THE CHANGING RURAL SOCIETY IN ARUSSILAND:
Some findings from a field study 1966-67
by
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LIST OF CADU PUBLICATIONS
Preface

The collection of the material for this paper was started in February, 1966. Disregarding some interruptions the field work has continued since that time and is still continuing. However, even if a lot of collected material remains to be processed and further collections of data should be made in different fields, it has been judged as valuable to publish some of the information obtained. The present paper together with other publications issued by CaDU, are meant to be an introduction to the situation prevailing in the project area. No attempts have been made in this report to analyse the material. It is altogether presented in a descriptive form. In previous reports only short notes have been entered about the social background in the project area. This is because of the fact that the findings from the investigations at that time were orally communicated to the project staff. However, the number of staff members is constantly increasing and this calls for access to written information.

Along with the collection of the material presented here other investigations have been and are still undertaken. For example, two case studies giving information about farm economy, farm work and division of labour between ages and sexes have been completed. The teams responsible for these case studies will soon present their reports.

In the area where the material for this report has been collected other investigations are going on. A study of the problems related to landowning and share-cropping has been started, and the first steps towards an investigation concerning the indebtedness among the farmers have been taken. Both investigations are carried out in an area covering about 800 hectares of land. Other investigations are planned to be started this year as soon as the investigations just mentioned are completed. For example, data on state of knowledge, decision-making and dissemination of information on different levels among the rural population will be collected. It is a wish that the studies presented or mentioned in this report could be followed by other specialized studies. The intention is that all studies and surveys made by CaDU should be published and thus made available to a broader public.
THE CHILALO AWRAJA

The Chilalo awraja is one of the three awrajas (sub-provinces) of the Arussi province. It is the largest of them and covers an area of 1,000,000 ha. Its boundaries mainly follow physical characteristics which makes the awraja clearly distinguishable from surrounding areas.

The Awash river, a big river coming from the western plateau and following the Rift Valley in an eastern to north-eastern direction, makes the northern boundary of the Chilalo awraja. Its western boundary approximately follows a line going southwards cutting Lake Ziway and Lake Langano. These lakes are two in a series of lakes in the broad Rift Valley and are situated at an altitude of about 1,700 m. They are mainly surrounded by relatively flat lowlands. To the east of these lakes the land rises towards a high plateau of varying widths; partly less than 5 km wide, partly up to 40 km wide. The altitude of this high plateau varies from 2,500-2,800 m in the southern parts down to 2,200 m in the northern parts.

In the south the awraja is divided from the Balo province by the big river Wabi Shebeli. The river is, like the Awash river, running in an eastern to north-eastern direction. However, before reaching this southern boundary the southern part of the awraja is cut off from its middle and northern parts by a range of high mountains, mt. Encuolo, mt. Cacca and mt. Boset, all of them reaching more than 4,000 m. Mt. Cacca, which is the highest peak of the Chilalo awraja, reaches an altitude of 4,500 m.

The high plateau is to the east limited by another range of mountains. This mountain range is running in a north-south direction and comprises several high peaks like mt. Ancfola, mt. Chilalo, mt. Badda and mt. Encuolo. All of them reach altitudes of about 4,000 m. The highest of the peaks, mt. Badda, has an altitude of 4,400 m. This mountain range creates the eastern boundary of the Chilalo awraja as the boundary runs up on its ridge. The ridge is also a water parting. During the rainy seasons a lot of small riverlets are running down westwards to join some of the big rivers in the awraja like the Catar and Ashabaka rivers. However, all of these riverlets are dry during the dry season, a time when only the big rivers are carrying water.

The capital of the Arussi province and the Chilalo awraja, Asella, is situated at a place, where the high plateau is most narrow. From Asella northwards the range of mountains has mainly a north-eastern direction. The area is about 40 km wide between the northern of the parts of the mountains and the Awash river. It is sloping gradually down to that river and forms a very fertile land as long as the altitude and consequently the rainfall is sufficient. The northern areas of the slope are parts of the dry lowland in the Rift Valley.

In the north-western parts of the Chilalo awraja the Gille Plain is found. This is an unfertile, dry plateau within the Rift Valley and its altitude is about 2,200 m. Only one mountain here, mt. Borra, reaches 2,700 m.

While the riverlets of the middle parts of the awraja are draining into mainly the Catar and Ashabaka rivers, the rivers of the southern part are draining into the Wabi Shebeli. The riverlets of the northern part are tributaries to the Awash river.
Especially during the 1950's several observations of the rainfall were made in the Arussi province. This activity was discontinued, but has now started again with 8 stations for recording temperature and precipitation. The following records on precipitation are available:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Observation</th>
<th>Altitude</th>
<th>Average rainfall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kofele</td>
<td>(Probably during the 1950's)</td>
<td>2,680 metres</td>
<td>1,220 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sire</td>
<td>1953-59</td>
<td>1,980 metres</td>
<td>896 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bekoji</td>
<td>(Probably during the 1950's)</td>
<td>2,800 metres</td>
<td>1,232 mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koka, Leaf Station</td>
<td>1955-57</td>
<td>1,600 metres</td>
<td>637 mm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The rainy season covers the months of July, August and September and at high altitudes the monthly rainfall can be about 250 mm and the number of rainy days about 20 per month during this season. A smaller rainy season is observed in March and April. The dry season starts in October, but even then the rainfall can be 20-40 mm per month.

Some statistical figures

The Chilalo awraja has about 360,000 inhabitants of which 45% are below 15 years of age and almost 92% are illiterate. About 13% of the age group 7-12 years attend primary school and 2.5% of the 13-18 years old attend secondary school. Schools are run both by the Government and by the Church. However, the so called priest schools are not teaching other subjects than reading, writing and extracts from the Bible.

Almost the whole of the working population is engaged in agriculture. Most of the agricultural land is located on a very fertile plateau on an altitude between 2,000-2,600 m above sea level. The total cultivation acreage is about 150,000 ha. The main crops are barley, wheat and flax, while teff, counted as the national crop of Ethiopia, is very sparsely grown. The information about yields is still very uncertain but the Crop Production Department of CAU is working on yield samples taken in the awraja. The results from this investigation will be published separately.

The average cultivated area per holding is about 2.5 ha with very little fragmentation. About 50% of the farmers are tenants mostly on a share-cropping basis. The area is very favourable for livestock production and there are not less than 527,000 heads of cattle of which 198,000 cows, 102,000 heifers and 129,000 steers and oxen. The average number of cattle per household is 8.5 heads and only 16% of the households have no cattle at all.

The settlement is scattered although there are a number of small market villages and towns mainly along the road from Nazareth via the provincial capital of Asella to Bekoji in the south. This is also the only all-weather road within the area with the exception of a road from Shashemane via Kofele to Dodola on the southern fringe of the awraja.
In the awraja almost no industrial activities exist. The area exports grain, oilseed and livestock to other parts of the country but the farmers are almost completely in the hands of the traders. The trade in produce as well as in consumption goods is characterized by a small volume per transaction.

In the Munessa area, in the southern part of the awraja, rich forest resources are found. In other areas there is scope for afforestation. The project has already started the planting of trees at some eroded places within the present project area.

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION

In February, 1966, the first members of the project investigation team arrived at Addis Ababa. After introductory discussions with authorities concerned with the future programmes of the project, the group immediately set out for thorough reconnaissance tours within the Arussi province; the province proposed as the target for a future development effort. Available statistics about the province were studied and checked up through preliminary field investigations. These field investigations were carried out in two areas; one area about 10 km north of and one about 20 km south of the provincial capital Asella. Both areas are situated within the boundaries of the present project area.

From the investigations facts about the population, their cultivation and animal production methods, housing conditions, etc. were collected. Great resemblances were noted between the two areas even if the size of holdings and the utilization of land differ slightly.

It was decided that a more thorough study should be started and after further visual surveys and examples taken at random it was decided that an area south of Asella should be selected. Up to that time the people in that area were fairly uninfluenced by earlier development activities. The population north of Asella on the other hand has been influenced by a seed improvement and seed multiplication station during several years; the station was previously under the supervision of the Ministry of Agriculture, now under the CADU. In the areas around the station people have become aware of the possibilities that will be offered them. Some people are already now buying improved seeds and among the more well-to-do landowners modern farm machines are hired from the station when the size of holdings and the capacity of the station so permits.

North of Asella there are several big landowners and down on the lowland there are many commercial farms. However, in some densely populated areas the land is very intensively cultivated by small farmers not always able to spare some of their land for grazing. On the other hand the large area south of Asella gives a very homogeneous impression with its clearly visible partition of the land into cultivated and grazing areas. Beside this the area south of Asella is the area where the mixed population, mainly Arussi and Shoa gallas is best represented.

According to existing statistics the main part of the population is concerned with mixed farming, i.e. cultivation and cattle-breeding, a situation that can easily be checked through visual observation. As there was only one investigation team, the idea was to start the intensive surveys south of Asella, where the people were not influenced to the same degree as in the north by modern farming techniques and where mixed farming in a more pronounced form exists. By starting in the south the material collected in a smaller area could be estimated as valid for an even larger part. It should also be noted that the main systems existing in the chosen area also exist north of Asella. Obviously great changes in the
traditional structure have taken place in the whole of the Chilalo awraja. The very important age-class system (gada-system), well-known from the Gallas, has decreased in importance and will nowadays be found only as a remnant from earlier days. The social structure has changed and is still changing. However, the present structure has been studied and it is obvious that the different socio-economic and religious systems are valid for the whole project area. Deviations found in the structure should be regarded as the normal oscillation in the existing systems.

Procedure of the field work

To be able to carry out the investigation in the area chosen as a permanent field area, the investigation team erected a camp south of Asella. About one year was spent there disregarding shorter stays in Addis. The first two months the team did not ask any questions but concentrated on what could easily be observed from the daily life of the people. At the same time information about the team and the project was given to the people. Besides man to man talks also meetings were arranged, especially on Sundays when a lot of people can be reached at the same time at the churches.

Contact was also established with the leading men in the area, a contact that became more stable and finally resulted in some kind of a council. In this "council" the felt needs of the farmers and all investigations and future activities of the project were discussed. The council members helped the team in its efforts to establish a direct contact with the common farmer and they also have helped in explaining the purpose and aims of the project to the people living in adjacent areas.

The team also tried other means to get in contact with the people and different kinds of services were given such as free transportation to the hospital in Asella.

After the two months contact period the actual investigations started. First a census was taken within a limited area and a questionnaire covering different aspects mainly relating to land was used. With the data obtained as a background the team continued its work mainly by using selected informants.

Results from the preparatory investigations

The two localities chosen for preliminary investigations, before the Wajji area was selected as a more permanent field of investigations, were Kobo-Mekiro north of Asella not far from Kulumsa seed improvement and multiplication station, and Tijo situated south of Asella on the western side of the road running to Bekoji. In each area a sub-area indicated by natural boundaries like riverlets and minor ridges was selected. In both areas a general census was taken and in Kobo-Mekiro an additional questionnaire concerning some basic land tenure aspects was used to get a more solid idea about the conditions. As the team was short of time at that moment it was not possible to undertake the same prolonged investigation in Tijo. However, an extra visit was paid to this southern area in order to check the information obtained in the north about different systems and institutions. From this check up it was clear that systems and institutions found in Kobo-Mekiro also existed in Tijo. Also the definitions of them were the same. Once more these data could be checked when later on the investigations in Wajji started.
Also in Wajji the investigation team selected a smaller area for its preparatory work. A census was taken and when it after the processing of the material was shown that this area greatly resembled the others visited it was finally decided to continue the investigations here. A questionnaire was composed covering different aspects about population, land tenure, cattle breeding and marketing facilities. Besides working with questionnaires the team used several individual informants whose information was carefully checked against each other.

The results from the preliminary investigations in the three selected areas show the following data which can be used as an indication of the prevailing situation within the present project area.

**Kobo-Mekiro**

In the area 50 heads of household were questioned. The total population comprised by these households amounted to 270 persons which gives an average family size of 5.4 persons. Family members not living in the area at the time of the investigation were not counted. The dominating type of family consisted of a man with his wife and children; the elementary family. However, different forms of extended families are prevailing in the area.

The visited households belonged to three different tribal groups: Amhara 37 (74%), Galla 12 (24%) and Wollamo 1 (2%). All persons belonged to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Among the household members 22 stated that they were able to read and write. Most of them were less than 15 years old and they had attended school in Asella or in Gorda, a village just north of Asella. Among these 22 persons there were 5 heads of household but none of them had attended school for more than 4 years.

Cut of the 50 heads of household 14 were landowners while 34 were tenants. Of the remaining two one was an old woman who lived alone without cultivating any land at all and the other one was a young man who cultivated his father's land without paying any rent. 14 tenants were renting their land according to the rules of ekul arash and 15 were siso arash share-croppers. The remaining 5 were tenants who had entered a special contract with the landowners which means that they paid a fixed amount in kind as rent. This form of agreement, contrat, will later on be defined together with the share-cropping systems.

The sizes of the holdings vary from 2 gashas to 1/16 of a gasha. The average holding was 4 of a gasha.

The cattle census of the 50 households shows a total of 80 cows and heifers, 7 calves, 90 oxen, 58 sheep, 31 goats, 5 mules and 41 donkeys. No horses were registered in the census which, however, does not mean that there are no horses at all in this part of the project area.

All the land registered in the sample was owned by farmers who were living on their land in Kobo-Mekiro. Only a few of them owned land outside the area; one of them owned land in Asella on which he had built houses to let.

There was little fragmentation of the land owned. Only two landowners had their land divided into two fragments. In most cases the landed properties were inherited and in a few cases only the owners had bought all or part of their land. Two of the land owners had got part of their land as grants from the Government after the Italian war.
In this area only a census was taken which comprised 35 households. The total population of 164 persons gives an average of 4.7 persons per household. Only 4 of the heads of household were Amharas while 31 were Gallas. The Gallas were divided into Shoa (30) and Arussi Gallas (1). No other tribal groups were represented.

Of the heads of household 34 belonged to the Orthodox Church and only 1 was a Moslem. These figures of tribal and religious belonging are, however, of no real significance to the existing situation in the total area. As in Wajji people of the same tribe and religion seem to a great extend live together forming more or less compact local communities. In this case it is obvious that the team happened to collect information in a sub-area where most people are Shoa Gallas and the dominating religion is Christianity.

As in the other areas surveyed the literacy figures are very low. Only 4 of the heads of household were able to read and write and even counting the population more than 8 years of age gives the same figures. To these can be added 2 children less than 8 years of age who at the time of the investigation had just started school. However, it should be noted that as in the case with the people in Kobo-Mekiro none had spent more than 4 years in school.

The proportions of landowners and tenants were 10 landowners and 23 tenants. 2 were the sons of one of the landowners and as such they were cultivating part of the land without paying any rent. The tenancies were on a sharecropping basis, 10 under ekul arash and 13 under siso aras (I)

The sizes of the holdings were comparatively smaller than in Kobo-Mekiro. The largest holding was half a gasha while the rest of them were if varying sizes down to 1/16 of a gasha.

The cattle census of the 35 households showed a total of 104 cows and heifers, 3 calves and 47 oxen. In the area no goats were kept but a total of 111 sheep were registered. To this came 3 mules, 10 donkeys and 18 horses.

WAJJI

The area selected

The area selected for a more thorough and prolonged investigation is situated within the Tiyo woreda. It is called Wajji but people living here often refer to their habitat by other names which properly are indicating sub-areas within Wajji. Thus, names like Chebety and Ketchema are used alternatingly with Wajji.

Through the Wajji area a dry-weather road runs from Asella down to the large market village of Bekoji. The centre of the area is situated about 12 km from the provincial capital. The area extends on both sides of the road. Its eastern boundary runs along the slopes of the Galama mountain. From here the area gently slopes down westwards towards the lowland. The altitude of the area differs from approximately 2,700 metres down to 2,500 metres above sea level.

1) Definitions, see pp. 50
Wajji is more or less synonymous to one balabbat area, Ato Badasso Wake balabbat. This area has been calculated to be 168.3 square kilometres. However, it should be noted that this figure is not completely correct. The calculation was made through planimetric methods after that the acting balabbat had pointed out the boundaries of his area. Where there are no natural boundaries, the boundaries given have been rather vague.

According to a population census taken in 1966 by orders of the Governor-General, the balabbat area or Wajji has 8,414 inhabitants. This figure divided by the size of the area gives a population density of 50 inhabitants per square kilometre.

Together with the population census of 1966 also an animal census was taken. For Wajji area the figure for cattle reaches a total of 14,317 heads. Of these 6,239 are male, both oxen and steers counted. The high figure of male cattle depends partly on the use of oxen in agricultural work and the relation of the oxen to the existing share-cropping system.

Furthermore there are 11,439 sheep, 1,872 goats, 2,160 horses, 253 mules and 861 donkeys registered. The small number of goats in comparison with sheep has been explained by some farmers in the area to depend on that the grazing is not good for goats and, maybe more correct, that the farmers do not want to keep goats as they eat off the eucalyptus plants.

In Ato Bedasso Wake's balabbat area a smaller area was selected where 52 households were visited. The total population of these households was 287 persons and the average size of the households thus 5.5 persons. Of the household members only 2 were not related to the family with whom they were living. The division into sexes shows that there are 156 female household members and 131 male. Out of the total of 287 persons 125 were less than 15 years of age. To make a more detailed division into ages will give very hazardous figures as the proper ages of people are difficult to obtain. In most cases the birth date of a person must be related to some historical or famous events but also this technique gives a vague idea of the proper ages. Local historical events could be recorded and this has been tried. However, one will often find oneself caught in a circle and become unable to fix the proper date of these events.

Among the heads of household 20 were Arussi Gallas, 29 Shoa Gallas and 3 Amharas. The reason why there are so many Shoa Gallas among the recorded families is that the investigation area is situated in that larger area in which parts of the Arussi Gallas' land were given to above all the Shoa Gallas after the Amharic conquest of Arussiland.

The division into religions closely follows the tribal division and it is only 1 Arussi Galla who has converted to Christianity. The Amharas and the Shoa Gallas are Christians and this gives us 33 Christian heads of household and 19 Moslem. The members listed under each household are of the same confession as their head.

The land tenure situation shows that there are 28 landowners while the remaining 24 heads are share-croppers under either ekul arash, also arash or irbo arash (definitions, see p. 50). In the area surveyed none of the farmers were tenants renting on contract. Of the landowners 13 had got share-croppers, all of them identical with the one questioned by the investigation team. Besides this there were 8 landowners who had given part of their land to their sons who were cultivating their plots without paying anything to their fathers.
The land owned by the different landowners differ in size from 3.5 hectares to 112 hectares. This gives an average of 26.9 hectares per landowner. The average holding rented by the share-croppers is 2.07 hectares. All these figures are calculated on the size of the gasha in Wajji. It differs from the formally recognized standard gasha of 40 hectares in that it is 56 hectares. The size of the Wajji gasha is calculated on the zeng measurement used by the balabbat. The zeng is originally a leather strap kept by the balabbat. It is considered to be very valuable and therefore the leather strap itself is never used when land is measured. The measure of the leather strap has of this reason been transferred to an ordinary stick with which the team of balabbat, golnasaa and shimgalees are measuring when they are to parcel out land. The length of the zeng is 228 centimetres and corresponds to a measurement made by the forearm and the breadth of the hand of a grown up person; 4 forearms plus about 4.5 breadth of the hand. The holdings seem to be measured in rectangles which for one-eighth of a gasha will have a breadth of 228 centimetres (zeng) times 30. The length shall be 15 times the breadth. The farmers usually count smaller parcels of land in timads, each timad being equal to approximately 0.25 hectares. This is the area that one pair of oxen is supposed to plough during one day the last time a field is ploughed. Most of the sizes of holdings and fields collected are expressed in timad after an estimation made by the farmers concerned. It is therefore obvious that without measuring the land with proper instruments the figures obtained will be very vague. However, the figures presented are just given to indicate the sizes of land owned and rented. A future land tenure survey carried out with proper instruments will give a more exact result.

Most of the land owned by the landowners they have inherited. There are only 8 landowners who have bought all their land or part of it while one has got his land as a grant. This information correspons to a high degree to the present situation that most of the cultivateable land in the highland area has already been sold or given as grants. Besides this all the landowners represented in the sample are residents on the land they own in the area. However, in other connections it has been recorded that there are absentee landowners in Wajji and in other areas around. Information about the number of absentee landowners and the size of their total area has been impossible to obtain up to now.
THE ARUSSILAND

The project area of the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit is situated within a large area usually referred to as Arussi land, not to be mixed up with the Arussi province which is an administrative part of Ethiopia. The Arussi land covers a vast area in which several ecological zones are represented, from the highland reaching about 4000 metres down to the lowland at about 1500 metres. The Arussi land is to the north bounded by the Awash River and extends southwards far down in the Bafa province. Its western boundary roughly follows the lakes in the Rift Valley. To the east the Arussi land is bounded by the River Wabi Shebeli and its tributary the River Eyersa. This is a very rough sketch of the borders and it should be noted that in several cases it is more or less impossible to give an exact boundary line. In these cases the original inhabitants, the Arussi Gallas (Arsi), live in close contact with neighbouring tribes and the boundary if orderly set will show a highly fringed pattern. 1)

Ancient history

The area described is the part of Ethiopia where the Arussi Gallas once settled. Today, however, they have been forced to share their land with other tribes whom they now are living together with in close contact.

The Galla peoples originate from an area south and east of the River Wabi Shebeli. Most probably they earlier covered what is now the Somali Republic and further down across the Kenyan border. They were driven from their original habitat by other tribes, the Somalis and the Danakils, who put a very strong pressure on the Gallas from the east and south-east. 2) The Galla movements were started early and by the sixteenth century they had become a threat to the Ethiopian state in the north. During the first three decades of the sixteenth century the Ethiopian state was also threatened by a Moslem invasion. In the 1530's the Moslem leader Ahmed Gran succeeded in conquering the entire Ethiopian central territory. 3) This combined pressure towards the north helped the Gallas to take possession of areas even within the Ethiopian kingdom.

