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The Wolof of Saloum:
social structure and rural development in Senegal

Centre for Agricultural Publishing and Documentation

Wageningen 1978

Abstract

Venema, L. B. (1978) The Wolof of Saloum: social structure and rural development in Senegal. Agric. Res. Rep. (Versl. landbouwk. Onderz.) 871, ISBN 90–220–0583–6 (x) + 228 pp., 47 tables, 8 maps, 15 photographs, 112 references, 27 appendices, English and French summaries. Also: Doctoral thesis, Wageningen.

The study refers to the Wolof of Saloum, Senegal. Its aim was to examine which factors had induced change in rural stratification, co-operation and cohesion. Their significance for administration of rural development was studied. Views of historians and anthropologists are discussed. Literature was examined to determine the processes which had undermined the traditional Wolof states. In this manner, rural development administration was also studied since the colonial period. Fieldwork lasted one and a half years; for one year, a community-study was conducted, the other months were spent on completing questionnaires in the Arrondissement Medinah Sabach.

The Islam reform movement had already undermined the power of the Wolof rulers before the spread of groundnut as a cashcrop and the consequent establishment of French colonial rule. This movement did not alter the differences in status and in influence between free-born villagers and their slaves. In Saloum, the slaves founded independent farms after the 1st World War. Wealth, acquired by cultivating groundnuts and performing commercial side-activities, has also become important to obtain influence. In the village studied, some descendents of slaves had become rich and a few were members of the councils of the village co-operative and party-branch. Agricultural co-operation was partly an expression of local stratification. Aid in labour was also given to in-laws, friends and the poor. Although wage labour had increased, co-operation had not been decreased by incorporation in the money-economy. This incorporation and the application of Islam law had disintegrated the compound into households and the households into individual farms. In this process, other factors were probably important too. The government organizations concerned with the increase in agricultural production had insufficient knowledge of fragmentation of the domestic units, hierarchy in local power networks and the aristocratic culture pattern. It is likely that the propagated innovations did not decrease indebtedness and the difference in wealth between villagers.

ISBN 90–220–0583–6

The author graduated on 1 March 1978 as Doctor in de Landbouwwetenschappen at the Agricultural University, Wageningen, the Netherlands, on a thesis with the same title and contents.

Contents

1 Introduction

This book is the result of a study among the Wolof in Senegal to determine the patterns of co-operation and cohesion in their communities and to analyse their significance for planned rural development. This topic was the centre of attention in the first half of the 1970s at the Department of Rural Sociology of the Tropics and Subtropics of the Agricultural University in Wageningen, the Netherlands[1]. The fieldwork was done from April 1971 till June 1972 and from December 1972 till March 1973, in the *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach, *Région* Sine-Saloum. Most of the time was spent in studying closely one village. At the end of the fieldwork I examined whether the results of this village study were also valid for the other Wolof communities of Medinah Sabach.

The theme of the research was studied in its historical context. A study of the literature preceding the fieldwork had shown that islamization, abolition of slavery and the introduction of the cash crop groundnuts had been important factors of change in the state system of the Wolof. The same factors were taken into account when studying change in the patterns of co-operation and cohesion. Therefore, in the research attention was paid to the following aspects. First how had islamization, abolition of slavery and the cultivation of a cash crop affected the system of stratification in the Wolof communities. Second how had these changes in social stratification influenced the patterns of co-operation and cohesion in these communities. Third what was the significance of these patterns of co-operation and cohesion for the actions of the development organizations active in the research area at the time of the fieldwork. With this approach both the existing patterns of co-operation and cohesion as well as planned rural development could be set in a wider context, so that these topics could be understood also from a diachronic point of view.

Chapter 2 deals with theoretical and hypothetical relations between islamization, cultivation of cash crops and abolition of slavery on one side, and stratification, co-operation and cohesion on the other. Chapter 3 gives a methodological justification for the study. In Chapters 4 and 5 the Wolof states of former times are described, with special attention to islamization, the growth of trade in groundnuts and colonialization as factors of change in rulership. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 treat the new political conditions after the fall of traditional rulership, focusing on the role played by the trade in groundnuts in shaping these conditions; Chapter 6 describes the colonial period, Chapters 7 and 8 the period after independence till 1972. Chapter 9 reviews the agricultural development policies after independence and evaluates them according to official data. In Chapter 10 technical and economic aspects of the Wolof system of farming are considered, particularly to explain the results of the quantitative analysis in Chapter 9. Chapters 13 and 15 describe the system of stratification in the Wolof communities

changed by islamization, cash cropping and abolition of slavery. Chapters 11, 12 and 14 deal with the patterns of co-operation and cohesion in descent groups, age groups, local groups (community, compound and household), status groups and in affinal relations. Special attention is given to the relevance of these patterns for the programme offered to the farmers by the development organizations active in the research area. Chapter 16 summarizes the research with regard to its significance for the research objectives put forward in Chapter 2 and gives also a short summary of its practical relevance. In the following pages of this section the history and geography of Senegal is briefly introduced to give the reader a first impression of this country. See also Map 1 at the end of this book.

The republic of Senegal is situated in West Africa south of the Sahara between 12° and 17° North Latitude. On the north it is bordered by the Senegal River which separates it from Mauretania. On the east a tributary of the Senegal River forms most of Senegal's boundary with Mali. On the south Senegal is bounded by Guinea and Guinea Bissau and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. It is the westernmost country of the continent lying on the Atlantic Ocean with the Cape Verde Peninsular wedging into the ocean. Senegal's geographic location resulted in extensive contacts with the east as well as with the west which has shaped the country into what it is today.

In the middle ages the contact with the east resulted in the development of states in Senegal which, although much smaller than the great Sudan States on the eastern frontier, were in many aspects identical with them. Gradually almost the whole population was absorbed into these minor states, so that afterwards the way of life of the Senegalese became closely connected with the events at the state level. Besides these influences, commercial relations with the east were strong and historians estimate that for West Africa in general the volume of trade with the east exceeded the volume of trade with the colonial powers until the beginning of the 19th Century.

Contact with the west was mainly of a commercial character, favoured by Senegal's location on the Atlantic Ocean. The island Goree, near Cape Verde, became an important centre for the West African slave trade from the 17th Century onwards. Saint-Louis, being situated at the mouth of the Senegal River, developed into a busy trading town when the commercial firms of Bordeaux settled there and along the river from the 19th Century. Another coastal town, Dakar, situated on Cape Verde itself, became a more important trading centre than Saint-Louis at the end of the last century, serving a vaster hinterland than Senegal alone. Influence from the west was further stimulated when first Saint-Louis, but later Dakar, was chosen as the capital of the federation of the French possessions in West Africa[2]. Military conquest of the territories of the federation started from these towns. Both trade and conquest led to an early development of administrative and transport facilities in Senegal. Thus Senegal had a railway track between Dakar and Saint-Louis before the other territories of the federation were conquered. Today, Dakar is a well-known international seaport and airport. It is the industrial centre of Senegal and its capital.

However, through colonial history internal communication has been partly nullified. Another important river, the Gambia, which flows through the interior of Senegal to the coast, attracted British commercial interest and together with its banks it became a British possession. Nowadays an independent state, Gambia stretches from the Atlantic

Ocean inland about two-thirds the width of Senegal, almost separating northern and southern Senegal.

According to African standards Senegal is not a big country. Its total surface area is 196 722 km^2. In January 1970 there were 3 822 000 inhabitants, an average population-density of 19 persons/km^2. However population density is very unequal. For example, in the *Région* East Senegal there are less than 4 persons/km^2, whereas in the *Région* Cape Verde there are 1800 persons/km^2, mainly because Dakar has more than half a million inhabitants. It is this region which causes the average level of urbanization of Senegal to be rather high: 30%; other regional towns all have less than 100 000 inhabitants[3].

Notes

1 Published up to now: Galjart, 1976; Grijpstra, 1976.

2 The federation, called *l'Afrique Occidentale Française* (AOF), included the following territories: Senegal, French Sudan, French Guinea, Ivory Coast, Dahomay, Upper Volta, Niger and Mauretania. Not mentioned here are the territories of the federation of French Equatorial Africa (AEF).

3 Urban (conglomeration with more than 10 000 inhabitants) 30%
Semi-urban (1000–9999) 14%
Rural (1–999) 56%
The data are based on the demographic census of January 1970.

2 Research objectives

2.1 The downfall of the Wolof chiefdoms

In the 18th and 19th Centuries, the stability and strength of the West African states became gradually undermined by certain processes of which the most important were the decline of the slave trade, the appearance of Muslim reformers, the start of cash crop cultivation and the colonization by European powers. Not all historians lay the same emphasis on which processes contributed most to the often drastic changes in traditional government in the 19th Century in many of these states.

Some scholars stated that the increasing involvement of the indigenous rulers in the slave trade in the 17th and 18th Centuries encouraged political centralization by making the capture of potential slaves and the control of certain goods (gold, arms, etc.) financially profitable and a source of power. Then decline in the slave trade implied a decline in power of the rulers. Goody (1971) argued that the central governments of the West Sudan states were based on the use of horse and gun. Because there was no plough and no wheeled vehicle, the donkey most often being used as pack animal, few horses were owned by commoners. Instead, they were largely held for military purposes and as such reserved for the nobility to maintain and extend their domination. As it was difficult to breed horses and keep them alive because of tsetse fly disease (trypanosomiasis) in many areas, many states had to import horses from outside. Goods or services had to be produced to pay for these imports. These goods were often slaves, obtained by raiding neighbouring peoples. Because few guns were made in Africa, the nobility again depended on trade with foreigners. By controlling the import of weapons and horses, they centralized military capability. The end of the slave trade and the start of legitimate trade in cash crops was, however, a serious blow for the reigning elite. Some rulers hardly profited from the growing and trading of cash crops. Goody pointed out that the chiefs in Ashanti were not rich in land and that their rights to any parcel of land coexisted with a cluster of rights held by the lineage residing there. Although some chiefs succeeded in becoming wealthy by turning to farming or trading, in general the retention of former status was difficult.

Hopkins (1973, pp. 106, 143) likewise argued that the growth of external trade encouraged the expansion of many West African states, although he did not imply that this trade was a necessary condition for the formation of large states. However slave raids, and perhaps more important the constant threat of them, were adverse to the cultivation and trading of cash crops. This contradiction he called the "crisis of aristocracy in Nineteenth Century West Africa", resulting from the problems the ruling elite had to face to adapt peacefully and efficiently to the demands of the industrial

world. Hopkins then continued to reemphasize the role of economic motives in the conquest of West Africa, in view of the current dominance of political and diplomatic interpretations of imperialism. In his view the trade in cash crops played a dominant role in the downfall and conquest of many traditional states.

Limiting himself to the former Wolof chiefdoms in Senegal, Pelissier (1966, p. 116), quoting Monteil, paid special attention to the role of the French in Senegal in the weakening of these states. He described how in 1864 Latdior, the Chief of Cayor, opposed the French in the construction of a telegraph line across Cayor, feeling that the political and commercial interests of the French in his area would be the end of his power. The chief first used his army to try to prevent the action of the French, but this failed and he was chased from the area. He thereafter turned to other chiefs for help, but these refused from fear of the French. He found help from a Muslim cleric (MaBa) who had recently come to power over the chiefdom of Saloum. After Latdior had shaved his skull, the coalition between them succeeded and he was accepted by the French as Chief of Guet. Later Latdior also forged an alliance with another Muslim warrior (Amadou Cheikhou) and in 1870 the French reaccepted him as Chief of Cayor. Because of his experiences with these clerics Latdior, having regained control over his chiefdom, successfully converted his subjects to Islam.

Goody and Hopkins emphasized the change of slave trade into trade in cash crops as the main factor contributing to the downfall of many governing elites. This point of view is shared by Pelissier. So Pelissier argued that the dismantling of traditional government in Senegal was largely due to direct interference of the French in safeguarding their interest in the trade of groundnuts. He further argued that islamization of the Senegalese population increased considerably in scope following the political vacuum which arose after the traditional rulers could not prevent the establishment of French administration in their chiefdoms.

Other writers explained the weakness of West African states in the 19th Century by earlier events in the history of this area. They, contrary to the writers mentioned above, emphasized consequences of external trade and processes of Muslim reforms in a preceding period.

As is known, peoples living along the Mediterranean shores of northern Africa were converted to Islam in the first waves of Arab conquest. Gradually, Islam also spread along the banks of the Nile and across the trade routes of the Sahara to reach the Central Sudan region and, eventually, in the 16th Century, Hausaland. Although the Almoravid Muslims from Mauretania caused the downfall of the famous Ghana empire at the end of the 11th Century, the empires of Mali and Songhai between the 12th and 16th Centuries were notable examples of powerful states influenced by Islam. Islamic influences could especially be observed among the traders, the ruling elite and scholars. However, although there is little evidence, Islam probably had much less effect on the daily life of the common people in the countryside. The Mali empire broke up at the end of the 15th Century. The Songhai empire, at its summit under Askiya Muhammed and his dynasty in the 16th Century, was destroyed by a Moroccan expeditionary force in 1591. Since then there have been no great states with Muslim rulers in the area. Islam reform movements did not occur until the end of the 17th Century.

Curtin (1971) has described these reform movements in West Africa. He showed that the earliest identifiable call for a holy war occurred in Seventeenth-Century Mauretania. Here immigrated Arab Bedouins supplemented nomadic pastoralism with raiding and tribute collection as a normal and necessary source of income. Islamic learning was valued but not pursued. These 'warrior' tribes reduced the autochtonous Berbers to the status of respectable subordination. The latter were thought of as people who specialized in religious learning and commerce, a peace-loving people who needed the protection of those specialized in warfare.

However, the balance between clerical-mercantile and secular-political groups, also found elsewhere in the desert and savanna, could easily be upset if the inferior partners, the religious leaders, began to believe that their moral superiority gave them a claim to rule or to dictate policy. Such claims were made in Mauretania, Futa Toro and the northern Wolof states, where there were religious uprisings from the end of the 17th Century onwards. Because these uprisings (*jihads*) occurred so early, Curtin found no evidence for the generally accepted explanation of the revival of West African Islam which connects it with the mid-18th Century revival of Islam in Arabia and the Middle East.

Also among the Fula, who lived more south easterly, there were reform movements that led to the creation of new states. These occurred in Bondu in actual eastern Senegal in the 1690s, in Futa Djalon in the central part of actual Guinea in 1725 and in Hausaland in 1801. Some authors see in this Fulani acceptance of Islam the appeal of Islam's unified system of ideas on religion, law and order. So Cornevin (1966, p. 248) argued, In any case it seems impossible to endorse the Marxist interpretation of the Fulani revolution according to which the Hausa farmers and Fulani cattle-owners should have sought to free themselves of the absolute power of the nobility. Because the Islamic society was itself hierarchical, he preferred to explain the reform movement by the great reverence the commoners had for the holy men. Contrary to Cornevin, Suret-Canale (1968, p. 216) stressed the social characteristics of the movement. He argued for the same population that there were oppressed categories in Hausa society, such as wives, slaves and farmers paying tribute. Ousman dan Fodio, the leader of the movement, blamed the nobility for this exploitation. In such a situation, the memory that the empires of Mali and Songhai had become strong under Muslim rule, may have cultivated social reform movements led by Muslim clerics.

It seems reasonable to connect, as some historians do, these early Islamic reform movements with the effects the trade in slaves had on the people. Under the constant threat of slave raids and wars, Islam may have offered them an ideological and social alternative, a means to replace the old pattern of authority. The slave trade both strengthened the powers of the ruling elite as well as laid the foundation for its ultimate downfall.

The first research-objective of this study was to analyse historical studies and to determine which factors mentioned above have played a major role in the downfall of the Wolof chiefdoms in the 19th Century. Special attention was given to the question whether early Islamic revivals had affected the strength of these chiefdoms before the French involvement in the trade of groundnuts ultimately led to their incorporation in the French administrative system.

2.2 Change in stratification in rural communities

Not surprisingly, the effect on the West African states of the decline in slave trade, the abolition of slavery, the conversion to Islam and cashcropping have been more fully described than their effect on rural communities. This lopsidedness is also found in the literature on the Wolof states, like the Wolof chiefdom of Saloum, with which this study is concerned. Nevertheless, in this and subsequent sections of this chapter I have tried to speculate on the effect these factors had on rural communities. In this section attention is paid to the possible effects of these factors on the patterns of stratification at the village level.

The commoners of the chiefdom of Saloum mainly lived in the countryside and most of them were farmers. Just as in the other Wolof chiefdoms their system of stratification was built up of the freeborn, the slaves and the artisans: the leatherworkers, smiths and *guewel* (praise-singers). After the abolition of domestic slavery, officially at the turn of the last century, legally one could no longer speak of slaves, although the Wolof continue to do so. In this study the term 'slaveborn' is used for those that were slaves, while the term 'slave-descendent' is used for those with ancestors of slave origin.

When slaves were manumitted in the Saloum area, there was enough land available to clear (Pelissier, 1966, p. 428). Thus the slaveborn were able to found independent farms or to expand their property in land. Taking into account that for a long time slaves (like the artisans) have been able to own land and livestock, we may ask what role ascribed status plays today.

To understand the actual importance of ascribed status among the Wolof, one should consider the standing of slaves in the past. The social and economic functions of slave holding in West Africa show that the social significance of owning slaves was as important as the direct economic return of their labour. Meillassoux (1971, pp. 63–65) distinguished between three types of slavery. First there is domestic slavery, whereby the slaves work as junior members for their owner and share in return the common product distributed by the elder of the compound. Here a slave's labour is not distinct from that of other group members and exploitation is not obvious. The slave, after generations have elapsed, loses his inferior status, marries within the master's family and becomes a full member of the community. Second there are slaves who contribute a labour rent to their master. A plot of land is allocated to the slave from which he and his family must live. This type of slave does not participate in the distribution system of the master's compound. In compensation for the land received, the slave works some days per week for his master. The status of this slave, compared with the first type, has a more hereditary character although obligations to the master become more relaxed in time. Only a female slave is used by the master to reproduce his own lineage. Here the economic importance of the slave as a producer is more important. A third type of slavery occurs when the number of slaves owned by lineages of a village increases to the point that their incorporation within the community becomes difficult and they are grouped in hamlets and given some land. The owner receives rent in kind and a small rent in labour. The slave, here, is less a personal dependant than a member of a dependent community. Female slaves may still be used for reproduction of the owner's lineage but ties of kinship between slaves are stronger than between slaves and free men. The slaves gain right over their offspring. His general conclusion is that the position of these

categories of slaves only differed slightly from the freeborn at least from the second and third generation onwards.

Tuden & Plotnicov (1970, pp. 13–15) likewise argued that when slaves have lived for some generations in a community, they become indistinguishable from the free members of society. Among many West African peoples, for instance, slaves could gain considerable personal wealth through trading. In some societies slaves could own slaves. Since slaves had access to land and were not interested in a sudden social revolution, the abolition of slavery was accompanied by only minor shifts in the structure of society, usually a recomposition of lineages or the formation of new kinship-groups. That the transition from slave to free labour was achieved without economic and social dislocation is endorsed by Hopkins (1973, pp. 26, 227, 228). The almost complete absence of slave-stigma today as a result of incorporative processes, is confirmed in many case-studies (see for example Tuden, 1970, p. 58; Cohen, 1970, p. 239; Uchendu, 1966, p. 90).

From the way the Wolof of Saloum were incorporated in the market economy one would expect that ascribed status is hardly important for today's situation, especially as groundnuts were widely traded in Saloum from the second half of the 19th Century and after the abolition of slavery there was enough land available for the slaves to clear and cultivate. However, besides the increasing absorption in an economy dominated by cash, the Wolof were also taken up in an Islam reform movement. It is possible that this reform movement gave ascribed status a new lease of life. This might still be important today as has been argued by Vaughan (1970, pp. 90, 91) for the artisans, craftsmen in Islam cultures having a lower position than in tribal cultures.

In Islamic law (*sjari'a*) a distinction is made between freeborn and slaves. Islamic law has precise rules about the legal position of slaves, but different schools and sects have different interpretations, which make it difficult to assess the application of Islamic rules after the reform movement. However, even more of a problem is that so little is known about customary law before Muslim influences and about how Islamic law and customary law affected each other locally. In addition from Islamic law it may be deduced that some rules improved the position of slaves, while others deteriorated their position. Hypothizing on the effects of adoption of Islamic rules concerning slavery therefore poses more questions than it answers.

In general Islamic law encouraged a good treatment of slaves. If Muhamed could not abolish slavery, he certainly did what he could to secure a human treatment for slaves. Also the treatment of slaves, as enacted in Islamic law, cannot be said to be unjust. In the year before his death the prophet, during a farewell pilgrimage at Mina, delivered an address to his followers in which, among other injunctions, we find the following: "And your slaves, see that ye feed them with the like clothing as ye wear yourself; and if they commit a fault which ye are inclined not to forgive, sell them; for they are the servants of the Lord, and are not to be tormented" (Roberts, 1971, p. 37).

In Islamic law only those who were captured while being unbelievers could be made slaves and only those who were born of a slave woman were slaves. Apart from these categories nobody could become a slave. So a Muslim could never be deprived of his freedom by his creditor because of his debts. Muslim parents could never sell their children as slaves. The Muslim rule that it was permitted to have slave concubines, may

have improved the position of the slaveborn in general. The law said that a concubine was free after the death of her master and that the children born from this relation had the same rights as the children born from a man's freeborn wives. This might have stressed the idea that there was only a slight difference between free and unfree people. However, one can also interpret this law as lowering the position of slaves because concubines were drawn from the slave stratum only.

On the other hand there were rules in Islamic law which, compared with customary law, probably deteriorated the position of slaves. Marrying a female slave was bound to very specific conditions (Juynboll, 1930, p. 235). Likewise, in Islamic law it was regarded as legal to marry off female slaves without their consent. The period of mourning for slaves was half that for the freeborn. In cases of adultery female slaves were held to be less guilty than free people. As their sanctions were lighter, this may have implied a lower status. Lack of information on customary law makes it unclear whether redemption has improved or lowered the position of slaves in general.

Hence it is rather obscure how Muslim reform affected the principles of social hierarchy at the village level. Therefore I decided to observe how slaveborn and their descendents are considered today.

My second research-objective was to examine the occupation of the different formal positions in Wolof communities in Saloum to determine in how far ascribed status still plays a role in social stratification. Here it is assumed that until slave-descendents are permitted to occupy the formal positions of authority in the village, regardless of how rich or how influential in informal ways, ascribed status is important. When influential and rich slave-descendents had not yet been admitted to formal positions, I studied in how far they had turned to the commercial sector to improve their position. I examined who occupied the following positions: community head, Iman, Koran teacher, magician, member of the village co-operative council, member of the village party-branch council, shopkeeper, moneylender, taxi or lorry owner.

After having established the role of Islam in determining the social position of slave-descendents I shall estimate how far increasing cultivation of cash crops has contributed to social equalization of groups formerly defined as different.

2.3 Change in co-operation in rural communities

After speculations on the effects of the end of the slave trade, the start of cultivation of cash crops and Muslim reform on the dismantling of traditional government and the change in patterns of stratification in the countryside, this section elaborates on how the change in stratification might have affected the patterns of co-operation in rural communities. Most attention is paid to how patterns of social inequality, either based on ascribed status or on differences in wealth, affected the patterns of co-operation in agriculture. What does inequality mean for the participation in working parties and in community work and how does this affect the functioning of the village co-operative?

2.3.1 Co-operation

Mamadou Dia, Prime Minister of Senegal from 1959 till 1963 said, 'Because the land does not belong to particular persons but to the collectivity as do the products of land,

every activity of improvement, every productive effort can only be understood in the frame-work of an association which appeals to the solidarity of all members of the group. .... The village is a group in which the interest of everybody coincides with the interest of all' (quoted by Camboulives, 1967, p. 43).

According to Senegal's Prime Minister in the early seventies, Abdou Diouf, the emotional characteristics of the negro-African form the substructure of communal life in Africa. Diouf said, 'It develops especially the inclination to solidarity, mutual aid, justice and honour, and by stimulating collective work and equity in the distribution, they forge the socialistic and civil spirit which inspires our strategy of development' (Soleil Special, 8 May 1971).

Ames (1959a, p. 237), an anthropologist with much field experience among the Wolof living in Gambia, had already said that exchange labour was important among the Wolof for performing agricultural tasks. In Wolof life problems are usually solved by communal effort, exemplified in the activities of the work groups that play such an important role in agriculture and in entertainment. "Among the Wolof the *kompin* is the only village-wide association that bridges all of the local kinship groupings and social classes. The value of mutual aid and the efficiency of group labour are recognized, and the group has an established *esprit de corps*. The co-operative work group is an indigenous institution well suited to make significant contribution to some of the pressing problems with which the Wolof today are faced."

Other anthropologists have argued that Africans in general are less hampered by social and psychological constraints to co-operate than people living in more complex societies.

Brokensha & Erasmus (1969) made a distinction between complex societies, marked by rigid patterns of stratification and societies with a more egalitarian social structure. For the population living in rural communities in the first type of society, they believed that the relations these community members have with each other and with those of the higher strata are characterized by jealousy, suspicion and individualism. Foster (1967, p. 304) argued that such characteristics and the invidious sanctions they imply are connected with an 'Image of Limited Good', and that these characteristics are universal among peasants. However, Brokensha & Erasmus believed that this 'Image of Limited Good' is related to very real systems of power stratification of which the peasant living in such societies is unhappily aware. In the disadvantaged stratum the real opportunities may be so restricted as to greatly enhance feelings of powerlessness and concomitant normal invidious tendencies. Instead of speaking of an 'Image of Limited Good', they thought that it is more in keeping with the facts to speak of an 'image of limited power'. They then continued to argued that most African societies were not characterized by a dominance/subordinance stratification, which restricted the economic opportunities of the 'inferior' stratum. For them, African cultivators almost everywhere have had a secure title to land, while political domination was mostly organized along kinship lines. Consequently, the distrust that the wealth of a farmer implies he has deprived others, is absent. African farmers do not show the very traits of uncooperativeness in community work as elsewhere. In his publications of 1972 and 1973 Chodak agreed with this view taken by Brokensha & Erasmus (Chodak, 1972, p. 305; Chodak, 1973, p. 292).

As was hypothesized in the Section 2.1 the Wolof of Saloum experienced a period of

limited opportunities at the times of the slave raids. However, they had free access to land, as within certain limits, did the slaves. After the conquest of Senegal by the French, the trade in slaves and internal warfare ended, improving the living conditions in the countryside, while the abolition of slavery improved the position of the slaveborn. Even though French commercial houses took advantage of the productive effort of the Wolof and the colonial administration imposed labour service on the subjects they were able to improve their material position by increasing cultivation of groundnuts. Applying the theory of Brokensha & Erasmus for the rural population of Saloum, we cannot define this chiefdom, later called *Cercle Sine-Saloum,* as a 'complex society' in which the lowest strata had hardly any access to the strategic economic resources. According to their line of argument the communities in Saloum should then not be marked by distrust which prevents the farmers from co-operating. One is inclined to add that mutual aid and solidarity might be expected as has been argued by the Senegalese officials and Ames.

However, from another point of view, this conclusion is false. Many scholars have argued that incorporation of the tribal economy in the market has affected the patterns of mutual aid both quantitatively and qualitatively. In this approach more attention is paid to social and economic inequalities in the lowest stratum itself and the effect of these on co-operation than to the effects of a nation-wide hierarchy in classes.

In the same article, Brokensha & Erasmus considered the recent trend in decrease of mutual aid in Ghana and Uganda. Avoiding the argument that envy is a universal phenomenon even in non-complex African societies, they explained the small importance of mutual aid and co-operation in the rural communities of today by the negative effects of the market economy. They admitted that increasing commercialization of agriculture had considerably changed attitudes towards participating in self-help projects. This participation was related to the size of a community, its occupational structure and differences in wealth of its inhabitants. In large communities where labour contributions of the members to the collective good became less visible, selective social incentives of a positive nature grew weaker and the negative ones more positive. No effective social control could be applied to motivate participation and the use of a money tax was preferred. In communities with a more diversified occupational structure and where in the self-help projects local specialists were enlisted, like a driver or a carpenter, (or some were left out, like the teacher or a clergyman), it was more difficult to maintain the rule of equality in labour duties. Therefore money was often used to hire labour. In communities with an unequal income-distribution, the poorer farmers valued their time less than their money and they were willing to participate in a self-help project contrary to the rich men who preferred to pay a money tax.

Cruise O'Brien (1971, pp. 266; 267) used the same arguments to deny the existence of old communitarian values in Senegalese rural communities. For him the very category 'traditional' becomes increasingly illusory with the intensive effects of a market economy, and with a growing differentiation between rich and poor farmers which tends to alter the character of collective work. The absence of large stable working groups among the Wolof seems explicable in terms of the impact of commercial agriculture. 'Nuclearization' and 'individualization' within large family groups have been accompanied by a growing economic differentiation between more and less successful farmers.

These trends in turn have had their impact on 'co-operative' agricultural work: the wealthier members of a local community who can afford a lavish outlay on entertainment of groups of young men harvesting their fields, thus convert the collective work group into a variant of hired labour. The dependent work groups can become almost permanent as when local Muslim peasants come to work on the fields of their religious leaders.

Moore (1975) drew attention to the fact that participation in working parties often is a form of labour service to those holding office in the community. After farmers became involved in the market economy new forms of inequality were added to this pattern which had long been part and parcel of the social structure. In such a situation patterns of dependency may become far more important in explaining co-operation than rules of reciprocity based on solidarity. Moore elaborated on the inequalities often involved in co-operative labour. He made a distinction between exchange labour and festive labour, the difference being the degree of reciprocity in helping one another to cultivate land. The characteristics of exchange labour are that the number of participants is relatively low, the members are all farmers, the amount of work which the participant does for others is reciprocated precisely, the host provides either no reward at all or, at most, a standard everyday meal. Festive labour has the following main characteristics. First, there is no permanent organization, working parties being organized ad hoc to undertake specific tasks. Second, persons are attracted to a working party by ample supplies of food and drink (usually in quantity and quality), and sometimes also by social ties of kinship or clientage. Third, holding a working party rarely implies any obligation on the part of the host to reciprocate by attending working parties called by persons who attended his own. Any reciprocity implied is weak, and applies largely to close associates or kinsmen. The role of festive labour in socio-economic differentiation may be deduced from this description of its salient characteristics. One can broadly distinguish two kinds of festive labour. One type is essentially a form of labour service to political and ritual superiors: tribal chiefs and village elders or persons with close contacts with modern mass-based political parties or religious leaders. This form of labour tribute merges imperceptibly with the more common form of festive labour – the second type – in which the sanctions to enforce attendance are weaker and more reliance is placed on food, drink and entertainment to attract workers. Only a person with access to sufficient capital can afford to call a festive working party. In circumstances of relative economic equality, festive labour may be equally accessible to every one. However, in cases of inequality, it functions as a method of extracting a labour surplus from the poor, who have become the clients of the relatively wealthy. While this second type of festive labour functions as a business-like employment relationship at an intermediate level in the development of cash cropping, it is usually replaced fairly quickly, as a method of labour mobilization by pure wage labour.

Hence the so-called traditional solidary societies simply offer a much more complicated picture than the unqualified term 'solidary' would suggest. As has also been argued by Dore (1971, pp. 48–52), the description of African societies suggests that communal 'ownership' of land is often accompanied by its highly individualistic exploitation. If individuals often work in common with friends, it is communal help given to an individual, not community work and still less sharing of a community product. Also, even

if communal labour is an important feature of these societies, the communal work-groups do not always necessarily define a community since the composition of the group may shift according to the task. Then again, the purpose of co-operation is not always mutual assistance but sometimes competitive display. What is called co-operation or mutual aid is often the expression of social and economic obligations a participant has towards his host: the relations being dependency relations.

2.3.2 Co-operatives

Often communal work or participation in working parties is not based on feelings of solidarity but the expression of existing forms of social inequality, either depending on differences in ascribed status or on economic differentiation between rich and poor farmers. These inequalities are probably also expressed in the village co-operative.

Dore (1971, pp. 52) has argued that in hierarchical communities with ascribed leadership the problem of how to introduce co-operatives based on equality of each member is rather complex. Either the traditional leaders profit disproportionally from such co-operatives or, if they are bypassed, the destruction of the authority patterns often implies the breakdown of the traditional cohesiveness of the community and the loss of what is supposed to be the initial advantage of traditional communities.

Flores (1971, pp. 361–374) stated that the co-operative movement has made hardly any impact on subsistence agriculture in almost all African countries because the Colonial Powers (and the independent governments) assumed that the African's way of life was communal and hence that he would have no difficulty in adopting a co-operative system based on equality of members, as had been developed in Europe. Quoting the conclusions of field studies on the functioning of co-operatives in Africa, he argued that often a member of a co-operative, unless old and respected, could not cast a vote without the consent of his father or elder brother. If village elders had kept their power and prestige intact, they obviously demanded the lion's share of any benefits attributed to economic development. Just as the young son depended on the head of the family, so the kin group depended on its lineage elder. Often it was only the head of the lineage or extended family who joined the co-operative. Because tradition governing work in the fields and apportionment of harvests within the group remained unchanged when the head joined the co-operative, he maintained his priviliged position within the extended family and used it to decide how profits from the sale of produce should be shared. Then the existing inequality was even consolidated by reinforcing the position of the head of the extended family or lineage. Thus the various criteria for social stratification tended to be enforced after transformation of subsistence farming into a more mixed type of production.

