yaqob Adam Qassim (<i>Ato</i>)	35	Helgol River Gomgoma 28/11/2017	He knows about the story of origin, irrigation canals paved by the first Dube settlers in Dallo Manna and relations with Oromo pastoralists.
212	Yusuf Abdi Mohamed (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Manna Town, 29/11/2017	He narrates his experience as a Dube conflict resolution and prison life in Somali region.
213	Yusuf Mohamed Ali (<i>Ato</i>)	66	Birbire <i>Qäbälé</i> 27/11/2017	He knows about the story of origin, clans of the Dube, history of early Dube settlers in Dallo Manna.
214	Zakir Adam Mahmud (<i>Sheik</i>)	80	Anajina (Dirre Sheik Hussein) 19/03/2007	He knows a detail oral tradition about the life of Sheik Hussein, practice of the cult of Sheik Hussein, Emperor Hailä-Sillassié's visit to the shrine, emerging threats to the cult.
		92	Anajina (Dirre Sheik Hussein) 17/08/2019	He knows supports of the Italians to the Imam and <i>sheiks</i> Anajina and efforts and journeys of the Imam of <i>Sheik</i> Hussein shrine and two <i>balabbats</i> (Nuho Dadhi and Fatule <i>Taqane</i>) to bring the <i>Futalabasha</i> (sic. <i>Futuh al-Habasha</i>) from Cairo in the 1930s. He narrates issues religious developments of the last decade in challenging the cult of Sheik Hussein and his opinion how the government should protect the cult of Sheik Hussein as heritage of Ethiopia and the World.