According to different sources the Arussi Gallas took possession of their present land more than 450 years ago. 4) Very early they seem to have adopted soil cultivation, but as they originally were a cattle-breeding people we can imagine that the role of agriculture was rather weak. Before the Amhars conquered their area the cultivation methods of the Arussi Gallas were simple and the implements used were digging

1) See: Haberland, 1963: 406ff
2) Ullendorff, 1966:75
3) Lipsky, 1962:12
4) Haberland, 1963:411
sticks and hoes. The hoe was the key of making it possible to cultivate most parts of this area as a digging stick is too weak an instrument to facilitate proper soil preparation. It was much later under the influence of the Amharas that the Arussi Gallas learnt how to use the plough and to utilize the land to a higher extent. However, in the lowland it can still be seen from the way of preparing the soil that the new methods have not been adopted in full. Stubs and stones are left on the fields and even trees are growing everywhere. Before the Amharic conquest the land in the present Chilalo awraja was just partly cultivated while most of it was used as grazing land. As late as at the beginning of the twentieth century the land was still used for this purpose. This means that the intensive cultivation of today in the highland area has become a reality during the last 50 years.

Animal husbandry still plays an enormous role for the Arussi Gallas. The Arussi province is today ranked as the richest province in cattle. The Arussi Gallas, as all other Galla tribes, are as cattle-breeders one of the links in the large cattle-breeding and dairy complexes which are extended via East Africa far down to the Hottentots in South Africa. Even if the Arussi Gallas have turned more and more to mixed farming, there are still many resemblances between their methods and beliefs concerning cattle-breeding and those found among the nomads of East Africa. It can also be understood from different ceremonies among the Arussi people, including the Shoa Gallas, that in the ritual context cattle and sheep play a dominant role while agricultural products are seldom used or referred to. This is in spite of the fact that crop growing today is the main source of income for the farmers. This is another obvious indication of that the Arussi people from the beginning and up to very recent times have been more or less pure cattle-breeders.

The Amharic conquest

Attempts to reconquer the areas in which the Galla peoples had settled were started by the Amharas in the 1850's. However, there was no success in those undertakings before the reign of Emperor John. During his reign Ras Menelik consolidated himself in Shoa and became the sovereign of the Gallas to the south and west. His conquests were made possible by the use of firearms which he got from European sources. 1) At the end of the nineteenth century Ras Menelik of Shoa, who in 1889 was crowned Emperor Menelik II, started his conquest of Arussi land. In 1886 he was at last successful in his attempt to put the Arussi Gallas under his supremacy. After the conquest all land was taken by the conquerors and was made the property of the state. Part of this land, one third or some times one-fourth was given by the state as private land to persons who were judged to be leaders of the communities. They were given the title balabbat and were made responsible of collecting taxes and to hand them over to the Government. This was a very radical

1) Lipsky, 1962: 15f
reform as all land up to that time had been the property of the different clans living in the area. Among the Arussi Gallas, as among other Galla groups in Ethiopia, the social organization was based upon the gada-system, the age-class system now to its essential parts abandoned by the people in the area. According to this system a leader was just to hold his office for eight years. After that period he was succeeded by another one. This created great problems for the Amharas who got difficulties when trying to build up a stable administrative sub-structure. Many of the new leaders chosen were opportunists who saw their chances to benefit from the Amharic conquest and they tried to strengthen their positions by granting part of their land to relatives and followers. The position as a balabbat is inherited within the family, which makes it impossible for the people to elect a person in whom they have confidence and who by different reasons is judged to bear the qualities of a leader.

Imigrations from the 19th century

Today the Chilalo awraja is not a homogeneous Arussi Galla area. Big groups of other Gallas and of Amharas are found there. Also this mixing of tribal groups has a historical background of quite a recent date.

The conception the Arussi Gallas have about their relations to the Shoa Gallas and the Arabs has been recorded through an interview with an informant in the Wajji area. It might be of interest to get an idea about their own belief and sense of reality.

"In the olden days people from three different tribes decided to live together. These three tribes were the Arussi Gallas, Shoa Gallas and the Arabs. They chose a gorge which was situated close to a big Oda-tree. While they were living there they made a law which they called Bokou law.

After a time starvation came to these peoples. They discussed between themselves what they should do. Along with starvation they were also suffering from scabies. After a long discussion they decided that they should choose somebody among themselves and pray to God through him. They came out of the gorge and set down under the Oda-tree and prayed to God through the chosen man. That man was called Birmagy. After some days the starvation and scabies disappeared. But instead of that another difficulty was created. Almost all their cattle were dying from unknown diseases. Again they chose somebody through whom they could pray to God. They went out of the gorge to under the Oda-tree. They called the person whom they had chosen Horata. At the end of the prayer they saw a big bird with white-spotted head landing on the edge of the gorge. When they saw that all of them went to the gorge and sat down on its edge watching. After a while they saw white-spotted cattle coming out of the gorge. They thanked God for the cattle but still they wanted to pray so that they would have a long life together with their cattle. Another man by the name Bultuma was chosen. They prayed through Bultuma. Then they lived for a pretty long time but another difficulty faced them and that was the lack of rain. So again they decided that they

1) Haberland, 1963:419
should pray through somebody as they had done before. They called the
chosen man Robale. They prayed through Robale and got rain but at the
same time they decided to pray through a chosen person called Bahra so
that they could live a happy life the rest of their time.

They lived for a long period together in the gorge without any trouble
but later on they wanted to move to another place. God made a bridge
across the gorge for them and they moved without any difficulty. They
reached a river called Karata on the other side of the Chilalo mountain
(east of Chilalo). Then they came to the Awash River (where at present
the Wonji Sugar Estate is situated.). There they were separated. Those
left on the other side of Awash (the northern side) called themselves
Shoa Gallas and those left on this side of Awash (the southern side)
were called the Arussi Gallas. The rest, the Arabs, went to their
country.

Nowadays, when the Shoa Gallas are celebrating the gada feast, most of
them go down to the Awash River. Also the Arussi Gallas were going
there to celebrate the gada feast. This was before Mohammadanism arrived
at a place called Gallow. But now all this is forgotten because (almost)
all the Arussi Gallas are following the prophet Adam1) and have become
Moslems!'

After his victory over the Arussi Gallas, Menelik granted large areas
of land south of Asella to the Gulalles, a Shoa Galla tribe living
around Addis Ababa. This was a reward for the services that the tribes­
men had rendered Menelik in his conquest of the Arussi Gallas. At least
one-third of all Gulalles moved from their traditional land to the new
land assigned for them in Arussi. Among them were the oldest and most
important families and they formed the leading group of the people
down in that part of Arussi 2).

The immigration of the Shoa Gallas started severe conflicts between them
and the Arussi Gallas. According to information from Wajji actual war­
fare became the fact during some years about thirty years ago. In this
war the Amharas who also had settled in the Arussiland made common
cause with the Shoa Gallas in fighting the Arussis. A lot of people
from both sides were killed before the Government put an end to the
war and succeeded in making peace in the area. Memories from these
fights have been told by two Shoa Gallas:

"During the occupation of the Italians and when our king went to
another country, the Arussi Gallas and the Shoa Gallas killed each
other. Before that time the Arussi Gallas had abused and rejected
the Shoa Gallas. The Shoa Gallas chased them down to the Kola land (low­
land). One rainy season, for four months, they (the Arussi Gallas)
were short of food, clothes, shelter and (they) were starving very
much.

1) See: p734
2) Haberland, 1963:419
Before the Italians came and when our king still was in Ethiopia the Shoa Gallas were scared of the Arussi Gallas in the same way as they were scared of the king. But later on the war at Ogaden started . Everybody went to Ogaden; everybody, Christians and Moslems, went to the war together. The young Arussi Gallas who were fed with butter and milk were many in number and they were so strong that they could smash down any Shoa Galla without any difficulty. They had also heard from somewhere that the Italians would defeat the Ethiopians and conquer Ethiopia. They had this in their ears. So every evening they gathered to have an ider. (in order to discuss what action to be taken). This started their fights with the Shoa Gallas . They stole sheep, killed people, cut or stabbed people near the river. Now our men (Shoa Gallas) became afraid and said: "What will you do, God, with us?" Later on,.......................... it was said that there was an old lady, a strong kallu, and there was a man called Fitawrari Haile Selassie Guracha. The old lady had a spirit.

They (the Arussi Gallas) made a kind of war against the women of the Amharas, beating them taking what they could get from them and destroying everything. It was the Arussis who destroyed. The husbands of these women were at Ogaden. At this time the Shoa Gallas went to the old lady to ask for shelter thinking that the Arussi Gallas would not attack then there. She accepted them and said that she would take all Christians to the priest. After they (the Shoa Gallas) had gone to her house, they (the Arussi Gallas) made a fence and surrounded her (the old lady's compound). ....... She (the old lady) was a liar and she was on the side of the Arussi Gallas. She just gave them (the Shoa Gallas) one by one to the Arussi Galla. He (the arussi Galla) said: "Aya (mother), I am eager to have right (= to kill and be honoured)." So she just took one (Shoa Galla) and gave him. He killed, cut and went away. Then another Arussi Galla (came and) said: "Aya, I want a wife." She just took one Shoa Galla woman and handed her over to the Arussi Galla. So it went on like that for a while but there were some strong Shoa Gallas among these ones (to be given away). Thus they just ruined the fence and disappeared. Some (of them) run to the mountains. It was said that there were many strong men from Meta and Gulalle. After this (event) the burnt (wounded) men of Fitawrari Haile Selassie came (back) from Ogaden ........ When they came they started. They said: "Hold it, hold it." They also went to the old lady. God pays the blood of the innocent people and they destroyed (her). Running from there they started to come around the Chilalo mountain. Those who were at Borou started to come. At this time even our people living around this mountain (the Galama) at Chebety started to play (sing). They said: "Welcome".

"From this example (it can be said that) the crime they committed those days does not seem right to us and now we come from different places........"

"Well, I started this talk, Aba Tura. When I reached the word Chebety you took it from me. At this place Chebety, at that time we were children, many people were gathered together and were playing (singing). At

1) The Italians attacked Ethiopia not only from the north and east but also from the south. The war in the south started at Walwal on December 5, 1934 and reached its highest peak in September 1935.
2) "cut", in this connection, most probably means that the Arussi Gallas deprived the Shoa Gallas of their male pride.
3) See: P. 39
4) Those who had not participated in the war.
that time, even if they killed us, we cannot differentiate, we were
children. So those Arussi Gallas, as if they were gathered around the
the Arch, they were assembled and played (song): "Ha, ho, ho......"
They were at Malatou, you see, when we reached home, "Wake, give us
permission, let us cut them once", (said the Arussi Gallas). This was
told to us by one old man in our area....A very old man. When they
said this, Wake called then to (his house) and said:"You people! What
have the Shoa Gallas done to you except teaching you to ride on nice
horses, ride on nice mules, feeding you good injera, teaching your
women to prepare nice tella, (what evil have they done) except not allowing
us to eat and drink with them? What wrong have they done against you?"
He told them to leave them (Shoa Gallas) alone (leave them in peace).
They said no. Then he (Wake) said: "Let your spears be spears of death
and let Shoa's spears be sharp". Like this Wake cursed them. Wake is
was) an Arussi Galla himself. He was the balabbat, the father of the
country. It was his (own) group that was against him. After this, on
the third day, Grazmach Eerhanu came with his Sidasa (Amhara) people
from far away. When he came he did not say anything. There were people
called (the) Tosiva Ayana family. He went and caught them first......
There were some young men there. They just ran away......to escape. These
young men who were making themselves big man just disappeared......it
was that day those boasting people became neglected. That day was the
day when the Arussi Galla became subjugated and lost their power......".

The immigration of the Shoa Gallas into the Chilalo awraja has continued
since that time. Especially during the Italian occupation a lot of
families settled down there but now when most land of any value on the
western side of the Chilalo and Galama mountains has been distributed,
the intensity of immigration has decreased. Today people settling down
in the area mostly become share-croppers or tenants and very few of
them can get land of their own.

Apart from the Shoa Gallas living in the area there are also many
Amharas who have moved in. Also they got land grants by the government.
This stands especially for the area north of Assiha. Otherwise the
Amharas are mainly living in the market villages where they together
with Gurages and Arabs have established themselves as traders. Others
are officials in the administration, teachers, etc.

The result of the immigrations into the Chilalo awraja has been an ever
increasing shortage of grazing land. More and more land has been brought
under cultivation. Landowners who earlier let large parts of their land
lay fallow are now renting it out to new-comers or to people from the
area. For the animal production this has meant a constant decrease in
yields and qualities, especially as the farmers still keep large herds
of cattle and sheep.

Christianity and Islam.

Besides the tribal divisions there are also a division in religion
between the peoples. Both Christianity and Islam are represented.
Generally it can be said that the Arussi Gallas profess themselves
followers of Mohammad. Only a few of them are of the Christian faith.
The Shoa Gallas and the Amharas on the other hand are mainly belonging to the Orthodox Church. For them the church and the saints are not only the centre of religious life but has also, as will be shown later, become a centre of social relations. As such the associations connected with the church or the saints have become substitutes for previous social groups based on kinship.

The Orthodox (Coptic) Church is today the established church of Ethiopia. Christianity can be traced very early in the history of the country. Already before the sixth century information is given in the annals about the Christian movement in the Axumite kingdom. Christianity made progress and King Ezana, who reigned in the fourth century, was converted into Christianity. Christianity became the official religion and also the accepted religion of the main part of the population within the kingdom. This was between A.D. 330-340 and since this time the Christian doctrine has spread all over the present Empire.

The carriers of Christianity have been the Amharas and the Tigre people who steadily moved southwards. At the same time the Abyssinian kings gradually lost their supremacy over the northern part of Tigre which became occupied by the Moslems and also by the Beja tribes coming from the north. The nucleus of the Abyssinian kingdom has been the former central provinces or kingdoms Amhara, Gojjam, Shoa, Lasta and southern Tigre. From the Middle Ages these districts have substantially been Christian and Amharic speaking, conditions that are still predominant. However, the Galla tribes invaded some of the areas and established themselves here and there. This was an occurrence that should prove to be very negative for the culture of the northern provinces. The Gallas with their less developed culture were dominating some of the areas and the culture of the north with its development in different respects was retarding.

During the fourteenth to the seventeenth century the Abyssinian kings had for short periods succeeded in gaining sovereignty over the Hamitic peoples and the Galla tribes living in the southern highlands. Among these people Christianity was also introduced and spread along with other elements belonging to the culture of the conquerors. A large part of the Galla peoples was converted and among them also the Arussi and Shoa Gallas. We know that churches were built in Arussi land as far down as in the present Bale province.

1) Lipsky: 1962:7
2) Lipsky: 1962:8
3) The former province of Amhara was situated south of the upper course of the Tekesse river its area extending southwards to the border of Shoa. Lasta on the other hand had the upper course of the Tekesse river as its southern boundary and was bounded by Tigre in the north. (Map in James Bruce's Travels to discover the source of the Nile, First published in 1790 (Edinburge Univ. Press 1964)
The rise of Islam became a turning point in the history of Abyssinia and also for the dissemination of Christianity. In the beginning the contacts between the Christian kingdom and the Islamicic powers were of a friendly nature but later on during the jihad their relations changed.

During rather recent times Islam expanded westwards and the Somali missionaries have succeeded in converting the Arussi Gallas from their earlier beliefs. Instead of going on a pilgrimage to the aba muda, who held a strong position in the gada system, the Arussi Gallas today as faithful Moslems should pay visits to the tomb of Sheik Hussein which is situated in the eastern part of Arussiland - now in the northern Bale province close to the border of Arussi. However, it should be noted that even if being Moslems the Arussi Gallas still stick to many beliefs from earlier days.

The infiltration of Islam into the country started as early as at the end of the seventh century. At that time some Boja tribes began to swarm in from the north over the Eritrean plateau. They came into contact with Moslem Arab merchants. First it was mostly the coastal areas that were influenced but the pressure from Islam grew stronger. Already in the beginning of the 15th century the Moslems conquered Somaliland and by doing that they succeeded in encircling Ethiopia. The Galla tribes expanding northwards became to a great extent allied with the Moslems. This was partly a reflexion of their enmity to the Amharas and the Orthodox Church.

The Italian occupation

During the Italian occupation, 1936-1941, many public works were started and completed by the conquerors. Also in the Arussi province such works were started. To be able to check the conquered areas the Italians constructed roads which many of them have been destroyed today depending on poor maintenance. A road from Nazareth, close to the Shoa-Arussi border, to Asella was constructed and from Asella a dry-weather road with bridge-crossings over the rivers was built down to Bekoji in the southern part of the Arussi province. The road running to Bekoji is now destroyed and only fragments of the stone-bridges can be seen. However, a new road has been built on the initiative of former Deputy Governor-General. On this road passenger traffic by small busses has been started. This building of a road running through the whole Chilalo arra in north-southly direction has meant that the rural population has got the possibility of rapid transportation and through this an access to a more continuous contact with areas earlier too far away and too difficult for them to reach.

The seed improvement and multiplication station north of Asella, close to the village of Simba, is also a remnant of the Italian occupation. After the defeat of the Italians the Ethiopian Government through the Ministry of Agriculture took over the activities started and has now become able to supply the farmers living around the station with different kind of services.

1) The aba muda is originally the highest ritual leader within a larger Galla area to whom the reigning gada class went to get its power authorized. Muda means "smearing" and the smearing was performed by the aba muda (the father of the smearing, who was one of the great kalus). Some people in Wajji are mixing up the meaning of aba muda and say that it is any big tree, river or mountain in which the divinity is manifested. At such a place the people are worshipping and sacrificing butter.
The Italian occupation did not mean any radical change for the rural population in any respect. Production methods and other parts of their daily life were not affected even though the Italians promised to help the farmers to improve their existing conditions. However, this promise did not come into effect and it is first through the activities of mainly the Ministries of Agriculture and Community Development that some programmes have been started.

**ADMINISTRATION AND LEADERSHIP**

Leadership and organization in the rural society

Before a project is started it is of great importance to know about the existing forms of leadership in the area selected. These forms of leadership might be divided into two main categories; one constituted by the formally recognized leaders as an extension under the woreda Governors, one by informal leaders selected by the people.

A. Formal leaders

Earlier the province was sub-divided not only into awrajas (sub-provinces) and woredas (districts) but also into meketil woredas (sub-districts). However, in 1966 the meketil woredas were cancelled and a new division into woredas took place. The Chilalo awraja was earlier divided into five woredas but has since the re-division got 11 instead. Some of the meketil woreda Governors were at the same time promoted to woreda Governors.

The province and its sub-divisions are headed by one governor each. The provincial Governor is the direct representative of the Emperor and the Ethiopian Government and takes his orders from these authorities. In his turn the Governor-General extends orders to the awraja governors who if necessary forward them to the woreda Governors. At the same time the Governor-General can give direct orders to the woreda Governors or to anybody else in the administrative hierarchy. All the governors are Government employees and as such they receive their salaries from the Government.

The governors are also the ones who are enforcing the laws. In this respect they are supported by the people. The woreda Governors in particular are the ones dealing directly with the people. To get information about crimes committed and to be able to punish the criminals in accordance with the Penal Code of Ethiopia the woreda Governors assemble people from areas where crimes have been committed. This is done when serious crimes have been reported. The assembly is called afarsata and it is held in the area from where the crime is reported.

The Governor system represents a form of leadership which is of highly marked authoritarian type. The people receiving orders and information from them look at them as mere representatives of the Government and do not count them as members of their local communities. The attitude of the people towards them are generally of a negative character and the people expect through them increased taxes and extra duties.
In each woreda there is a woreda centre where the woreda Governor has his office. At the centre also the woreda police is stationed together with the woreda court. For Tiyo woreda the centre is in Asella.

The local leaders under the woreda Governor are the balabbats, chicka shum and golmasas. Of these titles the balabbat title is lifelong and inherited by one of the balabbat’s sons, generally the eldest. One fact that to a certain extent determines the choice within the family is the ability of reading and writing of the candidate. As has been mentioned in the historical review the balabbat derives his position from earlier events in connection with the Amharic conquest. The number of balabbats under each woreda differs as there is no fixed size of a balabbat area. According to information collected original balabbat areas have been divided between the heirs of a balabbat. The number of balabbat areas in Tiyo woreda is at present eight. In Ato Bedasso Wake’s balabbat area there is presently a dispute going on between the balabbat and a stepbrother of his concerning the right of the stepbrother to be a balabbat over a part of the area. The origin of the dispute is that the stepbrother states that the father of the present balabbat before he died gave part of his area to his stepson. As there are no documents written the dispute has not been solved yet. The power struggle goes on and the combatants try to get witnesses on their sides.

The income of a balabbat was earlier derived from part of the area that he was administering. From 67-68 gashas of land the balabbat received about 5th.15:- per gasha yearly. Nowadays this is not practised any more. The Government abolished this right of the balabbats and according to information obtained in Wajji the balabbats do neither get any salary nor any income from land other than from that they themselves own.

The tasks of a balabbat differ according to orders from the superior authority. Apart from being responsible for the collection of taxes the balabbat also among other duties has to report demographic changes and participate in census work.

Each balabbat area is sub-divided into a varying number of chicka shum areas. The chicka shum can be responsible for about seventy gashas. The chicka shum is appointed through the casting of lot between all persons of good character within the particular chicka shum area. The appointed chicka shum holds his office for one year and he will not be re-elected until all the heads of household have had their turn in performing the task. It is the duty of the chicka shum to see to that all disputes in the area are settled and he is also the one who shall report to the police if any serious crime has been committed which cannot be settled locally. Besides this he also has to help the balabbat to see to that people are paying their taxes and it is his duty to take to court anyone who tries to escape.

The chicka shum does not get any salary and he does not receive any other official reward.

In performing his duties the chicka shum often has difficulties in dealing with the more serious matters. However, his officially recognized relation to the police is a great help to him and it often happens that policemen are sent to aid him.
Besides being divided into chicka shum areas the balabbat area is also sub-divided into golmasa areas which are smaller in size than the chicka shum areas. The golmasa areas in Wajji differ in size from approximately eighteen to thirty gashas. The size of the area is set in accordance with the population density.

The golmasa institution is of very recent date and has been created by orders from the Governor-General in 1965. The main idea behind creating this additional local authority was to get a better protection for the rural population against thieves and other criminals roaming around. Thus the main task of the golmasa is to obtain information about all strangers entering the area and to try finding out who possibly may be an offender. At the same time the golmasa has the right and duty to communicate the people's thoughts and problems to the local authority, the balabbat, a task that they often have difficulties to perform. In Wajji area, however, there do not seem to be any disturbances between the balabbat on the one side and the golmasas and the people on the other side. It is also the duty of the golmasas to help the balabbat in collecting all sorts of information in the area and to assist the balabbat in extending orders from the woreda office.