Although for a long time there has been the individualizing effect of the market economy, accompanied by a differentiation in wealth, politicians as well as some scholars continued to speak of traditional communities. Saul (1971) and Long (1970) in reviewing the start of the co-operative movement in Tanzania have seriously questioned the utility of the concept of 'traditional society' which ignores the character of the colonial impact on Tanzanian society. Though Tanzania is comparatively untransformed economically, socio-economic differentiations of a 'modern' order have long begun to make themselves felt, especially in those areas where the co-operative

movement started (Kilimanjaro, Sukumuland) at the end of the 1920s. Although at that time no distinction could be made between capitalist farmers and rural proletariat, there were farmers and traders active in the money economy ('activists') although most of the rural population was engaged in subsistence agriculture ('parochials'). These 'activists' created the co-operatives and profited most from them.

Therefore the process of co-operative development cannot be described as an outcome of the 'solidarity' of the 'traditional society'. On the contrary, Saul and Long argued that if co-operation is to be a goal the major emphasis must be placed upon the conscious creation of the social prerequisites for such co-operation. To think otherwise is to ignore how co-operatives actually function in a transitional society where they readily fall into the hands of 'activists' and can be manipulated for their own aggrandizement against the interests of their more parochialized kinsmen.

My third research-objective was to study participation in the existing types of work groups among the Wolof, organized for agricultural activities. It was hypothesized that at least in some types of work group, participation can be explained by dependency relations between the participants of the work group and the farmer benefiting from the work group: for some types of work group participation is not reciprocal. Those on whose fields these work groups were organized might be of high ascribed status, here the freeborn farmers or the wealthy farmers (some of the latter may be of slave descent). In addition it was assumed that wage labour had become more common and partly had replaced labour formerly acquired through working parties. I also studied whether inequality was maintained in the management of the primary marketing-co-operatives established after independence.

2.4 Change in the cohesion of compounds and households

In this section we examine how the processes of Islam revival, manumission of slaves and cultivation of cash crops might have affected the cohesion of the Wolof compound and household.

A compound is here defined as the people living in a separate residential unit. Among the Wolof the core of the members of a compound are said to be the extended family, most often involving the parents, one or more married or unmarried sons and their offspring, with the married men having one or more wives. People parented in another way or even unparented may also form part of the compound. So formerly slave owners could have slaves living in their houses, but existing literature does not make clear whether this still is true today.

While a compound is defined as a residential unit, the term household refers to an economically independent unit. Such an economic unit is defined as independent when it supplies its own food. Within a compound there may be more than one economic unit. For example, two married brothers may live in the same compound and one of them be considered as the head of the compound. However, each may be the head of a household. Then there is no formally recognized subordination of one to the other because one of the two household does not take care for its own food supply.

In this study a compound and a household are called 'cohesive' when the members continue to live and eat together and till and share the products of the communally

owned farm as in former days. Conversely, the breaking down of the patterns of cohabitation, commensality and the managing of the communal farm is called 'fragmentation' of the compound and household. The more patterns that break down, the more the compound and household are considered to have become fragmented. In this study attention is focused on the relationship between father and son and that between brother and brother and the effect of cash cropping on these relationships.

I assumed that the increasing application of the Islamic law on land, i.e. to divide farm land and other sources of wealth between all sons of the deceased instead of being entrusted and administered by his eldest brother, resulted in sons starting to farm on their own earlier than in former days. The pattern of cohabitation and commensality, the other aspects of cohesion, probably have also been negatively affected by the Islamic rules of inheritance. Likewise I assumed that the abolition of slavery broke up the pattern of cohabitation and commensality because former slaves might have established a house and a farm of their own. Many authors concerned with the effects of incorporation of tribal societies in the market economy argued that cultivation of cash crops similarly affected the cohesion of the domestic unit (see Cruise O'Brien Section 2.3.1).

However McNetting (1965, pp. 422–429) showed for the Kofyar of Northern Nigeria, that different farm types make different demands on family labour and that dependent on the crop cultivated the cohesion of the compound is affected. In contrast to neighbouring peoples, such as the Chokfem Sura and the Angas, where married children remain at home, the Kofyar have small non-extended family households. McNetting showed that this difference corresponds with their type of farming: Kofyar farm intensively by interplanting cereals, beans and garden vegetables on small plots, which are terraced, ridged and to which vegetable material mixed with goat dung is applied; the Chokfem Sura and Angas practise shifting cultivation on large plots which are widely dispersed. These farm types have different labour requirements. The Kofyar farming system needs little manpower, but continuous attention. One or two adult men can do most of the work on the limited farms. However shifting cultivation necessitates fast coverage rather than painstaking cultivation. This has advantages for a co-operating group as it can be mobilized to complete work swiftly on big fields at the optimum time and can bear the risk of unstable yields. Among the Kofyar the average number of adult workers per household, the proportion of polygynous families, and the proportion of extended families was significantly lower than among the other groups.

These differences could not be attributed to cultural differences between the various ethnic groups. Those Kofyar who migrated to sparcely populated plains and were confronted with high labour requirements for bush clearing, yam mounding and rapid cultivation of large tracts besides hiring labour, had significantly more spouses and more adult men in their homesteads than the families cultivating in the traditional area.

When one tries to draw a parallel between the Kofyar farming system and farming among the Wolof, the Wolof farm type seems to resemble the farming system of the shifting cultivators or the emigrated farmers more than the intensive agriculture of the Kofyar. Most Wolof cultivate millet year after year on a plot near to the homestead and rotate groundnuts with one or two years fallow. In Saloum at least till recently land was not scarce. Because the extension of the intensive methods of millet and groundnut

cultivation hardly had any impact before the 1960s, extensive farming on large plots very probably was more rational than intensive farming. Because for groundnut cultivation the growing period for unimproved seed is hardly long enough due to the short period of rainfall, it is necessary to sow groundnuts as fast as possible after the first rains. In addition, till some years ago, clearance of bush regrowth, weeding and digging up of groundnuts, hard and labour-intensive activities, were done manually. Therefore it can be assumed that the Wolof farming system demanded a high labour-input for short periods. However, I presumed that this demand was met by making use of the many working parties organized in the area instead of the labour of the extended family so that cash cropping would have negatively affected the cohesion of the Wolof compound.

On my return from the fieldwork, I came across some publications which specified, on other grounds than those of McNetting, the way in which cultivation of cash crops could affect the cohesion of the compound. The idea put forward in these publications is that in wealthy compounds the father-son relationship is more cohesive than in poor compounds, where this relationship is easily broken and the compound tends to become fragmented. Goddard (1973, pp. 207–218) distinguished between a paternal *gandu* and a fraternal *gandu* among the rural Hausa of northern Nigeria. *Gandu* is the Hausa term for two or more conjugal families whose menfolk work together on a common farm. In return for the labour of the members, the head of a *gandu* provides food supplies from the *gandu's* granaries for communal meals and he provides the male members with personal plots of land on which they are allowed to work at specific times and to dispose of the produce as they wish. The *gandu* head also provides the seed and tools used by the unit, pays the tax and contributes in marriage and birth expenses. The organization of the *gandu* is not concerned with off-farm occupations of its members during the dry season or with their part-time occupations throughout the year. The income from these activities is controlled individually. From his study of three villages near Sokoto, Goddard was able to show that the two villages with more agricultural potential (one a riverine village with an extensive flood plain, the other accessible to the city market) had a higher percentage of conjugal families living in *gandu* than a remote village with difficulties in marketing its produce. The critical factor influencing the incidence of the *gandu* was the importance of farming as a source of income. In the riverine village, farming met both the subsistence and cash needs of the farmers, the authority of the *gandu* head was stronger and tensions within the *gandu* could be relieved. In the remote village there was greater dependence on off-farm employment and seasonal labour migration. These activities organized outside the farming unit with earnings accruing to the individual, had enhanced his position at the expense of the communal farming unit. Among other people in northern Nigeria he also found evidence for this observation.

Polly Hill (1972, pp. 38–56, 98–105) likewise noted that among the Muslim Hausa of the village Batagawara in the north of Nigeria, there is evidence that the paternal *gandu* remained important among wealthy farmers while among poor farming families the relation between father and his sons was often tense. While most wealthier farmers had honoured their obligation to give their son a plot to cultivate, poor farmers often could not do so. Poor farmers also had difficulties in helping their sons in the payment of marriage and naming ceremony expenses. Sons of poor farmers could be instructed by the father to work some mornings as a labourer on the farms of richer farmers and to

hand over the earnings, while they also might be asked to contribute to his taxes. There was some evidence that these tensions resulted in sons of unsuccessful farmers temporarily migrating as servants and labourers or in migrating permanently as farmers to new farming areas so that the *gandu* broke up. Among rich farmers, the *gandu* head was able to distribute more of the communal resources to other members or to delegate part of his responsibilities in response to internal tensions. Sons of successful farmers migrated less, such sons being farmers in their own right.

These findings do not correspond with her study in a more densely settled zone near Kano city, some 100 miles south of Batagawara, the area arbitrarily called *Dorayi* (Hill, 1974, pp. 117–135). Here there was evidence that among poor farming families the father-son relation was strong. Compared with in Batagawara, fraternal co-residence occurred more often and the paternal *gandu* was stronger in *Dorayi*: sons seldom were serious farmers on their own account, hardly ever owned granaries, often gave a portion of their earnings from non-farming occupations to their father (this particularly applied to commuters who were regarded as being in *gandu*), far more often lived in the same house with their father and felt more ashamed about migration than sons in Batagawara.

The stronger paternal *gandu* in *Dorayi* was connected with the rate of migration from *Dorayi* being considerably less than that from Batagawara. Contrary to her former findings and those of Goddard, Hill explained that the strength of the *gandu* and the low rate of migration here were due to high population density and lack of land; the young men were unable to accumulate sufficient capital to migrate to new farming areas. She did not explain this difference in outcome of the two studies but it may be related to the economic opportunities outside the communities studied. In *Dorayi* these opportunities might have been so few, that sons had no alternative but to remain with their father.

The fourth and last research-objective of this study was to examine the actual patterns of cohabitation and commensality between compound heads and their sons and younger brothers and to study what affected the extent they administered together a communal farm. I tested the hypothesis that cash cropping have a disintegrating effect on the cohesion of the compounds. However, this might be dependent on the kin relation between the male members of the compound. After having established the degree of fragmentation of the compounds and households, I shall draw conclusions about what this meant for agricultural development.

3 Location of the study and methods of research

In February 1971 the *Centre National des Recherches Agronomiques* (CNRA)[1] at Bambey, Senegal, invited me to join their Institute and to study the social factors that were related to an extensive programme of agricultural innovations in a pilot area (called the Experimental Unit) in the *Région* Sine-Saloum.

The reasons I accepted this offer were practical and theoretical. First, I considered that the Institute was an important study-centre on agricultural development of supranational importance. I hoped that my own work would profit from the many French agronomists and economists working at the Institute. One of them was, in fact, a friend who was interested in the social aspects of agricultural development, but apart from him the other members of the Institute knew little about my specific domain of study. A second reason was that the programme of agricultural modernization of the Institute was fully supported by the national authorities. After having been successfully tested out in the Experimental Unit (in fact there were two), the many innovations were to be introduced throughout the nation, modified according to ecological differences that had been studied at regional sub-stations. I thus felt that my research would be useful.

For my theoretical purposes the communities to be studied had to be integrated in the market by producing one or more cash crops and they had to be the subject of intensive programmes of agricultural modernization. These conditions were met. However, because of the time available for studying the problems I was interested in, I required some monographs on the Wolof to help me understand the broad aspects of Wolof society before attacking my specific and rather difficult topics. Such monographs, however, were scarce and often too descriptive[2]. Thus I had to start my research with a rather broad study on those aspects of Wolof social structure and economy that possibly touched my field of interest before I could narrow the scope of the study at the end of the fieldwork to my specific targets.

I was also encouraged to begin with a more explorative type of study rather than a study in which many specific hypotheses were tested because theories on co-operation and cohesion among peasants were often vague and difficult to operationalize. When I arrived in the field I did not feel sure that all theoretical elements of importance had been covered. Only during the course of the fieldwork did I gradually steer the research in the direction as outlined in the preceding chapter (which is a polished version of my original ideas). It seemed better to approach my topics with the more unstructured techniques of participant-observation and open-ended interviews than to set up a huge survey and then test which of the hypotheses seemed best to explain the facts.

However, starting with an explorative study did not mean that I got stuck in mere description. My intention was that the research would at least lead to some specific

hypotheses which afterwards could be tested by others. In addition, as is shown in the preceding chapter, I succeeded in formulating some hypotheses which were related to my research objectives. However, as will appear, these hypotheses have only been tested on rather small statistical populations.

Two features of the research were paid relatively much attention.

The first is the history of the Wolof. To understand the actual state of affairs and future developments in peasant communities and to make causal inferences from these developments, a diachronic orientation of research is of course necessary. Although not schooled as a historian I felt it necessary to summarize what is known about the history of the Wolof and to take from it some aspects most clearly connected with changes in their social system. I analysed Wolof history from this point of view by recording the interpretation of some well-known western historians as well as some Senegalese scholars. For the local history I made use of oral information procured by the elder in the communities studied.

The second feature is the relatively great emphasis in this research on technical and economic factors, also on supralocal levels, related to development. Undoubtedly the agronomists and economists of the Institute influenced me to devote part of my research to these problems. However, I found it important to study the social aspects of the peasant community in the modernization process while not isolating the community from its economic and ecological environment and from the programme the peasants are asked to accept. By choosing this broader approach, I hoped to increase the relevance of the research for rural development.

In April 1971 I arrived at the Institute in Bambey. I remained there till the end of May to gain more insight in its programme of agricultural modernization and the view of the members of the Institute on Wolof society, in the meantime making short field trips to become acquainted with the research area. Looking back I do not think I learned very much about the Wolof themselves in the weeks I spent at the Institute. Since 1968 the Institute had completed questionnaires resulting from surveys in the pilot area: some had not been worked out, some were of poor quality (too little supervision in the field) and some did not cover my field of interest. However, I obtained much information about the important set of innovations the Institute were trying to introduce among the farmers and my interest in their programme removed the doubts a few members of the Institute had about a non-western sociologist. At the end of May my family and I felt Bambey and settled in the house in Nioro du Rip, made available by the Institute at some 15 kilometers distance from the communities to be studied in the pilot area. This village is the headquarters of the *Département* Nioro du Rip and has 5800 inhabitants. As such it also has the legal status of a town and such facilities as a post office, pharmacy, a daily market, some shops and water and electricity supplies for some hours a day. Because such an infra-structure was absent in the much smaller communities in the pilot area, and considering the bad hygienic conditions there, it was rather obvious that settlement in Nioro du Rip was for us preferable to settlement in the research area itself. Our home was in a newly built quarter of Nioro, largely inhabited by families with a regular income. Most of the men worked in government or semi-government service as extension worker, postman or civil servant. Although small, the house suited us very well after the Institute had provided us with a regular water supply.

Its location enabled me to become acquainted with the knowledge of the local elite about Wolof society and their ideas about modernization.

The pilot area consisted of two villages Thysse and Sonkorọng and 11 hamlets. I decided to start my study in Thysse and rented a room from a local Islamic cleric (marabout). Thysse, as the main community to be studied, had been suggested by the Institute because it was considered as a village hampered in its development by traditional customs and continuous quarrels among its inhabitants. However, I found that Thysse was not different from Sonkorong and the hamlets in this respect. After some time I continued my study mainly in Sonkorong which had a more diversified social structure. The number of inhabitants of Thysse and Sonkorong in 1971 were 295 and 492, respectively, the 11 hamlets were much smaller and numbered together about 700 inhabitants.

While introducing myself to the heads of the villages and farmers I took care not to be associated with the Institute, because I did not know their attitude to it. However the many visits of the members of the Institute to the pilot area had convinced them that every white man must belong to the Institute and all my efforts at the start to obtain an independent position were fruitless. Fortunately the farmers appeared to be content with the attention paid to them by the Institute which compared favourably with the activities of the government extension-agencies in the surrounding villages. On average I was about 4 days a week in the Experimental Unit, the other time being devoted to the analysis of the information collected or visiting informants elsewhere in the country. To gain the confidence of the villagers I did not start to pose specific questions of interest for my study. Instead I visited them in their house and in the field explaining the reasons for my presence in the village and discussing some neutral characteristics of village life. The fact that I shared their meals, visited them and worked (sometimes) with them in the fields and was interested in the social aspects of village life set me apart as an odd member of the Institute. By taking sick people with me in my car and by doing their urgent errands, passing the night with them several times or taking my wife and child with me to the village, I felt that the villagers saw me as someone really interested in them. However, a great drawback was that I had not mastered the Wolof language except for the standard sentences and when meeting them always had to be accompanied by an interpreter. Although according to traditional anthropological standards my participation in village life was not optimal, many events proved that I had sufficient goodwill to probe into the problems I was interested in.

I worked with two interpreters, boys of around twenty, sons of farmers, unmarried, of secondary-level education and belonging to the freeborn stratum (*diambour*). The first interpreter I selected on the spot, because above all I needed somebody who could be helpful in introducing me to the villagers and who knew the people and their etiquette. His grandfather's brother had become famous in local wars and therefore the interpreter was held in esteem by the local population. For such matters as introduction, elaborating the genealogies of the villagers, showing me the plots of the farmers and local gossip he was most useful. However, in general the quality and quantity of his work was a bit disappointing and in the later phase I leaned heavily on my second interpreter. This young man I picked out during a selection held by the Institute to appoint some new extension fieldworkers. Although also Wolof, he did not originate from the

area. Because of his kind-hearted character and modesty (the latter a characteristic which according to the Wolof they lack), he was soon accepted by the villagers. For me he was invaluable, not only for his dedication in helping to solve the numerous questions which puzzled me, but also as a companion after working hours.

As already said I started my work on such neutral topics as local history, genealogies, kinship and farming systems. Gradually I probed into more delicate topics such as participation in working parties, the functioning of the local co-operative, possession of agricultural implements, size of holding, leadership and status. During this phase which lasted from the end of July till after the turn of the year, my main method was, besides observation, the open-ended interviews held with local informants. No use was made of standardized questionnaires, except for some minor censuses.

At the end of January, in the slack period in agriculture, I launched two enquiries based on questionnaires in Sonkorong. The first concerned the participation in the several types of working party. For this all the 50 heads of the households of Sonkorong had to be questioned and repeated visits were necessary. In addition I recruited temporarily a third young man who with a questionnaire recorded specific differences between villages from a sample of villages in the *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach, the administrative level above a village but below a *département*. The supervision and assistance of the three interpreters during the interviews created rather a busy period.

Because of continuous malaria attacks which had weakened me, I had to leave Senegal during the rainy season and from the end of May until the start of December I stayed in the Netherlands. Luckily both enquiries had been finished and I had been able to introduce a third enquiry based on questionnaires. This enquiry was to gain information about the exchange of farm implements and draught animals and one of the members of the Institute kept an eye on its progress. On my return I was able to accept the forms of this enquiry completed by one of the interpreters, but had to reject those of the other.

In the Netherlands I had analysed the material collected so far and found that the data were incomplete. Therefore, from December till the end of February I collected additional data. To discuss the preliminary results of the study, I paid visits to the University of Dakar, the *Office des Recherches Scientifiques Tropicales d'Outre-Mer* (ORSTOM), the Institute at Bambey and to government agencies for extension work.

At the end of my stay and some months thereafter work on female working parties was continued by a female student with a female interpreter.

During the writing-up phase I sent some interim reports to the centres interested in my work. The Institute at Bambey gave detailed comments on preliminary versions of some chapters. Later reports of the Institute showed that they had taken a genuine interest in my study by taking into account some social facts up to then insufficiently acknowledged as having a bearing on rural development.

Notes

1 The Centre National des Recherches Agronomiques (CNRA) recently is called the Institut Sénégalais des Recherches Agronomiques (ISRA).

2 The most important studies on the Wolof are: Ames 1953, 1955, 1959a, 1962; Gamble: 1967; Marty: 1917.

4 Kingship and chieftaincy before islamization and imperialism

4.1 The Sudanic civilization

Around the Eighth Century A.D., in the belt between the Red Sea in the east and the Atlantic Ocean in the west and from the southern boundary of the Sahara in the north to the Congo basin in the south, there were a number of states which essentially had the same political institutions. Because of this resemblance and the possibility that they originated from a common source, the states are often considered as belonging to the Sudanic civilization. The Ghana, Kanem-Bornoe, Mali and Songhai empires formed part of this civilization as well as many minor ones, either in vassalage or as independent states. These states differed from other political systems in Africa in that their political institutions had become differentiated from the kinship system and had acquired a specialized character. The political institutions they had in common were kingship, bureaucracy and a standing army.

The king and his close following mostly differed in ethnic origin from the subjects. Usually they had established power by force. At the summit of its development, an empire could count on thousands of warriors. El Bekri, the famous Moorish geographer from Cordoba, stated in the 11th Century: "The King of Ghana can raise an army of 200 thousand soldiers, 40 thousand being bowmen" (Davidson, 1960, p. 85). Undoubtedly these numbers are exaggerated, nevertheless they give an impression of the extent of military power. The king's power was reinforced by the religious functions attributed to him. The religious nature of the king's position is made clear in accession and funeral rituals and in the extreme respect with which the subjects treated their king. Historians speak in this connection of a divine kingship. Therefore, the king was a powerful man and usually succeeded in conquering and controlling vast areas. Often the stability of the regime was maintained because he did not rely on a feudal aristocracy for the delegation of power but on appointed officials who were removed when they showed too much political ambition (Oliver & Fage, 1962, p. 45).

Prototypes of Sudanic states seem to have been the empires south of Egypt in the first centuries A.D. Two processes are commonly acknowledged to have contributed to the wider development of this type of state. The first is the growth of trade routes across the Sahara. This was made possible by the introduction of the camel in the Sahara in the first centuries A.D., when the horse was no longer practical because of the gradual desiccation of the Sahara zone. The use of the camel increased considerably after the Arabic invasion in Egypt in A.D. 639, which contributed to an intensive trade between Islamic North Africa and the Sudan. This provided the kings of the Sudanic states with more opportunity to sell the products found within their empires, at the same time

taxing passing traders. By increasing his wealth the king could extend his empire (Davidson, 1967, pp. 31–35).

The second process is the expansion of Islamic culture in the Maghreb as well as in the Sudan after the Arabic invasion in Egypt. Islam was accepted, partially or completely, as the culture of court and elite of the Sudanic states so that the development of science and education was greatly stimulated. Cities like Timbuctu, Djenne and Gao became famous not only as commercial but also as scientific centres in Africa between the 12th and 17th Centuries. As a result bureaucracy as an institution could develop which formed one of the pillars of the Sudanic states (Oliver & Fage, 1962, pp. 87–91).

4.2 The kingdom of Djolof

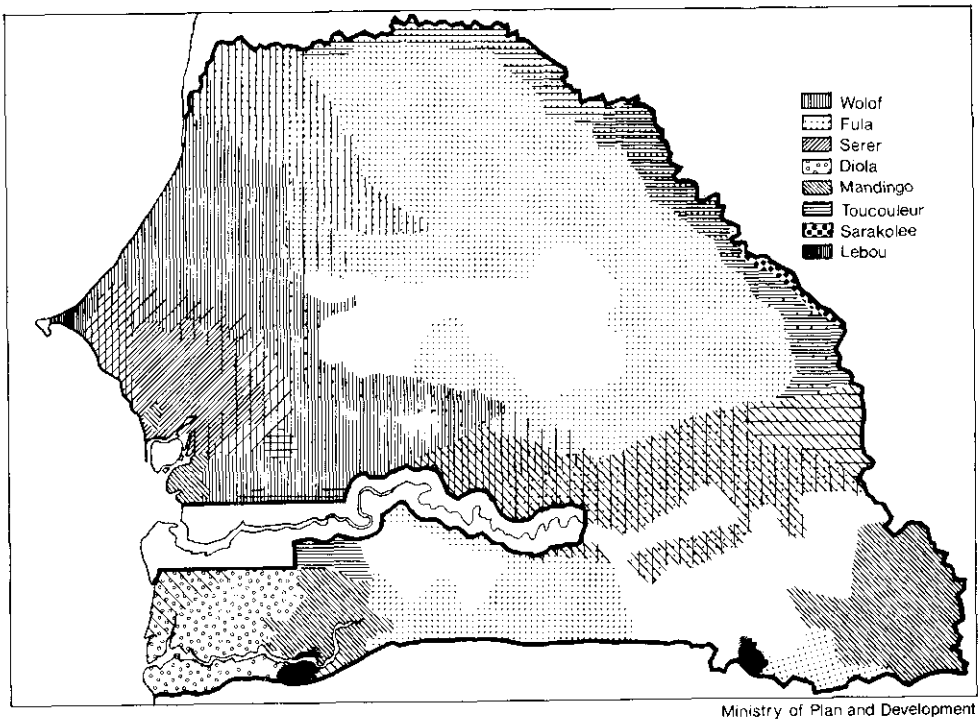
The area which actually forms the state of Senegal was a boundary territory of the most important of these savannah Sudanic states, the centre of these states being situated more eastwards, towards the Niger basin. Senegal's origin therefore should be studied in connection with their history. So the fall of the Ghana empire caused migratory movements and the intermingling of ethnic groups which led to the development of new states, among which was the kingdom of Djolof. It is known that the Wolof, inhabitants of Djolof, entered Senegal from the northeast, arriving at the lower Senegal valley about the 11th Century. They are said to be composed of different ethnic groups, an amalgam of Mandingo, Serer and Fula stock (Murdock, 1959, p. 266). Today Wolof clan-names are also found among neighbouring people (see Chapter 15).

At present the Wolof live in the northwestern part of Senegal but some Wolof must have migrated early to Gambia, as they were noticed there by Portuguese sailors in the 16th Century (Gray, 1940, p. 325). Having been chased southwards by the Moors, they in their turn caused a southward movement of the earlier immigrants, the Serer and Mandingo. Actually the Serer are found in the *Région* Sine-Saloum, the Mandingo in addition in Gambia and in the *Région* East Senegal. Since the last centuries the Senegal Valley, an important resting-place for migrating tribes, has been occupied by the Fula, which in Senegal are distinguished in two main groups, called the *Peul* and the *Toucouleur*. The *Peul* can be subdivided into the *Peul Fouta Toro,* living along the Senegal River and in the region south of it, and the *Peul Fouta Djalon,* living in the southeastern part of Senegal and historically originating from the Fouta Djalon Massif in Guinea. See Map 2 for the actual ethnic distribution in Senegal.

Portuguese sources were the first to mention the existence of the kingdom of 'Senega' or 'Geloffa'. It was a kingdom established by the Wolof in the region Djolof, to which a number of subordinate chiefdoms became attached. Fernandès and Pacheco stated at the end of the 15th Century that the 'King of Senega' could call upon an army of 8–10 thousand horsemen and a multitude of footmen and that he was as strong as the Mansa of Mali. Ca'da Mosto, who personally visited one of the heads of the chiefdoms tributary to the King of Djolof in 1455, stated that he was surrounded by a permanent and large court. When the chief came to see the Venetian sailors he was accompanied by a suite of 200 court-members and a small escort of 15 horses and 150 footmen (Mody Cissoko, 1967, pp. 129, 133).

The imposition of kingship meant a change in political organization. Although not many historical facts are available, one can reconstruct an original egalitarian and

Map 2 Ethnic distribution



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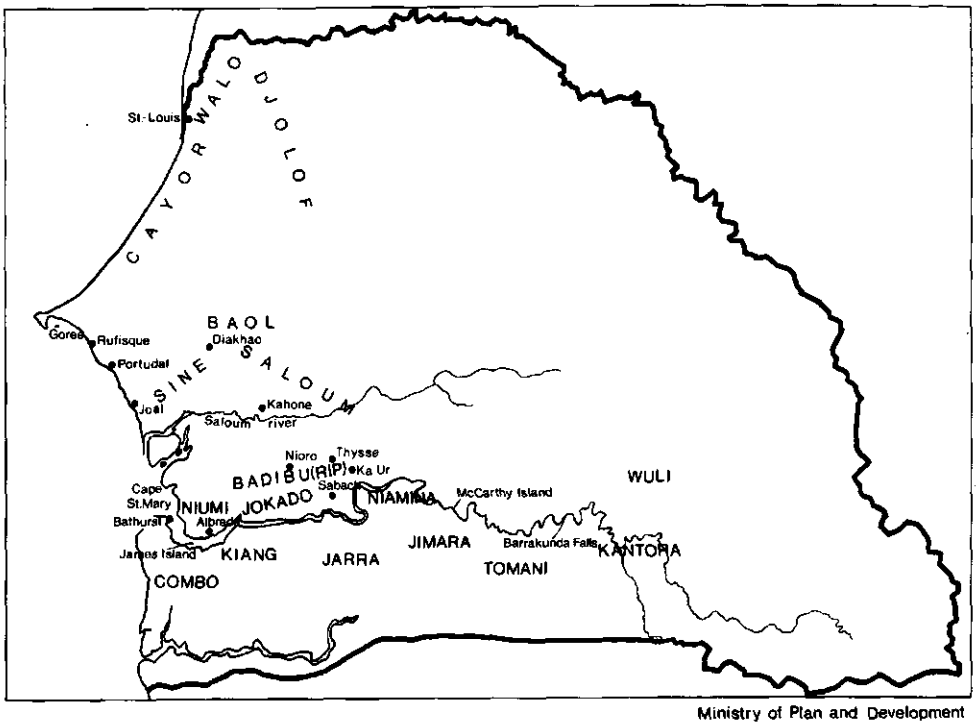
segmented society based on the leadership of *lamane* (Diop, 1968, pp. 49, 50). These *lamane* were lineage elders, descended in direct line from the founders of the kinship groups which they represented. These *lamane* were also called *borom daay* which means 'a man having the right of fire'. They controlled land determined by the area they had burned. Their authority was based on the fact that they represented descent groups and could therefore concede rights of land use to related kin and immigrants. By clearing land, the latter became *borom ngadio,* meaning 'a person having the right of the axe'. For small annual and occasional gifts, they had the full usufruct of their plots which they were able to transmit to their heirs. The importance of a lineage elder was enhanced by his being a keyman in tribal religion, the leader of the religious rites performed in his descent group and, by the same token, guardian of the religious norms. These lineages were not united under common rule, power was dispersed and thus the society was segmented.

Unlike the Sudanic states mentioned before, the Wolof state had only partially adopted kingship. The Wolof conquerors did not do away with the *lamane,* but they were integrated in the political structure. So the first head of Cayor, one of the king's dependents, was a *lamane,* just like his successor. Often a son born from a marriage between a *lamane* and one of the conqueror's daughters became head of the chiefdoms attached to the Djolof state (see Section 4.3).

Map 3 Traditional chiefdoms



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Rulership over the Djolof state and its subordinate chiefdoms was not firmly rooted. Ca'da Mosto stated that the king was almost dependent on his *seigneurs*, meaning the chiefs. Warfare was common as is suggested by Portuguese accounts. When Fula under the leadership of the Deniankee-dynasty established a state at Fouta Toro in the 16th Century, thereby encroaching on the territory of the state of Djolof, all chiefs of the subordinate provinces seized the opportunity to detach themselves from the central authority. Tribute was no longer paid and the chiefdoms Walo, Baol, Cayor, Sine and Saloum became independent around the end of the 16th Century. Because these chiefdoms resembled each other so much, only the history and main characteristics of one of these chiefdoms, Saloum, are described, the one in which my fieldwork took place.

4.3 The chiefdom of Saloum

In the 15th Century the Serer, Mandingo and Wolof families in the Sine and Saloum area recognized an immigrated Mandingo family as their rulers. These immigrant rulers were called Guelowar and one belonged to this noble family if one had a Guelowar mother. Succession to rulership was thus transmitted matrilineally. The Guelowar had come from Gabou, at the foot of the Fouta Djalon Massif, passed the Gambia River and settled in Sine, inhabited by Serer. Their place of residence became Diakhao, with villages nearby for their following: the village Diang for their slaves and the village

Fadrout for their blacksmiths.

A son of a sister of the first chief of Sine became chief of Saloum. He made Kahone at the Saloum River his royal residence. The first two chiefs of Saloum, *bour* as they were called, were descended from a Guelowar mother and a Serer father, an example of the tendency of invaders to become incorporated in the autochtonous population. In fact, intermarriage between Guelowar nobility and *lamane* occurred quite often and the descendents of the Guelowar, by accepting their culture, language and wives, became gradually assimilated in their society (Pelissier, 1966, pp. 207, 208).

The following status groups were known in the chiefdom Saloum:
Guelowar: the chief's family,
tiedo: soldiers of the chief's family,
diambour boureie: lineage and clan elder of the freeborn,
diambour: common freeborn,
nieenio: members of the artisanal groups,
diam: slaves.

The *Guelowar.* According to legend a remarkable beautiful woman was found lost by the King of the Mandingo of Gabou. She married him on the condition that her children would be favoured above his other children by being designated heirs to the throne. He agreed and the girls born from this alliance became princesses and their sons the founders of the Sine and Saloum states in the 15th Century (Sarr, 1949, pp. 832–837). Hence the rule that one can only be a prince and heir-apparent when one's mother is a Guelowar.

In theory the heir to the throne, *boumi* as he was called, was the oldest, competent male of the chief's matrilineage. Those who descended from the chief (*bour*) in male line but had no Guelowar mother, were called *dom i bour.* They could not succeed to the throne. Either they governed a few villages or they had no formal power at all and only formed part of the chief's clientele.

However, descending directly in the male line from the first chief was also considered important in succession, as is shown in Appendix 1. For example, in Sine three patrilineages and in Saloum two branches of a matrilineage regularly opposed each other (Klein, 1968, pp. 13–17). The rules for who was to be the next chief were further complicated by brothers and sons regularly opposing each other within these lineages. In addition, as will be seen, lineage elders had an important say in the election of the new chief and if a candidate did not come up to their expectations, they could block his election.