Like the balabbats and the chicka shums, the golmasas do not receive any salary or other official rewards. They are elected by the heads of household in the area and their offices are running for four years according to some informants. A golmasa might be re-elected if found a good representative of the people. If he is not accepted by the woreda Governor the people have to elect another person. However, the golmasa is always elected by the people and cannot be appointed by the woreda Governor.

B. Informal leaders

If the officials down to the balabbats are representing a system similar to feudalism the chicka shums and especially the golmasas represent a more or less democratic system let be that they do not have any official council balancing their decisions. To get a real picture of the situation on the countryside it is also necessary to mention something about the informal leaders who will be found, especially in the Galla dominated areas. Even if these leaders, have no official position their influence on the common farmer is very strong. Very often they go together to form some kind of an informal council or pressure group. In accordance with the known feelings of the community members they discuss different matters and their decisions, recommendations or petitions are then communicated to the balabbat or to the woreda Governor. The golmasas, and sometimes also the chicka shum, are participating in the sessions of the shimagelewoch as they are already appointed representatives of the people and have an established contact with the higher authority, mainly the balabbat.

However, the term shimagele is applied in a wider context as any person temporarily can be appointed to act as such; technically any grown up, head of household, can be appointed. Those who are frequently called upon to help their fellow-farmers solve problems and who are known as experienced men and good farmers, are the ones who form the informal
council. They must know the morals of the community, what is right and wrong, and they must have a strong conciliatory capacity never taking anybody's side when trying to settle a dispute. A shimagle does not actually have to be an old man as long as he is fulfilling these requirements.

When a dispute occurs between some persons, a group of men is appointed to arbitrate. The number of the shimageles differs depending on the seriousness of the matter. The shimageles start with hearing the opposing parties, one party at a time. When they have got the information, they discuss the matter between themselves and then call witnesses if such ones are available. The disputing parties may then be called again and heard once more and intricate questions are put to them. After further discussion between the shimageles the two parties are called again, this time together, and the shimageles recapitulate the case and give their opinion about the responsibilities of the disputing parties and they also give their judgement. They then try to make the parties accept the judgement and if they agree the case is closed and the parties and the shimageles celebrate the reconciliation with some drinks and further talks about the case and the mistakes of both parties involved. If the parties refuse to accept the judgement of the shimageles they are free to take the case to court.

Of course the cases taken care of by the shimageles are of minor kind and theft or murder is always taken to the police for investigation in order to be submitted to the court. However, the people in the area always try to solve even land disputes among themselves and it is only when the parties involved cannot agree that the cases are reported to the police.

Also the police when coming across any dispute of minor kind will try to reconcile between the parties. This is done after a hearing is carried out. The police officer on duty decides if the case should be reported or not and he may suggest that shimageles are called and the dispute settled in peace. This is done when fighting has occurred at the market place or if cheating has been tried.

The value of the shimageles are always expressed among the people and besides the animal tales, stories are often told in the evenings in which the experience and cleverness of the shimageles are pronounced and praised. Some of these stories have been collected and one of them runs as follows:

"There once was a man who owned a very fine horse. He was very fond of the animal and always fed it at home. One day the man went on a journey for one day. In the morning before he left his house he ordered his wife to give the horse water and to feed it nicely. The wife accepted the order and gave water and hay to the horse. Late in the afternoon she let the horse out so that it could get fresh air and stretch its legs for a while. The horse started to graze around the house and then went on its way down to the river.

At the same time the man was returning home and he met his horse close to the river. The man got very angry as he thought that his wife had disobeyed his orders not giving water and food to the horse. He took the horse back to his house and at home he started to quarrel with his wife. The wife explained the matter for her husband but he did not believe her. He beat her and kicked her out of his house. Then she went to the neighbours and told them her story. Shimageles were called and they started to investigate the case. The wife told the shimageles her story
and then they went to her husband and asked him why he had kicked her out. He told them the reason.

When the shimageles had heard the parties they discussed the matter for a while and then passed their judgement. They said that none of the two had done anything wrong. The wife had fulfilled the orders given her by her husband. She had then felt pity for the horse to be kept in-doors and in order to let him get some fresh air she had let him out. On the other hand the husband had the right to think that his wife had not obeyed his orders as he saw the horse heading for the river. So the whole case was just a matter of misunderstanding. Thus the shimageles made the man and his wife to reconcile. That was the value of the shimageles. If there had not been any shimageles the couple could have remained separated for ever".

This is a typical story which is told to the young people by the elders. As all other stories of the same type it tells that instead of opposing each other people should go to the shimageles in order to make peace. In the local community where people are obliged to resort to each other in their work and struggle to survive, where there are few possibilities to get any help from outside, it is a necessity that peace and order are kept by themselves.

It must be judged as very important for the development worker acting in the local community to know who the informal leaders are before the work is started. If good relations can be established with them, if thorough explanations are given them about the work, there will through their influence be greater possibilities to engage the individual farmers in the planned programmes. In Wajji area it has become possible for the investigation team to carry out delicate investigations after that thorough explanations have been given to the golmasas and the recognized shimageles of the area, who in their turn have told the individual farmers to co-operate in giving information needed as a background for the future programmes. They have helped in arranging big meetings with the farmers thus making it possible to communicate with a larger number of people.

The local leaders are very much aware of their positions and are eager to be the first ones to be informed about planned activities. Their new knowledge will make them even more important a fact that might turn an obstacle for the project work when they in the future will lose their importance as communication links and new leaders in the form of model farmers will establish themselves.

Law and legal procedure

Until very recently, up to the promulgation of the penal Code of 1930, there was no unifying written legal system in Ethiopia. In the formal Code three different main law systems were then entered to create the basic foundation, "the Fetha Negast, for the Coptic Christian population of the ancient provinces; the Moslem law for the population of Harar and the coastal areas of the Red Sea; and finally the customary law, for the other regions of the country which are considered more "African"
The new law was proclaimed on November 2, 1930, on the occasion of the crowning of the present Emperor. In the new law definitions of different crimes and their respective punishment are written. At the same time the Code softened the penalties. The Code got a continental touch and further improvements have been made during the year.

For the people living in Arussi the new legislation meant a further modification of their customary law related to the gada system and to the Orthodox Church. The people were now more restricted to follow the rules set up by the official authorities which in many respects have meant that today a higher degree of security and equality before the law have been gained by the rural population.

Of the different crimes committed on the countryside murder, robbery and stealing are considered as the most serious ones. In these cases the people will not try to solve the problems themselves by using their own arbitrators, but will report the crime to the woreda police. On the other hand disputes about land and offences of minor kind are first scrutinized by the animageles chosen by the people themselves before they unsolved are submitted to the police for investigation and at last for judgement by the woreda court. However, although the people themselves try to solve most disputes also concerning land, about 85-90 per cent of all court cases are reported to concern land disputes.

A farmer who, in spite of knowing the proper borders of his land, cultivates part of his neighbour's land, will be reported to the police if he is not willing to abandon the land illegally taken by him. When reporting to the police, the proper owner will also bring at least three witnesses who will give their testimonies saying that the owner's statement is correct. Later on the police will order the chicks shum of the area to bring the offensive person to the police station where he will be questioned. If he agrees that the owner and the witnesses are right in their statements he will be fined and then free to go. If he on the other hand denies the rightness of what has been stated against him by the other party he will be released after calling on one guarantor who will see to that the accused will be present when he is called the next time.

In the meantime the police will prepare all reports collected concerning the case and they will submit all written documents to the woreda court. Through the chicks shum all the previous witnesses are called again together with the parties involved in the case. The witnesses are to be present at the court when the case is brought up and they have to give their statements once more. If the court after the hearing finds the accused guilty of the crime, it will pass its judgement. The accused person will then either be put in jail or he will be fined a certain amount of money. The land is also restored to the owner. The judgement passed by the court will be in accordance with the Imperial Ethiopian Civil Code.

Land disputes can be caused by different reasons. A few of them has been recorded in Wajji. One rather common reason is caused by the inheritance

1) Lowenstein, 1967:57
2) —, 1967:59
rules which say that all children shall inherit a dead father. During the last generations this has meant that a constant fragmentation of the land is going on. When at last the farm units will be too small to give enough support to each heir it might be decided by all the heirs that only one of them shall have the land. The others might not be interested in cultivating the small units given to them and their rights are then given to, for instance, the eldest brother. The rest of the heirs then leave the area for a market village or a town if they are not renting a piece of land in another area. It is now up to the one who got all of the land to invest in it and he also bears the sole right to take all of the yields without sharing with or compensate his brothers and sisters.

However, an arrangement like the one described might create problems in the future when the heirs of all the brothers and sisters suddenly find out that there is a piece of land of which they according to the inheritance law should have a part each. Of this reason they might start a court case to acquire their proper rights in the land of their ancestors.

One case recorded in Wajji gives an example of how land disputes are caused by inheritance rules based on the traditional kinship system conflicting with the new inheritance law. In this case a young Arussi Galla widow tries to get two young, unmarried men as part-owners of the land she has "inherited" from her dead husband. She is trying to prove that they are brothers of her dead husband having the same father and mother. This is said to be wrong by a half-brother to the dead man.

The widow's version of the case says that her late husband's father, her father-in-law, had two legal wives. With his first wife he got three sons, the widow's late husband and the two young men, while with his second wife he got Ato X who is now opposing the widow. "According to the Arussi Galla tradition a man shall inherit his dead brother's wife in order to inherit the land. However, this land will be given to the dead man's children when they are grown up and the dead man's brother can only make profit from the land up to that date. In accordance with this rule Ato X wanted to marry me to get hold of the land. His reason is that he has got sisters who are now married and want land for themselves. Ato X made them start this case against us (the widow and the two young men) saying that they (the sisters) have not got their (legal) share of their father's land. We say: you will get from Ato X's share, not from ours."

The widow has told Ato X that she is not willing to marry him and she has also refused to do so in front of the woreda court. The judgement of the court was passed in her favour. However, the widow says,"the case that is carried out at present is not the actual land dispute. Ato X purposely took his cattle to graze on the land we claim to be ours. We took Ato X to the court where he stated that he was grazing his cattle on his own land. The court gave us a new appointment for the case."
Ato X on the other hand gives the following story which he says he has also given to the court:

"My brother, who died some years ago, and me have the same father but different mothers. In addition our father also got two daughters with my mother (i.e. with his second wife). The four of us (Ato X, his two sisters and the dead half-brother) got two and one quarter of a gasha which we inherited from our father. According to a verbal agreement the land was originally divided between my half-brother and me. He got one and one quarter of a gasha and I got the remaining one gasha.

After that my half-brother died leaving his wife alone with four small children. Now, in the same mona in which Woizero Y (the widow) is living, two young men are living. They were born by my half-brother's mother some years after the death of our father. These two persons do not have any legal relation to us. When I heard that they want to inherit my half-brother's land I tried to get allies and thus informed my sisters telling them to go to court and report that they are born to our father and mother and have the right to get their shares of our land. Thereafter they brought the case against me saying that being the boss of our land I should give them their shares. Then also Woizero Y brought her two friends whom she is claiming to be her dead husband's real brothers. I asked her to prove that they are born to our father but she failed in doing that."

"Against my word Woizero Y said (in front of the court): "for 21 years Ato X and my late husband paid the tax for this land independently of each other according to the verbal share they got from their father. Being the legal wife of my late husband I should get the share that my husband got". To this Ato X and his allies replied: "we never deny that our opponent was the legal wife of our brother, but this does not give her the right of the land, especially not as she has married a man outside our family." Ato X agrees that he took his cattle to graze on the disputed land and was taken to court by the widow. However, the woreda court passed their judgement in Ato X's favour. The widow and her party then made a plea to the awraja court and up to now there is no final solution about the rights in the land".

Although a new inheritance law has been issued (see chapter 9) it is obvious that the people are not fully aware of or ready to accept the changes imposed on them. Ato X in the related case argues that his brother's widow should marry him according to tradition a fact that she refuses to accept. However, the nucleus of the case has changed into the question whether the two young men are legal sons to the widow's father-in-law or not. In a society where no proper registration of people born and dead is undertaken there obviously are great chances for people to start disputes of this nature. There is no actual means of confirming the proper dates when the father-in-law died and when the two young men were born.

The farmers in Wajji always complain about the ability of the thieves to escape justice and for a long period nobody dared to report people who were suspected. As they know that the thieves through bribes have a great chance to be let free the farmers are afraid that they will be even worse as they want to take revenge for what has been done to them. The farmers are complaining of this bribe system but when they themselves try to reach a certain goal they do not hesitate to use the same method. In connection with these complaints the following story has been reported.
During the rainy season some farmers from Wajji move with their cattle to the lowland where they can find better grazing facilities. One farmer went with his whole family and left his house locked up. When he returned after the rains were over he found his house empty. All his belongings were stolen together with the door of the house. He and some of his friends immediately started to investigate the case and finally they found the door with one man in the vicinity. They immediately reported to the police and it was made clear that the accused man was the thief. He was to be put into prison but he bribed two of the key persons at the woreda office with some hundred dollars and was released. The man from whom he had stolen the goods had some time before this happened lost his horse. Also this one was stolen but nobody could find it. After the thief was let free, however, also this case was solved. The thief was sitting at a tejbet (a bar serving the local wine or mead called tej) Then his former accuser entered the bar with some of his friends. The thief by that time pretty intoxicated started to shout at his antagonist and asked if he knew from where he had got his money for drinks. He then answered the question himself by saying that he earlier had stolen the other man's horse, sold it and bought a pair of oxen for the money. Now he had sold the oxen and was spending his money on drinks and other luxuries. Once more he was taken to the police and also this time it proved that he had committed the crime. This time he was jailed up at once but also this time he succeeded in getting free.

According to the police, crimes like robbery and stealing are most common after the harvest. At this time people who are on the wrong side of the law see their possibilities to make a fine haul. During the same time fights at market places and at other places are most common as the farmers at this time have money enough to buy themselves drinks.

The police appreciates very much the formal leaders found on the countryside. Both balabbats, golmasas and chicka shums are counted as necessary links for the work of the police. Without them it will be difficult for the police to find reported criminals.

The afarsata

One institution used by the woreda Governor and the police in their contact with the people is the afarsata. An afarsata is summoned when a crime like theft or murder has been committed and the people and their local leaders have failed in finding the criminal. When the case is reported to the woreda police a message is sent from the woreda office that all people in a certain geographical area shall assemble to help solving the problem. The borders of the geographical areas may differ according to how many people are thought being able to give their testimonies in the case or may know who the criminal is. The participation of the farmers is compulsory and those not present may run the risk of being suspected. However, a farmer may send a message through the leader (golmasa) of his area that he cannot be present at the afarsata on a certain day. For his absence he must pay a one dollar fine, this to prevent him from being absent. As afarsatas are often held during times when one of the main agricultural activities occupies the days of the people in the area and also lasts for several days, maybe even weeks, many farmers have to stay at home working on their farms. This might mean a loss of several dollars for each farmer. However, some of
them are trying to bribe their local leader so that he is not reporting their absence. The money collected through the fines will partly go to the woreda treasury and partly to the Governor.

The Governor himself is present at the meetings of the afarsata together with some of his subordinated woreda officials and an armed guard from the woreda police. He is himself chairing the meetings.

It is the responsibility of the local leaders (balabbats, chicka shums and golmasas) to present a complete list of all people to be present from their respective areas. Everyday's meeting starts with a calling over of all those who shall be present, a procedure which takes long time but will reveal who are absent and thus will be fined. After this the Governor is making a speech to the assembly urging the participants to give all facts they know about the case and to reveal whom they are suspecting of the crime. After that people from each area go together and form smaller groups in which discussions are held about the matter. Everyone is expected to give his opinion and the facts collected in this way are later forwarded to the Governor by the shimageles. When at last any suspected person is found he is arrested by the police and taken to the woreda prison, witnesses are heard and the court case is prepared. Often minor crimes, which are not the main concern of the afarsata, will be revealed during the sessions and the culprits are taken by the police.

When theft has occurred, the thief not found, and the stolen goods not restored, the people in the area might be ordered to or will volentarily compensate the petitioner of his loss.

Registration of land ownership

After the Amharic conquest of Arussi land the Government imposed new laws and administrative units were put up everywhere to execute the governmental decrees. The land had earlier belonged to the different Arussi Galla clans but was confiscated by the conquerors. One third of this land was later redistributed to the supposed local leaders among the Arussi Gallas and the rest have during the years been granted to the Church, to veteran soldiers and administrative personnel while part of it has been sold to private persons. At present all land of any value has been distributed in one way or another within the Chilalo awraja. What is left is land that can be classified as impediment. Also on the lowland where the malaria mosquitos ravage some land might be left for future distribution.

Nowadays all land is registered. The records are kept with the provincial representation of the Ministry of Finance. In this register all land is entered gasha by gasha with the owners of each gasha or unit, be it less than one gasha. In the register also the class of land is indicated whether it is fertile, semi-fertile or poor. The taxes are paid according to those classes, the landowner being responsible for that the taxes are paid to the authorities. In the register also the share-croppers or tenants living on and cultivating the land shall be entered. However, as a general judgement it can be stated that the land register, together with the census forms taken, suffer from a severe deficiency in that the records are not kept up to date. Sales and
inheritance of land always occur but this is not accurately entered. This makes it impossible to get a clear picture of the real land situation. It is very common that a former landowner will continue to be written as the owner of a piece of land which since long time has passed over to another owner. The owner stated in the register might be dead and inherited by his sons and daughters or an owner may have sold the whole or part of his property to other persons. It has been recorded in Wajji that people said to be share-croppers or tenants in the official register now have turned owners of land without any notice being made in the official records. The same experience has been made concerning the census recently made in the province. Of course, these existing conditions have a negative influence on the judgements about the existing land tenure situation and the possibility to get a fair knowledge about the proportions between landowners and share-croppers or tenants. One reason why new entries are not made in the records when land is transferred by one reason or another is, that the new owner of the land does not want to risk a new classification of the land into a higher class and thus get increased taxes. Otherwise, heirs or people selling and buying land are supposed to report the inheritance or transaction to the woreda. An application should be submitted to the court. When land is inherited the case should be announced in the newspaper, a notice that seldom reaches the common farmer on the countryside. Through this action any person claiming his right to share the land gets the possibility to get his share if it is proved legal that he shall inherit. A period of time shall pass before the heirs are called to the woreda court and their shares are registered. The woreda court then gives the heirs a paper that shall be presented at the land register department of the Ministry's of Finance provincial office. There the land register is adjusted and kept up to date.

People who are selling and buying land are supposed to report at the woreda court but no announcement is made in the newspaper. Also in this case the woreda court, finding the transaction legal, issues a paper which shall be presented to the land register.

Taxation procedures

The taxation procedures and the amount of tax to be paid by each individual farmer have recently been changed. In November, 1967, a new proclamation was issued which will be implemented as soon as possible. The new legislation means a radical change of the old system. The landowners will not be middlemen any longer between their tenants or share-croppers and the tax-collectors. Instead the tenants and share-croppers will pay their taxes directly according to the amount of taxes fixed by the local taxation authority. Up to present time the share-croppers have had to pay asrat and mar taxes. These taxes were handed over to the landowner at the same time as the sharing of the products from the land rented by the share-cropper took place. Asrat, a word derived from the Amharic word asir (ten), means that the share-cropper paid one tenth of his yields to the landowner. The land-owner in turn handed it over to the authorities.

Mar tax was also paid by the share-cropper to the landowner. Mar is Amharic for honey and the means of payment was either in honey or money according to a mutual agreement between the parties concerned.
The mar tax was kept by the landowner and was not handed over to the taxation authorities. At the same time as this form of tax was compulsory for the share-cropper to pay, it can also be looked at as a traditional way of pleasing the landowner and strengthening the relation between the parties. Besides these two taxes the share-cropper was also obliged to perform different kinds of services to the landowner upon the latter's request. These customary services still prevail. As the share-cropper pays his rent in kind he usually has to transport it to the house of the landowner. In addition he should help in building granaries, living houses and in erecting fences. Earlier it was common that these services were changed into an obligation for the share-cropper to accompany the landowner as a servant on journeys, for instance in time of war.

After a reconstruction of the taxation law the taxes paid by the landowners became related to the gasha system with fixed amounts to be paid. "The Land Tax Proclamation in 1944 fixed different rates for various provinces and classified land generally into "measured" and "unmeasured". This was the first time the concept of land measurement was introduced in Ethiopia. The measured land was further classified into fertile, semi-fertile and poor."1) This classification was made on the basis of what was grown on the gasha. In this it differs from the land classification in other countries where it is estimated on how much would be the maximum output.

As the gasha measurement differed from province to province, and sometimes even within the same province, a standard measurement of the gasha equivalent to 40 ha has been introduced.

Up till the new proclamation land taxation was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of tax</th>
<th>Type of land</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lem (fertile)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asrat</td>
<td>35/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibir</td>
<td>15/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>15/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>15/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Asrat tax was a term still kept although the landowners paid according to fixed rates. However, the share-croppers paid tithe as before which meant that the landowner generally got an extra income from his land as this amount often covered the whole tax to be paid by him.

1) Ethiopian observer, 1966:261
The mar tax was cancelled and instead of it a land tax, gibir tax, was introduced. Like the asrat tax, the gibir differed in accordance with the fertility of the soil. Gibir tax was thus fixed in relation to the category of the land. In 1950 an additional tax, the education tax, was proclaimed and in 1965 a health tax was imposed.

Gebbar and Kist land (definitions, see pp. ) pay all the types of taxes entered in the table. Maderia land is free from paying the gibir tax. Semon land pays the gibir tax but the tax collected goes to the Church treasury instead of going to the Government.

The income tax proclamation of 1967

The new income tax proclamation issued amends the proclamation of 1961. This new proclamation came into force on the 23rd of November, 1967, but it can be estimated that it will take a considerable time before it will come into full effect. An abstract of the proclamation reads as follows:

Tax on income from agricultural activities shall be paid by persons or bodies exploiting lands for agricultural purposes. The tax shall be imposed on taxable income derived from the harvest diminished by any taxes on land such as land tax, education tax and health tax, or on any rent payable in cash or in kind. In addition to this one third of the gross income in lieu of an assessment of production expenses shall be deducted. However, a tax payer who maintains books, accounts and records of his agricultural activities may get any expenses as are shown to the satisfaction of the assessment authority deducted from the gross income to arrive at the taxable income. The tax payable shall be charged, levied and collected at the following rates:

a) on bodies, at the rate of 20% of the taxable income,

b) on person according to a fixed scale.