Throughout the history of Saloum then and of all the chiefdoms in Senegal in general, power struggles occurred regularly within the ruling group. These formed a structural weakness of the chiefdoms. Some authors argued that the chief's office was considered as sacred. Without going so far one can say that his office was founded on religious authority, if the Guelowar had been integrated in Serer society, thereby replacing the lineage elders. It is known that the initiation rites for the new chief had religious aspects, that he had magical powers through his inherited and acquired amulets (*nguissee*) and that after his death he was secretly buried from fear that magical amulets would be made from his bones (Labouret, 1941, p. 87; Diop, undated, p. 22).

The *tiedo*. For the maintenance of law and order in his territories and for the defence of his boundaries, the chief relied on a regular army. Klein (1968, p. 9) said that in the case of the *bour*, these were forces usually exceeding 500 men. The first soldiers were armed with bow and arrow or javelins. Horses were rare. Later the Guelowar fought on horseback, the soldiers being footmen. The first rifles were introduced in the 17th Century, but their use was limited even in the 19th Century. In principle, the soldiers, *tiedo* as they were called, were descendents of the slaves of the first Guelowar invaders, but they may have been joined by others like captured young men or freeborn who took service in exchange for certain favours. The general of the army was called *Grand Farba*.

Although of slave origin, the soldiers were feared and respected by the common people. Being rather rough and bold in their behaviour, specially dressed, and most of them drinkers, they were easily inclined to abuse. Moreover they were entrusted with collecting the taxes so that sometimes they pillaged a village when their demands were not met. Unruly as they often were, the chief could not always enforce discipline in their dealings with his subjects.

Because the chief was often involved in fighting competing factions, the soldiers had a considerable influence on court life as well. In the history of chieftaincy in Senegal, it can be seen how the *Grand Farba* decided the course of events by choosing for one faction instead of the other, as is shown in Appendix 1. However, being a slave, the *Grand Farba* could never become chief himself. Apart from slaves being soldiers, there were the common slaves at court, captured by war or bought from traders. Some tilled the royal fields, others were engaged in domestic activities.

The *diambour* and *diambour boureie*. Saloum was inhabited by several ethnic groups. The north-west and the centre of Saloum were populated by Serer over whom the Guelowar had established direct control and in whose society they later would be absorbed by intermarriage and adoption of language and customs. At the southern frontier lived the immigrated Mandingo clan Cisse, who settled themselves in Saloum during the rule of one of the first chiefs. They were organized in two subclans, each taking its own political decisions (see Chapter 11). West of them the chief had established the small boundary-province Kaymor under the direct leadership of the *boumi*. According to legend Kaymor was founded by a Wolof. East of the Cisse lived other Mandingo people with the Dramé and the N'Dau as the families who represented them. Nowadays these Mandingo call themselves Wolof, as they are referred to in this study.

Although these Wolof in the chiefdom of Saloum paid taxes to the chief, they had to a large extent maintained their independence. In daily life the political decisions were taken by their elder or *diambour boureie*. In addition, political control of the chief over the Wolof commoners was only indirect, because he dealt with them through a representative of the *diambour boureie* when necessary. This representative or *Grand Diaraf* was elected by the council of lineage elders of Saloum. When this choice of the *Grand Diaraf* had been accepted by the chief, this person had great powers and could not be deposed by the chief. The *Grand Diaraf* was the interim ruler after the death of a chief. His importance is also shown by the fact that he could veto the chief's choice of a successor. Gamble (1967, p. 56) stated that this council of lineage elders together with representatives of the soldiers could even elect the new *bour*, probably when the former chief had died unexpectedly without having proposed a successor.

The importance of these lineages who, apart from being taxed and occasionally pillaged by the soldiers, remained independent under their elders, led to frequent intermarriage between the Guelowar and influential freeborn families, often to strengthen the case of a prince who tried to enlarge his following.

The *nieenio*. The imposition of kingship and chieftaincy coincided with the origin of artisanal groups in Saloum as elsewhere in Senegal. Diagne (1965, p. 154) remarked that the artisanal groups were introduced in Senegal by the immigration of the Wolof and *Toucouleur*, who had among their families some that practised special crafts. As already mentioned the Mandingo Guelowar, when they moved into Saloum, were accompanied by blacksmiths who settled in a special village. All artisans together are called *nieenio*, but the term includes several subgroups. At the beginning of this century 12 subgroups could be distinguished (Diop, 1969, p. 4). Nowadays there are only 4: the *teug* (blacksmiths), *cuude* (leatherworkers), *laobee* (woodworkers) and the *guewel* (praise-singers or *griots*). The artisanal subgroups are endogamous and the economic activity associated with the subgroup is inherited. Physical contact with artisans and their special tools and instruments is to be avoided[1].

At the court the professional groups were represented by their chiefs, who were called *Farba Teug, Farba Laobee*, etc. Usually the artisans lived near the royal residence because of the importance of their tasks, making the weapons and horse-harnesses for the army without which chieftaincy could not be maintained. The blacksmiths, for example, made horsebits, spears, clubs and bullets for the imported rifles. The leatherworkers made the horse-harnesses and the footwear. In addition the artisans made agricultural and domestic tools like hoes, axes, knives, pestles and mortars. The wives of the leatherworkers were potters. Later on artisans also attached themselves to wealthy freeborn which supported them in exchange for their craft products.

Nieenio, the word means 'flatterers', were patronized by the chief and the freeborn who could not exploit or enslave the *nieenio* without losing their dignity. Artisans were allowed to accumulate wealth and could even possess slaves of their own (Ly, 1967, p. 44; Silla, 1969, pp. 39, 40). Very probably they grew their own crops as they all do nowadays. In the Experimental Unit they were part-time farmers from at least the end of the 19th Century (see Chapter 11).

A very special position was occupied by the *guewel*. Disdained, living in special villages and quarters, they had, nevertheless, considerable influence. The *guewel* were the historians of the elite, knowing the genealogies, battles and major events. In daily life they were the advisors and entertainers of the chief and lineage elders; in wartime they accompanied their patron and encouraged him to behave like a hero. Their presence was necessary at all important ceremonies in which their major task was to praise or flatter their host or to lament and console according to circumstances. As a minstrel they made use of a variety of musical instruments. In fact the instrument being played determined to which category of the *guewel* they belonged[2]. However, their knowledge, ability to express themselves and central position at important ceremonies also provided opportunities for gossip and mockery. When his patron or host was not hospitable or generous enough, a *guewel* was not afraid to slander and insult him in public. From fear of being ridiculed, people yielded to their demands. Their influence was sizeable in relation to their low standing.

The *diam*. Slaves have to be distinguished into those who belonged to the chief, of which the *tiedo* (soldiers) were of special importance, and those who belonged to the freeborn. Slaves of the latter had been bought or captured in local wars. The next generations were born as slave and called *diam diodou*, who received a better treatment than the slaves just bought or captured (*diam geenio*). The task of the slaves was to till the land in the wet season and to weave in the dry season. In tilling the land they worked 5 days for their master and the rest of the week for themselves. Probably the afternoons were also at their disposal. After marriage a slave obtained a greater degree of independence, his position being about the same as that of the unmarried freeborn male (See Chapter 12; Ames, 1953, p. 45; Monteil, 1967, p. 267; Klein, 1968, p. 11). Female slaves also cultivated small plots of land and helped in household activities. In the dry season the women carded cotton and spun the thread. Weaving was done by the men in strips of about 12 cm wide and 180 cm long. A third of the cloth they spun for their master belonged to them. These strips of cloth were a medium of exchange and could be traded for other products. Later a certain specialization developed, whereby certain slaves were only engaged in weaving and others only in tilling their master's plots. The slaves who specialized in weaving were called *mabo*, but their position did not differ in fact from the other slaves.

Because slaves had originally been freeborn, they had a rather high standing in the village, higher than the artisans, even though the latter occasionally owned slaves. Avoidance of physical contact only applied to the artisans, who lived in special quarters. The slaves, however, lived in the compound of their master. Living together, certainly if it was for several generations, they mostly developed companionship and mutual respect. The slaves were allowed to have their own cattle and plots and to become wealthy (Silla, 1969, pp. 39, 40; Monteil, 1967, p. 268). It can be concluded that the social position of the domestic slaves differed little from the position of their freeborn masters.

4.4 Taxing

It is clear that the chief had to support a large entourage and therefore had to have at his disposal resources from which he could derive substantial income. His income came from different sources. Taxes were paid by his subjects. A tenth part of the harvest of every millet plot was collected by the chief's soldiers. Moreover, every village had to cultivate a special plot of millet, which was destined for the court. Those who owned a herd of cattle had to pay one head annually. When a *boumi* was in territorial command, he could appropriate a third of these taxes to support an army and a small court.

The chief also taxed a large slave market in his area and had royalties from the salt mines at the Saloum River (see Chapter 5). Another source of income was war loot, especially slaves and cattle, the former being kept to till the royal fields or sold to traders. The chief received gifts from those whom he protected and those who wished to remain on good terms. Fines paid in compensation of criminal acts constituted another source of income, as also the property of strangers who died in the chief's territory. Klein (1968, p. 21) concluded that: "the resources of the Bour were such that a competent man usually could maintain himself".

4.5 Conclusions

The political structure of the Wolof states between the 15th and 19th Century had many features in common with the more notable Sudanic states in the east from which they had originated. Rulership had been established by conquest, but power was often strengthened by religious authority. Kingship, court and army were maintained by tax and trade. Officialdom existed because succession to the throne was also dependent on the choice of lineage elders and the officers of the army. However, one difference is striking. The extent of power of the Wolof kingdom was limited compared with that of the Sudanic states. First the Wolof state disintegrated into independent chiefdoms, while a chiefdom became composed of provinces of which some were only indirectly controlled.

This segmentation coincided with the existence of minor courts at the chieftain and province levels. The Chiefs of Baol, Walo, Cayor, Djolof, Sine and Saloum had their army, house-slaves and artisans to maintain, while at the level of the province *boumi, dom i bour* and *diambour boureie* also had their entourage. For the Sine and Saloum chiefdoms Diagne (1965, p. 162) said, In practice, it seemed as if on lower levels the same functions were repeated as those attributed to the King, Diaraf and Farba.

The decentralized power structure was also shown by the way decisions were taken about succession, the signing of treaties with the French and the like. In these situations a council of the most important men of the chief's entourage advised him. With regard to succession to the throne the council had even the right to interpose a veto. The freeborn and soldiers were represented in the power structure and had to be reckoned with. By the support they could give to competing factions and by the marriage ties between the chief's family and the freeborn their influence was even considerable. The Saloum state is therefore quite different in structure from a 'complex state', such as that is defined in Section 2.3.

It seems that the weakness of the Saloum state and other chiefdoms, exemplified by the small extent of direct control and rather far-reaching participation in decision taking, must also be attributed to the continuous succession conflicts within the chiefdoms. This internal weakness and the forces mentioned in the next chapter explain the fall of the Wolof states.

Notes

1 Because of these three characteristics the terms 'caste' and 'subcaste' can be used. However, due to their relatively low number in relation to the whole population, the terms 'artisanal group' and 'artisanal subgroup' are preferred.

2 Among others there were the *khalmbane*, the guitar players, and the *tamakhat*, the players of the tama.

5 Change in trading, islamization and the fall of the traditional state

5.1 Traditional trade

Since the 15th Century Senegal and Gambia have been in contact with the European continent. In 1446 the Portuguese reached the westernmost tip of Senegal, the peninsular Cape Verde, and in 1455 Gambia. In the next century they were superseded by Dutch, French and English sailors, when the Portuguese had to accept Spanish rule at home and lost their position as the leading seafaring nation. By the 17th Century the Dutch had disappeared from the scene on this part of the coast and France and England had divided their interest between Senegal and Gambia, respectively. These nations established military bases and trading posts along the coast and the two main rivers of Senegal and Gambia. In Senegal the first French-owned base was the island Goree off Cape Verde, occupied in 1588 by the Dutch, but seized by the French a century later. In 1659 the French built the military post Saint-Louis on the island N'Dar in the mouth of the Senegal River. Thereafter, a string of French-controlled factories was established along this river to tap the gum-producing area and to engage in the slave trade. When the slave trade grew in importance, the factories Rufisque, Joal and Portudal were founded along the *Petite Côte,* stretching from Cape Verde to Saloum.

In Saloum, the trading post Albreda was established in the 16th Century. At this factory, like at those of the *Petite Côte,* slaves, hides, ivory, gold and wax were traded with the whites who occasionally called in at the ports. Slaves were also sold to traders directly by the chief of Saloum at his residence in Kahone. Saloum also drew revenues from salt of the shallow water of the Saloum River, which was exchanged for horses with the Moors in the north and for slaves in the hinterland. In addition, there was a regular trade of millet and cattle with the island Goree, which functioned as a slave depot and was in need of food (Klein, 1968, p. 22–26).

In Gambia, long-distance trade in salt had also been established long ago. Jobson, who explored the River Gambia in 1620, wrote that a poor grade of salt collected at the seaside near the mouth of the river was traded far into the interior for slaves. He noted that a village far up the river near the Barrakunda Falls, which are near the actual eastern boundary of Gambia, sent slaves to the coast in exchange for this salt which was then taken further east to be traded for gold (Ames, 1962, p. 32).

The Gambia River, which was better navigable than the Senegal River, became an important trading-route when English merchants started to buy slaves, gold dust, hides and wax in exchange for gin, old-fashioned rifles, cloth, paper, tobacco and ornaments. The first and principal English establishment in Gambia was James Island, 25 miles upriver, and taken in 1661. Ka Ur became a trading post further upriver in 1679, after an expedition against the chief of Saloum. In 1816 the island of Banjul, renamed St. Mary's

Island, was bought because of its strategic importance at the mouth of the river. In 1823 another island, later known as MacCarthy Island, was assigned to the English by a chief who wanted protection against the raids of invading Fula and Bambara. In 1832 another chief ceded a belt of land along the river, which was intended to check military and commercial expansion of the French, who had a fort at Albreda in the neighbourhood. Like Senegal, Gambia was not conquered and only military posts were established to protect the traders and officials.

The most important business of the factories in terms of value was the trade in slaves. During the height of the trade in the 17th Century some 5 to 6 thousand slaves were estimated to have been exported from Gambia (Quinn, 1972, p. 8). Slaves provided access to horses, guns and European luxury goods; a good horse was worth 6 to 14 slaves. In Senegal in the 17th Century *La Compagnie du Senegal* had the monopoly of the slave trade and agreed to supply the French Antilles with 2000 negroes annually for a period of 8 years. In addition, this company had to deliver at Marseilles for His Majesty such numbers of slaves as pleased him to serve on his galleys (Cornevin, 1966, p. 345). At the end of the 18th Century the numbers supplied by the Senegalese and Gambian factories decreased because of excessive competition between the European merchants. Thus the slave trade never reached the same proportions in Senegal and Gambia as in the more populous areas further along the coast or more inland (Klein, 1968, p. 28).

In accordance with the treaties of Vienna, accepted by Louis XVIII, the slave trade became illegal from 1815 onwards. The French Governor was instructed to ensure that the inhabitants of Goree no longer engaged in this trade. However the English and French administrators could not effectively bar all trade elsewhere and the smuggling of slaves to America continued for some time while the slave trade on the mainland continued as before.

In the same manner the seemingly clear-cut abolition of slavery in the French colonies by the decrees of the 2nd Republic of 27 April 1848 was still often ignored. During the conquest of West Africa by the French in the second half of the 19th Century, the vanquished people were often sold by the soldiers and the purchase of slaves was used as a source of recruitment (Suret-Canale, 1964, p. 83).

In the 1880s French courts began freeing those slaves who appeared on French territory and at the turn of the century raiding and selling of slaves had diminished to a trickle. Those who were domestic slaves continued to be so officially till 1903 when the status of the *captif de case* was abolished. Thereafter no person officially could be considered as the property of others (Klein, 1968, p. 70).

5.2 Islamization and the trade in groundnuts

Although at first independent of the development of trade, the process of islamization among the Senegalese and Gambian population later became increasingly connected with it. The change from illegal trade in slaves to legal trade in cash crops in the 1850s was decisive in terminating the last resistance of the traditional rulers to the power of the Islamic elite.

The different ethnic groups who settled in Senegal between the 11th and 15th Century

and intermingled with the autochtonous population had already been influenced by Islamic culture and religion. These immigrants originated from one of the more eastern Sudanic states that had thrived from the contacts with the Arab world and many of them had become Muslims, at least in name, after the Almoravids sacked the capital of the Ghana empire in the 11th Century. When the Portuguese arrived in Senegal in the 15th Century, they observed circumcised 'natives', the existence of Islamic holy days and the presence of holy men at the courts of the Wolof king and his chiefs (Quinn, 1972, p. 54).

Immigration of families from the east continued. Diop (undated, p. 14) referred to them as families, headed by marabouts, meaning families represented by elders who considered themselves as Muslim clerics. For instance, the Cisse and the Toure in Saloum are examples of such families. They immigrated to the territory of the Djolof state just after its foundation, but were pushed to the south by the soldiers of the king, whom they, as legend goes, unsuccessfully tried to defeat. They arrived in Saloum in the 16th Century (see Chapter 11).

Although in this case the marabouts were driven out, a functional relationship often developed between them and the court. By their prayers, amulets, books, and rosary, they became important magicians at the court who could grant inviolability to the chief and his soldiers on their raids. In daily life they could protect a man against evil and illness by the fabrication of charms (*gri gri*). These were texts copied from the Koran, enveloped in small leather pouches or dissolved in water. Literacy also procured them the post of scribe or ambassador to the chief. Sometimes their daughters were desirable marriage-partners for those of the king's family who wanted to increase their power by the support of the marabout and his dependants. Examples of such alliances are given in Appendix 1 and in footnote 2 of this Chapter.

However, Diop (undated, pp. 17–20) made clear that the functional relation between the court and the marabouts was not a relation of friendship and mutual respect. In fact, the former considered marabouts as 'untouchable' and people to be feared. Only the need of their charms, in which the chief and his soldiers put their faith, resulted in this relationship in which the marabouts received land and were permitted to found villages in exchange for their services. The marabouts gradually detached themselves from court life and became the leaders of the commoners living in the countryside.

To understand this development it is necessary to consider court life which showed the characteristics of a dissipated style of living. To a large extent this was stimulated by the *guewel* and the soldiers and made possible by the trade with the European factories. The *guewel* and soldiers encouraged dissolute and lawless behaviour. By flattery, songs of praise, obscenities and dances, the *guewel* stimulated those aspects of aristocratic culture at court that led to overindulgence and extravagance, characterized by excessive use of alcohol, adultery and riots. The use of alcohol and the misbehaviour of soldiers were well known and regularly mentioned in the letters of the governors. French sources state that, ... the only army in Cayor was a guard composed of tiedo, lawless and faithless warriors, hostile to work of any kind, drinkers of absinth and the adulterated sangara (gin), on the other hand they were brave beyond compare. Elsewhere it is said that they were, ... so addicted to gin that they would even go so far as to pawn their rifles to get hold of some (quotations cited by Monteil, 1967, pp. 269, 270)[1]. Because

such behaviour of the *guewel* and soldiers was not checked and often was even accepted by the royal family, decadence and exploitation became associated with the court and the word *tiedo* itself began to mean all those living at the court instead of just referring to soldiers.

In contrast to this behaviour was the public life of the marabouts. In conformity with Koran teaching their life was determined by rules which ordered an austere and detached way of life. They abstained from alcohol, prayed, shaved their skulls, kept the fast of Ramadan, followed the Muslim dietary laws and refrained from participating in ceremonial life where dancing, singing or music played a part. In their villages they founded Koran schools where the children learned the Koran by heart and were disciplined to follow the new principles of appropriate behaviour. This more industrious and less extravagant way of life resulted in economic prosperity. As Diop (undated, p. 22) stated, Life of the tiedo was divided between war and, in time of peace, festivities at the court. . . . In the big Muslim villages the increasing number of taalibee (adepts), not being politically and military involved, had time to cultivate the land. In this way islands of prosperity developed receiving slaves . . . oxen, and horses as compensation for khor (magic). . . .

Consequently there existed wide differences in public behaviour between the marabouts and the court, which led a Governor of Gambia to remark: "The Mandingoes are Mahometans, but divided . . . into two sections, Marabouts and Soninkés (*tiedo*). The former tell their beads, are careful in their public devotions, abstain from drink, are industrious but crafty, ambitious and sensual, besides being given to slave dealing. The latter on the other hand, are lawless and dissipated, plundering when they can from the European trade or from the industrious Marabout . . . warlike drones in fact. Yet, from this wild, unthinking people the Kings have hitherto been elected . . ." (Klein, 1968, p. 69).

Because of the fear inspired by the magical powers of the marabouts, the soldiers often refrained from pillaging their principal villages, although the Muslims were hardworking people and their villages of the wealthiest. When the rule of the soldiers became too oppressive, mistreated people took refuge in these villages thereby increasing the marabout's following.

From the 17th Century onwards the influence of the marabouts had increased so much that they dared to revolt against the army of the court. The first important collision, which is known, occurred in 1683[2]. The number of uprisings increased in the 18th Century, stirred up by invasions of the Moors who crossed the Senegal River to help defend the marabout case. The decrease in slave trade, which had become illegal since the start of that century, and the development of the groundnut trade since the end of the 1840s contributed considerably to the success of the Muslim revolution.

In Gambia, the decline in slave trade was reflected in an increase in pillaging of farmers and traders. From the 19th Century onwards Fula, Bambara and Sarakollee mercenaries invaded Gambia from the east. In 1823 marabouts sought refuge on MacCarthy Island and in the east of Gambia factories had to be closed. The river became impassable from 1842 onwards because of warfare (Gray, 1940, p. 373). The several Fula groups, which till the 19th Century had often benefited from a mutual relationship with their Mandingo leaders, now were pillaged. In the middle of the 19th Century this plundering led to a revolt in one of the Gambian chiefdoms and the Man-

dingo chief was defeated (Quinn, 1972, p. 22). Hereafter there was a confederation of three Fula warriors who created political chaos among the Gambian states. These bands mostly pillaged the marabouts and their adepts. On the other hand the marabouts were also supported by mercenaries, who were armed by commercial men who either defended the marabout case or just wanted to sell military equipment. The continuous harassment of the Muslims did not prevent Muslim clerics from establishing themselves in nearly all of the Mandingo states by the middle of the 19th Century and the number of converts from increasing considerably.

Weakened by the loss of control over trade and revenues after the decline of the slave trade, the chiefs had to accept that more and more of the wealth from the trade in groundnuts passed into the hands of the marabouts living near the river and in direct contact with the European factories (Quinn, 1972, pp. 48–82; Monteil, 1967, pp. 261–278). Those cultivating groundnuts were less vulnerable to the heavy taxation than the slave merchants with their large caravans. Cash and trade goods were diffused among the population and the rulers' monopolies suffered. Whereas the slave trade strengthened the elite, the groundnut trade put money, and thus guns, in the hands of peasants (Klein, 1972, p. 424). The conclusion is that the increasing success of the Muslim reform movements in Senegambia to a large extent must be explained by the decline of the traditional states following the decrease in slave trade. The change from slave trade to legitimate trade in cash crops seems to be the turning point in this decline. The section below describes the outcome of the revolution in Senegal by which the ruling elite and remaining pagans were proselytized.

5.3 The Muslim revolution in Badibu

Badibu, a Gambian chiefdom on the northern bank of the river, was governed by a Mandingo chief, the *Mansa* Diery Ba, who led a riotous life and spent his time with an alcohol trader named Toumane Bana (Ba, 1957, p. 570). To all his children he gave the name of Toumane Bana or Bana. This chief regularly dressed his slave Ndam in rags and obliged every passer-by, under threat of death, to change clothes with the beggar. Subordinate chiefs refused to obey Diery Ba and in the country robbery was rife. Dissatisfaction became general, especially among the Muslims of the country who were continuously exploited. When the traders complained about this state of affairs to the British Governor in Bathurst, a punitive expedition was sent to Badibu in 1861. One of the chief's subjects, the marabout MaBa, betrayed his chief by guiding the troops and Diery Ba was called to order but was maintained as chief of Badibu.

Then the marabout MaBa had to take refuge in Bathurst. For personal information on MaBa, see Appendix 2. MaBa's flight to Bathurst caused an uprising of his family and the families Cisse and Toure who regarded him as their spiritual leader. A coalition of these families defeated two of Diery Ba's underchiefs. In 1861 they attacked the *boumi* of the Province of Kaymor, who depended on the chief of Saloum. After the *boumi* was defeated, the coalition attacked the chief of one of the states west of Badibu. At this moment the chief of Saloum, who till then had not believed it worthwhile to intervene, attacked the marabouts and killed two of the three leaders. However, this action resulted in a general backing of MaBa who had returned and troops were formed,

commanded by the first adepts of MaBa, sons of the freeborn families of Saloum. Diery Ba was killed and Badibu was placed under the rule of MaBa. Then other chiefdoms were conquered (Jokadu, Niumi, Djilor, Kular, Laghem and the domain of the Dramé clan). Every subject had to shave his skull or be killed.

In 1864 MaBa was the ruler of whole Saloum with the exception of the royal residence Kahone and its close surroundings. His army numbered some thousands of soldiers, although mostly armed with sticks. Henceforth MaBa's power was a political factor to be reckoned with. Princes of royal families adopted Islam for political reasons to gain his support which, however, in the long run strengthened the marabout cause. For a case of conversion for political reasons see Appendix 1.

By about the beginning of the 20th Century everybody in Senegal north of Gambia had been proselytized with exceptions among the Serer and the Fula. For the *Cercle* Sine-Saloum, Marty (1917, p. 308) estimated that of the total population of 182 926, 76 352 defined themselves as Muslim, the non-Muslims mainly being the Serer of the Sine area.

5.4 Colonial interference

In Senegal as well as in Gambia colonial policy was directed to establishing peace so that trade could develop. It depended on the personal preference of the acting Governor whether he showed interest in the ideological motives underlying the struggle between the *tiedo* and marabouts. Even when Governors chose the side of the chiefs, as happened in Gambia, the influence of the marabouts grew. In Senegal several chiefdoms were annexed by the French between 1855 and 1868 (see Chapter 6). In Saloum, where the Muslim revolution (*jihad*) was successful from the early 1860s, older treaties of 1785 and 1849 between the chief of Saloum as well as the chief of Sine and French trading companies were replaced by the treaties of 1859 between the chiefs and the Governor Faidherbe. In subsequent years several punitive expeditions were necessary to make the chiefs of Sine and Saloum conform to the treaties. However, the few military posts that were established along the coast were only small. Klein (1968, p. 59) concluded that it was only after MaBa had established his power in Saloum, that the chief of Saloum's freedom of action in dealing with the French was limited. The chief of Sine continued to seek conciliation and where possible to use the French.

In addition, the French Governors did not want to become too involved in Senegal, because French financial resources did not permit the occupation of more than the coast only. At first the French Governors preferred the Muslims to the *tiedo*. A French governor wrote to Paris, The marabouts – faithful observers of the Koran, who are tired of the violence inflicted on them by the bands of drunkards like the tyeddo of Cayor, Baol, Sine and Saloum, who live only by thievery – resolved about a year ago to convert or destroy this brutalized and useless race. (Cited by Klein, 1968, p. 79).

When, as is shown in Appendix 1, the marabouts moved to expand their territory, the French administration began to see in MaBa a barrier to the expansion of the trade in groundnuts. Two missions to stop MaBa were unsuccessful and when MaBa attacked the chief of Sine, the French Governor helped the latter. However, Paris turned down his request for more troops to avoid new involvements.

In Gambia the British policy of indirect rule resulted in the chiefs being supported in their wars with the marabouts (Quinn, 1972). Although, as was seen, the chief of Badibu had to endure a punitive expedition by the British in 1861, the Governor attempted to remedy what he felt had been an error of judgment by fervent and unremitting opposition to every aspect of the Muslim movement in the Mandingo states. During the next ten years, the emerging alignment with the Mandingo rulers became a tenet of faith for the leaders of the colony. Here again financial resources were too low for the British to intervene in the wars. Even less money became available when in 1866 a Governor General for all British Colonies in West Africa was stationed in Sierra Leone and hardly any attention was paid to Gambia.

One of the reasons for the conquest of Senegalese and Gambian territories by France and Britain in the second half of the 19th Century was that the weak chieftaincy of the traditional rulers had not been replaced by a more stable government of marabouts or converted chiefs.

At first, MaBa's charism succeeded in counteracting tendencies to divide, but after his death family and personal interests were usually stronger than the common interest in the new Muslim society. In Saloum as well as in Gambia, marabouts, their lieutenants, royal princes and bandits fought and robbed each other, whereby coalitions were as easily broken as formed because of traditional rivalries, ethnic differences and personal interests. Hereditary chieftaincy was replaced by office based on success in war.

Between 1868 and 1898 there were numerous wars. In 1885 before July nine battles took place between Saer Maty Ba, the son of MaBa, and a coalition between the Chief of Saloum, the brother of MaBa and Birane Cisse, representative of the Cisse clan. Before these battles had started, Birane Cisse once sighed: "Cette guerre m'est imposée par une famille pour laquelle j'ai été 14 fois blessé, pour laquelle j'ai perdu 29 chevaux sur les champs de bataille, pour laquelle 4 de mes frères sont morts. Je pensais vivre le reste de mes jours dans la calme et la paix, mais voilà que ce jeune Saer Maty pousse ses ambitions jusque dans mes interêts" (Ba, 1957, p. 589).

When British trade was at stake because some of these wars were being fought in Gambia, the Governor of Gambia decided to invade Saloum to punish the troublemakers. Then the French quickly intervened not to lose part of their sphere of influence to the British. In the 1890s Saloum was pacified when French troops defeated the warlords. Saloum was annexed and divided into 2 *cercles* headed by French administrators, and 6 *cantons*, headed by the former warlords who were appointed *Chef de Canton* and incorporated in the French government (Klein, 1968, p. 220). Raiding stopped and the boundary with Gambia was settled.

5.5 Conclusions

The weak chieftaincies in Senegal and Gambia could not stand the political and cultural revolution of the marabouts, partly because these marabouts found support for their cause from groups converted earlier, who turned away from the decadent behaviour at court. In structural perspective, the attacks of the marabouts and their following resulted from the exploiting behaviour of the court and army. This behaviour

was encouraged by the establishment of European trade in Senegal and Gambia. About the *cycle infernal* Cornevin (1966, p. 366) said, To provide oneself (warlords) with slaves, it was necessary to organize military expeditions, which must be equipped with superior armament, the rifle, to gain the victory. To obtain these rifles of the European traders one had to supply slaves and thus to raid neighbouring people. The pillaging of the population, especially of the Muslims, was especially severe after the abolishment of the slave trade.

From 1840 onwards groundnut cultivation increased the power of the peasants and marabouts and the 'pagan' chiefs were successfully over-thrown. The colonial powers seemed to have played no decisive role in the islamization process. One of the reasons for the conquest of Senegal and Gambia was that the converted chiefs and marabouts were not able to unite and their rivalries hampered the development of the trade in groundnuts. After the conquest they became incorporated as lower staff in the French administration.

Notes

1 However, it must be borne in mind that French as well as Islamic sources tend to exaggerate the misbehaviour of the soldiers.

2 Yacine Boubou of Cayor was replaced as queen by her niece Maram N'Galgou, mother of the new chief. Yacine Boubou lost her temper and married the marabout N'Diaye Sall. A large part of the court, many family members and a great number of malcontents were added to the number of adepts of the marabout. His following was very large because of the misbehaviour of the three former chiefs of Cayor, one of them even forbidding the use of salt by commoners. The son of Maram N'Galgou was defeated and was replaced by a prince who was willing to adopt in name Islam (Diop, undated, pp. 24, 25).

6 French colonial administration and agricultural policy

The preceding chapter has shown how the Muslim reform movement had considerably weakened the chieftaincies in Senegal before they came under French rule. So in Saloum the continuous fighting between Muslim clerics, royal princes and bandits was one of the reasons for its annexation. Here attention is paid to the economic background which led France to conquer Saloum as well as the other chieftaincies in Senegal. Also the agricultural policy during the colonial period is evaluated so that in subsequent chapters its relation with agricultural policy after independence can be given.

6.1 The conquest

As described in the preceding chapter, the slave trade declined considerably from the end of the 18th Century. Around 1840, however, there was an economic revolution that gave trade an impetus largely compensating the decline of trade in people.

Groundnuts, imported centuries ago from Latin America by the Portuguese, was grown locally as a garden plant for its oil. When the plant was brought to the attention of Devès and Chaumet from Bordeaux, they tested to what extent groundnut oil could be used commercially. From a combination of groundnut and olive oil, they succeeded in making the blue marble soap for which Marseille became known. In 1840, the chemist Rousseau bought 6 ha land in the neighbourhood of Rufisque, established a factory and in 1841 the first groundnuts were sent to the oil mills of Sotteville-les-Rouen.

Also in Gambia the cultivation of groundnuts increased considerably. The growth in the export of groundnuts is given in Table 1[1].

The enthusiasm of the farmers for this crop and their success in growing it resulted in French trade in West Africa being mainly concentrated in Senegal; in the period 1860–1880 between half and three-quarters of the trade value from the French colonies in West Africa came from Senegal (Hopkins, 1973, p. 130). The commercial houses, like Peyrissac, Devès and Chaumet, Buhan and Teissère, Maurel and Prom, and Vézia, owe their expansion exclusively to this crop. They bought groundnuts, first as wholesalers, but later also as retailers, when they established factories in the bush. At the same same time they acted as importers of rice and of such commodities as cloth, sugar, tinware and later on also of more complex household articles, selling them in the same factories which bought the groundnuts from the farmers.

In Saloum, the four main commercial houses Maurel and Prom, Maurel Frères, Buhan and Teissère, and the *Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale* (CFAO), all had factories at Kaolack, Foundiougne and Silief and dependencies in the countryside in 1886. In 1912 at least 64 of the collection-points were administratively

Table 1. Export of groundnuts in tonnes from Senegal, Gambia and Sine-Saloum between 1837 and 1959. Data from Klein, 1968, pp. 37, 120, 134, 174; Fouquet, 1958, pp. 114, 246; Brigaud, 1966, p. 59; Quinn, 1972, p. 79.

Senegal		Gambia		*Cercle*	Sine-Saloum
Year	Tonnes	Year	Tonnes	Year	Tonnes
1845	187	1837	671		
1850	4 650	1850	6 000	1875	3 000[1]
1882	83 000	1884	18 000	1884	9 000
1900	125 000	1899	34 353	1902	17 000
1910/1914	235 000	1915	96 152	1912	54 000
1924/1928	410 000	1935	45 110	1930	225 000
1935	372 000				
1950	330 000	1950	58 791	1950	216 000
1958	808 561	1959	40 568	1958	389 000

1. This amount for 1875 was 'shipped from the Saloum River'.

recognized as *escales,* legally approved trading centres.

France became more and more commercially involved in Senegal. Naval officers repeatedly asked the Ministry of Marine in Paris to increase French authority in Senegal. In 1854 merchants of Bordeaux asked for a governor in Senegal, willing to stay long enough to give some stability to French policy. Faidherbe, who had been in Senegal since 1852, was suggested for the post. The unstable government after the traditional rulers had failed to beat their marabout-opponents and the consequences for trade induced Faidherbe to conquer gradually all Senegalese chiefdoms (see Chapter 5). The chiefdoms Walo, Fouta and Cayor were annexed between 1855 and 1868; Sine and Saloum maintained in principle their own government but had to accept the unilateral treaty of 1861 forcing them to maintain peaceful trade. Much earlier than other nations, France had become involved in the 'scramble for colonies'. Between 1868 and 1880 there was a lull in the expansionist movement. As is described in Appendix 1, Cayor was even given back to the Chief of Cayor, the *Damel* Latdior, because France had cut back on the colony's budget, being militarily engaged at home. Beteen 1880 and 1900 a new period of conquest was started after the French-German war. France had been defeated and had lost Elzas-Lotharingen and now looked for compensation in the countries overseas. Thus the French possessions were extended in West and Equatorial Africa. In Senegal Sine became annexed in 1877, Djolof in 1885 and Saloum in 1891. In 1895 the seat of the Federation of *Afrique Occidentale Francaise* (AOF) was established in Saint-Louis.

6.2 Administration

The French administrative system in the colonies was as follows. Developed by Faidherbe, a distinction was made between territories under direct rule and protectorates; the first were directly governed by the French, the latter only indirectly, because local government was maintained. In the 1870s a new idea was added by the institution

of the *communes de plein exercice*. Inhabitants of the *communes*, formally under direct rule, were accorded French citizenship with, in principle, the same rights as the citizens in the parent country. This assimilation policy resulted between 1872 and 1887 in the creation of four municipalities, Saint-Louis, Goree, Dakar and Rufisque, which were united in the *Quatre Communes*. Each had its own municipal council, mayor and budget. Together they had a general council with quasi-legislative powers and they could send a deputy to the French parliament. Those living under 'direct rule' thus appeared to have, quite contradictory to the strict sense of the word, a certain degree of self-determination.

On the other hand, the 'subjects', those living in the territories under protectorate, were in practice directly ruled. Immediately after the annexation the chieftaincies were placed under French administrators and local bodies of self-management were dissolved.

The administrative system had 3 levels of authority: *région, cercle* and *canton*. A *région* was divided into *cercles* and *cercles* into *cantons*. The governor and the *commandant de cercle* were French. Africans were only appointed to subordinate employment. They could become a *chef de canton* chosen from the traditional elite or originating from the *communes*. Because the *chefs de canton* were appointed and supervised by the French *commandant de cercle*, the inhabitants of the *cantons* were in practice directly ruled, such measures as taxation, labour service and recruitment for the French armies being imposed[2]. To avoid, however, their being treated as citizens and placed under the authority of the council of the *communes*, the myth of indirect government was maintained. Only very gradually was the number of *communes* enlarged, as is shown in the next chapter.

6.3 French agricultural policy

After the conquest civil governors were appointed and trade fully developed. Between 1883 and 1885 a railway was constructed between Dakar and Saint-Louis to encourage the cultivation of groundnuts in Cayor, and between 1907 and 1923 another line, 667 kilometres long, through Saloum to Mali was laid, which offered West Sudan a direct outlet to Dakar. After World War I two branches were added, Louga-Linguère and Diourbel-Touba. Simultaneously with the construction of the railroad, the centre of groundnut cultivation moved from Cayor to the less populous and higher rainfall areas of Baol, Sine-Saloum and Tambacounda. See Map 5.

In Saloum road improvement by enforced labour started in 1890. By 1898 Saloum had already 150 kilometres of dirt road. In 1914 a dirt road was made connecting the small villages Thysse and Sonkorong (where the fieldwork took place) via Kaymor with Nioro. Roads were rapidly constructed in this area, partly to counteract the selling of groundnuts to Gambian factories[3].

After World War I many migrants from poorer regions of Senegal settled in Sine-Saloum. According to Fouquet (1958, p. 31), between 1929 and 1937 about 175 000 people migrated to Sine-Saloum and contributed to the 'wolofization' of the area. This increase in population was accompanied by the annual arrival of sharecroppers from the neighbouring AOF-countries, Mali and Guinea. Encouraged by the French administration, young men, *navetanes* as they were called, came to profit from Senegal's

involvement in cash cropping by cultivating groundnuts on a field borrowed from a farmer in exchange for their labour (see Chapter 12). In this manner the loss of slave labour was thus partly compensated for. *Navetanes* were first mentioned in a Gambian government report of 1849; in 1892 there were 600 to 700 in Sine-Saloum. The number increased rapidly, especially in Sine-Saloum. From the end of the 1950s numbers decreased because the frontier with Guinea was closed and free transport facilities were no longer available. (Table 2).

Table 2. Number of navetanes in Senegal and Sine-Saloum. Data from Fouquet, 1958, p. 81; Pelissier, 1966, p. 450.

Year	Senegal	Sine-Saloum
1935	59 000	41 618
1940	39 324	30 950
1945	35 000	28 556
1950	34 100	26 075
1955	40 125	23 007
1960	7 186	

The enthusiasm for cash cropping was also stimulated by the immigration of Syrians and Lebanese. After Syria and Lebanon were placed under French mandate in 1918, their inhabitants took advantage of the commercial possibilities in Senegal and established themselves as independent traders or agents for the commercial firms, often in the more out-of-the-way trading centres. Their number in Senegal grew rapidly. In Saloum the first immigrants arrived in 1904 and by 1912 they numbered 58 families (Klein, 1968, p. 188). (Table 3).

Table 3. Number of Syrian and Lebanese families in Senegal. Data from Fouquet, 1958, p. 51; Diarassouba, 1968, p. 67.

Year	Number of families
1897	10
1900	99
1914	500
1929	2 088
1953	8 000
1960	15 000

About the same time the *Petits Blancs* immigrated to Senegal. These were Frenchmen who had left the poorer regions of the parent country to participate in the

new commercial developments of the colonies. With the establishment of the commercial houses in Senegal and the immigration of strangers, almost all Senegalese were expelled from the trading sector of the economy by the turn of the century. The expansion of the railway and the introduction of trucks in Senegal after World War I were the final blow to the Senegalese traders. Henceforth the commercial houses, the individual Syrian-Lebanese and French traders dominated trade even in the most out-of-the-way villages. It was only after World War II that people of the *communes* started to take over posts in the groundnut trade (Amin, 1969, pp. 20–26).

French monopolization of the groundnut trade was also demonstrated by her policy that no groundnut-processing industry should develop in Senegal itself. Until 1929 only unshelled groundnuts were exported. It was the economic crisis in the 1930s with the lack of transport facilities that encouraged the start of processing in the production area itself and the first oil for export was milled in Senegal in 1935. In that year only a tenth of the export-groundnuts was shelled in Senegal itself.

An exception to the policy that benefits from trade should only accrue to the parent country seemed to be the foundation of the *Sociétés Indigènes de Prévoyance* (SIP), a para-administrative organization which had to counteract the improvidence (*imprévoyance*) of the natives (*indigènes*). Based on experiments in Algeria, a SIP was introduced in Kaolack in 1907. In 1910 a decree was promulgated for general application and in 1912 there were already 10 SIPs in Senegal. Membership of the SIP became obligatory after World War I for all farmers cultivating groundnuts. In 1952 there were 14 SIPs with 1 111 000 members.

The main goal of a SIP was to provide groundnut seed on credit to be repaid after harvest. Since the 1940s it had also been engaged in the distribution of improved seed, fertilizer and farm implements. Those who adopted the seed drill could obtain 200 kg groundnut seed extra on credit. However farmers hardly benefited from the SIPs because the interest rate on seed was 25% and because the SIP was directed by the *commandant du cercle* who used the institution for his own benefit. Moreover the SIPs were often manipulated by private traders. So Suret-Canale (1964, p. 303) argued that the creation of the SIPs was not determined by the needs of the farmers, but served the manoeuvres of private trade and the easygoing procedures of the administration. He said, It (administration) had adopted the habit of using the resources of SIP and their often quite extensive staff ... to alleviate the insufficiency of normal resources and administrative personnel of the *cercles*. It was tempting to continue in this manner, the subscription fees and selling of seed yielding regular and substantial profits.

The traders that found an interesting market in the selling of groundnuts to the SIP, supported the SIPs. Suret-Canale stated, Every year, they (commercial firms) helped in an assault on the Chamber of Commerce to ask for the purchase of groundnuts from private trade to avoid ruining the colony and to prevent its future disappearance. These groundnuts destined as seed for the farmers were sold to the SIP for a price almost three times higher than usual. When it was discovered that the farmers were keeping increased reserves of groundnuts, a governor instructed his administrators to keep the SIP granaries well stocked lest the SIP find itself in financial difficulties. When at the end of the 1930s the SIPs started to collect groundnuts not only to recover debts incurred but also to sell them for the farmers, traders were, however, furious.

In 1946 and 1948 some large mechanized rice and groundnut projects were tried out near Richard-Toll, Kaffrine and in the Casamance, but they failed (Diarassouba, 1968, pp. 79–87). After World War II, when the Senegalese political parties became active and franchise was also conferred on people not living in *communes*, France realized that her administration had to be more subservient to the Senegalese farmers and her policy started to take a new direction.

In conformity with the law of 30 April 1946, a fund, the *Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social des Colonies* (FIDES) was created and in 1947 money became available for financing development projects in the colonies. Although mainly destined for infrastructural and social projects, some money for the agricultural sector became available and in Senegal the agricultural research station CNRA, at Bambey, was financed by FIDES as well as some *canton pilots*, in which the agricultural innovations developed by the station were introduced to the farmers. Financed by French commercial firms, the *Institut des Recherches pour les Huiles et les Oléagineuses* (IRHO) also began with agricultural experiments in 1942. Although very active in their research Diarassouba (1968, p. 90) stated that some of the recommendations of CNRA and IRHO were contradictory or too complicated to be applied by the small farmer.

In 1953 the SIPs were reorganized into the *Sociétés Mutuelles de Développement Rural* (SMDR), becoming detached from the local colonial administration. Then two-thirds of the administrative council of the SMDR had to be elected while the president was appointed by the government. However, the *commandant du cercle* maintained the right of control and could veto decisions, while the local elite continued to be influential in the council (Cruise O'Brien, 1975, p. 124). Although the SMDR succeeded in paying out the receipts of the farmers more quickly than private traders, the council members were often incapable or dishonest so that later the SMDR developed financial problems.

In combination with the 'reorganization' of the SIP, a *canton pilot* became a *Centre d'Expansion Rurale* (CER), a type of pilot area at the level of the *arrondissement* in which farmers could experiment with agricultural systems based on animal power. A CER included one senior extension officer and some field assistants, one assistant for about every 2000 farmers. In 1954 the CERs covered 18 villages or 2200 hectares. In 1959, one or more CERs could be found in almost all *cercles*, although to a large extent fictive due to lack of money and equipment (Diarassouba, 1968, p. 88).

Because of the difficulties summarized above, farmers turned away from the SIP and SMDR and set up independent co-operatives. Between 1947 and 1953 there was an experiment with this type of co-operative selling groundnuts directly to the oil mills in an attempt to diminish the share in the profits of SMDR or private traders. In 1949 there were 50 co-operatives and in 1951 214. However, these independent co-operatives did not succeed in commercializing a large part of the groundnuts and very soon they ran into debt with the state and the oil mills because of bad management and corruption (Fouquet, 1958, p. 241; Cruise O'Brien, 1975, p. 127).

In 1955 the independent co-operatives were replaced by government-controlled co-operatives. The part of the crop commercialized by the co-operatives remained small during the 1950s. In 1957 only 1% was commercialized by the co-operatives, increasing to 6% in 1959 (Camboulives, 1967, p. 189). It was only after independence

that government-controlled co-operatives took root.

6.4 Conclusions

From 1850, about the time the slave trade had considerably decreased in importance, groundnuts offered a new opportunity to the French commercial houses. Besides the confrontation of French administration with an unstable local government, French involvement in the groundnut trade also explained the colonization of Senegal. This preceded the period of scrambling for colonies in Africa by Europe at the end of the 19th Century. Until World War II French agricultural policy was directed to offer the Senegalese farmers an extensive network of commercial outlets and transport facilities, while labour input in agriculture was stimulated by the immigration of *navetanes*. After domestic slavery was abolished, the former slaves founded independent farms and so groundnut cultivation increased. The Regional Assistance Centres (SIPs) established by the French administration at the start of the 20th Century did not affect the interests of the commercial firms.

Between 1850 and 1900 Senegal was plagued by wars between chiefs and marabouts and influenced by the economic depression in the 1880s. These did not prevent the Senegalese farmer, especially in Sine-Saloum, from growing groundnuts and becoming heavily involved in the money economy. French agricultural policy before World War II was successful from the point of view of growth of trade. However the commercial firms were foreign owned, acted as importers and had the groundnut seeds processed in the parent countries. Hence they took a large share of the profits of the farmers.

From World War II onwards the shelling and milling of groundnut seeds also took place in Senegal, but the oil mills remained foreign owned. The Regional Assistance Centres were reorganized to serve the interest of the farmers more fairly. These centres stimulated the extension of the acreage under groundnuts. However, mismanagement continued, but now for the benefit of the local elite and private traders, originating from the *communes*. As a result of mismanagement and malversations by these people, independent co-operatives were founded, but their share in total commercialization remained very small compared with that of private trade. However, agricultural research and extension had made a start, but were handicapped by a shortage of finance or because they were not sufficiently adapted to the means of the farmer.

Notes

1 There was a strong decline in export in the period between 1882 and 1887 when due to international recession in Senegal exports dropped from 83 000 tonnes in 1882 to 22 000 tonnes in 1886 and in Gambia from 18 000 tonnes in 1881 to 2900 tonnes in 1887.

2 In 1918 the French army numbered 211 000 soldiers recruited from AOF-countries; 164 000 of them were sent to Europe. In World War II 180 000 soldiers went to Europe; most of them were Senegalese (Suret-Canale, 1964, p. 155).

3 The main collecting points in Saloum were the ports of Foundiougne, Kaolack and Toubacouta, but in the *cantons* bordering the Gambian frontier much was smuggled to Gambia, making use of the affluents of the Gambia River.

7 Ideology and political practice after independence: Senegalese socialism

In this chapter a closer look is given to the broad political orientation of Senegal after independence. In many ways the Senegalese type of socialism resembles the basic ideas behind cultural and economic policy in the Western societies. This resemblance is also expressed in the conception of rural development. In the development of this orientation the acting President has played a key role.

7.1 Ideology

Since independence political thought in Senegal has been largely developed by the President Léopold Sédar Senghor. Senghor is the son of a Serer shopkeeper of Joal, an old trading-post on the *Petite Côte* and one of the few places where Catholicism has a foothold. Senghor became a Catholic and was partly mission-educated. He continued his studies in France and was the first African to obtain the coveted *agrégation*. He taught grammar at *lycées* in Paris and Tours, married a French wife and even became a naturalized French citizen. He is imbued with French culture and both in France and in Africa he is a recognized man of letters. In 1945 Senghor entered politics. Together with Mamadou Dia, a *Toucouleur* and Muslim schoolteacher from Saloum, he founded a party which, by absorbing other political groupings, ultimately led to the foundation of the dominant party, the *Union Progressiste Sénégalaise* (UPS). Senghor and Dia were successful because they were the first in Senegal who oriented their politics towards the mass of 'subjects', instead of towards the smaller but influential ingroup of 'citizens' of the *communautés*, whose representatives gradually had lost contact with the majority of Senegal's inhabitants (Morgenthau, 1964, p. 146).

In 1959, Senegal, led by Senghor and Dia, joined in a *communauté* with France as part of the Federation of Mali. The Federation of Mali, formed by Senegal and the actual republic Mali, obtained independence on 4 April 1959. On 20 August 1960, Senegal broke away from the Federation and became the Republic of Senegal. Senghor was chosen as president of the state and Mamadou Dia as his prime minister.

Senghor's ideology is based on an African interpretation of socialism, *la voie africaine, sénégalaise, du socialisme*. Most important in explaining Senegalese socialism is the concept of *négritude*, which he defined as the total of values of the negro-civilization. Senghor first developed this concept in reaction to white domination, but later also from Marxism, which taught him humanism (Milcent, 1962, p. 128).

However, Senghor does not admire the policy of the East-European countries. According to Senghor the essential message of Marxism is human well-being, the main objective of Marxist planning being neither economic growth, nor other economic objectives.

"Mais il est manifeste, à nous peuple des-intéressés, que l'avoir a priorité, non primauté, qu'il ne réalise pas la plénitude de l'être.... Dans les pays socialistes, le problème des loisirs n'a pas encore été reglé, non plus que celui de la libérté, problèmes qui sont, précisément, ceux de l'Homme" (Senghor, 1962, pp. 1 and 2). For Senghor (1969, p. 6) the main objective of politics is the people's well-being. Apart from liberal capitalism and Marxist-Leninist socialism, based on centralism and integral planning, there is a third way to reach this objective: 'a socialism for man, democratic and decentralized, the African, Senegalese mode of socialism. ...' (1969, p. 6).

Later, for Senghor the term Marxism became too much associated with the suppression of cultural and personal freedom. Therefore, the cultural charter of the Panafrican Festival at Algiers in 1969 was not signed by Senegal. Senghor said, one intended to substitute culture for politics and, in some delegations, scholars of culture for "politicians" (1969, pp. 10 and 11). Because Senghor was (and still is) strongly adverse to cultural imperialism, he turned to the work of Teilhard de Chardin in which he found an ideological framework to defend a negro-civilization existing in its own right. Characteristics of this civilization are said to be the *don d'émotion* and the *don de raison intuitive,* as against the *raison discursive* of the western technocratic civilization. Because Africa does not posses the whole truth, *négritude* stands for a *culture du métissage* which allows for integration of cultural and material elements of foreign cultures as long as they are not in disharmony with its own standards and ideals (le Soleil Special, 8 May, 1971).

7.2 Foreign policy and policy towards foreign enterprises

Those transforming *négritude* or 'Senegalese socialism' into practical policies borrowed freely from western culture. The official language has remained French and, in spite of *négritude*, attempts in 1972 to replace French by local tribal languages were discouraged by the president himself, calling this 'irresponsible romanticism' (le Soleil Special, 17 December, 1972).

Western technocracy is accepted as one of the preconditions for economic growth. Foreign aid is very much welcomed. In the struggle for independence the opponents of Senghor accused him and his friends of having a *mentalité de pourboire* (Morgenthau, 1964, p. 162). Between 1964/1965 and January 1969 a total of foreign aid (public and private) amounted to 32 milliard francs CFA, almost equalling the annual Senegalese budget (1000 F CFA worth about $3.60 in 1972). Of the 115.5 milliard F CFA public investment in the third 4-year Plan (1969–1973), 81 milliard F CFA was expected to come from foreign aid (Gautron, 1971, p. 61). In 1969, there were 1300 French agents financed by the French Ministry of Co-operation in Senegal, not counting 900 agents on special contract in universities, hospitals, development projects and research.

Senegalese socialism is well known for its stress on the *dialogue,* even with countries considered as unfriendly, like South Africa. Senegal also was among the last African states to recognize Angola as independent. Reluctance to use force also appears from the line of negotiation with the foreign companies in Senegal. In relation to 'senegalization' of posts in the private sector the Minister of Public Works, Coumba N'Doffène Diouf, said, The Senegalese point of view, known in foreign countries as the one of arrangement of problems by negotiation. dialogue and reconciliation, in short the con-

trary of unilateral violent solutions, will also be applied to the policy of senegalization of the salarized posts in the private sector (le Soleil Special, 4 April, 1971). This point of view will make the policy of 'senegalization' only partly successful, which is accepted by the president.

Appreciation of the efficiency of western economies in the private sector also appears from Senghor's attitude towards nationalization of foreign enterprises. It is general policy to refrain from extending the public sector in Senegal's economy. According to the government nationalization exists if the state is able to regulate economic processes (Senghor, 1969, p. 66). Because Senghor fears mismanagement by civil servants, their salaries being independent of achievement, he even advocates de-bureaucratization (*défonctionnarisation*) in the public sector. Joint ventures and concessions are stimulated and much attention is given to the development of small Senegalese industries and handicraft. However, towards the end of the third 4-year Plan (1969–1973) only 14½% of the computed investment in the handicraft sector was realized and, according to Amin (1969, p. 181), this situation will not improve until it has been more firmly established what precisely are the domains of the private, public and foreign sector.

7.3 Administrative approach to rural development

Although in the industrial sector bureaucracy is not welcome, in the agricultural sector an improvement policy by administrative effort is preferred to a policy based on rural participation. This preference is shown by the termination of *animation rurale* and the intention to establish *communautés rurales* in the countryside.

7.3.1 Animation Rurale

Reverend Père Lebret and his colleagues drew up the first 4-year plan for the Senegalese authorities; a development administration was established partly independent of the territorial administration. Development agencies were set up at regional and local levels, manned by technicians and administrators. These development agencies are discussed in Chapter 9. What is important here, is that besides these development agencies, a Department of *Animation Rurale* was set up within the Ministry of Planning and headed by the Prime Minister, Mamadou Dia.

Based on experiences in Algeria and Morocco, a programme was drawn up to increase the people's own effort in local development activities. *Animateurs* were chosen from the villages and trained for 20 days. They were to help the extension agencies in improving the farmer's technical competence in agriculture and to encourage fellow-villagers to participate in small local projects. In addition, educational projects were set up, assisted by primary schoolteachers, to increase functional literacy of the villagers and so overcome the slow expansion of primary education in the rural areas[1]. The aim was to have a training centre in every *département*. In 1962, 23 centres existed having trained about 3500 *animateurs* and *animatrices*, who were responsible for about 1000 villages.

However, local technicians and administrators of the development agencies disagreed with the staff of the Department about the strategy behind the programme of *animation rurale* which ranked self-determination above the technocratic approach of the ad-

ministration and in which co-operative marketing by the villagers was preferred to private trade (Brochier, 1968, p. 272; Schumacher, 1975, pp. 63–67). Ideological difficulties were aggravated by a chronic shortage of funds. Moreover there was a deeper conflict between Senghor and his prime minister on the interpretation of Senegalese socialism. This conflict ended in December 1962 when the Prime Minister, Mamadou Dia, and the Minister of Home Affairs, WalDiodio N'Diaye, were put in prison. Thereafter the Department of *Animation Rurale* came under the State Secretary for Youth and Sport and was only engaged in the training of staff. Civic and moral education was delegated to the party UPS and *animation rurale* as a strategy of development disappeared.

It was only after the student revolt of May 1968, demanding a more democratic political structure, that a new prime minister was appointed.

7.3.2 The Law on National Domain

On 17 June 1964, a law was promulgated about the possession and use of land. The law stipulated a double transfer: a transfer to the state of the property of the quasi-total of rural land and a transfer of the usufruct of the land by the state to the farmers via diverse organizations. Land not registered as private property or already in public hands was divided into 4 categories: the urban category, the classified category, the settled and pioneer category of land in rural areas.

Together these categories formed the national domain and for every category the law and subsequent decrees stipulated what henceforth was meant by ownership. The settled land in the countryside would from then onwards be the property of the state, but according to Article 15, persons occupying and personally cultivating their fields, could continue to occupy them and to cultivate them. However, the cultivation of land would come under the supervision of the state. A dispossession could take place if the possessor of the fields badly maintained them during the ordinary seasonal works, exploited them insufficiently or repeatedly did not observe the fixed rules concerning the use of land. Dispossession could also take place in the general interest or when plots became too small, making a redistribution necessary.

The new law also stated that rural communities should be created, headed by rural councils, the latter invested with government authority. These councils would further elaborate the conditions under which land could be possessed and redistributed. In subsequent government decisions it became clear that such a rural community should have 2000 to 4000 inhabitants, amounting to 20 to 40 villages or hamlets, the most remote village not farther away from the central village than 15 kilometres in the more densely populated areas. In 1972 a rural community was defined as having between 5000 and 17 000 residents (le Soleil Special, 17 Dec. 1972). In the rural communities villages were categorized in elementary villages, principal villages and central villages. Elementary villages were defined as villages without a co-operative, principal villages as those with the existings co-operatives and central villages as those villages that in the future were to be provided with 'mother co-operatives'.

Such a rural community as described above would be placed under the authority of a rural council, of which 2/3 would be elected by the rural residents themselves and 1/3 by the members of the co-operatives among the co-operative staff. The chairman and vice-chairman would be chosen from and by the members of the rural council. Nobody would be remunerated for his services and the council would have a budget of its own, based on local poll-tax, with which it could pursue its own policy after it had been approved by the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Since 1967 there have been some experiments in the founding of rural communities. However, by 1972 the law on national domain had still not really been enforced. No council had been elected, nor had clear norms been established about what is meant by insufficient farming or what is the minimum area necessitating redistribution of land. Even if this law is enforced in the near future, the main objective will not be to increase rural participation, as is so often stated, but to restructure the countryside by regrouping the too many villages (15 000) and co-operatives (1500) in an effort to improve the efficiency of the administration. In a speech to the national council of the UPS the Minister of Rural Development stated, Thus the reform which created the national domain concerns not only the land tenure and agriculture. It also has to manifest itself on a general level by a structuring of the rural world, a retrenchment of the distribution channels resulting in a reconstruction of the distribution circuits (Speech, 13 May 1967). Since 1970, attempts have been made to merge co-operatives. One of the first mergers took place in my research area.

In Chapter 12 information is given on the consequences of the introduction of the law on national domain in the research area, while in Chapter 14 the merger of the two co-operatives in the research area is discussed.

7.4 Administration

The form of government of the republic is presidential, the president being the head of the state, the head of the government and general secretary of the party. The president is chosen by direct suffrage and his term is unrestricted. Since independence, a monocracy has developed in that almost all powers are attributed to the president who appoints the cabinet ministers, is the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and is in fact independent of the parliament.

The parliament consists of one assembly, the *Assemblée Nationale*, made up of deputies who are elected by direct and universal suffrage. The legislative power of the parliament is limited to certain matters; its right of inquiry and control is more important than its legislative function, although the availability of information, financial resources and competent staff is low compared with that of the central administration (Gautron, 1971, pp. 81 and 82).

After independence Senegal became a one-party state. Although party membership is not obligatory the deputies of the *Assemblée Nationale* are all party members. This situation is obtained by such rules as working with one national list and voting by absolute majority during elections.

The colonial system of territorial administration was in principle maintained, the division in *cercles* and *cantons* only being further elaborated. The *cercles* became the

régions (7) which were subdivided into 27 *départements*. The division of the *cercles* into *cantons* was maintained. They were called *arrondissements*, and number 85. In 1970 a *département* had between 40 000 and 150 000 residents, an *arrondissement* between 10 000 and 40 000. Because the number of villages in Senegal is about 15 000, this means on average more than 150 villages in every *arrondissement*. Head of the *département* is the *préfect* and of the *arrondissement* the *chef d'arrondissement*, in 1972 called *sous-préfect*. Both are under the authority of the *gouverneur*, who represents government at the regional level. As head of the government staff of the regional government-agencies, the *gouverneur* is in this function also the president of the Regional Assembly. In this Assembly the villages are represented by regional councillors, who decide on projects of public and regional interest financed by the poll-tax. This tax figures as entry of the state budget but most of it is returned to the *région*. However, this money is largely earmarked for equipment and salaries and only plays a minor role in the development of the *région*. The *communes*, towns with a municipality, are not represented in the Regional Assembly, being self-governing bodies. However, they only number 34 and their degree of independence of the central government is, in fact, rather limited. Besides this territorial administrative system, there exists a separate system of development administration, which, as has been mentioned before, is discussed in Chapter 9.

7.5 Conclusions

In Senegal's political structure the president holds a key position and determines the broad lines of Senegal's foreign and internal policy. Senghor's political ideas seem to a large extent to be founded on his western education and the importance he attaches to the maintenance of negro identity. How contradictory the West European and negro worlds may seem, elements of these different civilizations are combined in Senghor's definition of Senegalese socialism. This combination is understandable because Senghor's definition of *negritude* does not imply that the negro-civilization is complete in itself. Assimilation of elements from and *dialogue* with other societies are part of his ideology.

In political practice this combination of his western education with his attachment to *negritude* means that he is adverse to rigid, centralized planning and the subordination of culture to political objectives. Senghor accepts planning as an instrument for development and is strongly in favour of a technocratic approach towards development problems.

The policy by which economic growth is initiated in Senegal, can be labelled 'planned capitalism'. In the industrial sector this policy becomes clear from the minor part the public sector plays in industry and from the reluctance to allow rapid 'senegalization' of foreign industries. In the agricultural sector to obtain economic development mass participation is avoided and technocracy is preferred.

Notes

1 In 1962–1963 the rate of school attendance officially was estimated at 35%. According to Godinec (1968, p. 15) the real rate was considerably lower. In addition school facilities in the countryside were poorer than those in urban areas.

8 Senegal's physical attributes and national economy

8.1 Physical conditions of the economy

Climate in Senegal can be divided into three distinctive zones, the Sahel climatic zone in the north and east of Senegal, the Sudanese zone in the centre and the sub-Guinean zone in the south.

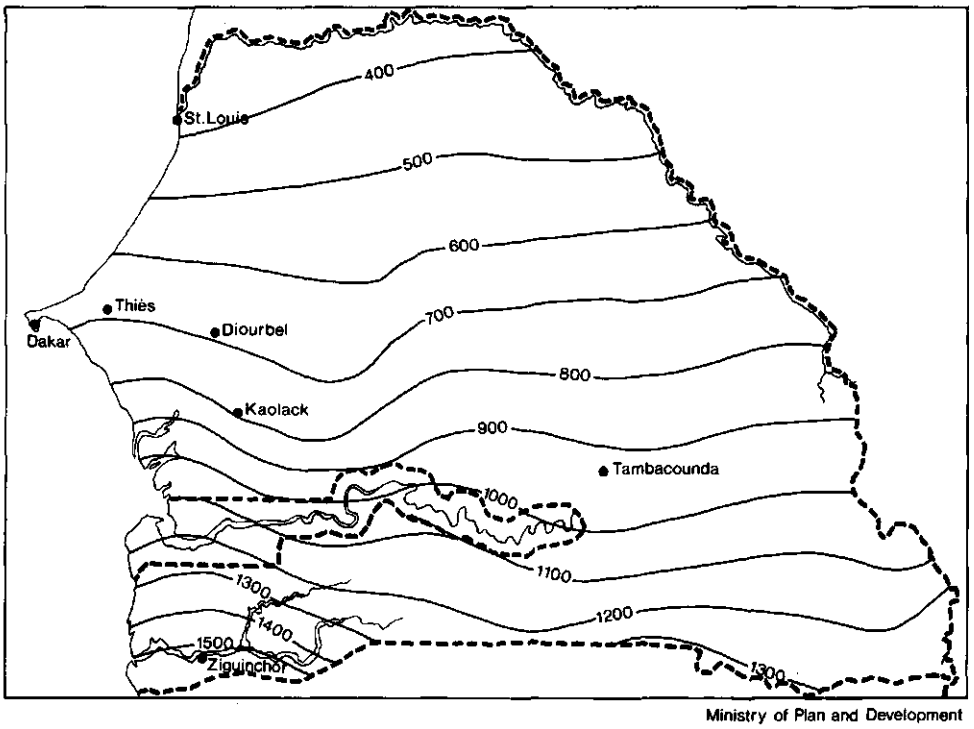
The Sahel zone is characterized by a semi-desert climate with high annual temperatures, little rainfall and a long dry season. Temperatures during daytime are high and can reach 40°C in the months preceding the wet season. Daily variation, however, is great and in the dry season, when the north-east Harmattan is blowing, temperature can drop to 0°C at night. Rainfall is less than 500 mm and falls within a period of 3 or 4 months. While short-cycle varieties of millet and sorghum are fairly drought-resistant, the groundnut crop regularly fails in this zone. Groundnuts need a growing period of at least 3 months with a minimum precipitation of about 400 mm, preferably evenly spread throughout its cycle except during the flowering period between the first and second month when the water requirement is low. The growing of groundnuts is therefore a precarious occupation in this area and throughout Africa this zone is known for its livestock raising, mostly in combination with the cultivation of millet or sorghum.