In each locality an Assessment Committee composed of three members shall be established. Two of the members shall be elected through majority vote by the residents in the locality and the third member shall be one from among the officials of the District (woreda). The Local Assessment Committee (hereinafter the Committee) under the chairmanship of the district official shall assess the tax in accordance with the rules. However, where the taxpayer is required by the regulations to keep books of accounts and records, the tax shall be assessed by the Income Tax Authority in Addis Ababa. The Income Tax Authority shall also determine the time and the place where the meetings of the Committee shall be held. For each meeting an attendance fee of two dollars shall be paid to each committee member and the Awraja Governor is authorized to bar any member of the Committee who repeatedly fails to attend the meetings. The Committee shall receive a list from the Income Tax Authority of all person within its jurisdiction who are liable to pay tax. Where it appears to the Committee that the taxable income derived from agricultural activities by any person does not exceed three hundred dollars the Committee shall assess the tax at the rate of one dollar and fifty cents. If a person derive more than this sum the taxable income shall be assessed and the tax to be paid in accordance with the fixed scale.
When estimating a taxpayer's gross income the Committee shall take the following into account:

a) the harvest on the farm-land from which the income is derived,
b) the type of crops and the produce from such farm-land,
c) the local prices of such crops and produce.

When the taxable income has been assessed and the Committee has determined the amount of payable tax, the Income Tax Authority and the taxpayer shall be informed accordingly. Unless otherwise provided by regulations issued by the Ministry of Finance, an assessment made by the Committee shall be valid for a period of five consecutive years and the tax so assessed shall be payable annually during such period. Every year the tax shall be paid between the 1st of Tahsas (1968:10.12) and the 30th of Sene (1968:7.7). It shall be paid to the Income Tax Authority in the district. The tax assessed may be reduced or cancelled if the taxpayer reports difficulties or damage in connection with his agricultural activities. The report shall be made to the Income Tax Authority in the locality and if these difficulties or damage are found to be true and correct it shall be adjusted. Objections of the taxpayer about an assessment shall be appealed to the appropriate Local Appeal Commission, which shall be appointed. The Local Appeal Commission shall consist of the Woreda Governor (chairman), one Woreda judge nominated by the Awraja Governor, and three elders selected by the inhabitants of the locality where the land is situated. The members shall each get an attendance fee for every sitting. The appeals to the Commission shall be made in writing not later than 60 days from the date of the final notification of the assessment to the taxpayer. The Commission may confirm, reduce, increase or annul an assessment as it finds just and necessary and its decision is final, conclusive and immediately executive.

If any person or body fails to pay the income tax within 30 days from the date of notification, the Executive Officer is empowered, after that legal steps are taken, to distrain and sell any movable and immovable property of said defaulting person or body so as to collect the tax due together with any penalties and costs of the execution.

Upon the date that this proclamation comes into force the collection of the tithe, with the exception of outstanding taxes, shall be terminated.
RELIGION

Christianity

Christianity is the official religion of Ethiopia and is represented by the Orthodox (Coptic) Church. The church has a very strong influence on its followers. Its contact with the people is kept not only through the weekly services at the many churches but also through meetings of religious associations, mahaber and senbete, which are tied to one of the saints or to a special church. At these group meetings priests are always present to bless the food and drink as these represent the Holy Communion. The church also runs schools where priests and deacons are teaching the children from the Holy Book; the first seven verses of the Epistle of John, the funeral service and the Miracle of Mary. Otherwise the pupils have little contact with the Bible unless they continue to study. In the schools the children are also taught how to read and write.

In the religion there are several Jewish and other pre-Christian elements present. Among the most marked rituals of Jewish extraction we find the ritual cleanliness particularly in connection with sexual relations. Also levirate marriage, which means that a man will inherit his dead brother's wife even if he is already married, seems to be derived from the Jewish religion. However, this polygynous marriage based on the principle of levirate is decreasing and at present a widow might only get some support from her affinal relatives in carrying out the more heavy agricultural activities.

In the Coptic religion "the Virgin is the Mother of God rather than of Christ" and she holds a very special position in the cult. She is the most worshipped of all the Saints of whom there is a great number recognized by the Orthodox Church. People worshipping the same Saint go together to celebrate on a certain Saint's day occurring monthly. Such a group is called mahaber and besides its ritual function it also holds a strong position in the socio-economic life of the people. The senbete, also being of socio-economic value, is attached to a particular church. Its meetings are held every Sunday after the service and for these meetings a house is built outside the church compound while the mahaber group meets in the houses of its individual members.

Of the originally seven sacraments there are only five which are of any importance, i.e. baptism, the Holy Communion, confession, marriage and circumcision. Baptism is not only practised as an official rite of acceptance into the ritual communion but also the baptism in the Jordan is commemorated every year at the Timket festival. This is besides Easter the most important of the church festivals. At this occasion the tabot (the Ark of the Covenant) of each church is taken to the nearest river where it is kept during the night before Timket. On Timket Day there are different ceremonies when among other things the water is blessed and sprinkled on everybody as a confirmation of the baptism.

1) Lipsky, 1962:110
2) Ullendorff, 1966:102
Confession is generally performed during grave illness but also when a person has committed any sin from which he or she wants to get absolution. The priest who is the father confessor will then decide the penance but has no power to enforce it on the transgressor. The penance may be that the sinner shall feed a poor person for a limited number of days or that he shall give a certain amount of grain to a person who is badly needing help.

Marriage should be celebrated at the presence of a priest but it is common that a couple gets married without the sanction of the church. A marriage blessed by the church is only dissolvable if adultery has been committed.

Circumcision is a general practice and it is accomplished on both sexes. The act should be performed on the eighth day after birth but in Wadi the circumcision of boys takes place when the boy is from two months to two years of age. The Christian girls on the other hand should be circumcised when they are one to two years old. In this the Christians separate themselves from the Moslems who circumcise their girls only about one month before the marriage and the boys when they are old enough to understand the fasting prescriptions and are able to adjust themselves to the rules. Among the Christians circumcision is a religious duty; it is a custom and there is no specific ecclesiastical injunction. Before the boy is circumcised he is considered as unclean and nobody can eat what he has slaughtered. The girls are circumcised of the same reason that they are unclean but at the same time the people say that a woman will give birth without being hurt so much if she is operated. The incision of a girl is carried out by a woman skilled in circumcision. The experts circumcision boys are on the other hand men. The parents have to pay a small fee of 8th. si to get the operation carried out.

Among the Christians as among the Moslems there are a lot of superstitious and magical practices which most probably are derived from the pre-Christian and pre-Islamic periods. The evil eye is feared and people try to protect themselves from what is considered as evil through different rites. However, they not only turn to the church but also to the abba muda and the kallu who are not recognized by the priests.

Fasting is an important element in the Christian faith as in the Islamic. The true Christian believers are fasting twice every week; both Wednesdays and Fridays are considered fasting days by the Orthodox Church. The only time when the weekly fasts are exempted are during the fifty days after Easter. Besides the weekly fasts there are three fasting periods of which the longest during fifty-six days ends at midnight on Easter Eve. On the fast days no meat or any other animal product such as eggs and butter, is allowed and except on Saturdays and Sundays nothing should be taken before noon.

When death occurs a ritual mourning is prescribed. On this occasion the mourners offer food and drinks to the funeral guests. Elaborated commemoration feasts are supposed to be held.

The church is suffering from two challenges. One is the challenge from the educated sector of the society. This is something new and a serious attack on the church which is not allowing its proselytes to question the doctrines. The other challenge comes from Islam that has gained more and more followers.

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1) See pp. 17
2) See pp. 39
Islam

The dispersal of the Islamitic military forces inside Ethiopia started a process of conversion mainly of the Gallas. Traders and teachers wandered around the country spreading the new doctrines. It must have been rather easy for Islam to gain proselytes among the peoples of Ethiopia. Features common to both Christianity and Judaism like "the oneness of God, prayers, fasting, almsgiving and the spiritual value of pilgrimage" are also basic factors of Islam. Also many of the prohibitions are equal to these religions such as the eating of carrion and swine flesh, adultery, gambling and usury. Besides this, all the religions practice circumcision.

Circumcision among the Arussi Gallas in Nagi is practised on both boys and girls. The circumcision of a boy must be done before he has reached the age when he will start fasting. If he starts fasting before he is circumcised this will mean that he cannot accomplish the fasting as he is still polluted. At the same time nobody will eat of the meat from an animal slaughtered by him. The fasting of a boy should start when he is 12-13 years of age.

The circumcision of a girl must also be done before she is fasting for the first time and it must also be done before she gets married. A girl usually starts fasting when she is 15, an age at which it is also common that she gets married. However, the circumcision should be done at least one month before the marriage, so that the wound is healed before she is given away. Contrary to the boy's circumcision a feast is held for the girl on that day. Her future husband shall participate in this feast and is supposed to bring a sheep that will be slaughtered before the operation is carried out.

The fasting period for the Moslems are during the month of Ramadan. It starts in the middle of December when the moon is completely invisible and ends after one month at the first sign of the new moon. During the fasting period there are many rules to consider. So, for example, it is not allowed to eat anything during the day and not even to swallow the saliva. Another rule is that it is not allowed to have coition with any woman or to look at her. However, most people break against this last rule in that they look at any woman and also are intimate with their spouses during the nights.

The prayer is called salata. When praying the person turns towards Mecca five times every day. As a general rule of finding the right direction the sun shall shine on one's right ear in the morning and on the left in the evening. Then the person is facing Mecca where the prophet Adam, Nebi Adam, is buried. Adam is thought to be greater than Mohammad. He is the husband of Eve and the father of all human beings.

The prayers are said early in the morning, at noon, in the afternoon, at sunset before the fast is broken and finally after the meal is taken. However, most people in the area seem not to pray more than in the morning and in the evening. The prayers are not understood by the people saying them. Most probably they are in Arabic or in a not understandable language derived from Arabic.

1) Lipsky, 1962:114
2) Lipsky, 1962:116
The religious leaders found are, according to the informants of Wajji, the mufti, who is a highly educated Moslem, and the sheikh. The mufti is not found in Wajji or in neighbouring areas but some sheikhs are living there. Among the tasks of the sheikh is to be present when the breaking of the fast is celebrated. Without him the people cannot make any celebration; they just break the fast. A Moslem will also turn to the sheikh if he has broken against the fasting rules. If the person has had coition with a woman he will be told by the sheikh that he must feed a poor person for ten days as penance. However, the culprit can refuse to do so and in that case the sheikh has no power to punish him.

It seems that the guiding rules for the Moslems in the Wajji area are neglected considerably. Besides what has already been mentioned, most people also neglect the taboo against fermented drinks. Telia, tej and katikalla (areke) are drinks that normally are taken by the Moslems. Furthermore, like many of the Christians they still visit the sessions held by the kallu.1

The pilgrimage to Mecca is regarded as the ideal culmination of every Moslem's religious experience. People who have visited this religious centre get the title Hadj showing their faithfulness and conformation to the Koran. However, there seems to be very few who make this journey and the many shrines and tombs within Ethiopia are visited instead. The Arussi Galla Moslems pay their visits to the tomb of Sheikh Hussein, who is one of the most famous Moslem saints of Ethiopia.

According to informants in Wajji the Saint was living in this area when a child. Together with his brother he was herding cattle for the farmers. One day he and his brother, tired of driving the cattle to the far away river, dug a hole in the ground in which they put a pole. From this pole water started to flow. The people in the area got scared of the boys and told them to leave the area; they were old enough to start working with something else.

One of the brothers left for the north and is later on talked about as Tekle Haimanot, who became the founder of the monastery of Debre Libanos and one of the most worshipped saints of the Orthodox Church. The other brother went southwards into what is now the Bale province. He converted into Islam and became a strong religious leader. Today Sheikh Hussein is the most well-known of Moslem saints in Arussiland. He is dead but in according to information collected still recognized as active. His followers are found all over Ethiopia. Besides this a special "beggar" society has been created. With their religious faith as a background many persons take to the forked sticks, Cule Sheikh Hussein, which are the symbols of Sheikh Hussein. They can often be seen with their special equipment walking along the roads. They stop at places where there are Moslems living and it can often be heard during the nights how they beat their drums. People are assembling around them giving them money and food. According to informants the stick-carriers of Sheikh Hussein are not giving any kind of medicine to people. They are only praying and drumming.

1) kallu, see: pp. 39
THE FAMILY

The type of settlement found in Tajji is, as has already been mentioned, one of scattered homesteads. The size of a homestead depends firstly on the type of family that is living there and secondly on the prosperity of the family.

The type of family in each homestead or mona can either be an elementary or an extended family. The elementary family consists of a married couple and their children while an extended family consists of a married couple and their married sons and their families or some brothers living together each with his family. As polygyny is practised among both Christians and Moslems the polygynous family is also represented.

Each elementary or polygynous family is called a bet-seb which is the term for people living in the same house. Several bet-sebs form one mona but also one single bet-seb may be equal to a mona. Generally a mona consists of people from the same lineage and it is rarely found that people who are not related to each other live together and form one mona. The mona has got its name from the person who is considered to be the leader, may it be a father or the eldest of brothers living together. The leader of the mona is representing the people who are living together with him and he is the undisputable manager of the different activities which are carried out by the members. In the mona personal servants of the members are living, sometimes in their own quarters, and very often relatives not so closely related are taken care of by the leader of the mona. If the leader is a landowner he sometimes has his share-cropper living close to his own compound and in some respects he may also lead them in their work.

The stability of a big mona depends partly on the available resources, partly on the powers of the members to keep peace among themselves. After that a father has died it is common that the sons who earlier have lived together under their fathers leadership cannot agree with each other and therefore break the previous group and build homesteads of their own.

Division of duties

Within the family there is a division of labour both according to age and sex. The participation in the different activities starts early in life and the tasks given to each young family member increase in number until he or she is grown up and is fulfilling all the duties according to sex which are expected to be carried out by each person.

Boys and girls are given minor tasks very early and already at the age of five or six they partly have the responsibility to herd the cattle and sheep. Besides this they take care of their younger brothers and sisters while their mothers are working. Small girls will soon have their own small water pot and are often walking far distances with the women of the household to fetch water. Small boys, and even girls, often help their father to keep the cow dung burning when he is piling up the soil for burning.

As the children from very early are living in close contact with the work of the grown-ups they learn very early about their future duties. When playing they are often imitating their parents. Small boys are practising how to use a whip and contests between them who will make the loudest report when swinging the whip are constantly seen and heard.

When strong enough to help in the main farm activities the boys will start helping to carry out more heavy work and the girls will be given more duties.

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1) Polygyny is a form of polygamy, meaning that a man has got two or more wives.
manding tasks within the household work. The men are responsible for the main activities in agricultural work. They plough, seed, harvest, manufacture new implements and build new houses when needed. When the time comes to take the grain to the market this is done by the men. Also selling and buying animals are their concern as is the slaughtering. However, petty trading is less common among men than among women. Some men are on the other hand weaving cloths on big looms which they then sell or give to their family members.

The women do not only take care of household duties like cooking, tidying up in the house and compound. They also participate in some of the farming activities. Their main tasks are to assist in piling up the soil in heaps before the fields are seeded and when threshing is going on they are often seen driving the cattle over the heaps of straw, and fanning the chaff. The women are also occupied with the cattle in that they alone are responsible for the milking every morning and evening. They also take care of calves, kids and lambs, bringing water to them and feeding them. When the cattle are grazed outside the compound they also keep an eye on them and see to that they do not spoil the crops.

Every day the women have to walk sometimes far distances, to fetch water for the household. This is done by using the characteristic clay pots which are carried on their backs. To collect wood and cow dung to the fire is also a task while the men are chopping down the trees needed.

At the markets women are always seen sitting on the ground with their small supplies of pepper, onions, eggs or maybe a piece of cloths containing a little grain. This petty trading is a typical female occupation while the men are taking care of the main business of the household. While the men are manufacturing farming equipment the women are twining baskets and plates and also bottles and other containers made of gourds and grass are made by them.

STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

To give a general account of the people's knowledge and apprehension of their own world and the outside world is a difficult task. Most people in Wajji are illiterate and for that reason they are cut off from a very important means of communication. Their contacts with the outer world are through market places, extension agents, village level workers and other officials. In the market villages they have the possibility to get news and new ideas from the radios found in several bars and they also get information through talks with people who have continuous or temporary connections with the world normally not reached by the farmers. Although there are means of communications with the outside world the traditional beliefs and knowledge are still predominant. The adoption of new ideas and practical knowledge runs slowly. The people's apprehension of government officials is a mixture of negative and positive feelings based on experience gained through the years and on a lack of knowledge.

The changes imposed by the conquering Amharas are the utmost reasons for the negative attitudes of the Gallas. The Amharic conquest meant radical reforms inside the local communities. A new pattern of leadership was forced upon the people together with taxes and other charges. The ancient right of the communities to deal with obstructions against the traditional law in accordance with the gada system has steadily been changed into a dependence on new laws imposed by the central government. Besides this the Arsussi Gallas had to surrender part of their traditional land to the immigrating Shoa Gallas and Amharas. These changes brought a negative attitude towards the conquerors who were represented by officials who often
acted in a despotic way towards the people. At the same time the relation between the Eritrean and Sheko Gallas took its turn into enmity. During the years promises from the Government about helping the people to improve their standards of living have not been fulfilled and this fact together with similar promises by the Italians have created disappointment and distrust among the people. It has often been expressed among the farmers in Wajiji when members of the C.A.D.U development team have talked to them about future programmes, that they hope that this time something really will happen. The prolongation of the initial investigations before development activities can start has been accepted but the eagerness among the farmers to see that something will happen is still mixed with disbelief.

Today much of the feelings of disappointment and distrust are still present even if the people's apprehension of the Government and its officials has been modified. The Government represented by the Emperor is often praised by the old men even if at the same time critical judgements are passed about the officials. The new laws, especially the penal law, and the work done by the police are appreciated and it is always expressed that the individual farmer has got more security in that thieves and murderers are dealt with by the authorities. Translations of some recordings made in Wajiji indicate to a certain extent the feelings of the farmers:

"The Emperor is doing everything for his people: teaching and giving land to people who deserve it. Then why are there thieves in great number? Why are some people trying to be on the side of the Somalis? They think that they will benefit from it but they will not do that at all. All this people trying to side the Somalis are nothing. The aeroplanes we saw yesterday flying like thunder are not just flying without any purpose. They are flying to destroy these liars. His Imperial Majesty can destroy them within a short time if he wants. He can send thunder from the sky. These vagabonds can be destroyed without any difficulty. But let His Majesty's spirit destroy them."

"Now God brought this people (from C.A.D.U) and we are acquainted to each other. All this is thanks to His Majesty. We are going by their car, we eat and drink with them. If they see us in Asella or anywhere else they do not pass us without greeting us, whereas our people who have been living with us for many years and have become drivers just a few days ago are so proud and never try to greet us. Our men, the officials, are proud if they have money..."

"In our Galinya there is a saying: lukna wagyni lolou mena gufa wante bachu wasi (instead of fighting with a coward it is better to carry a brave man's shield). Carrying a brave man's shield means that when a brave man, the owner of the shield, is fighting, the one who carries his shield can protect himself with that shield. To fight with a coward means that the coward will just run away. What we say now for the truth of God is that we people of Wajiji are eager to have a strong master, that we do need today is peace, farming, education and things which have not got a bad impression in any way and what His Imperial Majesty also liked is education and to have permission to learn in twelve ways."

People in Wajiji are aware of the new possibilities created through education and on their own initiative they collected money and built a school in the area. However, it is seldom that children attend school for more than a short time as their presence at home is wanted; being a shepherd

1) The aeroplanes seen by the farmers are most probably planes in passenger traffic.
2) Most probably "to learn in twelve ways" refers to the 12 grades in school
and taking care of younger sisters and brothers are tasks for children old enough to go to school. At the same time it is generally thought that it is enough to attend school for a short time just to be able to write one's name and to be pretty fairly able to read. This means that with this poor elementary instruction the proficiency in reading and writing is gained only for a short time.

In their religious belief the people are guided by what they are supposed to believe. The Christians are guided by their priests and deacons who teach people the bible. The Church, which has a very strong position, gives no space for discussions and questions raised as to the doctrines. The Church runs its own schools where besides reading and writing the reading of the bible and the reciting of prayers and texts in Ge'ez is the main concern. Up to recently there have not been other schools in the vicinity than these so called priest schools.

The Moslems on the other hand may not be as loyal to the Koran as the Christians are to the Bible. Officially they stick to the basic teachings of Islam but in their daily life they skip saying some of the daily prayers and openly take alcoholic drinks.

People of both religions still believe in the kallu and his powers; the kallu who with his ecstatic ritual technique and capacity for possession of a spirit is believed to be able to cure people from diseases, to make barren women fertile and to save the people from the evil eye. The evil eye is carried by some people who is then able to harm both people and animals. The kallu tells the people how to get rid of this destructive power put on them or on their cattle. The kallu is also thought capable to detect offenders and to make them restore for example stolen goods. For his services the kallu is paid by the ones who utilize his power.

It is the dual attitude towards novelties and government authorities mixed with strong beliefs of traditional origin that characterizes the people in Wajji. Against this stands the hope of a future progress which has been promised them. Their new understanding of their environment and the way of solving everyday's problems are still to the greatest extent traditional and the acceptance of innovations must be put in relation to the ability of the people to change their ideas and to the ability of the development staff to make things understandable for them.

Knowledge connected with health.

Up to now not very much material has been collected about people's knowledge and ideas about the causes and treatments of different illnesses. According to some informants among the farmers in Wajji the most common illness in the area is "stomach-ache" which is closely follow by gonorrhea. Today many persons go to the health clinics or to the hospital in Asella to be treated for their complaints but many of them still visit a wougesha, a local medicine man. The wougeshas do not tell their patients about the ingredients in the medicines. If the people got an idea about the compositions of the medicines they should soon stop coming to the wougeshas who then will lose a steady income. Some of the wougeshas are well-known because of their treatment of certain illnesses and people come from near and far to see them. As with the medicines used for animals mixed by the farmers themselves, the medicines for human beings are normally mixed of a limited number of "medical plants". However, the identification of these plants is difficult and up to now no proper list with descriptions
and the use of the different plants has been compiled. One of the most common trees used is the Kosso tree, *Haem-wrapisina*, which is not only used against tapeworm but also against other illnesses. It has been recorded that some people in Hajji, instead of going to a clinic or to a wougesha, try to cure themselves by different means. At one occasion a woman treated tooth-ache by using kerosena which she kept in her mough for a long while.

Besides the use of traditional and modern medicines the people also try to cure themselves by making "surgical" incisions. This is especially made on small children. One very common operation is to cut the uvula. According to information this is made if a child is suffering from an illness which symptoms are shown by an unusual saliva coming out of the mouth and the refusal of the child to suck. Uvula-cutting is then the only way to cure the sick child. Also other incisions are made like the extraction of the rudimentary canine teeth.

The kallu has already been mentioned in the beginning of this chapter and further investigations should be done concerning his healing power and his general position as a leader.

Ideas in connection with crops

The farmers are generally speaking aware of that other methods can be applied in agricultural work but lacking proper instruction and better farming equipment they still stick to their traditional ways of farming. However, they are facing several problems which they cannot solve themselves.

Weeding is generally carried out once or twice. This is done when the crops are still young. After that no weeding is carried out as the farmers are of the opinion that further weeding is of no use as the weeds are growing so rapidly. The farmers say that certain weeds are more troublesome than others but they do not know how to protect their crops from them. The same thing stands for certain pests and insects that are serious threats to the crops. The army worm is one of the great plagues but the farmers have no solution how to get rid of it.

Generally it can be stated that when it comes to crops the farmers do not have a comparatively equal knowledge about methods and steps to be taken as is the case in cattle-breeding. If they know about different solutions they do not have the facilities to correct what is wrong.

Knowledge and ideas concerning cattle

The Gallas, being cattle-breeders since ancient time, still keep many heads of cattle and sheep. Even if crop production is the most important factor in the economic life, the animals besides their economic role also play a dominating part in the socio-religious life. The animals are objects of investment giving both security and prestige but at the same time their ritual function and value are strongly pronounced. Bride-prices are no longer paid in cattle as earlier have been done before money became known and used in the traditional society. However, in the wedding ceremonies cattle and sheep play one of the leading parts. Several examples can be given but a few selected traits will be enough to show the place of cattle and sheep in ritual life and also in everyday life.
When the bride-groom and his followers go to fetch the bride at her home, they should bring one steer and one heifer so that they will be blessed by the elders assembled in the bride's home. This is a fertility rite and through this action it is not only meant that the bridal couple and the two families united through them shall get healthy cattle in great numbers but also that the bride and bride-groom shall be blessed with many children. Furthermore, fresh green grass is put in the bride's lap as a sign of fertility and the bride-groom shall also give his mother-in-law light strokes with grass of the same kind.

When the bride is to be taken to the bride-groom's house, she first has to mount a female horse before she mount a mule on which she will ride. The traditional way of taking a bride to her husband's house was by horse but nowadays a mule is used as it is more comfortable to ride it. A mule is, however, sterile and therefore the bride symbolically must mount a female horse first. This is in order to make the bride as fertile as the female horse is supposed to be. Female horses are symbols of pregnancy in this respect while a mule is incomplete not being able to give birth.

Before bringing his bride into his own house, the bride-groom must slaughter a sheep on the doorstep. Before the bridal couple steps over its blood entering the house, the peritoncum has to be read to them by someone initiated in the secrecy of translating the pattern of nerve and muscle fibres. Also when the bride visits her parents for the first time after her marriage, a sheep must be slaughtered on the doorstep before she enters the house of her parents. If this is not done bad luck will come to the house. Among both Arussi and Shoa Gallas the blood of the sheep is smeared on the forehead of both bride and bride-groom. When among the Arussi Gallas the bride leaves her father's house after her first visit after the wedding she has the right to take one steer and one heifer along with her. If her father is poor she will get one ram and one ewe. Whatever she gets it must always be a couple.

Animals are slaughtered at different occasions to get protection against evil happenings. So for instance, to protect the animals against the evil eye a sheep is slaughtered. Its hide is cut into stripes which are put around the horns of the cattle. Through this action people with evil eyes will be hindered to put their evil objects in the cattle enclosure. Before the skin stripes are put around the horns of the cattle the peritoneum of the sheep must be read. If it is difficult to read it, the interpreter orders another sheep to be slaughtered. Some time after the skin stripes have been put on the cattle, a new sheep must be slaughtered in order to see from its peritoneum if the danger is over. The farmers say they know when the evil eye or some evil objects have been put on their cattle. This can clearly be distinguished from the general condition of the cattle; they get meagre, cows do not get any calves, etc.

When the Ministry of Agriculture started its vaccination campaigns against rinderpest most farmers in Wajji were very suspicious of vaccinations and they tried to hide their cattle. Since they became aware of the advantages of vaccinations, they ask for injections also against other diseases and they are envious of the people in Shoa province who also get their cattle vaccinated against CBPP (contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia). However, there are some beliefs connected with the vaccinations which are difficult to explain. A menstruating woman is not allowed to handle or even look at a newly vaccinated animal. If she does that the animal will die. It should be noted that all other animals can be tended by her and she is even allowed to milk them.
Among the Moslems it is besides this also prohibited for husband and wife who have had coition during the night to look at newly vaccinated cattle before they have washed their hands and faces. As the couple is unclean before they have washed themselves the cattle may die.

The farmer's knowledge about his cattle is still attached to the traditional beliefs and experiences. Even if some new ideas about the causes and treatments of diseases and about better feeding have been disseminated in the area and some farmers say that they no longer believe in the traditional explanations and actions taken, it is obvious that most farmers stick to their old beliefs and ways of solving problems connected with cattle.

Some farmers have stated the people's idea about how anthrax (abba senga) is caused. The disease occurs when the heavy rains have passed and the grass grows high and is green and fresh. The belief still occurring among the farmers is that abba senga, the father of the ox, is caused by a big bird looking like a cook when sitting on the ground. When flying it looks like an eagle. Its colours are red, gray, blue and yellow. The bird is also called abba senga and it is very seldom seen. Only a few farmers have seen it and one farmer is said to have killed one of these birds. The bird is urinating in the fresh grass and the grass gets poisoned. When especially the oxen eat from this grass they will fall ill and get abba senga or chita as it is also called. Chita means "to cut immediately, it kills at once". Abba senga it is called because it usually kills senga, the ox. The one who kills the bird will get money from all farmers in the area. The claws and the beak of the killed bird will then be used to touch the sick animals with. The animals will then recover.

The treatments of sick animals differ a little from farmer to farmer, but generally it can be said that there are only few different treatments which are used in curing most diseases. The medical herbs used are few in number and of disputable value. The same herbs are mixed together also to cure people. Also salt, tobacco, berbere, barley bread and onions are general ingredients in the medicines for animals. In Wajji treatments of different diseases have been collected and a juxtaposition of them according to different diseases will look as follows. For every disease some alternatives are given.

**Rinderpest**

a. barley bread shall be given to prevent diarrhoea.

b. the roots of two different plants called kelela and harmala are crushed, mixed and given to the animals in a liquid form. Kelela is most probably equal to Thunbergia alata or Ipomoea wightii, a creeper with large leaves and lilac flowers. This plant is thought to be a good cattle fodder and will make the cows milk more. 1

c. the animal shall be burnt on both sides of its back.

**Liverfluke**

a. a mixture of salt, berbere and tobacco shall be given to the animal.

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1) Haberland, 1963:767
b. the animal shall be burnt around its neck with a hot sickle.
c. a root from a plant, which name is unknown to the informant, shall be crushed, mixed with berbere and given to the animal.

**Anthrax**

a. the body of the animal shall be burnt.
b. in several cases farmers have given mixtures made of up to seven different roots which names are unknown or which the informants have not been willing to reveal.

**Blackquater**

a. scars shall be made with a razor blade on the sides of the animal. After that a mixture of onions and tobacco shall be rubbed into the wounds.
b. raw tobacco mixed with salt. The raw tobacco shall be shewed together with the salt. It is then to be rubbed into the wounds made with a razor blade.

**Foot and mouth disease**

a. a mixture of berbere and butter shall be smeared on the tongue of the animal.
b. a plant called digdigsa shall be tied at the tail of the animal and a kind of ointment shall be put under its tongue.
c. the sick animal shall be smoked with a dry piece of wood called ajersa or grava. Ajersa is most probably the same as Olea chrysophylla, wild olive. Its hard fruits are also eaten by the people to make them as strong and hard as the fruit. The leaves are given as supplementary food to the animals.1)
d. if the infected place is in the mouth, a vein shall be cut under the tongue of the animal. After that the wound shall be smeared with a mixture of tobacco and salt. Then the animal should be kept at home for half a day. If the infected places are at the feet, they shall be washed with warm water. On the day of the treatment the animal should be kept at home the whole day and sometimes it should even stay longer at home.

**African horse sickness**

a. the animal shall be burnt with fire.
b. crushed garlic shall be given through mouth and nose.
c. garlic shall be crushed and soaked in water in the evening. The next morning it shall be given to the animal. This treatment should be repeated two consecutive days.

**Horse mange**

a. the horse shall be washed with kerosene.
b. the horse shall be washed with soap and water.
c. in some cases only water has been used.

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1) Haberland, 1963:765
Bloat

a. some farmers are tying the animal close to a pole. Then fresh eucalyptus leaves are put to fire and the smoke shall be inhaled by the animal. This makes the animal cough and the air is going out of the stomach.

The treatments described are said not always to cure the animals but in some cases the animals have recovered.

INHERITANCE RULES AND Fragmentation OF LAND

The information given in connection with inheritance rules differs between some of the informants. It is obvious that some people do not know about what is prescribed in the formal law and still stick to what has been the rules earlier. Others are aware of that the customary rules have been changed. About the olden days one Christian informant gave the following information which was recorded on a tape-recorder and later translated into English.

"In the olden days if a man died his daughters would get one cow or one ox each while the sons would share the land and the rest of the cattle. If the man did not have any sons but only daughters the land should be inherited by the brother of the dead man. This brother should also inherit the dead man's wife. That means that the wife of the dead man was using the land of her dead husband indirectly eventhough she had no right to inherit her husband.

If the dead man did not have either sons or brothers the land and the cattle were inherited by his daughters.

In case the man had more than one son then the eldest son should get a little more than his younger brothers. The proportions depended on if the father had said his will or not before he died. If the father had expressed his will the sharing was done according to this. If he had not left any will at all the shimegeles should decide and share the property between the children according to their decision and give a little more to the eldest son.

If the dead man had no sons or brothers then the land would be given to his daughters and the eldest daughter should get a little more than her sisters.

If the dead man had both sons and at least one brother, the wife of the dead should be inherited by one of his brothers while the land should be inherited by his sons.

If the dead man had only daughters but had adopted a son, the adopted son should inherit his stepfather. This rule and the rule that a wife should be inherited by a brother of the dead man is in accordance with the gada law.

If the wife of the dead man was not inherited by his brother, the wife had the right to share the cattle earlier belonging to her husband equally with the children irrespectively of the children being born by her or not. She also held the right to cultivate the land as long as she did not marry someone else. On the other hand she had no right to sell or change the land. When it comes to the household equipment and personal belongings of the dead man, the male equipment such as gun, pistol, spear, shield and farming equipment, was inherited by the one who had the right in the land,
was it his eldest son, a brother of the diseased or his eldest daughter. The rest of the equipment, the female equipment such as pans, plates, pottery, baskets, etc., should remain with the wife of the dead man.

Since land and cattle were the two main objects of investment in the olden days, there was generally no cash to be found in the house. If, however, some money was found, the eldest son who had inherited the larger part of the land, or the eldest daughter being in the same situation, should get a little more also of the money compared with the other heirs. Among the rest of the brothers or sisters the remaining money was shared alike. If it was the brother of the dead man who had inherited the land, the money should be equally shared between him and the daughters of the dead man.

The reason why the eldest child should get a little more of the land, cattle and money was because of the fact that it is his or her main responsibility to arrange the funeral ceremonies and also to prepare the memorial feasts for the father.

These rules mentioned are the old Shoa Galla rules. The Moslems, the Arussi Gallas, were sticking to almost the same rules as the Shoa Gallas. Nowadays the Shoa Gallas, the Christians, have adopted the rules prescribed in the Proclamation of the Ethiopian Government. This law says that every child, male or female, who is a descendant of a dead person, male or female, shall inherit their parents' belongings equally. Besides this a legal wife should also get an equal share from her husband's property if there have not been any witnesses to a verbal will or a written will stating how the property shall be shared. If the dead person has no children, wife or husband, his or her property will be inherited by relatives up to the seventh generation.

There are still some Arussi Gallas, Moslems, who are following the rules of the olden days when it comes to inheritance, but they are very few in number."

This information given by the old Shoa Galla man shows some interesting features in relation to land. It is obvious from the previous rules that land was inherited within the same lineage and people tried to avoid that the affinal relatives got hold on it. This corresponds to the earlier land tenure system that was broken down with the arrival of the Amharas. In the old system land was the property of the different clans which had divided it between the different lineages composing the clan. As the clans were exogamous, which means that a man must marry a woman belonging to another clan, there was the risk that the land could be transferred to another clan. The inheritance system described gives very small chances for lineages belonging to other clans to acquire the land. As the wife of a dead man normally could not inherit the land or even the cattle the solution of her future support was the levirate which simply means that usually the eldest brother of the dead man shall marry the widow.

This inheritance system as also the now formally recognized system means that there will be a continuous fragmentation of the land into lesser and lesser holdings until a minimum size just enough to support one family is reached. When such a state is reached, and sometimes even before that, the heirs will sell or give freely their shares to one of the brothers if nothing else is said in a will.1)

1) See pp. 24
In some cases brothers continue to live together in their dead father's compound without sharing the property. They then cultivate the land together under the leadership of the eldest brother and share the produce. Among the Gallas there is also a rule still in force that the heirs shall not share the legacy before six months up to one year after the death of their father. After this period they can decide if they still want to live together on the undivided land. Shimageles are only sent for if the heirs cannot agree.

According to another informant, also he a Shoa Galla, all children are inheriting their father independently of their sex. However, a daughter only gets half of what her brothers get. This she gets even if the father did not say so before he died as the shimageles, who will be called when the sharing is to take place, know the rules.

One well-known shimagele, one Arussi Galla Moslem, has given the same information about the shares between sexes as just mentioned; that a daughter inherits half of what a son does. The size of the land does not make any difference. Besides this the wife has no right to participate in the sharing of the land. However, if the children are small their mother will be the caretaker of the land they have inherited. When it comes to cattle the wife is allowed to take the same number of cattle as her dead husband was owning on the day of their marriage. The remaining heads, if any, shall be shared between the children.

The land is divided one year after death took place. All equipment characterized as female, i.e. household equipment, shall be given to the wife of the deceased and the typical male equipment such as sword, spear, shield and farming equipment shall be divided between the sons.

If the man did not have any children at all, his wife shall marry one of his brothers and this brother will indirectly be the heir and his children will later be the heirs of this land. If the dead man has not got any real brother a man considered as a brother will take the place as an heir. A man considered as a brother will in this case mean a closely related man of the same generation as the dead man. According to the kinship system this means a parallel cousin belonging to the same clan, i.e. a father's brother's son. Through this arrangement the land will stay with the original clan and the informant stressed that if there is not any relatives of the kind mentioned, the land shall go to someone belonging to the same clan as the dead man and at the same time the one who inherits shall also marry the dead man's wife.
THE LAND

Systems of Land Tenure.

The systems of land tenure in the Arussi province differ according to the official body that will collect the land tax and also according to how the land was acquired by the owner and under which premises he is cultivating it. The systems found in Arussi are Gebbar, Semon, Church gult, Riste-gult, Siso, Maderia, Mengist, Gebretel, Yeketema Bota or Urban. A brief description of each system is given in a report on Land Tenure Survey of Arussi Province carried out by the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration. The result of their investigations was published in August, 1967. The following definitions were given:

Gebbar: Gebbar is a system of land tenure under which a person who has acquired land by purchase, grant or inheritance pays land tax to the Government as prescribed by law. In the past, the owners of such land were subject to various dues in addition to land tax and were required to render personal services to Government officials.

These dues and services have been abolished by the Land Tax Proclamation No.70 of 1944. The owners of gebbar land now pay land tax, asrat (tithe, which now is abolished, see under new Income Tax Proclamation, 1967), education tax and health tax direct to the Government. They can sell, lease or mortgage their land. Their rights in land are inheritable.

Semon: Land of which the primary or reversionary interest has been vested in the Church is semon land. This primary interest carries the right, confirmed in Proclamation 2 of 1942, to collect and retain for church use land tax, tithe and education tax from persons settled on the land at the rates laid down by law for other categories of land.

In the past, some members of the nobility used to transfer their gult land to the Church as the tax payable to the Church was simple 1). Some of the landowners, too, applied for a transfer of their rist to semon in order to pay tax at lower rates. These landowners retained the right to sell, assign or dispose of this property at will even after the transfer of land to semon was completed.

At present landowners (gebbars) holding semon land pay asrat, education tax and health tax in the Church treasury according to the classification of land at rates prescribed for other categories of land. The health tax is later transferred to the Government treasury. They can sell their land. Their rights in land are inheritable. They do not pay land tax, but have to pay for the services of the priests according to their agreement with them. This amount is generally higher than the land tax.

Church gult: Originally some landed property was granted by the Government to the Church for its maintenance.

Where the land is church gult, which has been apportioned by the Church, among its functionaries each holder pays asrat and education tax to the Church. In lieu of land tax, he gives his services to the Church. When such a holder terminates his period of service, the person who succeeds him takes over the land and follows the same practice. They have no right to sell, exchange, mortgage or pass on the land by inheritance or gift to any person.

1) as the Church does not have such a complicated administration
Reste-gult: Under this form of land tenure, the person having reste-
gult was entitled to collect land tax from the landowners settled on the
land at rates prescribed by law, i.e. fifteen, ten and five Ethiopian
dollars per gasha of fertile, semi-fertile and poor land respectively,
and to exercise certain judicial functions. Out of the land tax collected
he paid to the Government treasury at a uniform rate of ዳ:50 per gasha
for all classes of land and retained the rest with him. Reste-gult rights
were heritable.

The bill for the abolition of reste-gult and siso was passed by the
Parliament in June 1964. The proclamation for the abolishing of reste-
gult and siso was published in the Negarit Gazeta, Proclamation No.230
of March 7,1966. Under this Proclamation the landowner (gebbar) who
held land within reste-gult or siso will pay the land tax as well as
education tax and health tax direct to the Government. In respect of land
which is in the name of the gult owner and on which there are no gebbar,
the gult owner will pay land tax at the normal rates of fifteen, ten or
five Ethiopian dollars per fertile, semi-fertile and poor gasha of land
respectively and not at the reduced rate of Ethiopian ዳ:50 per gasha
for all classes of land as was the case before the Proclamation was
issued.

Siso: (Mirit) Out of the land possessed by the first settlers two-
thirds was taken by the Government. The remaining one-third of land
given to the balabbat was his siso. In some cases the balabbat was
allowed to retain one-fourth of his previous holding. The remaining three-
fourth was taken by the Government.

The Government entitled the balabbat to retain this portion (one-third,
one-fourth) of land imposing just a nominal tax on it until it would
develop. The tax which was paid in kind varied according to the products
of the area. The system and rate of land taxation on siso land at present
is the same as for reste-gult.

The main difference between siso and reste-gult forms of land tenure
lies in their origin. While rights of siso originated in respect of one-
third of the land remaining with the balabbat in the manner described
above, rights of reste-gult have been granted by the Emperor subsequently
to members of the royal family and to some people as reward for their
meritorious services.

Maderia: Maderia land is Government land granted to government employees
in place of salary as a pension for the period of office or for life.
A maderia holder must pay asrat, health tax and education tax on his
holding. He may collect rentals in produce from persons settled on his
holdings. Maderia land essentially belongs to the Government which can
transfer it to another person when the maderia owner is convicted of
crime or transfer to another job. He may not, of course, dispose of his
holding by gift or sale and his holding is not inheritable. Under Proclama-
tion No.221 of 1956, a maderia holder can get up to one gasha of maderia
land converted into rist on payment of registration fee in the woreda
treasury.

According to order No. R/9135 of Ter 26.1959 of the Ministry of Land
Reform addressed to all Governorates General except Begemeder, Gojam,
Wollo, and Eritrea, captains, lieutenants, sergents, lower ranks and
other can have up to 4,3,2 and 1 gasha of maderia land held by them
converted into rist. The balance of the maderia land will be taken over
by the Government. The maderia form of land tenure is thus abolished.

See pp. 111f
Mengist: Lands registered as Government property are called yemengist meret. Grants of land are given to people out of mengist land. The remaining mengist lands are leased to people for farming or grazing purposes.

Gebretel: Land taken over by the Government due to non-payment of land tax by the landowner is called gebretel land. This land is leased to people by the Government for farming and grazing purposes. The defaulter has the right to get back the land by paying double the amount of tax due, unless it has already been given to people as grant.

The following figures concerning land distribution in the project area by system of land tenure and by land classification are grouped together by the Planning and Evaluation Department of CADU. The material is compiled from the files of the Provincial Office of the Ministry of Finance in Arussi.

Land distribution in the project area of CADU by system of land tenure and by classification for land tax

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOREDA</th>
<th>DODOTA</th>
<th>HETOSA</th>
<th>TIYO</th>
<th>DIGHELLU &amp; TIJO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>By System of LAND TENURE</td>
<td>HECTARES</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>HECTARES</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GERBAR</td>
<td>32,948</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>46,230</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIRIT or SISO</td>
<td>2,658</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2,860</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEMEN</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,575</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MADERIA or SEKELE</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIST</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5,273</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MENGIST</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN LAND</td>
<td>35,802</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49,215</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By land tax</th>
<th>DODOTA</th>
<th>HETOSA</th>
<th>TIYO</th>
<th>DIGHELLU &amp; TIJO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FERTILE</td>
<td>29,253</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>43,425</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEMI-FERTILE</td>
<td>3,103</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4,310</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POOR</td>
<td>3,446</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1,480</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35,802</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>49,215</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tenancy forms

The two main systems of share-cropping in Wajji are called ekul arash and siso arash. A third share-cropping system called Irbo arash has only been recorded in one case.