The Sudanese zone stretches south of the 500 mm isohyete forming a belt with Gambia bordering in the south. Temperatures are again high, the annual average at Kaolack being 28°C. In the wet season the temperature is mitigated by precipitation. The average number of hours of sunshine varies around 3000 annually. Total rainfall amounts to 600–1100 mm a year, the wet season lasting about 5 months, starting in June and finishing in October/November. Humidity is between 30–35% in the dry season and 70–80% in the wet season. This zone is the area of groundnut growing; animal husbandry is also possible but it involves a risk because of trypanosomiasis (tsetse fly disease). Late varieties of the short-cycle millet and groundnuts can be cultivated as well as other crops like sorghum, cotton, maize and rice.

The Casamance, south of Gambia, has a sub-Guinean or tropical rainfall climate. Rainfall in the Casamance is between 1100 and 1600 mm. The wet season lasts at least 6 months, 8 months in the south, resulting in a continuous vegetation growth. There are mangrove swamps and remnants of the rain forest. Crops not found elsewhere in Senegal are rainfed rice and tuberous plants. The breed of cattle is the small *n'dama*, a West-African shorthorn, which is resistant to trypanosomiasis. There are hardly any horses (Map 4).

In general, soil characteristics involve fewer problems than rainfall. The country is level to gently rolling, except in the south east, where the Fouta Djalon Massif rises

Map 4 Average yearly rainfall (1931 - 1960)



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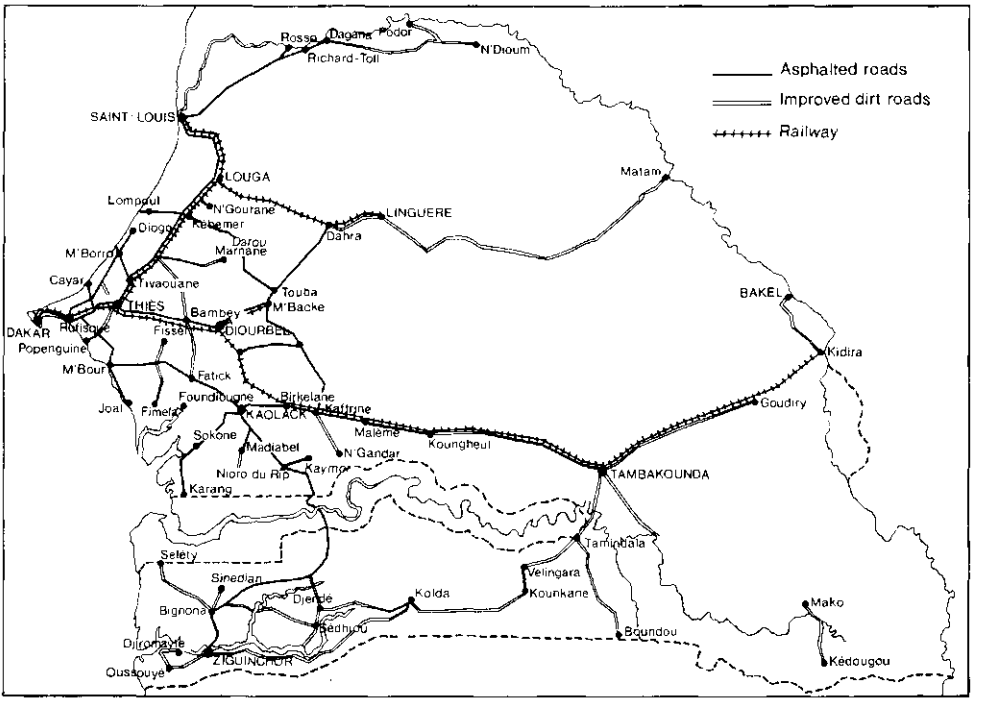
490 meter above sea-level. The soil is generally sandy, which makes it suitable for groundnut growing. Other soil types are the alluvial soils of the river valleys, the quasi-dune soils in the north and the ironstone laterite soils found in the high rainfall areas.

Sandy soils and alluvial soils are classified as red ferruginous soils and brown soils, respectively. The Wolof of Saloum make the same distinction when they speak of *dior* and *deck* soils; the term *bagalee* is sometimes used for soil with properties between *dior* and *deck*. *Dior,* basically a quartz-sand, has almost no clay or mineral elements, nor does it contain much organic matter. To obtain higher than average groundnut yields, it needs a phosphate dressing. The texture is rather loose and therefore *dior* soils are easily permeable. However their humidity retention-capacity is low and *dior* soils are susceptible to wind erosion. *Deck* soils occur in valleys and depressions, even the very slight ones. They are heavier, contain more clay and organic matter and are richer in minerals, especially calcium. Weeds grow profusely. This type of soil is more compact and therefore not so easy to cultivate.

For evaluating Senegal's development potential also important are transport facilities and population density. Early contact with France has resulted in a well-developed infrastructure. Senegal has a network of about 2350 km asphalted roads and 5300 km im-

Map 5 Roads and railways



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proved dirt roads (all-weather roads), besides the tracks which are practicable in the dry season only. The railway, begun in 1884, consists of about 1300 km track. As can be seen from Map 5 most of these transport facilities are concentrated in the western part of Senegal; the *région* East Senegal and the eastern part of Fleuve have almost no roads or railroads and are far from the administrative and industrial centres of the country.

In addition the population density of these *régions* is very low, being 8.4 inhabitants per sq. km in the Fleuve and 4.4 inhabitants per sq. km in East Senegal. The *régions* Thies, Diourbel and Sine-Saloum have higher densities, amounting to 79.5, 18.1 and 32, respectively (MFAE, 1971 b). These *régions,* with a rainfall between 500 and 900 mm per year and a well-developed infrastructure form the main centre of groundnut production, the area often being called the *bassin de l'arachide.* It is the area south of this zone, called Saloum, which has the highest agricultural potential and which forms the main zone of government development efforts in the groundnut-growing area.

8.2 Aspects of the economic structure

8.2.1 Some key data on the national economy

In 1971 Senegal's gross domestic production (GDP) was 176 milliard F CFA. From 1964 till 1971 it had only increased slightly, the average annual growth rate being 1.5%.

Table 4 shows that the annual increase of GDP is irregular because production was low in 1967, 1969 and 1971. This irregularity indicates the weakness of Senegal's economy.

The GDP in 1971 resulted in a net domestic income (NDI) of 169.14 milliard F CFA. The NDI per capita between 1964 and 1971 are given in Table 5. These data must be interpreted with caution. Because data on national income are not available, the earnings of foreign enterprises are included in the per capita income given, so that the estimation of the average income for the Senegalese population is too optimistic. In addition, income in Senegal is unevenly distributed, the income in agriculture estimated as being a tenth of the average salary earned in the private and public sector (SEPMP, 1969, p. 16).

Table 6 gives the distribution of the active population per economic sector in 1968. In that year the active population was estimated at 1 505 400 persons, including 18 300 non-Africans. About 84% of the African labour force was employed in agriculture, 5% in industry and 11% in commerce, government administration and other sectors.

Table 4. Development of gross domestic production between 1964 and 1971 (in current milliards F CFA). From MFAE, 1972, p. 202.

Year	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
GDP	159.67	166.22	180.13	174.35	189.70	174.08	190.85	176.21

Table 5. Development of net domestic income per capita between 1965 and 1971 (in current thousands F CFA). From MFAE, 1972, p. 204.

Year	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Income per capita	48.8	51.2	48.9	52.1	47.7	51.0	46.4[1]

1. The net domestic income per capita in 1971 amounted to U.S. $169 (rate January 1972).

Table 6. Distribution of active population per economic sector, 1968. From IMF, 1970, p. 498.

	African population		Non-African population	
	number	per cent of total	number	per cent of total
Agriculture[1]	1247 000	83.9	300	1.6
Industry[2]	79 700	5.4	4 300	23.5
Services[3]	160 400	10.8	13 700	74.9
Total	1487 000	100.0	18 300	100.0

1. Agriculture includes livestock, water and forest.
2. Industry includes mining, energy, buildings, public works and handicraft.
3. Services includes trade, transport and tourism.

Table 7. Development of the gross value added per sector of the enterprises (in current milliards F CFA). Data from MFAE, 1972, p. 203.

	1964		1965		1966		1967		1968	
Agriculture	50.05	33%	52.97	34%	63.57	38%	58.71	36%	66.18	37%
Industry	29.92	20%	31.66	20%	31.23	19%	31.94	20%	35.11	20%
Services	72.54	48%	73.47	46%	73.26	44%	72.60	44%	76.92	43%
Total	152.51		158.10		168.06		163.25		178.21	

	1969		1970		1971	
Agriculture	52.32	32%	62.30	35%	47.32	23%
Industry	34.99	22%	36.02	20%	38.01	29%
Services	75.02	46%	79.85	45%	77.83	48%
Total	162.33		178.95		163.16	

Table 7 gives the relative shares of the total gross value added (GVA). Even though more than 80% of Senegal's active population is employed in the agricultural sector, the relative share of this sector in GVA is low, while the share of industry makes Senegal the second most industrialized French-speaking country of Africa south of the Sahara (after Zaire). As shown in Section 8.2.2, the relatively high share of industry in GVA is based on the processing industry of agricultural products, among which the processing of groundnuts predominates. Therefore the economy is more closely dependent on the agricultural sector than Table 7 at first glance suggests. The market prices for groundnuts as well as climatological conditions to a large extent explain the variability of Senegal's production and income data (see Chapter 9).

8.2.2 Contribution of the different sectors

In the national economy extractive industries are of modest importance and cannot explain the relatively high share of the industrial sector in total gross value added. The most important activity in this sector is the processing of the calcareous phosphate deposits near Thies into aluminium phosphate and derivatives like Phospal and Polyphos, used in fertilizer and fodder. Total production amounts to slightly more than 1 million tonnes phosphate annually, equalling a value of nearly 4 milliard F CFA. Almost all is exported and phosphate and its derivatives represent about 10% of the value of Senegal's total export. In addition unrefined salt, extracted from the Sine and Saloum estuaries, is exported as well as cement from the limestone quarries of Bargny. But their respective export values account for less than 1% of the total export value. The mining plants are foreign-controlled.

The extractive industries' contribution to the national economy is relatively small because no oil is extracted. Three petrol companies have investigated the ocean bottom near the coast. A deposit of 100 million tons of oil near the mouth of the Casamance River is stated to have been found, but under present conditions exploitation is said to be unprofitable. Iron and copper deposits have been located but up to 1972 did not in-

volve any further investments. In addition there are no hydroelectric power plants in Senegal. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that there is no heavy industry in Senegal apart from some chemical plants, assembly plants of transport vehicles and plants connected with electrification.

The contribution of the industrial sector to total value added rose from 20% in 1964 to 29% in 1971. According to the official industrial index (1959 = 100), the volume of industrial production increased from 139 in 1964 to 168.4 in 1971. The relatively high level of industrial production largely comes from Senegal's processing industry. Senegal has industries in vegetable oil, sugar, beverages, soap, tobacco, textile, footwear, and canned fish. Some of these products are also exported, mainly to the neighbouring countries Mali, Mauretania and Ivory Coast. As in the mining sector, the firms are mostly branches of foreign companies (Moniteur Africain, 1971–12–16; 1972–01–27). For the amounts produced in these and other industries between 1965 and 1971, see Table 8.

The most important processing industry is that for groundnuts. Between 1924 and 1928 an average production of 410 000 tonnes groundnuts had been reached. In 1929 it was decided to shell part of the crop in the country itself before being exported. The processing of groundnuts into oil for export started in 1935. Now there are 5 major plants for crushing groundnuts and refining groundnut oil: Lesieur, Ets. V. Q. Peterson, Société de Décorticage (SODEC), Société Electrique du Baol (SEIB) and Société Electrique de la Casamance (SEIC). Of the 0.8–0.9 milliard tonnes groundnuts commercialized, 0.6–0.7 milliard tonnes are processed by these oil mills, all branches of foreign companies, the rest being processed by minor Lebanese, Senegalese and French factories. Lesieur alone handles 0.4 milliard tonnes. It has 550 employees and a turnover of 12 to 13 milliard F CFA. The processing of groundnut accounts for 1/4 to 1/3 of the gross value added in the industrial sector, depending on the size of the harvest.

When analysing the structure of exports, the importance of the groundnut in Senegal's economy becomes even more clear. Senegal is the second groundnut-exporting country of the world after Nigeria. The share of groundnuts in total export is very high: ranging between 48% and 81% and with an average of 68% in the period between 1962 and 1970 (MFAE, 1971a, p. 1). The balance of trade as a result depends very much on the size of the groundnut crop; the bad harvests of 1966, 1968 and 1970 therefore caused in the following years far greater trade deficits than usual.

Most of the groundnut products are exported to France, which is Senegal's most important customer. However, in recent years the share of France decreased from 86% in 1962 to 54% in 1970, due to the increasing importance of the other European countries after Senegal's association with the EEC in 1966.

After groundnut and phosphate, canned fish ranks third as export product. Export of canned fish, mostly tuna, doubled between 1963 and 1968 and by 1971 it had tripled. The shares of groundnuts, phosphate and canned fish in total export value in 1970 were 48%, 9% and 4%, respectively. See Table 9 for Senegal's other export products. Hence the agricultural sector is of utmost importance to Senegal.

Although agriculture plays an important role in the national economy, Senegal is not self-sufficient in foodstuffs. What is most noticeable when studying the structure of imports is the share of foodstuffs, which accounted for 1/4 to 1/3 of the import value in the period 1962–1971. In 1970 the total import amounted to 54 milliard F CFA, 24%

Table 8. Amount of main industrial products, 1965–1971. From MFAE, 1972, p. 99.

	Units	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
Phosphate	1000 t	903.4	990.0	1 115	1 110	1 035	998	1 454
Dehydrates	1000	18.1	51.9	51.8	43.6	36.7	38.3	33.7
Tins	millions	16.6	25.1	27.2	30.5	33.7	31.7	39.6
Metal drums	1000	26.8	27.7	36.5	32.8	52.4	61.9	70.7
Cement	1000	181.4	194.5	172.4	202.3	206.9	241.2	240.8
Paint, varnish	t	2 421	2 479	2 461	3 060	3 164	3 174	3 034
Storage batteries	number	7 798	8 340	6 981	7 166	7 414	8 517	12 940
Matches	bins	13 162	14 569	8 554	9 543	13 008	13 790	17 209
Processed tobacco	t	1 265	1 305	1 256	1 147	1 394	1 647	1 740
Groundnut oil								
crude	1000 t	119.9	127.4	120.8	221.1	158.2	177.4	117.0
refined	1000 t	58.3	58.4	58.7				
Soap	t	11 808	13 085	16 157	16 583	16 583	18 391	16 310
Beer	1000 hl	93.4	83.1	73.8	779.3	91.0	106.5	114.4
Aerated drinks	1000 hl	122.9	133.0	102.0	103.5	125.9	134.0	137.8
Canned tuna	t	6 159	7 518	7 642	10 172	11 046	10 549	17 145
Lump sugar	1000 t	19.0	19.8	20.4	20.7	21.2	21.6	29.7
Cotton yarn	t	330	407	446	548	597	636	324.1
Unprinted cotton								
tissues	t	1 131	1 346	1 426	1 083	1 140	7 200[1]	7 693[1]
Sisal articles	t	2 202	2 454	2 670	2 731	2 538	2 216	2 449
Cotton blankets	t	269	243	158	127	110	161[2]	134[2]
Footwear	1000 pairs	3 775	4 629	5 044	4 536	4 503	5 292	4 704
Cardboard packing	t	3 691	4 981	4 987	5 057	6 432	5 526	5 296
Oxygen	1000 m^3	344	367	340	325	337	343	329
Dissolved acetylene	1000 m^3	82	82	81	71	79	82	77

1. In thousands of meters.
2. In thousands of units.

being the share of foodstuffs. In fact, more than half of the value of groundnut export is nullified by food imports. After foodstuffs, the import of industrial products and oil products are the most important. See Table 9.

Every year Senegal's balance of trade shows a deficit. Between 1962 and 1970 the import was covered by the value of exports between 62 and 96%. In 1971 the percentage of coverage was exceptionally low, being only 57%, caused by the bad agricultural season in 1970. The outstanding position of France as supplier is as important as its position as customer, but again in recent years France's share in Senegalese imports slightly decreased, being 65% in 1962 and 51% in 1970.

Table 9. Commodities for import and export in 1970 (in thousands F CFA). From MFAE, 1972, pp. 143, 145.

Imports		Exports	
Milk products, eggs	1 585	Unshelled groundnut	183
Vegetables, fruits	3 186	Shelled groundnut	2 691
Rice	3 335	Crude groundnut oil	10 410
Cereals	2 363	Refined groundnut oil	2 566
Sugar	2 518	Groundnut cakes	4 594
Oil products	2 723	Wheat flour	736
Pharmaceutical products	1 206	Gum arabic	1 392
Industrial parachemical products	1 543	Canned fish	1 732
Wood, wooden products	742	Bran	312
Paper, cardboard	1 745	Raw salt	452
Cotton tissues, ready made clothing	3 167	Hydraulic cement	349
Metals and metal goods	2 937	Phosphate and phosphate fertilizer	3 667
Machines and apparatus	7 099	Cotton tissues and cotton blankets	1 830
Cars, trucks, spare parts	3 345	Footwear	621
Other products	16 064	Other products	10 645
Total	53 558	Total	42 180

8.3 Conclusions

Senegal's level of industrialization is higher than that of most other African countries south of the Sahara. This high level of industrialization must be explained by the early French commercial involvement in Senegal as well as by its favourable geographical situation.

Although the industrial sector is important compared with that of other developing countries, its base is rather weak. First, a large part of the industry is foreign controlled and until the late sixties almost exclusively oriented towards France. Second, most industrial activity results from the processing of primary products, of which groundnuts is by far the most important one. The second reason implies that Senegal's economy is in fact more dependent on the agricultural sector than the first impression gained from Table 7 showing the share of the agricultural sector in the total value added. This dependence becomes especially clear from the structure of Senegal's export, the share

taken by groundnuts or groundnut products being about two thirds of the total export value. The dependence of the national economy on the annual groundnut production is shown in the fluctuations of the gross domestic productions as well as in those of the trade deficits. It is unlikely that in the near future the value of groundnut production will increase by leaps and bounds. First, there are limits to the total area that can be cultivated with groundnuts. These limits are imposed by the low annual precipitation and the short wet season in the north of Senegal as well as by the low population density and few transport facilities in the east of Senegal. Second, the share of the value of food imports in total import is so large that attention has to be paid to increasing food production in Senegal itself.

Because the annual groundnut yields are so important for the economy and because half of the value of groundnut export is nullified by the imports of foodstuffs, a well-oriented agricultural policy and an efficient implementation are of the utmost importance.

9 Agricultural policy and implementation

Agricultural policy in Senegal has been based on the methods applied by most western countries to solve their rural problems. This policy is directed towards increasing agricultural production by extension work and bureaucratization of development administration, only paying lip-service to a more fundamental change in the agrarian structure through *animation rurale* and land reform. This is a continuation of agricultural policy laid down at the end of the colonial period (see Chapter 7).

Although after independence most references to Senegalese socialism were not backed up by the facts, the groundnut trade has been nationalized by founding village marketing co-operatives. This step and the importance attached to applied agricultural research shows that the government takes its policy to improve farmer's income seriously. Thus it is interesting to have a closer look at agricultural policy and implementation. This is done for the national as well as the local level.

In this chapter agricultural development-strategy is studied by analysing the national input and output figures in the agricultural sector to determine which policies have been successfully implemented and which not. Special attention is given to the role of the national agencies involved in implementing these policies. Subsequent chapters concentrate on local farming conditions which are just as important for the success of agricultural policy.

9.1 The First Plan, 1961–1965

The first 4-year Plan 1961–1965 stated that efforts would be made to meet in scale and intensity the shortcomings of colonial intervention in agriculture. Agricultural modernization was to be brought about first, by intensifying agricultural research and agricultural extension and second, by increasing government control over the groundnut trade.

To improve agricultural extension the aim of the government was to establish in every *arrondissement* a *canton pilot,* henceforth called a *Centre d'Expansion Rurale* (CER), to increase the spread of agricultural innovations. To increase the amount of groundnuts bought by the state, the establishment of village co-operatives was encouraged, which would act as buying centres for the state marketing board and as a credit organization for the farmers. The co-operatives and local extension staff would be assisted by regional assistance centres, acting as intermediate body between the local agencies and the national board. Thus the former *Sociétés Indigènes de Prévoyance* (SIP) were transformed into the *Centres Regionals d'Assistance au Développement* (CRAD). Before considering how extension-work, CRADs and co-operatives functioned in this period, we shall first take a closer look at agricultural research.

9.1.1 Agricultural research

In 1921, the French government started her research activities at Bambey with 2 scientists. By 1971, working under a convention with the Senegalese Government, the *Institut de Recherches Agronomiques Tropicales et des Cultures Vivrières* (IRAT) had in Senegal a permanent staff of 40 research workers[1] and 600 personnel and an annual budget of 550 million F CFA. This sum is about 60% of the means available for agricultural research, including forestry and animal husbandry, in Senegal. IRAT's main centre, the *Centre National des Recherches Agronomiques* is at Bambey, but it has no less than 6 regional stations and 17 substations to adapt research to ecological differences. Since 1968 it has 2 Experimental Units in Saloum, where innovations are systematically tried out in some village communities. Research is carried out on groundnuts, food crops and animal husbandry; for groundnuts CNRA collaborates with a minor branch of a French institute, the *Institut de Recherche pour les Huiles et Oléagineux* (IRHO), and for livestock with the French organization, the *Institut d'Elevage et de Médecine Vétérinaire Tropicale* (IEMVT). The plants, the environment, the production systems as well as farm implements are studied by CNRA. At the regional stations the more economic aspects of their innovations are also studied, such as profitability and labour requirements. However, until the Experimental Units were set up in 1968, CNRA had not been engaged in the economic and sociological evaluation of its innovations at the farm level.

In the 1960s research at CNRA was especially devoted to the development of two farm models, both adapted to the different ecological zones. These models are called *thèmes légers* and *thèmes lourds*. CNRA considers the model *thèmes légers* suitable for farmers with a small acreage of land or for farmers who still hesitate to adopt the more expensive and complex model *thèmes lourds*.

Farmers who apply the *thèmes légers* are said to be in the 'phase of sensibility'. This farm model is based on horse or donkey traction and the utilization of one-row seed drills and cultivators. A rotation scheme of fallow-groundnuts-sorghum-groundnuts is recommended. Once every four years cotton may be grown on part of the groundnut acreage, with a maximum of $\frac{1}{4}$ ha per active person due to labour requirements. Improved seed, an application of 150 kg fertilizer per ha and careful crop husbandry are the other recommendations made. Because ploughing and the growing of fodder crops are not considered in the model *thèmes légers*, use can be made of the familiar traction of horse and donkey and no drastic changes in agricultural habits are required.

However, economic evaluation of the innovations to be adopted by the farmers is lagging behind. One evaluation study deals with data obtained from the rather artificial conditions at the stations and, in addition, was based on a too favourable relation between number of household members and active members (Tourte, 1971). So the yields to be obtained were estimated at 1500 kg/ha for groundnuts and 1800 kg/ha for sorghum, while it was assumed that a household of 6 persons had no less than 4 active members[2]. Another study based the yields on data obtained by the best farmers in the Experimental Units: 1260 kg groundnuts/ha and 1740 kg sorghum/ha (Ramond, 1971). Below 3 ha horse or donkey traction was too expensive and the farm was better cultivated manually, while above 6 ha the utilization of a pair of oxen was said to be justified. The study then continued with an evaluation of draught oxen, the general idea

being that horse or donkey traction is a marginal solution for the farmer, the horse being too expensive to be adopted and the donkey too weak to perform the main agricultural operations. This conclusion will be reconsidered in the next chapter.

The second farm model is the *thèmes lourds*. Farmers who apply this model are said to be in the phase of 'semi-intensification', the next phase being the 'phase of motorization', which in 1972 was under study. The model is based on a non-traditional type of traction, a pair of oxen, which have to be selected from the farmer's herd of cattle and to be trained. Because oxen, when stabled, gradually increase in weight and thus in value, economically no depreciation has to be calculated. Hence CNRA's belief that draught oxen could be generally applied. In addition CNRA believed that when farmers adopt draught oxen, cattle will become more integrated in the farming system, as a consequence of the housing of oxen, the growing of fodder crops and the use of manure. In the next chapter this assumption is also reconsidered.

The rotation schedule is the same as for the model *thèmes légers*, fallow-groundnuts-sorghum-groundnuts, except that the fallow land should be hayed to obtain the necessary food for the stabled oxen. The farmer is encouraged to hay in the middle of the wet season to allow for regrowth of grass which ought then to be ploughed back at the end of the wet season to improve soil-structure. Instead of haying the fallow land, the late ripening millet *sanio* can be grown on fallow land which can be used for ensilage.

The model *thèmes lourds* is designed for a farm of at least 8 hectares. For farms less than 8 hectares CNRA considers it possible to increase the area under crops by suppressing the fallow in the traditional rotation scheme fallow-groundnuts-fallow. For the cultivation of more farm land, the use of heavier seed drills, cultivators and lifters is recommended while all the land has to be destumped to allow for efficient use of these implements. Again 150 kg fertilizer per hectare is recommended, but for the model *thèmes lourds*, first the initial phosphate deficiency has to be made up by one dressing of 400 kg calcium phosphate, which is given free of charge by the government to those farmers who have destumped their farmland. Because no depreciation was calculated for draught oxen, annual costs are not much higher than for the model *thèmes légers*.

Economic evaluation of the *thèmes lourds* was again based on station data of yields, and on a too favourable proportion of active members in the household (Tourte, 1971). A family of 6 persons was again considered as having 4 active members, while yields were estimated at 2000 kg groundnuts/ha and 2800 kg sorghum/ha.

A second CNRA study (Ramond, 1971) on the evaluation of the model *thèmes lourds* was based on yields obtained by farmers who had already adopted the *thèmes lourds* (1260 and 1740 kg for groundnut and sorghum, respectively). This study recommended that the different innovations implied in the farm model should be adopted. However, again the calculations were based on a too favourable relation between size of household and number of active members, while the increase of yields compared with the extra costs involved in adopting the *thèmes lourds* was hardly sufficient. See Table 10. A further evaluation of the farm models is given in the next chapter.

Table 10. Economic return from adoption of the model *thèmes lourds*.

	Estimated size of household	Estimated number of active members	Extra costs in F CFA	Net income in F CFA per household		
				before	after	difference
Farm of 6.25 ha, 1 pair of oxen	8.3	5.4	18 910	73 360	115 520	42 160
Farm of 10 ha, 2 pairs of oxen	10.7	7.25	42 870	107 720	171 970	64 250

9.1.2 Agricultural extension

Although the economic calculations of the proposed innovations, as described in Section 9.1.1, were still incomplete or too optimistic, the CNRA recommendations were accepted by the extension service. To spread the innovations it was foreseen that in the first Plan Period the number of CERs would have to be increased to one for every 15–20 thousand inhabitants. Thus 1 CER in every *arrondissement*, or a total of 85 CERs.

In 1961 there existed 32 CERs in name; in 1964 21 CERs were functioning and 47 were in the planning stage. A calculation of the number of field staff resulted in 1964 in a density of only 1 fieldworker for every 15 500 rural inhabitants (Brochier, 1968, p. 199). In addition, transport and other facilities they had at their disposal were inadequate.

Animation rurale have to be added to the efforts of the CERs. However as shown in Chapter 7 the scope of activity of the *animation rurale* was limited, it came into political and financial difficulties and at the end of the first Plan its functions were directed to the training of personnel only. Thus the extension effort did not attain the objectives formulated in the first Plan.

9.1.3 Nationalization of trade in groundnuts

Although the co-operative movement was not new, it only became successful when the groundnut trade was nationalized by the establishment of the state marketing board *Office de Commercialisation Agricole* (OCA), by the decree of 13 January 1960. The number of village co-operatives was increased and membership became obligatory. OCA intended to buy all groundnuts from the co-operatives, but since this could not be achieved at once, it used private traders as an intermediate measure (called *Organismes Stockeurs*). By a careful issue of licences, OCA succeeded in diminishing gradually the role of the private trader. While in 1959 there were still 3000 traders who bought groundnuts, in 1963 there were only 610 traders. OCA, which also had the monopoly on the import and selling of rice and millet, acted similarly for these crops, leaving only

a part to be sold through private channels. The co-operative movement caught on. The number of co-operatives increased from 688 in 1960 to 1416 in 1964. In 1971 there were 1500 co-operatives. While in 1960 only 20% of the groundnuts sold was traded through the co-operatives, the next year this percentage was almost 50% and in 1963 62%. By 1967 private trade had been completely suppressed (Camboulives, 1967, p. 203).

In buying and selling OCA and the co-operatives were assisted by the CRAD, which organized the agricultural campaigns and by a government bank, the *Banque Nationale de Développement du Sénégal* (BNDS), which supplied the financial means. However, the commercialization of groundnuts was poorly organized and especially CRAD functioned inefficiently.

The agricultural campaign was organized in the following way. Every year in the month of January the administrative council of the co-operative, in the presence of the general assembly, made up a list of fertilizer and equipment ordered by the farmers. The council for this task was assisted by agents of the CER and CRAD. The ultimate list was signed by the chairman of the co-operative and after registration by CRAD, presented to the manufacturer of agricultural equipment (SISCOMA) and the fertilizer plant (SIES). Before the wet season started CRAD had to transport and to distribute these orders to the farmers. In addition CRAD had to deliver groundnut seed and pesticide for the treatment of the seed. Seed and fertilizer were given on an annual loan at an interest rate of 25%, the agricultural equipment on loan for 2 or 5 years at a rate of 8% annually. As shown by Table 11 the farmers were willing enough to adopt farm equipment and fertilizer.

Table 11. Amount of fertilizer ordered and number of farm implements ordered. Data from Diarassouba, 1968, p. 207; Brochier, 1968, p. 214.

Year	Fertilizer in tonnes	Number of farm implements			
		seed drills	cultivators	groundnut lifters	ploughs
1961	13 000	4 589	1 601		200
1962	23 000	12 000	6 827	619	1 587
1963	26 000	24 906	11 071	588	1 485
1964	35 000	23 437	9 715	574	3 095

However CRAD always handled orders negligently (Diarassouba, 1968, pp. 250, 251; Brochier, 1968, pp. 223, 224). Officials were often absent or on holiday when the council compiled the orders or they dealt only with some notables of the village. Because the CRAD agents' knowledge about equipment and types of fertilizer was insufficient and due to lack of accuracy, farmers often did not get what they had ordered. In addition sometimes the demands of the farmers were changed to satisfy administrative goals. Equipment or fertilizer often came too late to be utilized because of

lack of transport or insufficient planning. It was common knowledge that CRAD badly administered its own stocks.

Because of these deficiencies in the functioning of the CRADs, together with the shortcomings in agricultural research and extension, the adoption of agricultural innovations corresponded to only a slight increase in groundnut production. Probably related to these deficiencies was the decision of the farmers to devote more attention to their food crops. See Table 12.

Table 12. Total agricultural production in relation to the objectives of 1st Plan. Data from Brochier, 1968, p. 190; IRAT, B.I.E., 34, 1972.

	Production in 1000 tonnes				Plan objectives
	1961	1962	1963	1964	1964
Groundnut	1 043	894	959	1 059	1 150
Millet, sorghum	407	424	478	532	475
Rice	84	77	106	110	90
Vegetables	27	33	31	32	60

9.2 Period of the Second Plan, 1965–1969

During the second 4-year Plan the modernization policy of the rural sector as was laid down in the first Plan was continued: agricultural modernization was to be attained through extension and the provision of agricultural credit by the co-operatives. However, a serious effort was made to increase the density of the extension staff compared with the first Plan Period.

Under the terms of Senegal's association with the EEC, the preferential tariffs for groundnuts were stopped and Senegal was required to reduce its price to that of the world market. Instead of 105 (old) French francs per 100 kg, the price was now reduced to 85–90 French francs. In compensation EEC made 1½ milliard F CFA available to maintain an interim price which would gradually decrease between 1964 and 1968. The groundnut price per kilo developed as follows (F CFA):

1959–1964	*1965*	*1966*	*1967*	*1968*	*1969*
22.75	20.4	20.5	17.4	17.4	18.4

In addition the EEC would also pay for all costs of an extension programme of a French organization, the *Société d'Aide Technique et de Coopération* (SATEC) to increase groundnut production in the main area of groundnut cultivation, to compensate for the lower prices.

The aim of SATEC's programme was, first to increase groundnut production by 25% in 3 years, second to produce enough millet and sorghum to nullify the imports and third to train 850 extension workers. A well-organized extension network was set up in the *régions* Thies, Diourbel and Sine-Saloum, to promote the innovations of

CNRA. There was about 1 senior extension officer to every *région* and 1 junior officer and 20 field workers to every *arrondissement* (on average about 1 fieldworker every 1000 farmers). Making use of a government subsidy, farmers could buy fertilizer for 12 F CFA/kilo, being less than half the cost price. The calcium phosphate to be applied by those farmers who had adopted the *thèmes lourds* was provided free of charge. Nevertheless, agricultural production again stagnated in 1966 and 1968 although the spread of innovations continued until 1967 as can be seen from Tables 13 and 14.

Table 13. Total agricultural production. From MFAE, 1972.

	Production in 1000 tonnes			
	1965	1966	1967	1968
Groundnut	1 122	861	1 009	830
Millet, sorghum	554	423	655	450
Rice	122	125	138	58
Vegetables	32	35	41	47

Table 14. Amount of fertilizer ordered and farm equipment in operation. From MFAE, 1972.