Ekul arash. If a share-cropper does not own oxen of his own he borrows them from the landowner. He also borrows necessary equipment plus the seeds needed for planting. After harvest the amount of seeds borrowed is paid back to the landowner, usually before sharing takes place. Then the sharing of all products follows. In ekul arash the sharing is on a fifty-fifty basis and the landowner thus gets half of everything harvested. If the share-cropper has got seeds himself, he and the landowner put in half of the seeds each. In this case the fifty-fifty sharing takes place immediately after the harvest is undertaken.

Siso arash. In siso arash the share-cropper owns oxen and seeds himself and does not borrow from the landowner. He also manufactures or lets somebody else manufacture the farm implements he needs in cultivation. When planting he takes half of the seeds needed from his own store and half of it is provided by the landowner. After harvest all products are shared between the share-cropper and the landowner in such a way that the share-cropper keeps two-thirds of it for himself. The landowner who gets one-third plus asrat (tithe) is not compensated for his input of seeds.

Irbo arash: This tenancy form, which nowadays is rarely found in Wajji, means that a share-cropper farming a piece of land pays one-fourth of his products to the landowner. In cultivating the land the share-cropper uses oxen and implements of his own and he is responsible for all labour input. Seeds to be scattered on the fields are provided by the share-cropper himself without any help from the landowner. It shall be noted that the landowner is not contributing anything except the land.

According to information obtained from Wajji, irbo arash is mostly found on the western and southern sides of the River Catar where the areas are not so densely populated as on the other side of the river. That means that there is not the same demand of renting land and a landowner who wants to lease part of his land will often have to enter an agreement such as irbo arash. The reason why the areas west and south of the River Catar have a less population density is said to be caused by the less fertility of the land in these areas. As with ekul and siso arash the term of agreement for irbo arash is continuous between the share-cropper and the landowner.

In both ekul arash, siso arash and irbo arash, asrat is paid by the share-croppers. At the sharing one-tenth of everything is put aside to pay this. The asrat is taken by the landowner and he then pays the taxes to the authorities concerned. Generally he does not pay so much tax, that the whole of asrat collected will be forwarded. The surplus is kept by the landowner as an extra income. This system is now being changed through the new income tax proclamation (See above).
The agreements of ekul arash, siso arash and irbo arash may be verbal or written. Most common is the verbal agreement. When a verbal agreement is made the share-cropper must have at least two guarantors who with their own means guarantee that the proper share and asrat are paid. The agreement is continuous and there is no fixed time of renting. The landowner might evict his share-croppers at any time but according to customary law he should wait until after harvest and sharing are performed.

The written agreement does not give the share-cropper any higher degree of security. Even when an agreement is written the landowner might evict his share-croppers. The same rules are applied as for verbal agreements. Written agreements are made when the share-cropper is unknown to the landowner and in the area and cannot get any guarantors.

The share-croppers, whether they have verbal or written agreements, are allowed to quit whenever they like but generally they stay to after harvest and sharing.

When quitting or being evicted the share-cropper in most cases is compensated for buildings erected by him on the land. He may also be compensated for improvements made. The compensation is usually determined by the elders of the community. On the other hand the share-cropper is free to remove his buildings if he wants or if the landowner does not want to buy them.

Besides the share-cropping systems at least one kind of tenancy called contrat is found. However, this tenancy form seems to be mainly found north of Asella. Here the tenant owns oxen, implements and seeds. The landowner is not contributing anything at all in the cultivation; the tenant makes all investments himself. As the name indicates a contract is written. Here the amount of grains and other products to be paid in rent is settled. It has been found from the examples collected in the field that the main part of the produce is always paid in wheat. If a tenant is to pay fifteen quintals in all as rent he has to pay ten quintals in wheat and the remaining five quintals in barley and beans. In some cases the tenant may decide himself in which products he will pay.

As a contrat-farmer, the tenant never pays any asrat. Only the settled amount in quintals is paid. As the tenant according to the agreement has to pay the rent in wheat, barley and beans this means that the landowner to a certain extent can direct what crops his tenant shall grow.

Finally something should be mentioned about the wolde agid-system. Here a landowner in need of money will borrow it from somebody else. The loan is paid back in kind. The borrower leaves some of his land for the money-lender to cultivate. The money-lender keeps all the products for himself. When he in this way has got back the same value he lent to the landowner the land goes back to the owner. If the money-lender goes on cultivating it the landowner will have his share of the produce.
ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

A. Resources

The physical features of the Wajji area show close resemblances to those of the rest of the Chilalo awraja and also to the physical features of large parts of the Shoa province. It is also visible that mixed farming, cultivation and cattle-breeding, is the dominating economic pattern of the area. Still large parts of the land is kept by the farmers for grazing and the cultivated areas are only for a limited period used for crop growing before they are laid fallow and used for grazing. The area is here and there covered by narrow strips of trees, mainly eucalyptus. These trees are not utilized for any other purpose than as building material and to a minor extent as fuel.

In the area scattered homesteads are the most frequent pattern of residence. Sometimes some homesteads are concentrated into small family hamlets. Real villages except for market villages, are not found in the Chilalo awraja. People often refer to a large cluster of compounds as a village but it should be understood that the units referred to do not have any of the institutions characterizing a village. These types of clusters may easily be disbanded if the people living together cannot agree or of other reasons find it right to split. However, as long as the people live together in a cluster, they co-operate in their daily work and help each other during times of calamity. Very often an extended family is found within the same compound and in those cases the co-operation between the members and their sharing of all products make it difficult to distinguish more than one economically autonomous household.

B. Housing

The composition of the homesteads differs according to the size of the household and the prosperity of the family. Very often a compound consists of several buildings: one or two living houses for the household members, possibly a guest house, and a number of grain stores. To protect the animals during the nights a fence is built around the houses. This enclosure may be sub-divided into separate sections. In places where wood is scarce and the owner of the farm does not own any animals, the compound sometimes lacks fencing. Wood fences might, however, be replaced by walls made of mud and grass tufts.

The skeleton of the house is constructed of wood, usually from eucalyptus trees. First wall poles are erected close together to form a circle and after that the conical roof frame is added. The joints are mostly fitted together by bark stripes or bast-fibre. The walls are plastered with mud. Sometimes cow dung is used. The roofs are thatched and do not have any vent-holes for smoke. There are no windows in the walls and only one narrow wooden-framed doorway is opened up in the wall and provided with a simple wooden door. As there are no fixed smoke-holes the smoke must force its way through the thatching of the roof. This arrangement keeps flies and mosquitoes away and as the walls and the roof are impregnated by the smoke it also helps in softening the attacks of the white ants.
A house of the described construction can be used up to thirty years if well built and maintained.

Inside the living house some beds made of mud are mostly built along the walls. The head of the household sometimes owns a wooden-framed bedstead with the bottom of the bedstead twined of leather strips. The floor consists of trampled mud. The fireplace is always put directly on the floor, with a depression on the floor serving as a protection. When cooking three conical pieces of pottery are used as a tripod. This construction of the fireplace often causes accidents in that small children fall into it and are burnt.

Around the walls pegs are fitted into the mud plastering and serve as hooks for different household utensils.

Besides being the residence of the household members the living house also serves as a stable for horses, calves and sick animals. There is often a special apartment, marked by a mud wall, arranged for the calves.

In the towns and market villages of the awraja the houses are mostly constructed of poles and mud mixed with straw (chicka). Their forms are square and their saddle-shaped roofs are covered with corrugated iron sheets. The finish and standard varies widely; from houses with many rooms, doors and windows of European type, cement flooring and inner ceiling, indoors and outdoor nicely finished and painted, down to hut standard where the main difference from the usual farmer's hut is the square form and the corrugated iron-sheeted roofs. Houses equal to them are nowadays becoming more and more common on the countryside. This is also the fact in Wajji. This type of house has become an object of investment and to show his standard of living the owner decorates the top of the saddle-shaped roof with ornaments cut out in wood.

C. Storing

In the living house there are mostly facilities for storing grain. Special conical mud bins are used for this purpose and placed close to the kitchen apartment of the house. However, most of the grain is stored in specially made bins placed within the compound. The grain bins look like big roofed baskets. The containers are built in different sizes. An ordinary container usually keeping 700 - 1,000 kg of grain, is elevated some decimetres from the ground to prevent water to enter the bottom. The framework is made of eucalyptus branches which are twined together. The vertical ones are tied together at the bottom to form a cone while the upper ends form a wide circle. The frame is plastered with mud on both the outside and inside. Some farmers are of the opinion that the inside should be plastered with cow dung. The reason is that cow dung does not contain as much insects as the mud and consistently this means that the grain get a better protection against the insects. However, according to the farmers, there are no great problems with insects in Wajji. It is on the lowland that the farmers lose great quantities of grain due to the attacks by insects. The problem in Wajji is said to be rodents but a farmer taking good care of his stores, replastering especially their bottoms, will not lose more than a couple of kunas (8-10 kg) in each store.
The bins are covered by thatched, conical roofs. These roofs are not fixed to the bins but should be removable as this is the only way of filling them with the grain and also to take the grain out again. The diameter should be so wide that one man can stand inside the bin and without hindrance be able to work. The same bin will be used during about six years before it is renewed. During the six years it is constantly repaired with mud. In Wajji area the farmers can store their crops in the bins for one year which is double the time of the lowland bins where the crops are estimated to be destroyed after six months.

D. Protection of cattle

As has been mentioned all animals are kept inside the compound during the nights. Therefore among the Arussi Galla Moslems great consideration to the cattle is taken when the site of the compound shall be selected. The Moslem head of household drives his cattle out in the afternoon and lets them move around on his land freely. Where the cattle stop and lay down is the place they prefer. To be sure of that it is a good place, the owner spends his night there out in the open. If he has slept well he decides to build his compound on that spot. This procedure has been recorded even in one case where the already existing compound was moved because of the cattle. The owner had noticed that his cattle did not seem to be happy in the compound. When he let them out they stopped just about two hundred metres from the existing compound and the owner decided to build a new compound there. The work was started immediately.

The Christians do not follow this procedure when they shall select a place for their compound. The head of household goes out during the night to find a suitable, not too windy place. When he has found that place and after he has spent his night there, he starts building his compound. When choosing the place he does not take the help of his animals but he considers the possibility for the cattle to thrive on that spot.

E. Household and farming equipment

The interior of the traditional house, the tukul, does not have any furniture except maybe for one or two wooden chairs used by the head of household and offered as a seat to a prominent guest. The mud benches built around the walls are used when sitting down and here the members of the household are sleeping during the nights. Some may even have to sleep on the floor where skins are spread out to keep the worst cold away. The people, when sleeping, are wrapped up in their shemas, cloaks of wool or silk worn by both men and women. When eating, the food is served on a special basket, mesob, woven of straw and often dyed in bright colours.

Everywhere in the house equipment for different purposes is found: baskets of different kinds, pots and bottles for milk and butter, water pots, skinbags and tools used in farming. The equipment is mostly made of wood, clay, gourds, skin and grass. Especially equipment used in connection with the cattle, like milking vessels, should always be made of wood, gourds or grass. This is a custom also found among the East African cattle-breeders. It is said by the people in Wajji that using for instance a tin can when milking, a woman will get the whole family into trouble and the cattle will die.
Looking at the household equipment one will see that some implements of modern design and materials have been adopted among or are replacing some of the traditional implements. More and more of these new implements bought in the market villages are added. Still they are very simple and of little reforming value.

Also the equipment used in farming is simple. When ploughing the farmer uses a wooden plough pulled by one pair of oxen. The plough is equipped with a narrow iron tip and the mould-board not broader than ten centimetres. This makes the plough furrows very narrow and the farmer has to plough his fields several times in different directions in order to break the soil up and to tear the roots of grass and weeds.

The plough pole is from two to three metres long. It is attached to the yoke by leather straps. The yoke is composed of one cross beam which is placed on the back of the necks of the oxen. Through this cross beam four holes are made through which sticks are put to be used in pairs as neck bows. The lower parts of the sticks are then tied together with leather straps under the necks of the oxen. When driving the oxen the farmer uses a whip. The handle is a short stick and to this stick a long twined leather throng or a twined rope is tied.

Before the plough was introduced the farmers used a simple hoe when working on their fields. This hoe was the implement that made it possible for them to cultivate areas with a very hard top soil. The hoe is still used even if it nowadays does not hold the same position as a key implement. It is made of a stout branch with one end bent in a sharp angle. It has a short handle and the tip of it is iron-shod. Some hoes have a dual use as the iron tip can be reversed and used as an axe.

When harvesting the farmers use sickles which they buy at the markets. The sickle has a very short handle in which the crescent shaped blade is put. The sickle is sharpened against a special stone or against a piece of iron. When cutting the crops the farmer is squatting on his haunches. With his left hand he grabs a bundle of straw and cuts it. To protect his left forearm he uses a leather sleeve.

Threshing is done by oxen. The crop is piled up to a big heap and the oxen are then walking over it in a circle. To keep the heap together and to throw the straw up in the air to separate the grain, a hay fork is used. If possible the farmer tries to find a stout branch that is fork-shaped by nature. The best forks have three points. If a natural fork-shaped branch is not found one or two points are added by tying them by rope to the branch.

When at last only the grain and chaff are left a ground basket or plate of woven grass is used to throw all of it up in the air thus making the wind separate the chaff from the grain. Instead of the basket a paddle-like shovel is often used in fanning chaff. It can also be used as a scope when for instance the grain is turned in the sun for drying.

To measure the grain cropped a special ground basket, measuring one kuna, is used. The grain is heaped in the basket and the full measure is equal to 4-5 kg.
Besides the tools mentioned there are also others. From the market the farmers nowadays can buy spades and modern steel axes. The spades, however, usually have a rather limited use. After they have ploughed their field, some farmers make heaps of the top soil in order to burn all roots of grass and weeds. The heaps being about one metre in diameter and about half a metre high are filled with some dry cow dung which is kept burning on the field. When carrying the burning cow dung to the heaps the spades are used. More seldom the spade is used when the soil is gathered. For this purpose an ordinary piece of wood is used as a rake and the person using it bends forward with straight legs.

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION

A. Crops and farming methods

The cultivation in Wajji is characterized by different rotation systems followed by periods when the fields are left fallow, often for very long periods. The crops grown are mainly barley and wheat but also peas, beans and flax are cultivated all over the area. Teff on the other hand is seldom cultivated as the altitude is too high and if a farmer is growing it he only considers home consumption. The quality of the grain is generally low and it is difficult for the farmers to get good prices for their products.

The seeds the farmers usually take from their own stores but some farmers are of the opinion that the same seeds should not be used on the same fields for more than one year. By that reason neighbours and friends exchange seeds to get higher yields and better qualities. However, it has never been recorded that seed of improved quality is scattered. The farmers might buy seeds from the markets but in that case they buy from other farmers who have the same quality of seed. The seed improvement station north of Asella does not have any representatives in the market villages.

The crop production methods are simple but the activities comprised in the production system are time consuming. With the simple plough lacking mould-board the farmer has to plough his fields several times. Generally the same field is ploughed 4-5 times before the seeds are broadcasted. The same fields are sometimes cultivated for 4-5 consecutive years before they are left fallow for 10-15 years. When starting to cultivate a field which has been fallowed for such a long period some farmers are burning the top soil. This is done partly to get rid of all sorts of roots and partly to get the soil fertilized by the ashes. After the first ploughings the top soil is collected into heaps and burning cow dung is put into the centre of each heap. After that the heaps are left burning for some days until the fire is extinguished by itself. The heaps are then scattered again and the field is ready for seeding. This soil preparation is only done the first year of each rotation cycle and the remaining years during which the field is cultivated it is only ploughed several times in different directions so that the top soil is broken up and the roots torn.

The making of heaps is a very time consuming activity and for every heap ten to fifteen minutes are needed. The common technique is to use one's hands or a piece of wood as a shovel. A field of one-quarter of a hectare takes at least one full working day to complete if two persons are working on it.
Some farmers are against the burning of the top soil and are not leaving the fields fallow for long periods. Instead of burning the soil they sometimes add manure to it, especially then to the fields planted with beans. Manure from inside the house and also ashes from the fireplaces and old roof thatchings are used. These actions are also taken by people who are burning the top soil but they only do it during the years following the first one. The soil preparation is carried out before the main rains, which start in June, so that seeding can be done in proper time. The only technique when sowing is broadcasting. The same field should never be planted with the same crop for more than one year. Rotation of crops are generally applied and some farmers have fixed opinions about in which order the different crops ought to come. However, it may be questioned whether they really stick to their principles. Sometimes the same kind of crop is planted also a second year on the same field.

The seeding rates for different crops have been estimated by the farmers. For a field which is one tinsad, i.e. about one-quarter of a hectare, the following estimations have been given:

- barley and wheat: about 20 kg
- peas: " 30 kg
- linseeds: " 10 kg
- teff " 5-6 kg

Weeding of the fields is usually made only once or maybe twice. This activity is carried out by hand. However, plots with onions, which are usually situated just outside the compound, are often weeded several times with the use of a hoe.

In late October the harvest starts and goes on up to the middle of February. At harvest as at the time of ploughing it is common that several farmers go together to form a collective working body to help each other to cut the crops. A large team of farmers can then be seen working with their sickles. The straws are made up into bundles which later on are put together to a large heap. When threshing oxen are driven in a circle over the heap to tramp it in order to separate the grain from straw and chaff.

The grain is kept outdoors until it has been threshed. When the threshing is finished it is immediately put in the stores. Immediately after the harvest the farmers take most of their grain to the market to sell it. They need cash to be able to pay the tax and also to buy new clothes to their family. The grain left after this is kept in the stores and is used for home consumption during the year.

When selling at the markets the farmers are often cheated by the grain traders who are manipulating the weights. The farmers are aware of this but there is nothing they can do about it as all traders are doing the same and there is no proper competition.
B. Forestry

Earlier the highland area was partly covered with forests but as cultivation has become more and more intensive less space has been left for sylviculture. Today only narrow strips or small groves of eucalyptus will be seen here and there. The trees are of bad quality and are only used as building material and firewood. Most landowners have planted some trees to meet a future demand of building material. However, as there is a shortness of trees the supply of fuel cannot be met by wood only. To meet the great demand of fuel cow dung is collected from the cattle pens to be used instead of wood. The manure collected is made into flat, round cakes which are piled up to a heap and plastered with mud. This will then mainly be the supply of fuel for the rainy season when the cattle is driven to the lowland. For the daily fuel consumption during the dry season the women are collecting dried cow dung from the fields close to the compound. Most of the manure needed as fertilizer is thus used in this way depending on the shortness of wood.

In the slopy area there are great risks of erosion and serious damage can be registered. Here is another disadvantage of the lack of forest plantation.

The farmers owning eucalyptus trees are very careful with them. However, no actions are taken to improve the present forestry conditions.

C. Cattle

No farmers in the area are wholly relying on cattle-breeding. Most commonly they are both growing crops and raising cattle. Only a few farmers do not have cattle and for the whole woreda it is said to be about 16% of the households which are lacking animals. Some statistical figures have already been given for Wajji and in the chapter dealing with the state of knowledge among the people different points related to the cattle have been brought up.

The cattle-breeding is influenced by the seasonal variations of the climate. After the main rains are over in mid-September there is good pasture for the animals. However, the good grass is soon burnt by the sun and before the small rains start in March good pasture is getting scarce. The same situation is faced during the period in between the small and the main rains. At the same time the constantly increasing intensity of cultivation has decreased the areas left for grazing but at the same time the farmers do not decrease the number of heads they own. This means that the condition of the animals becomes worse, the yields of milk decrease and fewer calves are born. Earlier a cow gave birth every year as told by some farmers but now she generally will get one calf every third year. The milking capacity of each cow is only one coffee cup full in the morning and one in the evening. A very good cow is said to milk about one litre a day.

The farmers are not only facing the problem of overgrazing but also the shortage of water during the dry season is a serious matter. The area is traversed by several riverlets but during the dry season all of them are normally getting dry and it is only the bigger rivers that still carry water. This means that the farmers have to drive their animal far distances during this season. The women fetching water for the household from the rivers in big clay pots also bring water to sick animals and calves which are kept at home.
During the rainy season there is no problem of water as the animals can drink directly from low parts of the fields where the water stands high over the surface of the ground. Problems which are faced during this season is the different diseases that are attacking the animals. A common sickness this time of year is the rotten foot disease.

When the main rains start some farmers leave the highland area with their cattle to let them graze down on the lowland. Many of them take their families along. Grazing land is rented from farmers on the lowland and often several farmers from the highland join in the renting of a piece of land for about three months time. The rents differ according to how many heads of cattle are to be grazed and the size of the areas rented.

From the lowland the farmers bring a kind of soil, called bodji, which is given to the animals, preferably to the oxen. This salty soil is thought to give additional strength to the oxen and is therefore given when they are used for ploughing. To this supplementary food is also added tobacco, fenugreek (abish), barley cakes left from tela brewing, chaff from barley, salt, and grawa). If the farmers have enough supplies of these additional foods they give to all cattle but the oxen are the ones to which they give first of all. Some farmers are cutting hay to their animals but this is not a common practice. The straw left after the threshing is finished is piled up and used partly as fodder for the cattle, partly as fuel.

When herding the cattle children of both sexes are mostly acting as shepherds. As there are no fenced areas for grazing and the crops are not fenced the shepherds must prevent the animals from destroying the crops. Twice every day the cattle is driven back to the compound where they are milked by the women inside the cattle pen.

The milk is drunk fresh but is in most households looked at as a luxury good. Some of it is kept for the smallest children and the rest is generally churned into butter. Butter is an important ingredient in the food and is also used to smear on the heads of people one wants to bless. Blessings with butter is compulsory at occasions like we dings and at the birth of a child. Among the Moslems also the whole body of a dead person is smeared with butter while among the Christians only the head is smeared. This act is called hodanne which means "we smear the dead so that Death will not return". The act shows that the people have accepted the death and will reconcile with Death. Generally butter is a symbol of Life.