Year	Fertilizer (t)	Numbers of farm implements			
		seed drills	cultivators	groundnut lifters	ploughs
1966	47 500	108 000	59 000	7 000	8 000
1967	60 900	109 000	89 000	17 000	10 000
1968	28 300	114 000	63 000	14 000	7 000

Agricultural production was low in 1966 and 1968 because of insufficient rainfall. In spite of the crop failure of 1966, the farmers continued to buy implements and fertilizer to be used for the agricultural campaign in 1967. However, at the end of that campaign, farmers were confronted with a price decrease per kilo groundnuts from 20.5 F CFA in 1966 to 17.4 F CFA in 1967. The same price was maintained the next year. When again in 1968 production was low due to insufficient rainfall, a general malaise developed among the farmers. At the turn of that year in some areas the police had to intervene to compel farmers to repay their debts at the co-operative and to continue to place orders. In the *Département* Nioro du Rip in some villages policemen locked farmers up in the stores of CRAD, smeared them with fertilizer or chased them naked over the roads because they had not paid their debts. Incidentally the police escorted extension workers and compelled the farmers to place orders (personal communication of 2 SATEC agents). In this situation the government had to give up its plan to increase the price of fertilizer.

Obviously the farmers had got into debt. The intervention of the extension service and the willingness of the Senegalese farmer to adopt the agricultural innovations had not resulted in an increase in agricultural production sufficient to outweigh the decrease in the groundnut price. This situation partly can be explained by the bad weather in 1966 and 1968.

9.3 Period of the Third Plan, 1969–1973

The third Plan of Senegal was integrated in a long-term policy whose aim was to triple income from 50 to 150 thousand F CFA per head before the year 2000. To reach this goal, Gross Domestic Production had to increase by 5.5% at current prices (4% at constant prices). It was stressed that more investment in the agricultural sector was necessary to prevent the rural sector from lagging too far behind. Therefore the part of total planned investment (public and private) in agriculture, which had already been raised from 15% in the first Plan Period to 27.7% in the second Plan Period, was still further increased to 28.6% during the third Plan (Senghor, 1969, pp. 33, 34). See for the division of total public investment over all sectors as planned in the third Period Appendix 3.

Because farmers were dependent on millet and groundnuts for two thirds of their money income, more effort was considered necessary to improve the existing crops and so increase the farmers' income. In addition, it would have been unrealistic to neglect groundnut production on account of the presence of foreign-controlled oil mills.

Besides the intensification of groundnut and millet cultivation, the other objective was the diversification of production to make Senegal less dependent on the world market and climatological factors. The diversification policy was also intended to decrease the large imports of foodstuff. As can be seen from Table 15 in 1968 the total import value of non-cereal foodstuff (13 180 million F CFA), with rice included, was no less than half of the export value of groundnuts and groundnut products (26 904 million F CFA).

The two main aims, intensification of traditional crops and expanding diversification, were reflected in the provisions for investment for the third Plan Period. Two operations represented more than 2/3 of the projected agricultural investments: first, the SATEC programme *operation productivité arachide-mil* with 12 772 million F CFA for improving peasant agriculture and the *operation riziculture* with 10 746 million F CFA (excluding building costs of the planned rice-mills) for strengthening the diversification policy.

Table 15. Import value in millions FCFA in 1968. From MFAE, 1971.

Imports	Value
Rice	7 048
Sugar	1 895
Milk products and eggs	1 396
Fruits and vegetables	2 841
Total	13 180

A short description of the diversification policy in the third Plan Period is given in Appendix 4. The data given in Appendix 4 show that the objectives, as stated in the third Plan, were achieved for the new crops, cotton and edible groundnuts, but not for the more important schemes for rice, fruit and vegetables. In 1972 the sugarcane scheme was still in its infancy. Therefore Senegal's diversification policy till 1972 was only partly successful.

With regard to Senegal's policy to intensify production in groundnut and millet, the government changed her contract with SATEC. It became a mixed public-private company, called *Société Sénégalaise de Développement et de Vulgarisation Agricole* (SODEVA). Its programme of extension was concentrated in the main groundnut-producing area. SODEVA here increased its field staff considerably. For example, in the *région* Sine-Saloum there were 17 senior extension-officers, 33 junior extension-officers and 290 fieldworkers, besides the administrative staff (21). On average this meant 1 fieldworker for every 158 compounds in Saloum and 1 fieldworker for every 312 compounds in Sine.

Tables 16, 17 and 18 show that the effort of the extension service resulted in a

Table 16. Total agricultural production in relation to the objectives of 3rd Plan. Data from MFAE, 1972; MDR, 1972.

	Production in 1000 tonnes			Plan objectives
	1969	1970	1971	1972
Groundnut	789	583	989	1 420
Millet, sorghum	635	401	583	700

Table 17. Amount of fertilizer ordered and farm equipment in operation. Data from MFAE, 1972; MDR, 1972.

Year	Fertilizer in tonnes	Number of farm implements			
		seed drills	cultivators	groundnut lifters	ploughs
1969	21 000	117 000	95 000	14 000	7 000
1970	12 700	120 000	102 000	17 000	8 000
1971	23 000				

Table 18. Farm equipment ordered in 1971. Data from SEPMP, undated.

Implements	Number
Seed drills	9 000
Cultivators	16 000
Groundnut lifters	2 000
Ploughs	3 000

satisfactory adoption of farm equipment, but not of fertilizer. The productions obtained in the third Plan Period were disappointing. The weather effected low yields in 1970, but not in 1969 and 1971. Nevertheless, in 1969 and 1971 the groundnut yields were equal to or lower than those obtained in the years of average rainfall in the first and second Plan Periods.

The estimated investment in agriculture in the traditional crops as well as in the crops included in the diversification programme did not take place. In the first two years of the third Plan the percentages of investment realized were 44.3 and 23.6 for agriculture and livestock, respectively (SEPMP, undated).

Only 53.4% of the amount estimated was invested in the project *operation productivité arachide-mil* of SODEVA. In the livestock sector, the 23.6% represented only 340.7 million F CFA, and most of this small amount was invested in the commercial livestock sector and the rest in the improvement of peasant animal husbandry, the sums spent being 276 million and 64.7 million F CFA, respectively[3]. In fact little attention was paid to peasant animal husbandry; of the total research funds available in the third Plan, 33% was for agriculture and 12% for animal husbandry. Research funds from France were for 64% for agriculture and 24% for animal husbandry (Senghor, 1969; CNRA, 1970).

The first reason for the yields in 1970 being much less than the objectives was the bad harvest due to lack of rainfall. In 1971 a large-scale effort had to be made to help the indebted farmers. An amount of 2.5 milliard F CFA was made available by the EEC, and an equal amount by Senegal. The aid in 1971 to the farmers consisted of:

– remission of all outstanding debts at the CRAD.
– an exceptional commission per kilo groundnuts commercialized in 1970, depending on the degree of crop failure.
– 1000 F CFA for every hectare to be cultivated with groundnuts or millet in 1971.
– a price increase from 19.4 in 1970 to 23.1 F CFA per kilo groundnuts in 1971, which was made public before the start of the agricultural season.

The second reason for the poor yields in the third Plan Period was the continuous bad management of the CRADs (Schumacher, 1975, pp. 207–213). In 1969, 750 million F CFA had been earmarked to reorganize CRAD during the third Plan Period. CRAD was replaced by the *Office National de Coopération et d'Assistance du Développement* (ONCAD), which became more closely supervised by the state marketing board for groundnuts (OCA). ONCAD also started to use a more efficient system of accounting and of collecting information. However, in the third Plan Period ONCAD did not function better than CRAD.

Millet and groundnuts have to be sown in the second half of June. However, it was observed in the Experimental Unit during 1971 that on 26 July the two co-operatives (together 249 members) had not yet received materials ordered in January: 22 bags of fertilizer, 14 cultivators, 1 ridger and 7 seed drills and no pesticide at all for the treatment of seed. The second and last order, placed on 4 May of that year, never arrived and concerned 101 bags of fertilizer, 3 seed drills, 5 cultivators and 1 ridger. In addition ONCAD had provided the farmers with very poor quality groundnut-seed. Complaints from areas outside the Experimental Unit were even worse (SODEVA, 1971a, 1971b).

These incomplete and delayed orders were said to be due to shortages of agricultural

equipment and fertilizer from suppliers, caused by the government aid the farmers received in 1970, which resulted in a sudden increase of orders at the last moment. However the next year seed arrived in the Experimental Unit on 5 June, fertilizer on 16 June, agricultural equipment on 23 June and pesticide remained in short supply.

9.4 Conclusions

The financial measures taken at the start of 1971 restored agricultural production in 1971, but Senegal's agricultural policy had not been successful. One of the reasons for this failure was undoubtedly the weather in 1966, 1968 and 1970, as has been so often stressed by the Senegalese authorities. However irregular or too little rainfall, cannot be a sufficient explanation. In the first Plan Period, 1961–1965, and in 1969 the production of millet increased while production of groundnut stagnated. Millet (and sorghum) production increased steadily from 407 thousand tonnes in 1961 to 532 thousand tonnes in 1964, while groundnut production decreased from 1043 thousand tonnes in 1961 to 894 thousand tonnes in 1962 and returned to its original level in 1964. The same pattern appeared when comparing the production figures of 1968 and 1969, thus before the crop failure of 1970. The official statistics showed an increase of millet production from 450 thousand tonnes in 1968 to 635 thousand tonnes in 1969, while that of groundnuts had decreased from 830 thousand tonnes in 1968 to 789 thousand tonnes in 1969. Besides rainfall, the lower groundnut price that has been paid to the farmer since Senegal's association with the EEC in 1967, also seems of importance in explaining the level of production. This price effect is also shown by the recovery of groundnut production in 1971, subsequent to a price increase.

Even when these fluctuating price and climatological conditions are taken into account, the question remains why the successful adoption of the agricultural innovations from 1961 till 1967 and from 1969 till 1971 (in the latter years fertilizer excluded) did not give better yields. Two factors have been isolated which might help answer this question. First, inefficient management and lack of conscientiousness on the part of CRAD officials, later ONCAD officials, counteracted the good idea to nationalize the groundnut trade. Second, the insufficient economic and sociological research at the farm level by CNRA resulted in too optimistic assumptions with regard to the average number of active members per household as well as the yields to be obtained after adoption of the proposed innovations. Nevertheless Senegal's good intentions to improve rural welfare were shown by the extent of the aid to farmers in 1970 and the start of diversification of agricultural production.

Notes

1 Not counting the 'volunteers', university graduates taking alternative National Service.
2 In the village Sonkorong the average size of a household was 9.3 with on average only 3.9 active members (adult male equivalents) (Chapter 13).
3 Investment in the commercial sector comprises the projects 'amélioration de l'exploitation des produits' and 'projets zone sylvo-pastorale'. Investment in the sector of peasant livestock consists of the projects 'augmentation des productions', 'infrastructures' and 'protection sanitaire du bétail' (SEPMP, undated, pp. 44–60).

10 The Wolof farming system, and technical and economic problems in the farm-models

This chapter deals with some technical and economic problems farmers have to face in order to apply successfully the models propagated by the research centre CNRA and the extension service SODEVA. The farmers considered are the inhabitants of the area historically coinciding with the territory of the chiefdom Saloum. It is mainly populated by Wolof, also known as Wolof Saloum-Saloum, the adjective referring to the degree of intermingling with other ethnic groups (see Chapter 4). Besides Wolof there are also some Toucouleur, Fula and Mandingo settlements scattered throughout Saloum, the last ethnic group mainly living in the western as well as in the eastern part of it.

Saloum has a population of about 255 thousand inhabitants, living in 33 thousand *carrés* (SODEVA, 1971c)[1]. Population density is estimated at 21 inhabitants/sq. km, but is said to vary, the *arrondissements* in the centre having around 30 inhabitants/sq. km, while the western and eastern *arrondissements* are thought to have lower densities, between about 10 and 20.

According to estimates of the extension service, land is not scarce, about 55% of the total cultivable area of Saloum being at present tilled by the farmers. Rainfall ranges between 750 and 1000 mm per annum with a useful wet season of between 110 and 127 days. Although crops like cotton, sorghum, maize and rice can be grown beside the traditional crops, groundnut and millet, all these crops must be sown directly at the start of the wet season.

Because of its agricultural potential since 1955 Saloum has been the object of intensive extension programmes of SODEVA and since 1968 CNRA has two Experimental Units in Saloum, each consisting of some villages and hamlets. I intensively studied one of these units, Thysse-Kaymor/Sonkorong (*Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach), for more than a year during 1971 and 1972. Empirical data from this unit are derived from this study or from CNRA reports, which are based on a sample of 16 *carrés* from the 131 *carrés* within the Experimental Unit (Tardieu & Ramond, 1970; Ramond, 1972a; Ramond 1972b).

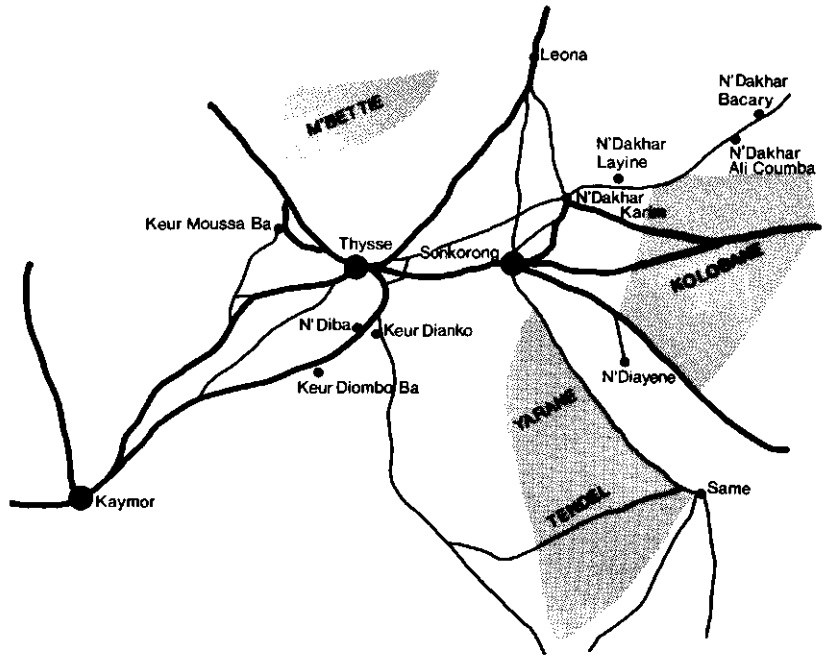
As the ecological and ethnic features of Saloum are similar, the conclusions can be generalized to those parts of the area with the same ratio man to land.

10.1 Land use and vegetative production

The Experimental Unit consists of 2 villages, Thysse-Kaymor and Sonkorong, and a number of hamlets falling under the jurisdiction of these villages (see Map 6).

The sample of 16 *carrés* gave an average acreage under crop of 10.9 ha per *carré*. Average acreage per head and adult male equivalent were 0.7 ha and 1.4 ha, respectively[2]. The 16 *carrés* were divided into the following categories of crop acreage:

Map 6 Map of the Experimental Unit



Scale 1/50 000

< 5 ha: 3
5–10 ha: 7
10–15 ha: 3
15–20 ha: 1
> 20 ha: 2

A detailed study of acreage under crop of the 15 *carrés* of one of the hamlets of the Experimental Unit gave an average of 13 ha per *carré* and per head an acreage of slightly more than 1 hectare.

The adoption of farm implements has not been followed by an increase in agricultural production, probably because there is not enough farmland. In the Experimental Unit, situated in the area said to count 30 inhabitants/sq. km, actually the situation is as follows.

As the cultivation of groundnuts expanded farmers needed more land, but because all land around the village was already cultivated, they had to clear land further away and on marginal soils. In Thysse-Kaymor land has been cleared since about 1950 in an area (M'Bettie) more than half-an-hours walk from the village. In addition people of Thysse now borrow land from the Fula of the hamlet Diombo Ba.

Since 1971 farmers from Sonkorong and from the hamlet N'Dakhar Karim have cleared land about half-an-hours walk east of Sonkorong (Kolobane). Rumours that CNRA would help farmers who cleared land in Kolobane, instigated a rush. However this area had once been cleared in the 1940s by villagers who formerly rotated their

fields to avoid diseases in millet and groundnuts. Thus only those farmers who once had cut trees there could expand their farms and almost no land remained for others. According to some farmers there was still virgin land some kilometres south of Sonkorong (Yarane and Tendel). However, a soil survey of CNRA made clear that the soil was of low agricultural potential and discouraged farmers to clear land there. In addition, some farmers of Sonkorong and descendents of a village previously situated in this area claimed those pieces of land of average quality. The fact that occasionally land is sold also proves the shortage of land (Chapter 13).

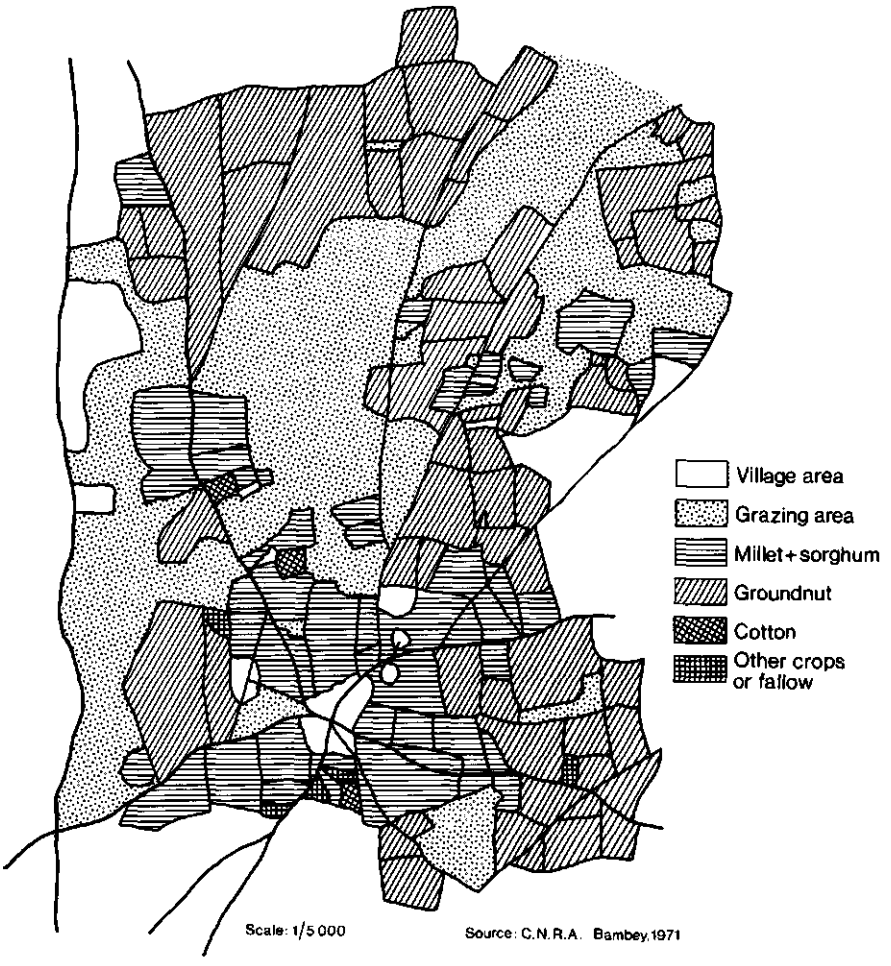
Although land is now scarce, farmers are still able to maintain one fallow year on their groundnut plots. In the fallow years farmers sometimes lend plots to others who want to grow millet on it. There are some farmers who have inherited more land than they can cultivate and for a gift, now mostly in cash, they are willing to lend farm land. So farmers who have few active members may temporarily invite a share-cropper (*navetane*) and when they have not enough land to give the sharecropper a plot, they may borrow it from others. Thus, there is still some flexibility in the system of land tenure. However, the law on the national domain made the farmers recently very reluctant to lend land for more than one year (Chapter 12). The opinion of the extension service that only 55% of the total cultivable area in Saloum is tilled is not supported by the observations in the Experimental Unit. Either this land is too far away or infertile.

Farmers distinguish between 3 types of farmland, the *tolkeur, diatti* and *gor*. The *tolkeur* is the land lying close to the homestead and is mainly for the growing of food crops. As Wolof farmers live together in a village or hamlet, the *tolkeur* is the zone around and just outside the village. On the *tolkeur* farmers grow early ripening millet, locally known as *souna* every year without rotation or fallow. The land remains fertile because the *tolkeur* receives all household refuse and is manured by the cattle which in the dry season are kraaled there at night. Because the *tolkeur* is situated just behind the village, the millet can be more easily protected against the destruction of birds, baboons or boars, especially the loss due to damage by birds is said to be quite important. These advantages probably explain why the rotation of millet as proposed by CNRA is hardly followed.

New villages have also been established on the heavier soil (*deck*), which is suitable for growing groundnut, but less so for millet. When there is sandy soil at some distance from the village, farmers may clear plots near to each other and sow millet there, this concentration ensuring a better protection of the crop. Otherwise the farmers are obliged to borrow plots from neighbouring villages with more sandy soils (*dior*). The CNRA extension staff, who have recently introduced sorghum, maize and rice, strongly encourage the farmers to grow these food crops not only on the *tolkeur* but elsewhere as well. Because these crops prefer heavy soils and because sorghum grains are too large to be eaten by many birds, sorghum is often more evenly distributed than millet which is usually cultivated on the *tolkeur*[3] (see Map 7).

All farm land lying behind the *tolkeur* is called *diatti* or *gor*. Whether land is called *diatti* or *gor* depends on the extent to which is has been cleared and the period it has been tilled. *Diatti* has been cultivated for many years, and therefore it may have been destumped, only trees considered as useful having been left. *Gor* lies nearer the forest and has only recently been cleared. There are more trees and stumps and if the plot has

Map 7 Distribution of crops in 1968



been fallow for longer than the usual period, the transition to the forest is only gradual. Around the older villages there is usually more *diatti* and less *gor* than around recent settlements. On *diatti* and *gor* mainly groundnuts are grown, leaving the plot one year fallow after the harvest. On *gor* the fallow period may extend to 2 or 3 years. When during the fallow year a plot is lent to a farmer, he will not be allowed to grow groundnuts on it.

The Wolof farmers use most of their farm land for the cultivation of groundnuts (see Table 19).

Table 19. Acreages of land under crops in the Experimental Unit for 1969 and 1970 expressed as percentages of total area cultivated (1300 ha).

Crop	Acreages (%)	
	1969	1970
Groundnuts	69	64
Millet and sorghum	27	33
Cotton	1	1
Other crops	3	2

10.2 Farming methods

10.2.1 Food crops

Every year in spring, from April onwards, the *tolkeur* is cleared of remaining straw, stalks and regrowth, which is burned. Cleaning is not a laborious task because millet is grown year after year and harvested at the end of the wet season. Thus the land is almost clean when the dry season starts, leaving no opportunity for weed growth. The millet stalks which are left on the field after harvest, are used for fence-making and the construction of house walls and what remains is crushed under foot or eaten by the cattle. The digging up of the understems of the millet demands some effort. For this task the men use the *daba,* a long pole tipped with an iron blade.

After clearing and burning, CNRA recommends that the land is hoed as a form of land preparation in the period of the short rains in the month of June. Those farmers who own a cultivator may hoe their fields, but some are too busy with the sowing of groundnut or cotton. The labour peak in the second half of June and the first half of July prevents good crop husbandry in general. See the farming calendar on the next page.

Millet thus has to be sown at the same moment as the cash crops. Sorghum has the advantage that it does not have to be sown so timely and when necessary sowing can wait till half July, thereby better to be fitted in the work schedule of the farmer. Millet is sown with the *daba* with which the men make small pockets at a planting distance of 1 by 1 m (1 by 0.5 m for sorghum). SODEVA and CNRA agents recommend the use of a self-made marker to obtain straight lines. However, this is only used by some farmers. Women drop about 20–25 seeds in every pocket and close the holes with their feet. On average about 4 kilo millet and 8 kilo sorghum is needed for 1 ha. Because everybody belonging to the household helps with sowing, work is quickly done and the animal drawn seed-drill is used only by some farmers who sow sorghum.

After sowing, fertilizer has to be applied. The farmers use fertilizer, but not in sufficient amounts. On average in the Experimental Unit 25 kilo/ha for groundnuts and 26 kilo/ha for millet was applied. Even though CNRA recommends that millet is thinned to 3 or 4 shoots per clump, thinning is hardly ever done.

Weeding is normally done three times, with the *sogh-sogh* or mechanically with the

Farming calendar

	food crops (millet, sorghum)	cash crops (groundnut, cotton)
April	clearing farms	clearing farms
May	clearing farms	clearing farms
June		
first half	clearing farms	clearing farms
	land preparation	application of fertilizer to cotton
second half	sowing application of fertilizer first weeding millet	land preparation groundnuts, cotton sowing groundnuts, cotton application of fertilizer to groundnuts first weeding groundnuts, cotton
July	first weeding sorghum	(first weeding groundnuts, cotton)
first half	thinning	thinning cotton
second half	second weeding	second weeding groundnuts, cotton hilling up cotton
August		
first half	third weeding	third weeding groundnuts, cotton
second half	harvesting	third weeding groundnuts, cotton
	harvesting	
September	drying transporting harvest home	5 to 6 hygienic treatments of cotton
October		harvesting groundnuts
November		harvesting groundnuts picking cotton stacking threshing groundnuts winnowing transporting cotton to the co-operative
December		winnowing groundnuts transporting groundnuts home
January		transporting groundnuts to the co-operative

cultivator. The *sogh-sogh* is a short-handled hoe with a heart-shaped blade, which is pushed to and fro. From the Bambara and Mandingo the Wolof Saloum-Saloum have adopted a *sogh-sogh* which is suitable for heavier soils[4]. Weeding with the *sogh-sogh* is a very time-consuming and painstaking task and those farmers equipped with draught animals and a cultivator and who have sown in straight lines, prefer to weed mechanically.

Different types of cultivators have been introduced among the farmers. The cultivator used most often is the 3-pronged cultivator drawn by a horse or donkey, but farmers who have trained a pair of oxen may use a 6-pronged cultivator, with a weeding-range of either 1.20 m or 1.80 m. However, because the marker is seldom used, millet is often weeded with the *sogh-sogh* and always at the third weeding, when the stems have become too high to allow the draught animals to pass. Because weeding is only done by the male members of the household and manual weeding is considered to be tiresome, weed prevention is insufficient.

After *oksat*, the period of heavy rainfall between half August and half September, millet is harvested: first the men cut the stalks at the bottom, and then the ears are cut with a small knife (*ngoban*), by either men or women. The ears are gathered into sheaves (*diogh*), held together by a rope made from the bark of the baobab tree[5]. The sheaves are stacked, first on the field, but are soon transported to the farm where they are stored in the kitchen or in a shed, granaries being almost unknown among the Wolof Saloum-Saloum. When required the millet is threshed, which is done with pestle and mortar, threshing machines not yet being adopted due to the costs, which are high in relation to the market price of millet.

In 1970 and 1971 millet yields in the Experimental Unit were around 700 kilo/ha. Some farmers who paid sufficient attention to thinning and weeding, applied fertilizer and used selected seed, obtained yields up to 1300 kilo per ha. On average the farmer thus did not obtain the yields on which the adoption of the propagated farm implements and traction was based (Chapter 9). On average 0.18 ha per head was grown.

While millet is harvested from the end of September, sorghum ears cannot be gathered before the end of November. Although the new sorghum strains give higher yields than millet, the growing period of sorghum is long so that farmers still mainly grow the earlier ripening millet, the first crop ready after a period of food deficiency.

10.2.2 Cash crops

Because of regrowth of stumps and weeds after the fallow year, the land costs more time to prepare for groundnuts than for millet. In April and May, shrubs and branches are cut and the land roughly weeded. Grass, shrubs and branches are then piled in heaps and set on fire. To reduce this task CNRA strongly encourages the destumping of the fields so that agricultural equipment can be efficiently used. However, in 1972 in the Experimental Unit from a total crop acreage of about 1300 ha, only 50 ha was completely destumped, not including the *tolkeur* (almost 300 ha). The poor condition of the ground did not prevent the farmers from using their seed drills and cultivators, which were, however, quickly in a state of disrepair. This situation is indeed serious, as there are often no spare parts available in the countryside because ONCAD and CER function so inefficiently (see Chapter 9). Therefore it does not seem practical at present to

encourage the Wolof farmers to invest in relatively expensive equipment.

Land should be hoed before it is sown, but, as with the millet field, hoeing is not done by all farmers. Either they are too busy sowing millet and groundnuts, or they do not own the necessary farm implements. Sowing starts directly after the first heavy rains, which fall from half June onwards. The seed drill has been generally adopted. In the Experimental Unit there was 1 seed drill available for every 4 ha, while 1 seed drill per 5 ha is considered to be sufficient by CNRA. The seed drills are drawn by horses and donkeys, which are preferred to oxen, because they work more quickly.

The use of seed drills considerably shortens the time for sowing compared with the manual method, so that it is possible to increase the area cultivated. Another advantage is that groundnuts sown immediately after the first heavy rains can make full use of the rainy season, which diminishes the risk of a crop failure. Those who do not have the necessary equipment borrow or hire it from other farmers. When the head of the household owns a seed drill and a horse, almost all the plots of all the household members are sown mechanically, the women and the youth refusing to sow their plots by hand (see Chapter 12). Only the poor farmers without a seed drill make use of the *conco,* a small axe-shaped tool for making holes in the ground in which the nuts are dropped[6]. Sowing with the cultivator is always done by the men.

In 1970 in the Experimental Unit there were 131 *carrés*; 35 had no equipment and 25 had no equipment and traction. Although the distribution of implements is unsatisfactory, sufficient draught animals have been adopted in the Experimental Unit (see Table 20). Thus the level of adoption does not explain the low fields of groundnuts per hectare.

Table 20. The number of draught animals and farm implements in the Experimental Unit for 1970[1].

	Number
Draught animals	
pairs of oxen	45
horses	47
donkeys	84
Farm implements	
seed drills	200
cultivators	175
ploughs	32
lifters	25

1. Similar data for Saloum are given in Appendix 5.

After sowing and application of fertilizer, the laborious task of weeding is waiting. Directly after sowing, when the lines are visible, the first weeding (*radou*) has to take place, followed by other weedings at intervals of 2 or 3 weeks till the end of August. However, farmers generally weed 2 or 3 times only, the second weeding (*bayat*) about a month later than the first weeding, and the third weeding (*balarti*) during August. The first weeding and sometimes the second one are done mechanically with the 3-pronged

cultivator drawn by a horse or with the heavier cultivator drawn by oxen which can cultivate 2 rows at one go. To avoid damaging the roots the farmers still often use the *sogh-sogh.* At least the third weeding, the weeding in between the plants on a row and the weeding of the smaller plots of the women and the youth is always done by hand. For more extensive information of the negative effects of the individual mode of land use on production, see Chapter 12.

The harvesting of groundnuts starts in the second half of October, when the soil is still humid. In fact, the fear of desiccation of the soil after the wet season results in an early harvest, often before the nuts are fully mature. A lifter is seldom used for harvesting because the work is often too difficult on the heavy soils (*deck*) or the rows are not straight enough. In 1971 in the Experimental Unit only 50 ha of groundnuts was lifted mechanically. Therefore groundnuts are often harvested with the *sogh-sogh,* which is dug under the plant that is lifted with the other hand.

Ploughing is only done at the end of the wet season because of desiccation of the soil in the dry season and the labour peak at the start of the wet season. However only a few farmers have adopted ploughing in this period, in 1971 a mere 36 ha being ploughed of the total acreage under crop.

After harvesting, which is only done by men, the groundnuts are gathered in small heaps by the women and when dry, after 1 or 2 weeks, stacked on the field by the men. From the end of November onwards they are threshed with two sticks (*bathio*), one held in each hand, about 1.50 m long and with a hook of about 15 cm at the end of the stick. By holding the hook downwards, the groundnuts are pulled down from the pile and beaten. When the nuts are separated from the haulms, they are ready to be winnowed. Winnowing is done by the women in the morning when there is a slight breeze. They make use of a basket or bowl, which is held above the head and out of which the groundnuts are shaken. Groundnuts to be sold are left unshelled. At the end of January almost all groundnuts have been threshed and transported to the co-operative where they are inspected and weighed. In that month the farmers receive their first payment. Groundnuts are grown by men, women and the older children. In the Experimental Unit men cultivate on average 1.5 ha and the women 0.3 ha. Those who apply the recommendations of CNRA obtain yields up to 1000–1200 kg unshelled/ha, but when traditionally cultivated, the yields are around 700 kg unshelled/ha. The adoption of the innovations thus did not increase yields of groundnut to the extent expected by CNRA (see Chapter 9).