The cattle, being an object of investment, is in principle not slaughtered unless a big feast will be held. For minor occasions sheep are slaughtered. The breaking of the fast is celebrated with a feast and at that occasion it is common that several farmers who cannot afford to slaughter a cow go together and share the price for one cow or ox which they then slaughter. When sharing the meat all part-owners are present and all parts of the body are equally shared. Even if there are only two who are sharing the meat they should have from each part of the body as the left side of the animal is bigger than the right side. Meat that will not be consumed at once is smoked and dried and can often be seen hanging from the ceiling. Otherwise it should be noted that the people is not eating meat that is not fresh and slaughtered the same day. This stands for both Christians and Moslems. In this connection it should also be said that representatives of the two religions cannot eat meat slaughtered by each other. Both confessions have their own methods of slaughtering and the slaughter should always be carried out by one who is of the same confession as the ones who are to eat the meat.

1) grawa, see: pp. 43
CASH TRANSACTIONS

The rural population in the Chilalo awraja mainly consists of farmers who to a great extent live on a subsistence level. The main parts of their products are consumed within the households. However, to meet tax expenses the self-owning farmer has to sell crops as taxes are paid in cash. Generally crops are also sold to get cash in order to buy clothes and other necessities for the farmer and his family. The products are taken to the market or are directly handed over to traders outside the market. The latter might be the case when a farmer has to put part of his crops as security or payment when borrowing money from a grain-trader.

The traditional subsistence economy is more and more mixed with cash economy but still barter between households may take place. Cash is kept in small amounts in the households but in case of emergency a family usually does not have any possibility to raise the amount needed without aid from relatives or neighbours. This might even be the matter when a member of the household has fallen ill and must be taken to hospital. It has been observed in several cases that families have to borrow cash to meet expenses running to Eth. $5-7. One of the reasons why cash is not kept is, according to information collected, the fear of thieves who are roaming around in the area.

In the transformation of the traditional kind economy with its element of barter into modern cash economy the market institution has played an important role. Some historical notes are of interest to get a clarified picture of the influence that the market must have had on this continuing change of the economy.

From the beginning the Arussi markets were centres for the external trade with neighbouring tribes and had little importance for the trade between the Arussi peoples themselves. Probably the market institution was adopted from the Sidamos or the Hadya people and in the beginning not to be wholly comparable with the markets in Wolamo or Sidamo. One of the reasons why the market did not have any real importance for the internal trade is that we do not find any specialized handicraft among the Arussi people. At the same time the farmers were selfsupporting when it comes to agricultural products cultivated in the area.

In their trade with the neighbouring tribes the Arussi Gallas brought cattle, hides, butter, honey and salt while the goods brought by the Wolamos were iron equipment, ensete flour, clothes and woven materials. Also the Gurages brought iron equipment, while the Sidamos and the Kambata offered ensete flour. The salt marketed by the Arussi Gallas, which they got from the southeastern part of their area at Magallo and Araana, was of great importance for the neighbouring tribes. The real centre for the salt trade was Kofele.

The German ethnographer, Eike Haberland, who gives all these historical data in his book "Galla Süd-Athiopiens", have listed market places existing in earlier times within the Arussi Galla area. In the western part of Arussiland there were to be found: Kofele, Alelu, Bordo (east of Magalli), Kore, Robi and some other places. A look at the map shows that these places are situated in the border areas of the Arussiland. Market places in the interior parts seem to be of later date and have been established
partly by the Amharas as administrative centres to which trade was attracted. Nowadays new market places are opened by the farmers themselves, if permitted by the authorities. These are not villages but are situated at an important crossroad or at any place judged to be well suited for this purpose.

The old market places were also ceremonial centres of importance. As recorded from many other places in different parts of the world, the Arussi people coming together in great number to trade also took the opportunity to carry out ceremonies. These ceremonies were connected with the gada-system, the traditional age-class system, which gave an extra attraction to the market places. The gada-system, however, also had other implications on the trade. Every eighth year a war was prescribed by ritual and these wars also afflicted the trade. At times the neighbouring tribes dared not send their men to the market places but only sent their women to trade. To solve this serious problem, which was very frustrating for the trade, adoptions and intermarriages took place so that at least related groups could continue the trading activities.

In spite of these happenings the trade at the market places developed and also influenced the economic life of the Arussi people who more and more transformed their kind economy into cash economy. Besides this, other influences from outside helped in changing the economy. Goods of different kinds which earlier were unknown to the rural population spread from the urban areas where factories grew up. A new list of useful equipment was added to the traditional one and new needs calling for cash were created. Thanks to the roads that were built new possibilities to sell agricultural products came into being. The roads are of late date and at present we find a society that still is transforming its old economic system into a modern style.

In the village of Sagure it has been noted that most transactions are cash transactions. This stands especially for transactions at the cattle market and also at the clothes market where traders from Asella are trading during the two market days. However, some barter may take place between the petty traders, mainly women, and in the permanent shops in the village farmers from the countryside in rare cases may obtain goods which they later pay with grain. The female petty traders are usually bartering barley against tape worm medicine (kosso), sugar cane, onions and salt.

South of Asella there are several market places scattered over a large area. However, the biggest ones are situated along the main road going southwards. The people in Wajji mostly visit the markets in Sagure, Catar Genet and Asella. From the centre of Wajji it will take a farmer two and a half hours walk to reach Sagure or Catar Genet and three hours to Asella. Each market place has certain market days during the week. As an example Mondays and Thursdays are market days in Sagure while Catar Genet has Tuesdays and Fridays. Usually market places situated rather close to each other do not have the same week-days when markets are held. However, in big towns like Asella markets are held every day in the week even if the biggest markets only take place on one or two days in the week. In Asella the big market day is on Saturday.

It has been written several times that villages and towns are spontaneous dissemination centres of news and innovations. It is obvious that the people living in the villages and towns of the Chilalo awraja quite spontaneously adopt innovations which are within their economic reach. The
villages and towns are most of them established recently. They are not composed of groups based on kinship as is the case with villages elsewhere. The inhabitants are often people who could not or were not completely willing to conform to the systems and the behavioral patterns of the countryside. People like them are often open to change. The outside world has also partly been opened to them by foreign people like the Arabs and the Gurages who are found in most villages and towns. As has been mentioned earlier the modern means of communication have entered the picture and further stimulated the process of change.

Besides cars and buses carrying the villagers into contact with the outside world also radios are frequently used as a means of communication. Several of the small bars which are found in every village and town are entertaining their guests with not only music but also with news.

The communication with the outside world has resulted in changes in different spheres of life. A complete list will not be attached here but a few examples should be given. Thus, the in-door work has been changed by the adoption of different innovations. Instead of using the mortar and pestle for grinding grain there are now possibilities to take the grain to the motor driven mills that have been erected in most villages. Gourds and woven grass containers are being replaced by glass bottles, drinking glasses and other equipment of modern design and material. Furniture have been added to the equipment in the houses but still the fireplace kept in a separate kitchen house is of traditional design.

The people have to a great extent abandoned their traditional dresses for dresses of western style. Instead of using butter as a cosmetic, perfume bought in the local shops is now generally used.

In the market villages specialists of different kind have settled. We find among others tailors, shoe-makers and pharmacists who with their professional skills have taken over part of the earlier tasks of the common villager.

It is a situation like this that the farmers face when they visit the market places and today we find innovations out on the countryside, even if small and of little value in a wider context. However, there should be consciousness of better implements and methods among the farmers, but lacking proper saving and banking facilities the farmers are trapped in their present situation. Of course, also the socio-economic systems and institutions as such are obstacles of a very intricate nature and as such they should be dealt with.

Objects of investment

It has been stated that there are no proper means of saving and banking in the Chilalo awraja. This affects the economy of the population and especially among the farmers investments are made as soon as cash is obtained. The time of the year when the farmers keep cash for a short period is immediately after harvest. After having bought clothes to the family and consumption goods to the household the farmer invests, if something is left, in animals, housebuilding materials and maybe in land.

The most significant objects of investment in the agricultural sector are oxen and previously land. A share-cropper under ekol crash is aiming at better conditions. From his surplus or through a loan obtained from relatives or moneylenders he will first invest in a pair of oxen. This will
permit him to change his agreement with the landowner into share-cropping under also arash. He now gets the possibility to keep more of his products for himself and that gives him, under normal conditions, a higher surplus. Later on he may buy an additional pair of oxen and maybe in the future land of his own. However, it should be noted, that the pressure on land has increased to a great extent and the most common way of obtaining land today is through inheritance.

From what has been said it can easily be understood that the oxen play a very important not to say dominating role and as objects of investment they are ranked very high. Therefore they are often seen in a very high number in relation to cows. However, the reason for keeping big herds is not only due to the fact that oxen are of importance for the agricultural work. Also cows, heifers, calves and bulls are kept in great numbers. This is a drawback in the present situation when land has become scarce and over-grazing demands attention. The farmers are themselves aware of the over-grazing problem and also admit that they keep too many cattle. However, nothing is done to decrease the number, a fact that must be looked at as a security mechanism. If there is an epidemic there is always hope that some of the cattle will survive. On the other hand the shortage of pasture gives the effect of malnutrition, lesser yield of milk and longer periods between calves born. The farmers have become victims of an evil circle which may prove difficult to break even if there is an obvious interest on the farmers’ part to get help in questions concerning animal husbandry. Furthermore it should be understood that the cattle is a means through which a farmer can show his socio-economic status. The cattle also turns out to be one of the few banking and saving facilities as they create an economic reserve when investments in marriages, funerals and other feasts are necessary.

Horses are other objects of investment but are not used in agricultural work. Together with donkeys and mules they might carry loads to and from the markets. However, a good racing horse is never used for this purpose. It is looked at as a valued object and gives prestige to its owner. Used in the traditional feasts for racing, a good horse with its elaborated saddle-cover and harness is looked at as a status symbol entirely comparable to similar objects in other cultures. As the horse holds this position in the society and is not used in traditional agricultural work, it may prove difficult to introduce it as a draught animal.

Under the section Housing has been mentioned that houses with corrugated iron roofs are spreading, also on the country-side. This type of house is a typical object of investment among landowners.

At seeding time a farmer might also have to invest in seeds as he may have used all of his crops for taxes, home consumption and other necessities. In this case, however, the most common way to solve the problem is to borrow seeds and pay it back after harvest. The rates of interest are usually very high, which will be shown later on.

Ceremonial investments

Besides in pure farm operations, implements, houses, animals and land, investments are also made in other spheres. Here funerals, memorial feasts for dead relatives, weddings and mahabor gatherings should be mentioned as example. The investments in connection with ceremonies of this kind are very important for the people involved. In the feasts held, very strong socio-religious elements are present. It is a question of transforming an individual from one state into another. When it comes to a wedding we clearly see
that the boy and the girl enter the status of married people with all new obligations and rights involved herein. At the same time two often completely different kinship groups are joined together through this affinal tie. It is not only the newly wed who are concerned but also their respective families. All disputes between them should be avoided and this can be seen in different contexts. For instance, at the very wedding ceremony the parties concerned are represented by intermediaries, shimagles, when the bride-price is to be discussed. This in order to avoid a serious dispute if there should be any disagreement between the parties.

The wedding is celebrated in the compounds of both families and both of them have their own guests, relatives and friends, to entertain. At this occasion the families take the opportunity to tighten the ties with people with whom they already have close relations, relations which they want to strengthen, and people with whom they will make contact. In other words this is also to be looked at as a good-will institution in general.

Also other ceremonial feasts mentioned have the character of being good-will institutions. They are celebrated when an occasion of passing over from one status into another is wished to be expressed. It is easy to understand the meaning of a funeral where it is obvious that it is a confirmation of a person's passing from life into death. The memorial feasts are further confirmations of the same thing and at the same time they are a help for the dead person to enter the eternal state and to stop his or her soul from wandering around as a ghost. At the same time all relatives and friends who are in the area assemble and are provided with food and drinks.

Rites like the ones mentioned are called "rites de passage" and are elements which are parts of the life cycle which expresses the main high-lights of man's travel from birth to death.

Inputs in weddings and memorial feasts have been recorded. Of course, the amount of cash and kind invested on such occasions differs in accordance with the status and the economic standards of "the master of the feast". At a memorial feast lasting for eight days, seventeen heads of cattle were slaughtered not to mention all the grain used for tella and katikalla making and for injera baking. In this case it was the seventh year's death memorial of a big man that was celebrated. Being the last celebration to be held this feast was the biggest in a series and it must have meant a long period of saving. Memorial feasts are held the first seven years after a death has occurred. During the first year celebrations are held firstly after forty days after the death, secondly after eighty days, thirdly after six months. Then there is one feast after one year and one yearly feast is then held for the coming six years. On all these occasions the family arranging the feast must give food and drinks to the guests. The children of the dead person go together and arrange the celebrations. This is especially done in arussi.

An ordinary wedding lasts for several days and nights during a time the hosts have to feed their guests abundantly. After the first days are finished with all their different ceremonies it is up to the bride's and the bride-groom's families to continue entertaining people with whom they have special relations. This might continue for a month and even longer depending on the economic standards of the families concerned. But a wedding ceremony does not only mean food and drinks in abundance. The bride-groom's party must pay a bride-price to the bride's family. In cases observed the actual bride-price have amounted to Eth. 270, a sum that again can be altered
according to the status of the families involved in the transaction. Besides the bride-price in cash the bride-groom or his family must bring new clothes and ornaments to the bride.

A list of expenditures connected with a Christian wedding looks as follows:

- **bride-price**: Eth.$ 70:-
- **agreement money**: 3:-
- **clothes for the bride**: 35:-
- **cattle given by bride-groom’s mother to the bridal couple, valued**: Eth.$3108:-
- **animals slaughtered by the bride-groom’s party for the feast, valued**: 88:-
- **expenses for tella, katikalla, injera etc. valued**: 58:-

It should be noted in this special case that the cattle given by the bride-groom’s mother, a widow, will still belong to the compound in which she lives as all her married sons and their families live with her. On the other hand the sons are free to leave the mona (compound) whenever they desire to do so. Up to now the sons farm the land together and share the produce. In case the brothers part and erect their own monas, each of them will take what belongs to him, including the cattle given to him and his wife at their wedding.

At every wedding party especially the female guests bring food and drinks to the feast while the male guests bring money as gifts. The amount given by each individual or family depends on their relation to the bride-groom. The gifts in food and drinks brought by the female guests and the money given by the males will be used to cover part of the expenses of the wedding.

- **gifts from relatives and friends of the bride-groom, est. value**: Eth.$66:-
- **money given by male guests**: 45:-

The bride-groom’s bestmen have the duty to beg money from all guests at the wedding. This money will be given to the newly wed and they themselves have to decide the use of the money. In this case it was decided to use the money for buying a heifer.

- **Money collected by bestmen**: Eth.$36:50

Besides these gifts in kind and in cash the bride brings one wooden box with clothes and household equipment and some food and drinks. These are gifts from her family. The estimated value of these items was Eth.$55:-.
At the same time as the bride-groom's family was entertaining their guests the bride's family was doing the same in their compound. For this purpose they had prepared food and drinks for the official wedding days for a sum amounting to about Eth.$107:-. Besides these initial costs both families have had a lot of extra expenses when entertaining their closest relatives and friends during one month's time. However, it has been impossible for the investigation team to obtain any figures showing such costs.

Of course, the figures given above only represent one case and therefore it is impossible to give anything but a hint about the investments in connection with a wedding. However, it should once more be stressed that the wedding related here is said to be an average wedding in the area and as such it might be representative. Thus, the total expenditure for the bride-groom's family was Eth.$464:- when the gifts in kind and in cash are deducted. For the bride's family the costs are lower as the wedding party held by them is not running for so many days and thus they do not have to slaughter so many cattle. In this case the total expenditure for the bride's family was Eth.$162:-.

Up to present time it has not been possible to get first hand information about a Moslem wedding. It can, however, be stated that the bride-price for Moslems is corresponding to the Christians' bride-price but contrary to the Christians, the Moslems pay their bride-prices through an instalment system. The last payment shall be made at the wedding day. Also the Moslems are entertaining their guests for several days when they offer them food and drinks in abundance.
Investment and status

The different objects of investment may be divided into two main groups: the secular and the ceremonial. In the secular group animals, implements, land and better houses are the main objects but also others will be found here. Of course pure practical reasons call for investments of this kind but it should never be forgotten that also a great amount of status is counted as well. The influence of the latter cause is important enough and may in some cases be the sole reason for the investment. In all societies people want to show their prosperity and they are always looking for something new to be adopted and introduced as a sign of socio-economic well-being.

However, there is a difference between a society like the one dealt with here and a modern western society. The modern society to a great extent alters its objects of investment rapidly while the traditional society has to stick to its old objects for very long periods. This difference is caused by the differences in economic development. The members of a traditional society lacking the possibilities of economic growth must struggle for years before getting any chance to get access to an object of combined usefulness and status. Even if there is a demand for innovations there are no means of reaching them. The surplus gained is invested in already known objects and people dare not take a chance on something new and untested.

Investments in the ceremonial objects also have a basis of status in that the persons concerned with the arrangements have the possibility to show their economic standards. At the same time these persons also tie the invited people closer to themselves, people with whom they already have got or will establish some kind of relation. There also is the religious aspect, which among the people in the area has a strong position and to a great extent direct their lives.

Financing of investments

To solve problems connected with investments in one field or another there are different possibilities for the farmers. To meet minor cash requirements they may be able to cover the needs by selling animals or crops. In such cases a sheep or a cow may be sold, oxen are rarely sold as they are objects of investment and status.

When some major problem arises an individual farmer can get help from different institutionalized aid associations prevailing in the traditional society. Also there is always the possibility to get credit from another farmers, may it be in connection with the present share-cropping system or not.

Among the institutionalized aid associations different but at the same time rather closely related types can be found; senbete, mahabor and ider. Two collective working bodies, jige or wamfa and debba, form another set within this category, while the originally urban creation of late date, the ekub, grows more and more popular on the countryside and therefore should be added. Senbete and mahabor groups are purely Christian associations while ider and ekub groups have members of both Christian and Islamic faith. Also jige and debba are groups where Christians and Moslems mix together. However, in Najji there are no special Moslem associations corresponding to the senbete and mahabor groups.
The importance of the kinship groups has decreased to a large extent at present time. We do not find any larger kinship groups functioning as important bodies within the sphere of aid to its members. The largest homogeneous kinship group of importance is the mona (compound) where an extended family under the leadership of a father or the eldest brother forms a well functioning unit concerned with cooperative work and mutual aid. Kin relations only have an effect on credit in that it might be easier for a person to get a loan from a relative and at the same time get it free of interest or to a very low rate. However, this is of an informal character and there is no direct obligation for a kin group to go together to help a relative, especially not if the relation is distant.

As a substitute for these larger groups based on kinship and also on age-classes, now disappearing and without any practical importance, other self help institutions have been created. Two of them are related to the church or the saints, the senbete and the mahaber.

Associations

The highland arussi is to a great extent populated by immigrants mainly from the north. Between the original inhabitants, the Arussi Gallas, and the amharas cultural differences prevail. When it comes to forms of collective collaboration these differences are obvious. The southern part of Ethiopia, where we find Gallas, Sidamos, Gurages and others, cooperative efforts characterize the social organization. In the northern part, among the Amharas, a more individualistic pattern can be distinguished. This may influence the situation within different areas of the selected awraja depending on from which group the majority of the people come. In the area surveyed up to now most of the institutions may be divided into two categories. One might be directly translated as cooperative associations while the other category is composed of collective working bodies.

Senbete

The name senbete originates from the word senbet which means Sunday and the name has been given this type of group as its members always gather on Sundays after the service at church. People, Christians, belonging to the same church area have their senbete houses outside the church compound proper. In these houses which usually can be seen clustered outside the churches on the countryside, the senbete members assemble to eat dabo (bread), kolo (roasted grain and peas) and in some places injera wot and to drink tella. However, coming together for eating and drinking is not the main idea or goal of the senbete group. The purpose is to aid the members when they are in need of help. The group also settles disputes and passes judgments of informal character. Within the senbete group five or six functional bodies are acting: priest, muse, delga muse, shinagles, secretary and cashier.

A priest should always be member of the senbete group. It is his duty to bless the group members. He shall also bless the food and the drinks as these items are meant to be the Holy Communion. The fact that the priest has an official position in the group does not exclude him from paying his part of food and drinks to be brought for the assembly.
The muse is a kind of leader of the group and he also act as a judge dealing with internal cases of the group. The muse is elected by the group members.

The delga muse is also elected. It is his duty to act as an intermediary between the members, the secretary and the cashier on the one side and the muse on the other.

In the senbete group five to seven shimagles are elected. They are supposed to settle disputes between the members. When the group has its meetings the shimagles do not enter the house until all the members are assembled inside the house. The shimagles sit outside the house and try to figure out if any of the members have been quarrelling with each other. If they find a case they immediately, before the combatants enter the senbete house, try to settle the dispute. If it proves impossible for the shimagles to be successful they will pass the matter to the muse. It is then up to the muse to pass his judgement and try to reconcile between the parties. If he does not succeed and the parties concerned do not accept his judgement they are free to take the case to a formal court.

The senbete group always has a secretary elected. His main task is to keep records showing the turns when the different members shall pay the food and drinks needed for the weekly meeting. He shall also keep the accounts over money collected. Almost all senbete groups own money. This money kept by the appointed cashier, can be used for repair or rebuilding of the senbete house and the church. It can also be used to help a group member who has lost his cattle or has got his house burnt down by accident. If a member falls ill and must be taken to hospital or if anyone from his household dies he will get monetary aid. When death enters the picture the senbete group may contribute to the funeral but the most common aid in this connection is that a widow gets money for food to the family; this money is not supposed to be paid back.

The senbete group might also give help to a non-member. If a non-member comes and asks for help the senbete group first puts through an investigation to learn about the actual facts. The group can then decide either to give money from the cash or to ask its members to make voluntary contribution.

On big holidays or on the birthday of the church around which the senbete groups have assembled the groups will contribute food and drinks for the celebration. At such an event all people who come for the celebration are invited to participate in eating and drinking.

Outside some churches there is only one big or medium sized senbete house. The most common sight is, however, several senbete houses lumped together. This is most common on the countryside where there usually is a far distance between the churches. People from different areas, may it be golmasa areas or chicka shum areas, will then build their own senbete houses.

Generally the senbete groups are recruiting their members from within a rather limited area. This is one characteristic that makes them differ from the next religious grouping, the mahaber.
Mahaber.