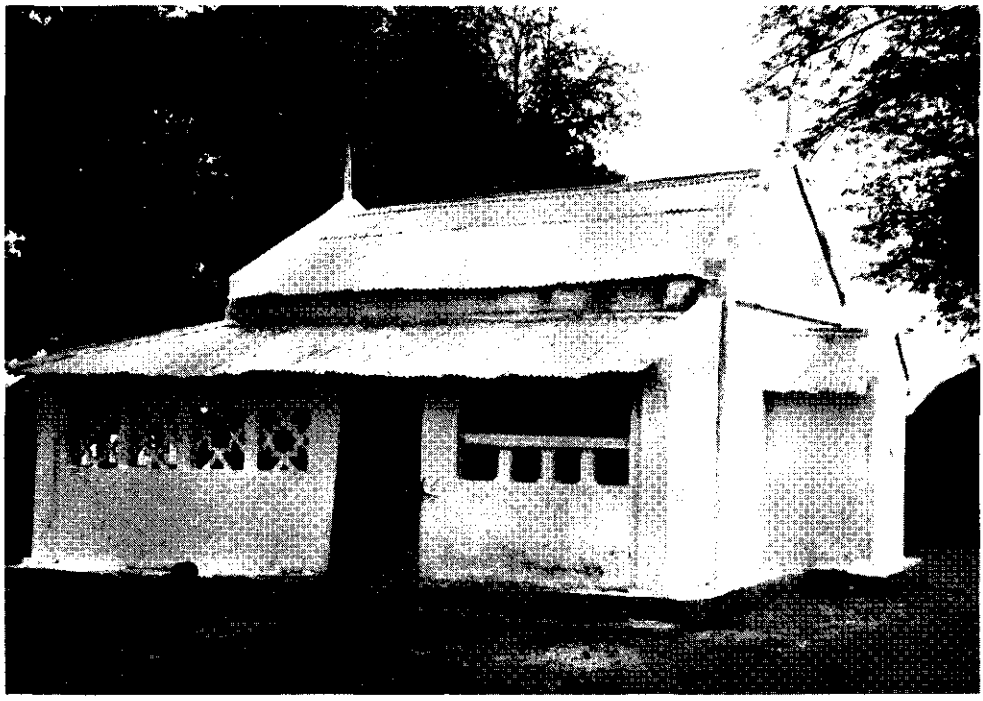
New crops, other than sorghum, have also been recommended by CNRA since 1969. In 1971 3 ha maize and 0.9 ha rice was cultivated. Cotton, which has been known for centuries but was ousted by groundnut at the beginning of this century, is successful as a new crop. The area cultivated with cotton increased from 9 ha in 1967 to 26.5 ha in 1971. The annual average yield ranged between 1000 and 1200 kilo/ha. Based on crop production only, in 1970 the net income[7] per head and per adult male equivalent was 9100 and 19 400 F CFA, respectively (Ramond, 1972b, p. 7).

10.3 Cattle

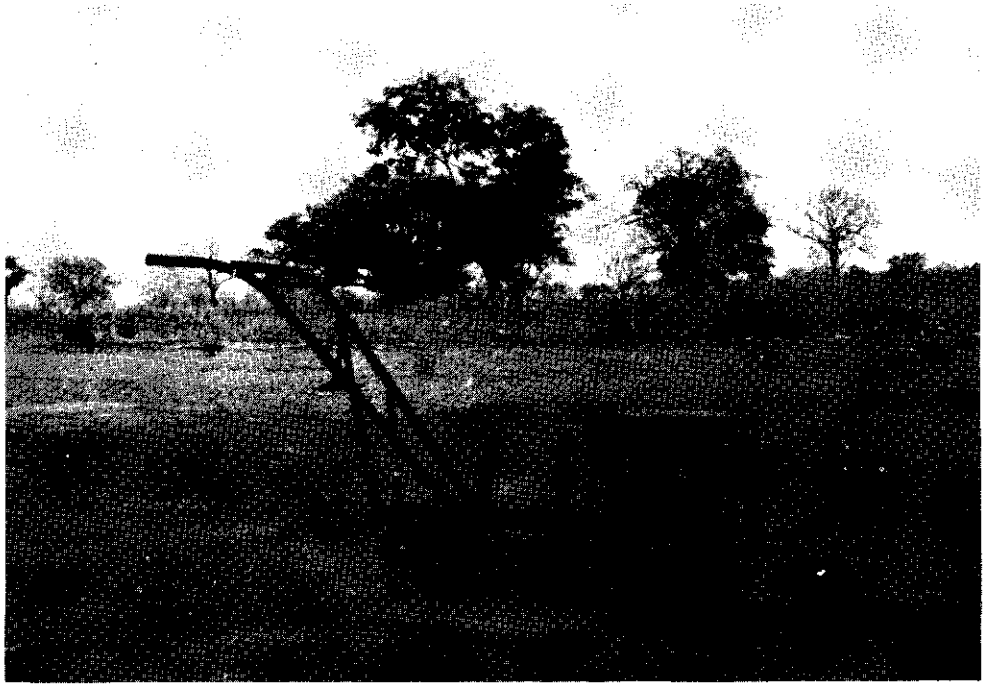
Saloum, which lies just at the upper limit of the tsetse-infested zone, has large herds of cattle. These are mainly of the breed *diakhou,* a cross between the *n'dama* (West-

The village of Thysse-Kaymor.

A leatherworker and a slaveborn.



The mosque of Sonkorong.



Most farmers have adopted the seed drill.

African shorthorn), which is tolerant for trypanosomiasis, and the *zebu,* the humped race, which is found north of Saloum. Because the *n'dama* is rather small, effort has been made to increase the *zebu* element, but in 1972 results were still unsatisfactory.

In Saloum, the herd is taken to graze the uncultivated bush or fallow and are brought back in the late afternoon to the village. In the wet season, when the crops stand on the fields, the cattle is herded outside the village farmland to avoid damage of the crops. However, it is not necessary to drive the cattle far away from the village because the nearby bush has enough grass to nourish them. At night the cattle is kraaled in the bush just outside the village. In the dry season, when the crops have been harvested, tending is different and requires little work in the first months. The herd can roam more freely and can even enter the village plots to eat the leaves of millet, sorghum-straw or groundnut-hay, which have been left on the fields. At night the herd is kraaled on the *tolkeur* by fastening the calves to stakes, which prevents the herd from straying.

In the first months of the dry season the task of tending the cattle may be delegated to young boys of the village. However as the dry season progresses and grass becomes more and more scarce, longer daily trips have to be made to feed the cattle. The tending of the herd is then taken over by a Fula resident or an adult Wolof. When a herdsman is engaged, he is paid 1500–2000 F CFA a month, depending on the size of the herd, besides receiving food, morning milk and shelter. The size of a herd varies, but numbers at least 30 head and at most 100, which is about the maximum an adult cowherd can handle. In 3 villages in Saloum with 93 *carrés,* there were 12 herds which varied in size between 20 and 96. The main part of the 12 herds were owned by 20 *carrés* (Chapter 13).

The Wolof value their cattle mainly as an economic asset. All the rich farmers of a village have a herd, and although the major part has been acquired by inheritance and birth, they also invest in cattle whenever possible. When money is received from the groundnuts sold at the co-operative, some farmers of the village are commissioned to buy cattle in north and east Saloum. These farmers may be absent for months in order to satisfy their customers. During the period of the year when groundnuts are bought by the co-operative, prices of cattle increase considerably. Even when the harvest is only moderate, people invest part of the money in cattle to meet bridewealth payments or to save for important ceremonies. Those who have been left a little money invest in sheep and goats. Since the abolition of slavery, investment in cattle is said to have increased. Recently however, investment in farm implements has also become important.

Although a Wolof tries to increase his herd, the turnover is often very high. Cattle may be sold to pay for the pilgrimage to Mecca or to acquire an additional wife. Moreover, a Wolof has no objection to slaughter cattle so that he can sell the meat to his co-villagers for cash. Bulls are selected from the herd, castrated and trained as draught animals, although castration is frowned upon in Koran teaching. Besides being sold, cattle, sheep and goats are slaughtered for social reasons, at the *rites de passage* and for some Islamic ceremonies (Chapter 11).

Twenty three of the 39 *carrés* of Sonkorong had some sheep and 37 some goats, but the size of the flock per *carré* ranged between 1 and 25 for sheep as well as for goats. Just as cattle, sheep and goats are owned by women as well as men. When a man owns a herd of sheep and goats, his wife is entrusted to take care of it and in compensation

receives every third-born from her husband. In the dry season sheep and goats roam freely, but in the wet season they are tended by a boy who receives 100 F CFA per head. In August and September, just before the harvest of millet, when lack of food and money is general, the Moors of the larger villages and rural towns buy the sheep and goats at very low prices.

The importance of cattle dung is well known. Traditionally the subsistence crop, which is grown continuously on the *tolkeur*, depended on it, and this custom has not changed. When a pair of oxen is lent to a farmer, he may be obliged to kraal them each night on the *tolkeur* of their owner. The importance of artificial fertilizer is also recognized and it is applied to groundnut plots as well as to millet plots which have not been manured by cattle dung. However, recently cleared *gor* does not receive any fertilizer because it is considered to be still fertile. Lack of cash is the main reason for the amount applied per hectare being insufficient.

10.4 Draught animals

CNRA and SODEVA pay little attention to the adoption of horses and donkeys as draught animals but strongly recommend the adoption of oxen. Their opinion is that although horses and donkeys work rapidly, they are not strong and sooner tire compared with a pair of oxen. In addition a horse is worth more than a pair of oxen; the value of a pair of 3-year-old oxen, not yet trained, is about 20 000 F CFA, that of a good mare between 25 and 30 thousand F CFA. The value of an adult donkey is about 7000 F CFA. Another argument for oxen is that horses and donkeys have to be written off in 5 or 6 years, while depreciation of oxen is considered to be zero due to increase in weight when stabled.

Because of this encouragement of extension and government staff, the number of oxen has rapidly increased in the Experimental Unit: 6 pairs in 1969, 45 pairs in 1971 and 66 pairs in 1972, thereby exceeding the number of horses in the Experimental Unit. However the use of agricultural equipment is not proportional to the adoption of oxen. According to CNRA 62% of the oxen worked 3 years or less. Table 21 gives for a pair of oxen the theoretical norm for the different agricultural operations and the actual practice in the Experimental Unit.

Thus farmers only partly use their oxen and the increase in the number of oxen implies less success than CNRA would have the Prime Minister believe when speaking of an 'irreversible process of modernization'. Integration of oxen into the farm is in fact

Table 21. Average number of hectares worked by a pair of oxen.

	Land preparation	Sowing	Weeding	Hilling-up of cotton	Ploughing	Groundnut lifting
Theoretical norm[1]	8	8	20	1	2	4
Actual practice	5	4	11	0.4	0.4	2

1. According to CNRA standards.

rather complex. It necessitates a solution of problems of feeding, housing, health protection and availability of labour. Although feeding and watering is not very time-consuming in the wet period, in the dry period when food is scarce, most farmers cannot keep their oxen at the farm and return them to the herd. Although groundnut-hay and leaves of millet and sorghum are available, this feed is not sufficient for the whole period and is of poor quality. In the farm model *thèmes lourds*, fallow should be hayed in the middle of the wet season. However, there was no suitable mowing-machine available which was also financially acceptable to the farmer. The use of fodder crops or food crops for ensilage or concentrates could not be proposed, because the increase in agricultural production was insufficient on the farm as has been shown in Section 10.2.

In addition in the middle of the wet season the farmers are rather busy and it is unlikely they will spend any time on mowing when they could be otherwise occupied with cash crops. Thus the farmer often has no option but to return the oxen to the herd at the end of the wet season, so that they have to be retrained the next year and will start the peak period in a bad condition. Because of their weakness and slow pace, they often perform badly, especially when the marker has not been used for sowing. Health protection of cattle and hygiene on the farm level are not paid any attention because there are practically no veterinary fieldstaff.

The consequences of the individual mode of land use for the application of draught oxen are treated in Chapter 12. The fact that only a part of the farmers actually own the oxen also gives problems (see Chapter 13).

10.5 Conclusions

As there is a labour peak between the second half of June and the first week of July when sowing and first weeding have to be finished for all crops as quickly as possible, CNRA and SODEVA's policy to recommend the mechanization of these operations has been correct.

There are no social constraints which prevent the Wolof from being early adopters. At first investment in seed drills, in cultivators, in horses and donkeys probably resulted in an increase in farmer's income through extensification. But now in the Experimental Unit land is scarce. Then investment in farm implements and draught animals is only remunerative if sufficient attention is paid to intensification.

However application of intensification measures such as destumping, timely sowing, sowing in straight lines, use of fertilizer, thinning and number of manual weedings on the rows is lagging behind in the Experimental Unit. Hence increase of yields per hectare is less than expected. In addition there is depreciation of equipment due to lack of destumping. As long as this situation continues the recommendation to apply heavier equipment drawn by oxen may cause indebtedness.

With regard to CNRA's recommendation that oxen should be used as draught animals rather than the customary traction of horse and donkey, only oxen are indeed capable of pulling the equipment to plough and to lift groundnuts. However these mechanized operations are hardly applied. The slow pace, bad manoeuvrability, weakness in the peak period of the oxen and lack of health protection are fundamental problems. First a reasonable solution has to be found for the farmer's problem how to feed his oxen in the dry season.

More research on the *thèmes lourds* is necessary and this model should be recommended to specific farmers only. It seems worthwhile to encourage the more complete adoption of the *thèmes légèrs* which is easier to apply and less expensive.

Notes

1 The term *carré* used by the Senegalese administration and development agencies neither covers completely our definition of the term compound nor that of the term household. A *carré* is thought of being composed of those members cohabiting with a farmer whose name is written down on the co-operative membership list or on the list of having received groundnut seed on credit from ONCAD. Because an economically independent farmer may charge his eldest brother to deal for him with the co-operative and ONCAD, there are fewer heads of *carrés* than there are heads of households. Because this authorization by the younger brother only lasts for a specific period (although they continue to live together), there are, however, more heads of *carrés* than there are heads of compounds. The average size of a *carré* is estimated by me at being about 15 persons.
2 All men between 15 and 60 years old are considered as a male equivalent, women as 0.3 adult male equivalent and boys between 8 and 15 years old as 0.5 adult male equivalent.
3 Although a local variety was known, sorghum did not become popular until the introduction of the new CNRA variety 51/69.
4 In the areas with more sandy soil and with less weed growth the Wolof weed with their traditional instrument, the *hiler,* a crescent-shaped blade on a handle of about 1.75 m, which can be used in an upright position.
5 *Diogh* is a bushel of millet of about 13.5 kilo, *diap* is a bushel of sorghum of about 6 kilo.
6 A slightly larger tool than the *conco,* the *ngosi* is used by the *navetanes* and women for weeding.
7 Net income is gross income minus charges for equipment, traction, fertilizer and seed. See for the calculation of adult male equivalents Section 10.1.

11 Features of the Wolof kinship and age-set system related to mutual aid

This study is especially concerned with co-operative behaviour and mutual aid in groups that the Wolof distinguish among themselves. The domestic groups, compound and household, are considered in Chapter 12, the status groups in Chapter 13 and work groups and the village co-operative in Chapter 14.

Here the other groups that can be distinguished among the Wolof are described with special reference to patterns of mutual aid and co-operation. Sections 11.1 and 11.2 on clan and age-set systems pay special attention to traditional ceremonies, their gradual undermining by the strict application of Islam and its consequences for actual co-operation in the age-sets. Section 11.3 on residential units gives some of the reasons for village fission and division of the village into wards. In Section 11.4 affinity is treated to show social ranking and the social obligations between the bride-giving and bride-taking groups and what this means for mutual aid. The more general problem of how descent is related to solidary behaviour between kin is described in Section 11.5.

11.1 The clan system and tribal religion

The Wolof use the term *geenio* to refer to people descending patrilineally from a common ancestor. *Geenio* means trouser belt. Wolof contrast the term *geenio* with the term *men*, which means 'breastmilk' or 'sap', thereby clearly distinguishing between male and female. Because children inherit the surname from their father, all people with the same surname (*sante*) have a common ancestor and belong to the same *geenio*.

These surname groups are symbolized by animals. So the members of the Cisse clan have the lizard as their symbol (*mbagne*), the Toure the turtledove, the Seck the monkey, the N'Diaye the cat and so on. A person touching the animal of his clan will develop dangerous diseases and his skin will be covered with pimples. Such a surname group or clan may have other taboos; these taboos are connected with legends about historical events as follows for the Cisse clan.

The mythical founder of the Cisse clan is called Birane Fady Cisse, originally a Mandingo. Mady Gagny and Ghatalee are said to be the 'father' and 'grandfather' of Birane Fady Cisse. Birane Fady is said to have entered Djolof from the east in about the 16th Century. Being a marabout he waged war against the pagan King of Djolof, whom he defeated several times. Therefore the king gave him his daughter in marriage to try to find out what was the secret of his strength. On several occasions this woman tried to persuade Birane Fady to tell his secret, but he refused continuously. However, when from this liaison the son Mady Bacar was born, Birane Fady told her that his *gri gri* or amulets made him invulnerable and that he could be defeated on the first Tuesday of the

month *digi*. The wife and her child returned to her father and she told him the secret. Thus the king succeeded in defeating Birane Fady on that day[1].

Birane Fady Cisse retreated to Saloum, a rather empty area apart from some old *Toucouleur* and Fula villages. He arrived there during the reign of the second chief (*Bour*) of Saloum. He settled in Kaymor, but soldiers (*tiedo*) of the chief are said to have chased him from Kaymor and Birane Fady founded Thysse-Kaymor, some 5 kilometres away from Kaymor. Until this day, in the month *digi*, the month the founder of the clan was defeated by the King of Djolof, the Cisse are said not to undertake special activities like shaving their skulls, building a house or making long trips. In addition the Cisse do not wash their clothes on Sunday and do not dance on Thursday while they prefer to travel on Monday and Thursday.

Clans are not only distinguished by symbols; also special spirits (*tourou*) are associated with every clan. Migrants who have established themselves in the village of another clan have to respect the spirits of the village, but their own spirits are in their ancestral villages. These spirits are embodied by snakes who are said to live in the wells of the ancestral villages.

In Sonkorong this well is in the ward Thiamene, the ward of the founders of the village. It is told that formerly children were sacrificed to the snakes in the well and many legends are known relating to these sacrifices. People of Sonkorong say that the last human was sacrificed by Saer Maty Ba, the son of the famous marabout MaBa, at the end of the 19th Century (see Chapter 5). Humans were replaced by goats and sheep, but nowadays even these are no longer sacrificed among the Wolof[2].

Besides asking for sacrifices, the spirits demand that the drum is regularly beaten. The spirits of the Ba clan demand that every Friday before the prayer of two o'clock, the drum in front of the mosque of Nioro is beaten with special drumsticks, namely with the bones of the arms of the pagan Chief of Badibu, Math Diakher, once the enemy of MaBa.

The spirits of Sonkorong likewise demand that the drums are regularly beaten. However the pious freeborn families of the village are opposed to drumbeating and the songs and dances this involves. They state that such behaviour is contrary to Koran teaching. In Thysse-Kaymor, a village of mainly freeborn, attempts to suppress drumbeating were successful a decade ago. In Sonkorong, consisting of many slave-descendents and some families of leatherworkers, the Imam and the village head (two freeborn men) tried the same 6 years ago but they failed because the village is said to have been plagued by all sorts of diseases after the prohibition of drumming. Under the pressure of the slave-descendents and the leatherworkers, they had to withdraw their decision.

Every Friday in Sonkorong the snakes are said to leave the well and go their rounds. It is generally believed that anybody who sees them, will fall ill. Close to the well in Sonkorong is an old baobab tree, which is considered to be sacred because the founder of the village had heard spirits citing Koran texts in this tree. This tree plays a role in marriage ceremonies (see also Ames, 1956, p. 163). When the rain fails to come or stops early, female slave-descendents or leatherworkers perform a ritual (*bowname*) under this tree to implore for rain. All these ceremonies and beliefs are connected with the age-set system of the Wolof. Thus undermining of tribal religion implies an undermining of the age-sets.

11.2 Age-set system and islamization

In contrast to what is stated by Gamble (1967, p. 53), Wolof do have age-sets (*mbok lel*) for boys, adolescents and married men. No indications have been found for age-grades in the age-set of married men. Boys enter the first age-set at initiation. According to Marty (1917, p. 184) initiation in the first decade of this century took several weeks of education in the woods, where a hut was built where the boys lived in seclusion. Those to be initiated were near marrying age. During my research I learned that nowadays the ceremony is organized every 4 or 5 years in the dry season and usually takes about 8 days[3]. During daytime initiation takes place in the open woods, at night the boys sleep in an empty hut within the village. The age of the boys to be initiated ranges between 8 and 15 years. They may belong to different status-groups. Those to be initiated, the *ndiouli,* are first ritually washed and clothed in long robes and triangular hats. They give their old clothes to youngsters of slave descent and of leatherworkers or to patrilateral cross-cousins (called 'slaves' by ego; see Section 11.4). Then they withdraw to the woods, to a place called *lel,* where they are circumcized. Because circumcision involves bloodshed, which attracts the devil and sorcerers, the *ndiouli* are closely watched by a marabout-healer.

The marabout-healer (*goumak*) formerly a slave-descendent from Sonkorong but now a Fula from Diama, appears regularly to pray for the boys and to sprinkle water with the lettering of Koran texts (*loug*) over their bodies and meals to protect them from evil forces. During initiation there are 1 or 2 other adult men present. They are of slave descent and recruited from the age-set of the adult married men. They also keep watch over the boys but their main task is to teach them the tribal tradition (*kassak*).

To help the *ndiouli* to learn the tribal folklore by heart and to encourage them to be brave when tested, they are also accompanied by some *selbe goundau.* These *selbe goundau,* members of the age-set of adolescents, are by preference siblings, patrilateral cross-cousins ('slaves') or youths of slave descent not suspected to be sorcerers. The *selbe goundau* choose among themselves a chairman, the *ndit* as leader of the age-set of boys.

At the end of the ceremony the bravery of the *ndiouli* is tested when they have to approach a fire behind which a 'lion' roars. The day before the initiation period is over, the boys suddenly enter the village and beat the girls, especially their sisters, girl friends and female cross-cousins to show that from now on they have to be obeyed. The next day they return definitively to the village, wash themselves for the first time and pray at the mosque. A few weeks later they organize a working party for the surgeon, the marabout-healer and the *selbe goumak.* Initiated slave-descendents receive a present from their master (*borom*) besides presents from parents.

Girls are not initiated but normally there are at least 2 female associations in a village, one of young girls, the other of girls already engaged, but not yet living in the homestead of their husband. The leader of a female association is called *botal* and is a woman. She is chosen by the members themselves from among the married women. The female associations cultivate small parcels of groundnuts, the yield of which is entrusted to the *botal.* For male agricultural tasks they enlist the support of the male age-sets: the age-set of boys help the age-set of young girls and the age-set of adolescents help the

girls already engaged. The yield is used to celebrate the *tiedde*, the ceremony of a girl leaving her compound to join her husband. On that occasion the girl and the husband have to contribute to the fund of the association, the girl giving normally 1000 F CFA, the man about 1300 F CFA.

Also for the ceremony of engagement (*maie*) the future husband hands gifts to the *botal*, who later uses this money to announce the marriage and to help the bride with the expenses of the marriage ceremony. Money may also be used to help the male age-sets in organizing a *ndaga*, a festivity for which a musical group is hired and to which youngsters of other villages are invited. In exchange for administering the fund and her organizational activities ever year the *botal* is offered a working party by the association.

Like the female associations, the male age-sets are predominantly recreational. In Thysse-Kaymor they had two plots, but in 1971 one plot was abandoned because of bad maintenance and the crop on the other plot looked far from promising. Both plots were not larger than a quarter of a hectare. In Sonkorong the male age-sets did not even cultivate a special plot. Instead, they set up a fund by working once a year secretly on a field of a rich farmer who then had to reward them generously. Nowadays this is only done occasionally (see Chapter 14). In In addition each member may be asked to pay a small contribution when there is no money in the fund.

As in the female associations, the fund is used either to assist an age-mate in the payment of gifts to his clientage on his marriage or to organize a *ndaga* or a *lambe*, the latter being wrestling matches in the village which are held weekly in the dry season and in which the girls assist by performing their renowned lewd dances. The age-sets have no formal role in village-works, like the maintenance of the village roads and mosque.

Observations on election of *ndit* and *botal*, tilling a special plot, having a fund, organizing a *ndaga* or *lambe* showed that active participation in the age-sets and the female associations was less in the freeborn village Thysse-Kaymor than in Sonkorong[4]. The age-sets and associations are considered to be too strongly associated with traditional ceremonial customs and therefore are opposed by the more strict freeborn who hold that the Koran forbids drumming and dancing and the obscenities which accompany these festivities. Such an attitude explains why there are few freeborn who are members of the age-sets and associations in Thysse-Kaymor and why most *botal, ndit, goumak* and *selbe goumak* in Thysse and in Sonkorong are of slave descent; see Table 22. This attitude of the freeborn could in addition explain the animosity which existed between the Imam and the *Bour Sonkorong*.

The *Bour Sonkorong* is of slave descent, chairman of the age-set of adolescents and one of the *selbe goumak* at the initiation ceremony. He keeps the drums and receives the guests on the festivities *ndaga* and *lambe*. He represents the village at festivities elsewhere. When in 1971 the Imam of Sonkorong again tried to forbid the *lambe*, he was opposed by the slave-descendents and leatherworkers. A big quarrel arose between the Imam and the *Bour Sonkorong* and the latter was publicly called a 'lion who tried to devour the holy flock' while it was further stated that he could better be shot. However the weekly *lambe* was still held in Sonkorong but the freeborn girls were no longer allowed to leave home that night; quarrels occurred regularly as to when and how long the drums could be played and whether freeborn young men were allowed to join the

Table 22. The age-sets of boys and adolescents and the female associations in Thysse-Kaymor and Sonkorong. Thysse-Kaymor: 295 inhabitants; number of compounds: freeborn 12, artisans 5. Sonkorong: 492 inhabitants; number of compounds: freeborn 4, slave descendent 11, artisans 1, Fula-resident 1.

	Number and status-group	Leadership
Thysse-Kaymor		
age-set of boys	10 members, freeborn	a freeborn of the age-set of adolescents
	4 members, leatherworkers	? (omission)
age-set of adolescents	absent	
association of young girls	6 members, freeborn	a married female slave-descendent of another hamlet
association of girls already engaged	3 members, freeborn	a married freeborn woman
Sonkorong		
age-set of boys	±20 members, slave-descendents	a slave-descendent of the age-set of adolescents
age-set of adolescents	±20 members, slave-descendents	a slave-descendent of the age-set of married men
association of young girls	10 members, 9 slave-descendents, 1 leatherworker	a married female slave-descendent
	8 members, slave-descendents	a married female slave-descendent
association of girls	9 members, slave-descendents	a married female slave-descendent
already engaged	4 members, 3 slave-descendents, 1 leatherworker	a married female slave-descendent

lambe elsewhere. The freeborn prefer that the youth spend their time cultivating the marabout fields in the village rather than participating in the activities of the age-sets and associations.

The yields of these fields are for marabouts of regional importance. Every year a plot is selected by rotation from the fields of a group of farmers and all these farmers contribute in labour to till the field. They do not receive a meal or other compensation from the marabout apart from being blessed for their effort. In Sonkorong there were 4 such fields. One was for the Imam of Sonkorong, three for marabouts in nearby villages outside the Experimental Unit. Two were cultivated by members of the age-set of adolescents, two by married farmers. These marabout fields were small, none of the four being larger than half a hectare. On it millet was grown but little attention was given to the crop, farmers first cultivating their own millet farms. The group of farmers that was responsible for each field numbered between 9 and 15 but not all were present on the day fixed for tilling.

There was a larger fifth field of about 2 hectare with a slightly different religious purpose. The field was called *tol dahira*. Many farmers and young men participated in growing groundnuts on it. The yield was used for the maintenance of the mosque, the hiring of a religious choir in the village or for hiring a lorry to visit annually the grave of

the late mother of Amadou Bamba, the founder of the Mouride brotherhood[5].

These fields were cultivated by farmers descended from slaves and artisans. Of the members of the 5 work groups tilling these fields, all were slave-descendents or leatherworkers and only 1 of the 5 leaders was a freeborn.

11.3 Residential units and fission

The fragmentation of residential units in minor villages and hamlets in Saloum is related to French colonial policy and the halving of the Cisse clan. When there are different status-groups villages themselves are subdivided into wards. These factors appear from the history of the foundation of the villages and hamlets in the Experimental Unit (see Maps 6 and 8).

11.3.1 The halving of the Cisse clan

As was seen in Section 11.1 the founder of the Cisse clan had a son, Mady Bacar, whose mother was a pagan Wolof princess. This son of a marabout was not accepted in Djolof and he returned to his half-brothers in Saloum. However, because of the descent and the treason of his mother he was only reluctantly received. He founded his compound in an out-of-the-way area and the village was thereafter called Pacala, meaning stump or by association 'meanness' or 'bad'. From this village sprang the villages N'Dau, N'Dau Bambali, N'Dau Sawolo, Keur Dawalla, Keur Bacary and N'Ganda.

All the descendents in the male line from Mady Bacar are called *Pacala-Pacala*; all the descendents from the founder, not originating from the pagan woman, are called *Thysse-Thysse*. The *Thysse-Thysse* inhabit the villages Thysse-Kaymor, Keur Samba Yasine, Wannar, Elimane Aissa, Diossong and Sonkorong. All the members of the clan halves thus are named by repeating twice the mother village. When one refers to one member of a clan half one speaks of a Cisse-*Pacala*, or a Cisse-*Diarmew*. *Diarmew* means 'meal based on milk' or by association 'good' or 'high', contrasting with the adjective *Pacala*.

So the descent from a common father but a different mother is thought to be the origin of the two halves of the Cisse clan. The history of the village Thysse-Kaymor and Sonkorong will show that the *Pacala-Pacala* and the *Thysse-Thysse* took some decisions independently of each other. To the *Thysse-Thysse* and *Pacala-Pacala* distinctive families of *guewels* are attached, who keep up the political traditions of these subgroups. However, because they have the same surname, clan symbol and taboos, they can not be considered as independent clans.

11.3.2 History of Thysse-Kaymor

Andallah Boury Cisse, a Cisse-*Diarmew* descended from Birane Fady Cisse. When in 1860 a marabout-coalition for the first time revolted against the rule of the *tiedo* but was defeated, the *Thysse-Thysse* assembled in Wannar and they tried to convince Andallah Boury Cisse to raise a new army of adepts (*taalibee*) to revenge the defeated marabouts. However, he refused saying, My clan (*geenio*) is too large. If I am killed quarrels will arise about who will succeed me and our sons will fight each other. It is

better to choose a small clan.

MaBa, a stranger in the area, but famous for his learning, was chosen as the political and religious leader and he successfully continued the holy war (see Chapter 5). Andallah Boury had a son Birane Cisse, the well-known officer of MaBa's troops who later quarrelled with MaBa's son. He built a fort called N'Dimbe Birane, some kilometres from Thysse-Kaymor and started wars of his own. In about 1880 this Birane Cisse divided the Cisse clan-area of Thysse-Kaymor and Sonkorong into distinctive zones. Afterwards the north of this area was cultivated by artisans, the west by the Fula and immigrants, the central zone by the freedom family Aly M'Bass Cisse and the southern zone by the freeborn family Serign Cisse.

Acting for the French, the *Chef de Canton,* Babacar N'Deme N'Diaye, tried to recruit young men for the army during World War I and for the construction of the railroad from Kaolack through Saloum to Mali from 1911 to 1913. Moreover he and his men misbehaved, stealing cattle and raping women. General disorder arose and the lineage of Aly M'Bass Cisse decided to flee to the village Elimane Aissa (*Arrondissement* Sokone, *Département* Foundiougne), to return after the end of World War I. For reasons unknown the lineage Serign Cisse and the artisans remained at Thysse-Kaymor.

Of the freeborn compounds of Thysse-Kaymor, 6 compounds belong to the lineage Serign Cisse and 6 compounds belong to the lineage of Aly M'Bass Cisse. Combined with the 5 compounds of artisans, the village had 295 inhabitants in 1972.

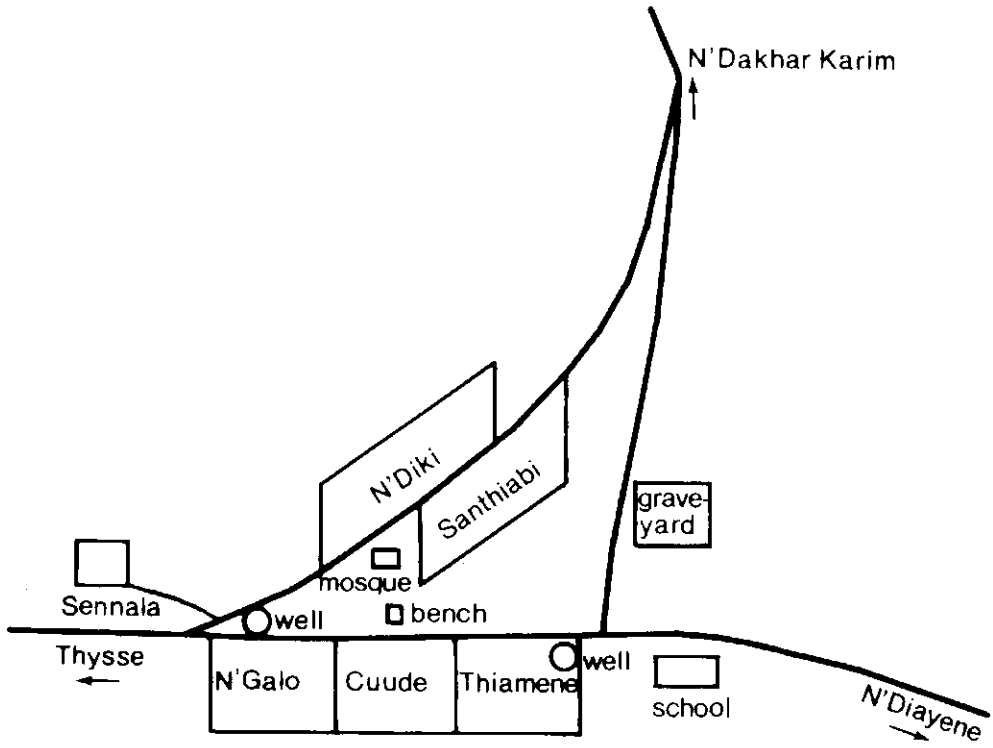
11.3.3 History of Sonkorong

Sonkorong is said to have been founded by another son of Birane Fady Cisse. He only stayed 10 years in the village and migrated to found Diossong. Later Sonkorong was inhabited by the Mandingo Sokone who returned to Gambia when the marabout MaBa came to power.