The mahaber group is closely related to one of the Saints of the orthodox church. People worshipping the same Saint go together to form a mahaber. The group gets its name from the Saint worshipped, for instance, Mahaber Marami (gal. for Saint Mary's mahaber), Mahaber Michaeli (gal. for Saint Michael's mahaber) etc. In the Ethiopian calendar all Saints have their fixed days every month. The members of a mahaber will in accordance with this assemble on their Saint's day. The meetings take place in the homes of the members; one month one of the members will be the host and the following month another one, and so on until all members have held the mahaber. Then another round is started. It is the duty of the hosts to feed the visiting members with dabo, kolo and tella. In some places tella and injera is offered. A member who is not fulfilling this obligation will be excluded from the group for the future.

The mahaber does not have so many functionaries as the senbete. However, it might have a priest, a muse and a secretary. Their duties are almost the same as those of their colleagues in the senbete. However, the muse does not always possess such a power as in the senbete group. On the other hand it should be mentioned that in some cases a mahaber group might be formed by a man who already has got a leading position in the community. He will then take up the position as leader, muse, of the mahaber group. It is obvious that some of the existing mahaber groups can be looked at as political groupings whose members not only worship the same Saint but also represent a common opinion on local politics.

Usually the mahaber groups do not own money. In case the members want to buy anything for common use within the group they contribute money for that purpose. However, the group members will help a fellow-member or his family in the main agricultural activities if needed, in building houses, etc. If anyone of the members or his family dies all members will attend the funeral if they are in the area and at the same time they will contribute some money to help the family. The members may also help to put up a shelter for all guests coming to attend the funeral.

Some mahaber groups are owners of tents, plates and tables, which can be borrowed by the members. In some respects the mahaber group may be, to a certain extent, in conformity with the ider group.

It should be mentioned that within the modern co-operative movement which has been working for some years in Ethiopia, the word mahaber is used as a name for the co-operative societies. This to make it easier for people to understand the meaning of the societies. Even if a modern co-operative society has a more pronounced purpose than the traditional mahaber group the people get a hint about the idea behind the co-operatives.

Ider

Among the associations found in the peasant community the ider is of great importance to its members. The members are recruited from a more limited area than is the case with members of mahaber and senbete groups. As soon as a man marries he will automatically become a member of an ider group. Adult men from the same mona (compound) can be members of the same ider group, while women are rarely accepted as members. Christians and Moslems are members of the same ider groups.
An ider group has no numerical limit set for membership and no formal contracts are written when a new member is accepted. On the other hand every member must pay a yearly membership fee in kind. The fee differs from group to group, but as an example it may amount to two kunas (about 9 kgs) of beans and one kuna (about 4.5 kgs) of wheat. The crops collected in this way are kept in bins belonging to one of the members who has been elected by the members of the group to act as a treasurer. Besides this yearly contribution the members will pay any amount of money decided by the group as a fee at every meeting day. The amount paid is usually rather small and might just be 10 cents.

The frequency of group meetings differs from group to group. Its members can agree to meet once in a week, once in a fortnight or once in a month. Some of the ider groups have their meetings on Saints' days. This will also be so if there are feolems as members. The ider group might also be named after a Christian Saint but this does not mean that the ider group is a religious grouping.

The main purpose of the ider group is to organize a mourning when death occurs and to make and honourable funeral possible. Funerals are expensive and requires investments too high to be born by an individual household. From the commonly owned crops the dead person's family will get a contribution fixed in the rules of the ider group; for instance, five kunas of beans and four kunas of wheat if the yearly contribution by the members is as already stated. It should be noted that these quantities are only distributed when it is the father, mother, brother, unmarried sister, wife or child of a member who has died. If a married sister dies the member just gets 5th.25-10 as a help to meet the expenses. In this case the dead sister's husband is a member of a similar group and will get help from that group.

The ider group might also be the owner of different items such as a tent, tables, drinking vessels and plates. These items are borrowed by the members to meet the invasion of guests that always is expected on a funeral day and also on wedding days and memorial days. A rich ider group might also own a horse with a saddle and harness. This is used to call people to a funeral as the distances between the homesteads are far. The horse may also be used for transporting the ider's equipment from where it is stored to the household which wants to borrow it.

Some ider groups also help a member to build a new house if by accident a house is burnt down. Every member coming to the building site will then bring one eucalyptus pole or something else that will be useful for the member in need.
The ekub is the last of the associations to be described. It is a late phenomenon in Ethiopia originating from the urban areas but is becoming more and more popular in all sections of rural and urban society. It might best be described as a savings club which includes both banking and lottery. The ekub is composed of persons who are attached to each other in one way or another. A chairman, a secretary and a cashier are elected. The secretary writes a contract in which the purpose, the rules and the number of members of the ekub are stated. In this contract the monthly stake from each member is also fixed; every member must sign the contract with signature or finger print and must also choose two guarantors who will guarantee with their own money that the prescribed stake is paid in proper time.

Through the lot the collected money is distributed monthly. If the number of members are 20 and the stake Eth. 10 per month and member the one who wins will get Eth. 200. This money he can use for investments or whatever he likes. The same person cannot win again until all 20 members once have got the ekub. To avoid that the first winners will quit the association and cease to pay their stakes the strict rules with guarantors are necessary. This also gives the ekub its character of combined bank and lottery.

It is common that the first pool is given to the chairman without casting of lot. Some associations also practice to give the second pool to the secretary. From the third pool onwards the lot is cast among the members.

The ekub may also function as an "exchange institute". If one member is in need of money he can "buy ekub" from the winner. The one who buys gets the whole amount minus 5-10% which goes to the one who sells. Then the buyer wins in his turn he has to give the whole amount to the one from whom he bought.

On the countryside where access to cash is restricted and where the objects of investment are fewer than in urban areas the ekub is not of the same importance as in towns. However, it is generally prevailing in the Chilalo awraja and together with the ider, mahaber and sembete groups it constitutes a possible basis in the traditional structure for the development of different forms of organized co-operative societies.

In areas where seasonal movements takes place, as is happening in large parts of the Chilalo awraja, the ekub is temporarily stopped. Thus, it is mainly during the main rains when the farmers drive their cattle to the low-land that the functioning ekub group will suspend their meetings until after the rains when all farmers are back.

The ekub is important as a means of investments. Through this system a farmer will get cash in his hands which will enable him to invest in something that he otherwise could not afford. As he must continue to be a member in the ekub until all the members have got their money and thus must pay continuously this system will function as an instalment system in modern business life.

As the members can buy ekub from each other to 5-10 percents interest this system gives an advantage to the traditional credit system where the rate of interest usually is very high.
**Collective working bodies**

In the surveyed area two different collective working bodies function, wanfala or jige and debbo. These are the two most common forms of agricultural co-operation in rural Ethiopia. Within these institutions such activities as ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting are carried out jointly. The organization of these activities are mainly based on verbal agreement and customary conventions rather than on any written constitution. Wanfala or jige has a strict framework while debbo is of a more loose character.

According to a verbal agreement a group of farmers decides to help each other in the different major agricultural activities and a wanfala group is thus created. If a farmer receives help in ploughing from the others in the group he is forced to pay back the help during an equal time. If a farmer denies this he will be accused in front of the shimagelewoch, the old men of the area. If he still refuses to do his part of the work he will be regarded as an enemy of this local community. Orders will be expressed by the elders to leave this man alone. No help should ever be given him and people not obeying the decision will also be judged as social individuals and left alone.

Debbo has more simple arrangements. Two or more farmers decide to help each other as soon as any of them has got any spare time. There are no strict rules and a farmer who has got help does not have to pay it back.

Wanfala and debbo are sometimes decided at the meetings of the sembete and mahabber groups but may also be arranged on other occasions.

**The role of the traditional associations in development work**

The breaking down of the traditional age-class system meant at the same time the destruction of the different groups which partly were concerned with supporting their members in times of need. Christianity and mohammedanism caused the fall of this system but in being socio-religious systems themselves they offered new possibilities for their members. Some of the associations discussed in this paper were created as pure religious groups but they also came to play an important role in the social life. They gained more and more power as aid associations to the benefit of their members.

Besides these religious groups there were also created some of a pure secular character. These groups are also concerned with helping their members and play an important role.

However, it is not only these qualities which are counted as important. All associations mentioned give their members the possibility to meet each other and relax, and at the same time they are centres for the dissemination of news. They also function as pressure groups where the individuals are checked to conform with the general group behaviour and ideas. Here we already find groups where it will be possible at an initial stage to get in touch with larger groups of people to inform them about activities and programmes. However, new groups should be established as soon as possible for the single purpose of disseminating facts about innovations of different kinds and where it also will be possible to demonstrate implements and methods.
In the building up of new co-operative working bodies the already existing associations can be put as models for their organizational pattern. The organization and staffing of the present associations are mostly simple and therefore it should be avoided to put any complicated organizational form into being at once. Through a proper training it will, however, most probably be possible to create something new and more efficient. In this task the speed should to the greatest extent be determined by the acceptability and ableness of the people approached.

Credit

Credit, as it exist on the local level can be extended in the forms of labour, kind and cash. Besides the help a farmer and his family will be given by the institutionalized mutual aid associations in emergency situations, his every day problems and seasonal farm investment problems are solved through credit arrangements between himself and another farmer. Credit can be acquired through the prevailing share-cropping system or as loans obtained by an individual farmer from a fellow-farmer. Between the parties different types of relations might exist and influence the agreement.

In the share-cropping system, ekol arash, credit is part of the system and automatically entered in the agreement as the share-cropper in this case will borrow oxen, plough and seeds from the land owner. The only initial input made by him is in labour but after harvest he pays back the seeds he got from the land owner. These arrangements make it possible for anybody who is apt to work to start farming and earn his own living. This is of great value in the rural areas where the possibilities to get an income outside the agricultural sector are very much limited. On the other hand this share-cropping system does not stimulate the cultivators to make any improvements on the rented land as everything after harvest will be shared by the landowner on a fifty-fifty basis. The yields from the land must be increased very much to give the share-cropper a fair proportion in relation to his input. However, one stimulus is ever present for the share-cropper under this type of tenancy. If he works hard and tries to save as much as possible he might be able to buy a pair of oxen of his own. He will then enter a more profitable agreement with the landowner and become a siso arash farmer.

These different aspects connected with ekol arash show that the already existing systems and institutions should be looked at from different angles. If an institutions is removed and replaced by an innovation it should be seen to that all aspects comprised by the original institution are taken care of.

In siso arash the landowner furnish the share-cropper with half of the seeds needed for the fields while the share-cropper himself owns the oxen and the implements. The seeds given by the landowner are not paid back by the sharecropper. The seeds given by the landowner must be a compensation for part of the share-cropper's labour input. It should not be looked at as a loan proper. At the same time a share-cropper under siso arash does not have the incentive to invest in the farming to a maximum degree.

Credit systems

Loans in kind or in cash can easily be obtained in the rural areas provided that the borrower has proved to be honest in similar transactions before. Usually a very high rate of interest is charged. There are no strictly fixed
rates and the interest paid is often depending on the relation between the
two parties. The lender might be anybody who is rich enough and who can
spare grains or money to start credit transactions. Anybody who is in need
may borrow but he must conform to the rules, get a guarantor and must mostly
sign an agreement. However, some people try to solve their problems by sel­
ling animals and crops.

The big loans are mainly granted in the months of Sane and Hamle (June and
July) and repayment is generally expected after seven or eight months in
Tahisas (January). The main reasons to get a loan are:

a. to pay the land tax
b. to buy seeds
c. to pay rent of pasture land
d. to buy consumption goods (clothes and food for the
   family).

The interest paid varies to some extent and if the borrower is a relative
or good friend and neighbour the lender might agree that no interest shall
be paid. The most common rate of interest, however, amounts to a high per­
centage. On 10 kunas (45-50 kg ) of grain a borrower usually has to pay 5
kunas in interest for seven or eight months. If the borrower is not able to
pay the loan back in due time the loan might be renewed if the parties can
agree. Otherwise the borrower is summoned to court. If the parties agree
compound interest will be added. When the second agreement period expires
after one year the borrower has to pay 10 kunas + 5 kunas (interest of the
first seven or eight months' period) + 5 kunas (second agreement period of
one year) + 2½ kunas (compound interest) and so on.

If the loan is in cash the interest will be Eth. ¼% per month on every bor­
rowed 10k. In some recorded cases the lenders get their interest on loans
paid in labour. Of course the working days claimed depends on the amount bor­
rowed.

According to information from a group of shimagles a smart lender will try
to get hold on the borrower's land, provided the borrower is a landowner.
The lender asks for a very high rate of interest. At the time for repayment
the borrower might be in trouble and unable to repay the loan. Then the loan
is renewed and compound interest is added. as the debt grows higher the bor­
rrower will face greater problems. The lender lets him renew the loan over
and over again. When the value of the loan corresponds to the value of the
borrower's land, the lender will claim his money or grains back definitely.
If the borrower cannot solve the problem he is summoned to court and the
lender will try to get his land as payment.

Up to now no cases like this has been recorded.

However, it should be mentioned to show the situation in which a farmer may
enter if not fulfilling his obligations.

as a general rule the borrower must have a guarantor who signs the agreement
promising to pay the debt if the borrower fails to do it. Earlier this
meant that a guarantor could be ruined if, as happens, a borrower escapes
and moves to another place. The guarantor was taken to court if refusing to
pay the debt. Today the rules have been softened and the guarantor will some­
times be spared from paying. Indeed, the main purpose of calling a guarantor
is to get a witness of the transaction and to get someone who helps in per­
suading the borrower to repay the loans. It should be mentioned that a loan
to a relative or a close friend very often is granted without any guarantor.
Earlier another form of credit has been mentioned. It is called "weled agid", a process in which a landowner borrows money from somebody else. The lender gets a piece of the borrower's land which he then cultivates until the loan is considered to have been paid back. This type of credit requires the borrower to be a landowner.

To get access to credit a farmer also have the possibility to turn to one of the grain traders operating in the area. If the loan in cash is obtained during the growing period the farmer must put his crops as security and he must repay the grain-trader in grain. The crops are estimated according to the market price of the day the loan is taken. If one quintal of wheat (equal to 100 kg) costs Eth. S20 when the farmer gets the loan and Eth. S21 at the time of repayment the grain-trader gets the one dollar as profit. This kind of credit is on a short term basis and usually runs for a couple of weeks. In this type of transaction it is the grain-trader who seem to run the greatest risk. It might be possible, and it has happened in several cases according to informants, that instead of taking his crops as agreed upon to the grain-trader, a farmer will go to another grain-trader from whom he can get a far better price. Then the farmer pays back in cash what he has earlier borrowed and the grain-trader will not get the profit he expected. To avoid this very strict agreements with witnesses are written and a farmer trying to cheat the lender will be summoned to court.

In some recorded cases it has also proved to be possible for a farmer to get credit from one of the local shop keepers in a town or a village. However, this only seems to happen when the farmer is well-known to the shop keeper. The term of credit is short, a couple of days or one week, and the credit is extended in consumption goods. The goods can be paid back in kind or in cash and the interest claimed varies according to how well the parties know each other. The shop keepers in Asella and in Sagure might sometimes give loans in cash. It is then possible to borrow Eth. S10 against for instance 50 kgs. of wheat @ Eth. S18 per quintal. The loan just runs for two weeks and the grain might be Eth. S20 per quintal at that time. The surplus is then kept by the trader. It should be noted that the grain traders and the shop keepers only extend loans when they are sure to make a profit.

Some farmers in the area have petty trading as an extra income besides farming. On Thursdays they visit the market in Sagure where they buy different kind of grains. On Saturday the same week they go to Asella where they sell the same products at the market. To manage this buying and selling they often have to borrow cash from a well-to-do farmer in the area. The loan granted on Thursday must be paid back latest on the following Monday. The interest paid for such a short term loan running to Eth. S10 will be 50 cents. If a petty trading farmer just borrow Eth. S10 for one day and pays it back the next day he has to pay 25 cents in interest.

When loans are to be repaid there is a tendency that they should be paid back in the same currency in which they once were granted. This opinion is also expressed by most people questioned, even if it has been recorded that the repayment of loans in kind very well can be made in cash and vice versa.

It might be thought that a farmer heavily indebted will be controlled and directed in his daily work by the lender. In no cases this has been observed and according to all farmers questioned things like that never happen.

1) See, pp. 51
SUMMARY

The project area covers a region with a mixed population. During the great Galla migration the Arussi Gallas, taking advantage of the Islamic attacks on central Ethiopia, made the region part of their tribal land. However, later on they were forced by the Amharas, who reconquered the area in the 1880s, to share their land with Shoa Gallas and Amharas. Strained relations were predominating between the three tribal groups during the first decades but today they live as close neighbours and peace is established between them. However, intermarriage between the tribes seldom occurs.

In the area both Christianity and Islam are represented. Generally the Arussi Gallas confess themselves followers of Mohammad while the Shoa Gallas and Amharas mainly are Christians. However, still religious traits from the pre-Christian and pre-Islamic period prevail. The differences in religious beliefs influence systems, institutions and customs, even if the basic adaptation to the environment does not show any major differences.

The Christians are strongly attached to the Church and the Saints and two of their most important mutual aid associations, the mahaber and the senbete, are strongly rooted in religion. The Moslems, lacking any equivalent associations, are only members in non-religious groups such as ider, ekub and the collective working bodies, jige and debbo. In these groups also Christians are found.

The leaders in the age-class system were originally the ones who in accordance with the traditional law were guiding the people. With the arrival of the Amharas radical changes were imposed and a new type of leader, the balabbat, was introduced. As leaders subordinated to him we find the chica shums and the golmasas. At the same time a redistribution of land, traditionally owned by the different Galla clans, was undertaken. New laws quite different from the traditional gada law were proclaimed. However, it is obvious that the people in some respects still stick to their customary laws, especially in minor cases. The old men of the communities, the shimagelles, are still acting as arbitrators and are to a great extent guiding the people.

The common pattern of residence in the project area is scattered homesteads and real villages do not exist, disregarding market villages where the Government representatives hold their offices. However, people forming a kinship group may live together and sometimes larger clusters of compounds can be seen.

The income of the population is mainly derived from mixed farming, i.e. crop cultivation and cattle-breeding. Only comparatively few persons have taken up specialized professions in the market villages. Most of the implements and utensils needed on the farms are still manufactured by the farmers themselves.

The agricultural activities are carried out with simple implements and the techniques used show a lack of efficiency. Improvements on the farms are generally not tried, depending on partly ignorance of better methods, improved tools, seeds, storage, etc., and partly lack of capital for investments. Beside this it is not profitable enough for the share-croppers to adopt any innovations as the present share-cropping systems define the limits of their chances to get a good net surplus. Although the farming
population through the modern means of communication has recently got in closer and more permanent contact with the outside world, its knowledge and ideas are generally tied to traditional beliefs and experiences.

A high percentage of the farmers are cultivating land as share-croppers. Three main share-cropping systems are found, but recently a tenancy form called "contrat" has slowly started to spread in the region. In this tenancy form a fixed rent is decided which makes it differ considerably from the share-cropping systems, in which one half to one fourth of the yields are paid to the landowners.

The economy is changing. Barter was earlier the common form of exchanging goods and services, but now most transactions are cash transactions. This has partly been stimulated by the increasing contacts with the outside world through traders bringing new and improved goods. People need more and more cash to meet their new needs. However, the main objects of investment are still cattle, improved houses and feasts like wedding and funerals. Investments for ceremonial purposes are of great importance especially as these feasts at the same time are creating good-will and prestige for the family arranging them.

To meet expenses for funerals and sudden emergencies the farmers get help from the mutual aid associations, if being members of such a group. When the agricultural activities demanding most labour input are to be carried out many farmers go together to form a collective working body. These working bodies are composed of farmers having a feeling of belonging together and both Christians and Moslems can be found in the same group.

However, all expenses cannot be met by help from the mutual aid associations or the collective working bodies. It might be necessary for an individual farmer to obtain a loan in cash or in kind from a fellow-farmer to meet household expenses, to fight a court case or to finance something else that he cannot afford paying from his own assets. These loans do generally have a very high rate of interest and sometimes a borrower has to renew the loan not being able to pay his debt in time. Compound interest is then added. It sometimes happens that a landowner has to leave his farm as payment to the lender.

Even if the official rates of interest are very high, great differences have been recorded. The relation between the borrower and the lender obviously influences the rate of interest and there are cases recorded in which no interest at all is paid.

On the whole it should be noted that even if there are fixed rules guiding different aspects of life in the communities, modifications of and obstructions against these rules are generally found. When collecting information through informants, the investigator will learn about clearly defined rules, but after scrutinizing them further by looking at separate cases, he will find that a certain possibility for modifications within the systems exists.

The inter-relation between systems is another important aspect. A radical change of an institution will most probably start a chain reaction and influence systems, which are thought not to be immediately affected by the imposed change. Thus, even if radical changes are necessary, changes which will shake a whole system, it must be remembered that a lot of complications might be created, if not proper measures are taken to solve other problems obviously created by an innovation. This is one aspect of the integrated approach in development work.
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Appendix 1a

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND DENSITY

IN THE PROJECT AREA OF CADU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WOREDA</th>
<th>BALABBAT AREA</th>
<th>POPULATION</th>
<th>AREA IN Km²</th>
<th>POPULATION DENSITY INH. PER Km²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DODOTA</td>
<td>1. Emperor Agents:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Grazmach Usman</td>
<td>13,100</td>
<td>177.6</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Gena Tedcha</td>
<td>7,422</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. Binya Gudi</td>
<td>3,344</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23,866</td>
<td>221.1</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOROSA</td>
<td>1. Ras Biru's Heirs</td>
<td>40,741</td>
<td>511.4</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Menelik II Memorial</td>
<td>1,571</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>116</td>
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LIVESTOCK DISTRIBUTION IN THE PROJECT

AREA OF CADU

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POPULATION DENSITY MAP COVERING THE PROJECT AREA OF CADU
LIST OF CADU PUBLICATIONS

A. Project Preparation Period

   Part I  General Background
   Part II  Project Outline
   Part III Appendices
   (A reprint of the Summary is also available.)

2. Report No.II on the establishment of a regional development programme in Ethiopia, May 1967. (The building programme appears under separate cover.)


5. Creation of a forestry administration in Arussi province, March 1967.


8. Sasure, a market village, June 1967.


B. Implementation Period