About 1865 a freeborn family Thiam from Sangob established itself at Sonkorong together with a leatherworker and some slaves. They founded the still existent wards Thiamene, Cuude and N'Galo[6]. However, some years later the village head of Sangob, the ancestral village of the Thiam clan, died and the head of Sonkorong was called back to replace him. The few remaining Thiam and their dependants invited a Cisse-*Diarmew* of the lineage Aly M'Bass Cisse at Thysse to govern the village in his place because this family had many slaves and adepts to help defend the village in the turbulent times of the second half of the 19th Century. The head of this family, Macoumba Cisse, the new master of the village, had three sons by the same mother. One succeeded his father as village head. The second founded Same, behind a forest, from fear of the French. It is one of the hamlets in the Experimental Unit. The third became a marabout and had a local Koran school. One of his adepts was Goumbo Cisse, a Cisse-*Pacala.* Because Goumbo had helped to cultivate the marabout's farm from early childhood up to matrimonial age, he was rewarded by being given one of his daughters as wife.

It was Goumbo who was temporarily given the leadership over the remaining slaves and artisans when the lineage Aly M'Bass Cisse-*Diarmew* fled from the French, and who founded the ward N'Diki. When the latter returned after the end of World War I, Goumbo, a Cisse-*Pacala* had become a rich man and he remained head of the village,

Map 8 The village Sonkorong



obliging the Cisse-*Diarmew* to found the new ward Sennala, the ward closest to Thysse. The composition of the wards of Sonkorong are given in Appendix 6.

In 1972 Sonkorong numbered 17 compounds. The total population was 492 inhabitants. Map 8 is a sketch of the village Sonkorong.

11.3.4 History of three hamlets

Other hamlets originated from Sonkorong as well as from Thysse-Kaymor. A brother of Goumbo Cisse, the village head of Sonkorong, did not remain with him, but fled to N'Dau Bambali, a *Pacala* village under the authority of the *Chef de Canton* of Kaffrine, who was said not to force his subjects to meet the French war-effort. After the war, in about 1925, his son Karim Cisse, returned to found N'Dakhar Karim near to Sonkorong[7]. From Karim 5 brothers of the same mother descended, important men of the hamlet in 1972. Together with their former slaves, now independent farmers, N'Dakhar Karim in 1972 numbered 8 compounds. The total population was 187.

N'Dakhar Bacary and N'Dakhar Aly Coumba, 2 very small hamlets not far away from N'Dakhar Karim were founded by some slaves owned by the matrilineal kin of the

founder of N'Dakhar Karim. These slaves left their master's compound when the sons of the founder returned to their parents home from N'Dau Bambali. N'Dakhar Bacary was founded in 1930 and N'Dakhar Aly Coumba in 1934, all slaves first helping to found N'Dakhar Bacary, but some later leaving to set up their own hamlet. N'Dakhar Layine, another hamlet, was founded by two slaves owned by the lineage of Aly M'Bass Cisse of Sonkorong. These two slave families had also helped to found N'Dakhar Bacary, but in 1955, when their mother suddenly died, they established N'Dakhar Layine some kilometres away.

Together the slaves of these three hamlets started to dig a well, but the well was not completed till in the 1950s and they had to fetch water from the well of N'Dakhar Karim, where the descendents of their former masters lived. In 1972 N'Dakhar Bacary consisted of 1 compound, N'Dakhar Aly Coumba of 2 compounds, and N'Dakhar Layine of 3 compounds.

11.4 Affinity and social obligations

Clans are interconnected by rules which regulate behaviour between different clan members with regard to hospitality. Clans between which hospitality ties exist are said to be in *gamou*. So the Cisse and Toure clans are in *gamou*, as also the N'Diaye and Diop. Every clan member who violates the rules is said to have committed *chalith*, 'has gone too far'. Each clan has representatives living in the major villages to take care that *chalith* is compensated for. This is also so in the Experimental Unit. Gamble (1967, p. 55) stated that *chalith* is committed when someone fails to ask a person to share his meal, when a person leaves his belongings behind after eating and when one cuts one's finger while preparing a meal. This holds true even today[8].

Although very difficult to prove, it might be possible that *gamou* was also connected with rules concerning bride-exchange between different clans. Ames (1956, p. 159) briefly stated that "marriage between surname groups having a mythical cross-cousin relation (*gamou*) is considered desirable although they are less common than actual cross-cousin marriages".

Till today the marriage with the daughter of mother's brother is said to be preferential. Also preferential, but less so, is the marriage with the daughter of father's sister. According to the village elder marriages between parallel-cousins never occur, a marriage with the daughter of mother's sister even being forbidden. In fact parallel-cousins call each other 'brother' and 'sister' and the statement of the elder therefore is most likely true. Clan-exogamy therefore may have been the norm and *gamou* rules, besides describing etiquette, may have regulated with whom one could marry.

Islamization has very probably brought about a change in the existence of marriage bonds. Marrying a father's brother's daughter was encouraged by the new religion and very pious marabout families do marry this cousin. The ordinary Wolof have not followed Koran teaching and still prefer their cross-cousins as marriage partners, as is shown by Table 23. However, although the Cisse say they prefer marrying a Toure and refuse to marry a Sagho, of 37 marriages considered, 11 were clan-endogamous. In addition there was no relation of bride exchange between particular clans. At least for todays' situation the bonds of alliance between clans did not form a connubium: a system of marital exchange[9] (see Appendix 7).

Table 23. Marriage partners in the hamlet N'Dakhar Karim (sample from slave-descendents and freeborn).

Kin relationship	Number of marriages
Mother's brother's daughter	5
Mother's mother's brother's daughter	1
Father's sister's daughter	2
Father's brother's daughter	1
Others	2

Ranking is very marked in the affinal relation. It is expressed in name symbolism between potential mates as also in the labour duties and the payment of bridewealth by the bride-taking group. The terms used to designate a master-slave relation (*borom-diam*), is repeated in the preferential marriage-relationship. A man refers to the children of his mother's brother as his 'master' (*borom*). These children on the other hand speak of the children of their father's sister as being their 'slaves' (*diam*). The children being called 'slave' by their matrilateral cross-cousins, are called 'master' by their patrilateral cross-cousins. Thus when a young man marries a daughter of his mother's brother, the marriage which is most preferable, he marries his 'master'. When he marries his father's sister's daughter, a marriage which is also preferable but less so, he marries his 'slave'.

An elaboration must be made here. A distinction can be made if the father and father's sister of ego or the mother and mother's brother of ego have the same father only or also have the same mother. In the first case ego calls his patrilateral cross-cousins *diamgeenio* ('patri-slave'), in the second case ego calls them *diammen* ('matri-slave'). So the children of mother's brother may call ego *diamgeenio* or *diammen*, depending on whether their parents have a mother in common or not.

In the preferred marriage described ego prefers to marry a 'matri-slave' above a 'patri-slave'. Then the couple have parents in common who have sucked the same breast and quarrels between parents about their children's marriage will not easily develop. Ranking in kinship is also expressed in behaviour at ceremonial events, as is elaborated on in Appendix 8.

The labour duties and bridewealth payments of the bride-taking group conform with the terms used in the preferred marriage-relation. When a boy and a girl want to marry each other, the boy goes to see a marabout or a fortune-teller to ask whether the liaison can be considered to be harmonious or whether the girl will bring him bad luck. When he is not discouraged, he sends one of his friends, often his cross-cousin *diam*, as marriage broker (*tuteur*), to the village of the girl to enquire about the attitude towards a proposal of marriage and the bridewealth payments that would be required. For this and other services the *tuteur* receives presents or a working party from the groom-to-be. When the answer is not clearly negative, the groom-to-be informs his parents and his *dieukee*, also a person to whom he will become socially indebted for assistance in marriage.

The *dieukee* is by preference one of the daughters of his father's brother, and chosen for him on the naming ceremony just after his birth[10]. Between him and the *dieukee* a relation of mutual help develops. For example, the young man will help her often with the male agricultural activities on her groundnut plot. Or he may organize a small working party for her by asking some of his friends to help him. Every year when he is paid by the co-operative for the groundnuts delivered, he gives her 500 to 1500 F CFA and this at least as long as the period of engagement. On the other hand she may help him in doing such female jobs as heaping or winnowing his groundnuts. Also she may give him working clothes in compensation for his help.

When his parents and his *dieukee* agree on his marriage choice, his father or his elder brothers start to discuss the marriage payments with the parents of the bride[11]. First a sum *ndante* has to be paid to the girl and her parents to show his generosity towards the girl and her parents for acquiring the sole right of sexual intercourse with her after this payment. Parents of the girl traditionally ask payments considerably above the amount which is usually paid. Long discussions follow to diminish what initially was asked for, but the number of rivals determines how far this will be successful. In Thysse-Kaymor and Sonkorong the girl usually received 15 to 20 thousand F CFA, the father and the mother 3000 F CFA and 1 kilo kola nuts each, and the sisters of the girl's mother 1000 F CFA and 1 kilo kola nuts each.

After *ndante* has been paid a religious ceremony, *maie*, is performed in the village of the girl, usually in her compound or that of her father's brother. Besides the parents, other clan members of the young man are present, who distribute kola. A younger brother of the girl's father states to the Imam and to the people who are present that the girl has from now on to be considered as betrothed and that no other young men are allowed to sue for her[12]. The Imam then blesses the couple and all pray and an extensive meal is served.

The costs of this meal and the kola nuts offered are paid by the family of the groom-to-be and usually amounts to a sum of about 5000 F CFA. After this ceremony, the young man has to buy a bed, pillows, sheets and curtains for his fiancée. Together with the meal offered to the couple's friends, expenses can be as high as 15 thousand F CFA.

Then the groom-to-be begins to carry out his labour-obligations towards his prospective in-laws. If he has not yet paid the *sass* or bridewealth so that his fiancée can live in his own compound, every year the betrothal lasts he has to organize working parties on the groundnut field of his fiancée and her parents during the major agricultural activities. Every time the plots have to be weeded and harvested, the young man invites his friends to participate in the working party he has organized in the village of his future in-laws. The young man buys all the food, meat and necessary condiments for the abundant meal which has to be offered to the participants of such a working party. In addition in the middle of the wet season he is expected to give the parents of his future wife: 20 kilo rice, 5 kilo sugar, 4 litre kerosene and 10 boxes of matches. In the dry season he has to repair the hut of the mother of his future wife. When it is not possible for the young man to organize a working party, because he has a job elsewhere or because he does not wish to, he has to compensate his in-laws by paying 5000–7000 F CFA for every rainy season he has not completed his marriage payments.

For a poor and a rich family in Sonkorong the amount of bridewealth has been established. The average expenses were the following. Gifts to the girl: 1 radio (4500 F CFA), 1 watch (1500 F CFA), clothes (15 000 F CFA) and household utensils (12 000 F CFA). Gifts to the groom's *dieukee*: 3 dresses (10 000 F CFA). In addition, the average expenditure on meals and gifts at the ceremony of the girl going her husband' (*tiedde*) was 22 500 F CFA. This expenditure is specified in Appendix 9.

For the payment of *sass* to acquire one's first wife, the man is helped by his parents. In average rich families a man receives both from his mother and father 10 to 15 thousand F CFA, perhaps from the father less when he has sons by several wives. Mother's siblings will give between 1 and 5 thousand F CFA each. Sisters will give a dress and brothers between 3 and 5 thousand F CFA. In addition the children of mother's sister will make minor contributions as will the sister's husband.

Total cash expenses for the payment of bridewealth and the ceremonies connected with engagement and marriage, not counting the labour effort in working parties and the gifts received, may involve a sum of 80 to 150 thousand F CFA. When a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, the bridewealth is lower. The expenses for the naming ceremony may vary between 5 and 20 thousand F CFA, depending on the wealth of the family and whether the child is the firstborn or not. About two-thirds is spent on meals and one-third on presents to lower-status visitors. See Appendix 10.

11.5 Descent and solidarity

11.5.1 Matrilineal descent

The few social scientists who have written about the kinship system of the Wolof, stated that formerly both patrilineal as well as matrilineal descent was recognized (double descent system)[13]. These authors deduced matrilineal descent from the following: first, political offices in the traditional Wolof states were matrilineally inherited and people tracing descent through the female line had their proper name; second, there were rules of matrilineal inheritance of property and third, members of the matrilineal descent-group formed a solidary ingroup. Matrilineal descent is indeed important, although according to my observations for other reasons.

Among the nobility matrilineal descent-groups or *men* were known. The different *men* were distinguished by the name of the foundress. So every *men* had its surname (*khet*) just as the patrilineal descent-group (*geenio*) had its surname (*sante*). In these noble families access to political offices did not only depend on one's patriclan, but also on one's *men*. To succeed a chief in Baol, Cayor, Walo, Sine and Saloum, the pretender to the office had to belong to one of the noble *men*, while at the same time belonging to the patriclan of the founder of the chiefdom was important (see Chapter 4). Because one's *men* was important, the name of the father and the name of the mother were used to designate one's descent.

However, among the ordinary Wolof, it is highly questionable whether headmanship was ever inherited matrilineally. As local tradition goes the Wolof of Saloum entered Senegal as marabout families in the 16th Century and therefore probably did not recognize matrilineal succession to office. When asked nowadays, the Wolof strongly

No row marker has been used.

Oxen draught and plough: a successful innovation?

A farmer of N'Dakhar Karim expressing his gratitude to the Prime Minister.

Manual weeding of a groundnut plot by an aged couple.

deny that this type of succession was ever important. Moreover the Wolof commoners do not know or hardly remember their female ancestress, often they do not know the surname of their mother's mother.

Although the authors previously mentioned, stated that formerly property was matrilineally transmitted, they gave hardly any evidence for this. Diop (1970, p. 220) stated that matrilineal inheritance has never been established and if matrilineal inheritance between an uncle and his nephew did take place, it probably occurred among Wolofized Serer. Even then his informants specified that such transmission concerned only the bridewealth received from the marriage of one's sister's daughters, which later has to be returned as a share in the bridewealth to be paid for the marriage of one's sister's sons. As was seen in Section 11.4, maternal kin indeed contribute to the bridewealth.

As right as Diop may have been that there was no evidence for matrilineal inheritance of property, my research showed that matrilineal transmission of property nevertheless included more than the payment of bridewealth and even exists today. Thus the writers cited were right, although they drew this conclusion too easily. The Wolof distinguish between slaves belonging to one's patriclan (*geenio*) and slaves belonging to one's matrilineal kin (*men*). Among the first are the *diam semieng*. The word *semieng* means axe and refers to the fact that these slaves were bought by the fruits of one's labour. Another way to acquire slaves was to participate in a raid of a chief or bandit and to capture a family. For outstanding services a chief, marabout or warlord could reward you with part of his loot[14]. Because these slaves had been acquired by a man's own effort and during military actions often with the aid of his patriclan, these slaves belonged to the patriclan and a man could leave them to his children. These slaves, among whom the *diam semieng*, are called *diam geenio*.

Apart from *diam geenio* there were *diam* who belonged to one's matrilineal kin. They were inherited from one's mother's brothers. These slaves were referred to as *diam diodou*. *Diam diodou* mean 'people born as slaves' or 'slaves received by inheritance'. The *diam diodou* were better treated than the *diam semieng*. Besides the matrilineal transmission of the *diam diodou*, another rule was that whenever a slave-couple had children, these did not become the slaves of the master, but of the heirs of the master. So when a female slave was owned by a freeborn woman, the children of the female slave would be the slaves of the children of the freeborn woman. When a female slave was owned by a man and she had children, these children would belong to the children of his sister.

A man who owned a male slave had no right to inherit the offspring. Instead he had to pay the bridewealth for the slave. However, his slave's wife would live in his compound and he would profit from her labour. When she had children they were taken away by her master to live in his compound. She was allowed to keep one or two children.

Nowadays a master can no longer claim the right to use a slave's labour. Obligations of the slave towards his master still exist, for example the obligation to pay the *assaka*, the payment of the tithe of the millet harvest. In the Experimental Unit the right to *assaka* is still matrilineally transmitted, as was deduced from 25 master-slave relationships. Thus matrilineal inheritance of property was and still is important. Apart from the matrilineal inheritance of the right to *assaka*, all land, most of the cattle and

money are patrilineally transmitted. Of money and articles of luxury a girl receives half a boy's share. However, up to now, girls have not inherited land (see Chapter 12).

The authors mentioned argued that those belonging to the same *men* were very much related. While a marriage with father's brother's daughter was allowed, but hardly occurred, a marriage with mother's sister's daughter was even forbidden, because she was too much related. In addition they remarked that Wolof children were very attached to their mother as was a man to his maternal family. A man who was in trouble or was incurably ill went to his *men*. If a man died, his wife went to her brother and her children would do their best to remain in the compound of their mother's brother although they would not inherit from him but from their *geenio*.

In Sonkorong and N'Dakhar Karim I observed that many boys already initiated remained in the compound of their mother's brother (Table 24). From this type of observation they concluded that the Wolof recognized matrilineal descent-groups, which were characterized by solidarity.

Table 24. Kin relation of unmarried youth not sons or adepts to the head of the household.

Kin relationship	Sonkorong	N'Dakhar Karim
Sister's son	16	4
Mother's sister's son	1	2
Mother's brother's son	2	2
Brother's son	7	3
Father's brother's son	1	1
Wife's sister's son	1	–
Relationship not established	8	–

However, in a society where authority and ascribed status is patrilineally transmitted these feelings of solidarity often are towards one's maternal kin. This 'complementary' relationship with kin, other than that through which one gains one's descent-group membership is usually called 'complementary filiation'[15].

Although a dual kinship system does not result from complementary filiation, the importance of matrilineal inheritance shows that the Wolof recognize such a system. Besides matrilineal transmission of slaves, properties inherited genetically along the female line, such as witchcraft and success, accentuate this dual affiliation as well as the feelings of solidarity among maternal kin.

A witch is called *deum*. He eats the souls of people, so that they wither away and die. When his victims are buried, he plays at night with their skeleton. Wolof are very afraid of people who might be a *deum*. When a mother is a witch, all her children are witches and the children of her daughters, but not the children of her brothers and the children of her sons. The children of her brothers and sons only inherit *nokhoor*, the capacity to know who are the witches without the power to kill them. When a man is a witch, all his

siblings by the same mother are witches, but not his half-siblings. There is thus mistrust between children not having the same mother. In Sonkorong there are 3 women and 1 man publicly acknowledged as witches. For more details on witchcraft see Ames, 1959b.

Not only witchcraft but also *barke* is said to depend on one's mother. *Barke* means 'success and fortune'; a *borom barke* is somebody who has been successful in his life (Diop, 1970, p. 219). Whether a person will have *barke* in his life is partly determined by his mother.

However, while witchcraft is genetically inherited, success is dependent on the actual behaviour of one's mother in this life and it thus can be created. A man can obtain success through the blessing of the head of one of the brotherhoods by dedicating his life to work on his fields; a woman can obtain success by sacrificing herself for her husband. So what a Khalief is for a man, is a husband for the wife. Good behaviour of a wife means strict obedience to her husband and diligence in performing her duties. A woman who behaves in this manner is blessed by her husband. The blessing of the wife may result in children having *barke*. The following example is often put forward.

The pious marabout Momar Anta Saly had a very obedient and diligent wife, Soghna Diara. Once she helped her husband to hold up a fence needing repair. She held it on one side, while her husband replaced the straw of the fence on the other. However, he left the job without the woman noticing it and she continued to hold the fence for the whole night. There were other examples of her faithfulness and her children obtained *barke*. Her son Amadou Bamba became the founder of the Mouride branch of the Quadiryya, now the greatest brotherhood of Senegal.

Not only witchcraft, but also madness and leprosy are said to be transmitted through the female line. Apart from the importance of complementary filiation among the Wolof, the inheritance of these properties and dependence on the mother to obtain *barke* shows why there are feelings of solidarity towards maternal kin.

11.5.2 Patrilineal kin

Solidarity in the sense of a spirit if self-sacrifice and mutual aid as exists between maternal kin only exists between members of the same clan (*geenio*) in politics. In daily behaviour there is often much rivalry and jealousy between members of the same clan and although mutual help and co-operation do exist, it is not the norm that good relations should exist.

The political significance of the patriclan has already been shown by my remarks that among the rural Wolof, in contrast to the nobility, political office was transmitted via the male line. *Notel* or 'showing one's force' in wartime is always done with the help of one's patrilineal relatives and not with one's matrilineal relatives. The re-grouping of patrilineal relatives for military attack or defence is called *khiaree geenio*, which means that before *notel* all clan-members assemble in a village. The patriclan is responsible for military defence. The patriclan also determines one's self-esteem and dignity as is shown by the praise-forms of the clans.

A man's surname (*sante*) is always pronounced respectfully. When two men meet they pronounce their surnames in turn before something is said. The higher a man's standing, the more frequently his surname is repeated before talking starts. Every sur-

name has his praise-form; for example the praise-form of the Cisse clan is *Cisse Mandy Moory*, meaning 'Cisse the pious Mandingo'. The same praise-form is used for the Toure clan, while the praise-form of the N'Diaye clan is *Diata N'Diaye*, meaning 'strong and brave lion'. Nowadays these praise-forms are no longer used. Sometimes they have been replaced by new praise-names, which refer to the founders of the different brotherhoods and instead of speaking of *Cisse Mandy Moory* one can now say *M'Backe* or *Sy*, depending on whether the person referred to belongs to the Mouride or Tydiane brotherhood.

Mutual help during wartime between members of the same clan does not necessarily lead to good co-operation between clan members in day-to-day life. For example the Wolof consider certain clan members as their 'exemplar' or 'rival'. Wolof use the term *naolee* to refer to the man with whom he compares himself. If a *naolee* is more successful, this will lead to feelings of frustration. *Naolee* belong to the same status-group, have the same surname and are age-mates. The persons with whom he compares himself are especially his half-brothers and his father's brother's sons. Between these there are competitive tendencies which result in much jealousy and distrust because one fears that people not related by a common mother are witches or because one just feels humiliated when a patrilineal relative does better. Hence patrilateral half-brothers or patrilateral parallel-cousins often quarrel. In Chapter 12 I consider whether half-brothers and patrilateral parallel-cousins are able to live together in the same house and to eat together.

11.6 Conclusions

There are ceremonies connected with the age-set system. To obtain the necessary assets for these ceremonies the members of a male age-set or a female association have to co-operate either by tilling a common field or by contributing in a common fund. As tribal religion demands that during these ceremonies the drums are beaten and dances performed the freeborn adults of the village consider these ceremonies as well as the communal activities to be against Koran teaching. Therefore initiation and the teaching of tribal tradition is left to slave-descendents while few freeborn youngsters are members of the age-sets and associations. The strict application of the norms of Islam has limited the number of freeborn age-mates who participate in working parties of the male age-sets and of the female associations. However, there is now co-operation on the marabout fields but this is only of minor importance. The fruits of the co-operative efforts in the latter case are used by marabouts living outside the village, while in the first case the yields and funds are used for recreative activities and for helping members to meet the expenses of marriage festivities. Therefore these work groups have little significance for local agriculture.

Bride-exchange between clans was not observed. The gradual more complete adoption of Islam probably resulted in more clan-endogamous marriages than before. However, the preferred Muslim marriage with father's brother's daughter has not been adopted by the Wolof. Instead there is still a slight preference for the traditionally preferred marriage with mother's brother's daughter. The relation between ego and mother's brother's children is expressed in the terms designating the hierarchy between

slaves and freeborn. The social indebtedness of the groom-to-be (and the bride-taking group) is heavy and results, among others, in high bridewealth and the organization of working parties for his future in-laws. Small working parties are also organized for the marriage broker and the female representative of the patriclan (*dieukee*).

Among the rural Wolof political office and descent-group membership are patrilineally inherited. The relation one has with one's maternal kin is often characterized by solidarity, especially because witchcraft and certain diseases are thought to be matrilineally inherited while the acquirement of success depends partly on the behaviour of one's mother. This matrilineal genetic inheritance of properties as well as the matrilineal inheritance of slaves, nowadays the inheritance of the right to the tithe of the millet-crop grown by slave-descendents, implies a dual kinship-system but not that matrilineal kin form distinct groups which co-operate in daily life. In fact, most matrilineal kin live elsewhere and the feelings of togetherness are therefore difficult to put into practice.

Solidarity among patrilineal kin is expressed when they oppose non-clan members. However, in daily life their relations are marked by feelings of rivalry and suspicion. A Wolof proverb goes: "I only like my *geenio* when they are good for my *men*." Therefore co-operation and mutual aid among them is not to be expected.

The Wolof say that descent from a common ancestor but different ancestresses explains why the Cisse clan is divided into two. The members of these halves live in separate villages or at least in different wards. Within a village, the members of the different status-groups also live in separate wards. Apart from clan-halves contributing to the establishment of many minor villages in Saloum, the colonial policy enlisting young men for military service and imposing taxes on labour and food resulted between 1910 and 1930 in the fission of villages and the founding of many hamlets. The French policy on slavery had the same effect, but independent hamlets of slaves were not founded before the end of World War I. The founding of slaveborn hamlets decreased the size of many freeborn compounds.

Notes

1 This legend resembles the one which is told about Soundiata Keita, the founder of the Mandingo empire. See Labouret, 1941, p. 257.
2 Today in case of illness some throw coins in the well, as is done by the N'Dau in the well at Khombole or by people of Kaolack in the River Saloum. Wolof still kill a cow when they pray for rainfall, a religious ceremony carried out in front of the mosque. In the Experimental Unit it was also stated that one may wrestle with a woodworker (*laobee*) in order to obtain a piece of his cloth, which is then hidden in one's plot of millet or groundnuts.
3 In fact initiation did not take place during the research period and the description that follows is based on interviews in 1971–1972.
4 The age-set of boys in Thysse-Kaymor was split into two, as were the 2 female associations in Sonkorong, probably because for the boys there were differences in ascribed status and for the girls full sisters could not be members of the same association.
5 Every Senegalese Muslim belongs to a religious brotherhood or sect (*tarigha*). The first major brotherhood to establish root in Senegal was the Quadiriyya. In the 19th Century, the

Tidjaniyya and Mouride brotherhoods were introduced. These brotherhoods evolved around pious men famous for their piety and magic. The founder and their successors are known as Caliphs. Devoted adepts of a Caliph can be appointed *Cheikh* or *Sheriff* who may have their own following. Being a member of a brotherhood requires accepting the guidance of one's Caliph (or one's *Cheikh, Sheriff*), to handle in a distinctive way the prayer beads and to participate in the religious ceremonies of the brotherhood. The Mouride ceremony (*magal*) is performed at different shrines and on different dates as the Tidjaniyya ceremony (*ziara*).

Usually a son is member of the same brotherhood as his father. The differences between brotherhoods do not imply that in a community the respective members consider each other as lower in religious standing. Instead they argue that to be a Muslim is by far the most important. So members of different brotherhoods jointly say their prayers at the mosque. In the Experimental Unit, Mouride and Tidjaniyya adepts once a year jointly visited the grave of the late mother of the founder of the Mouride brotherhood in Porrogane. Also, though this does not happen often, a son is free to choose as Caliph (or *Cheikh, Sheriff*) somebody else than his father's. A wife always belongs to the brotherhood of her husband. For more information on Senegalese brotherhoods, see Klein, 1968, pp. 64–67; 223–229.

6 These names mean 'dwelling place of the Thiam', 'dwelling place of the leatherworkers' and 'dwelling place of the slaves', respectively. The names of the other wards of Sonkorong, N'Diki, Sennala and Santhiabi, signify 'dwelling place of the freeborn', 'place you see first' and 'place of the people of different origin', respectively. Santhiabi was founded in about 1920 when most slaveborn left the compound of their master.

7 Leona, another hamlet in the Experimental Unit was for the same reason abandoned until 1946.

8 In Kaymor *chalith* was committed by a Cisse. He accused his Toure wife of stealing meat, a quarrel arose and in the fighting the man broke his wife's arm. The Toure representative came to demand satisfaction and he received an ox because the man who had committed *chalith* was wealthy. A man from the family of leatherworkers Dieng in Sonkorong was asked for 25 F CFA by a family of slave-descendents because he had cut his finger when preparing food too quickly. A young man N'Diaye had to pay 200 F CFA to a Diop woman when he forgot his cap after having joined a meal prepared by the woman. It was also stated that one can claim a *boubou* (a long robe used by men) when a man forgets to invite his *gamou*-partner to share the means when he enters the house.

9 See for a discussion of types of marital exchanges, Fox, 1967, pp. 175–239.

10 When all the girls of his father's brothers have already been chosen as *dieukee* the prospective groom chooses from the daughters of his father's sisters, or, nowadays, also from the girls of other families with which his parents have a good relation.

11 The norm is that all clan members have to be consulted, but this does not happen in practice.

12 In the Experimental Unit adultery was punished by a fine of 25 to 40 thousand F CFA.

13 Binet, 1965, p. 562; Silla, 1969, p. 37; Thomas, 1968, p. 1008; Verdier, 1965, p. 279.

14 Adult captives were killed, older children were sold because they could attack you; only young children were kept.

15 See for a theoretical discussion on 'complementary filiation' Fortes, 1970, pp. 67–126.

12 Fragmentation of compound and household, and its significance for agricultural modernization

This chapter deals with the fourth research-objective defined in Chapter 2. I tested the hypothesis that cash cropping and Islamic land-law have a disintegrating effect on the cohesion of the compound and household. I thought that it would be also relevant to see whether the relationship between the head of the household and the male dependants accelerates or delays this disintegration. The following assumptions were also tested:

– With a father-son relationship (paternal relation) a new household is established later than with a brother-brother relationship (fraternal relation).
– The relationship between whole brothers is more cohesive than that between patrilateral half-brothers.
– When the head of the household is rich, the household splits up later than when he is poor.

The physical layout of a Wolof house is described in Appendix 11. This description shows that among the Wolof Saloum-Saloum houses are separate, each having a fence and a gate to a path or road. Such a house, together with the members living in it, is called *keur* or *keur goumak* (large *keur*). When a son or a younger brother establishes an economically independent household, but continues to live in the *keur* of the family head, his room(s), together with the members living in it, are called *keur goundau* (small *keur*). The Wolof may speak of *borom keur* (or *borom keur goumak*) and *borom keur goundau* when they refer to the heads of the *keur* and *keur goundau*, respectively. The term *keur* or *keur goumak*) is translated by compound, while *keur goundau* is translated by household.

In Sonkorong, the 492 inhabitants lived in 17 compounds. These consisted of 50 households. In N'Dakhar Karim, with 187 inhabitants, there were 8 compounds, comprizing 16 households. On average the compounds of Sonkorong and N'Dakhar Karim numbered 27 inhabitants, while the households numbered only 10 inhabitants. It is recommended that the government administration and development organizations define clearly what is meant by their use of the term *keur* or *carré*.

12.1 Titles to land and appropriation of yields

12.1.1 Titles to land of the household

As was seen in the preceding chapter, Birane Cisse, a freeborn of the clan-half Cisse-*Diarmew*, descendent in direct line from the founder of the clan, assigned land to freeborn families and artisans of Thysse and Sonkorong in about 1880. Land received

in this manner and since then inherited is the most complete title to land a household can have. This title is called *diatti* and those having farm land in *diatti* may lend or even sell it. Today, at the death of his father, each son inherits a share of this land. Old informants in the Experimental Unit stated categorically that in their youth brothers of the deceased could not inherit land at the expense of sons, although a father's brother could act temporarily as an administrator over the estate when the sons were still too young. The early application of this rule, based on Islamic law, supports the observation, recorded in Chapter 5, that the Wolof Saloum-Saloum have long considered themselves to be Muslims. However, they do not follow the Islamic law that a daughter should be given half the share of a son. Only 1 woman in the village Sonkorong had farm land in *diatti*, although 43 married women lived in the village of their father.

Although all sons receive a share in their father's land it is acknowledged that the lineage has a right to land in specific circumstances, for example when a lineage member is acutely short of land. In the Experimental Unit a farmer had given land in *diatti* to the sons of his father's brothers because "they lack land and their father and mine were sons of the same father".

Strangers may ask permission to clear virgin land in the area formerly allotted by Birane Cisse to the different families. They have to ask the village head who, in consultation with the descendents of the families to which the area was allotted, may agree to their clearing plots in that area. The title to land received in this manner is called *leweul*. Having land in *leweul* means that the immigrated family has all usufruct of the land, but can never alienate it without permission from the original families. However, land received in *leweul* may gradually be regarded as full property depending on the influence of the family who received land in *leweul*. Two examples follow:

– The Fula of the hamlet Diombo Ba in the Experimental Unit received land in *leweul* from the Cisse-*Diarmew* of the village Thysse and they were accustomed to lend land on a large scale to the shopkeepers of Kaymor, who grew groundnuts on it. In 1971 they lent 23 plots to inhabitants of the village Kaymor and 9 plots to two other hamlets in the neighbourhood. The Cisse-*Diarmew* of Thysse never intervened until the existence of the law on national domain became known in the village, which stipulated that land not tilled by the owners themselves would be regarded as in the possession of those who occupied it (Chapter 7). In 1971 the Cisse-*Diarmew* therefore demanded that these plots be given back to the village Thysse, but the Fula refused being dependent on the village Kaymor for watering their cattle. Thysse made a big fuss about it an asked the *Chef d'Arrondissement* to take the matter in hand, and he intervened favourably for the Cisse-*Diarmew*. Henceforth the Fula may lend plots to the inhabitants of Kaymor only with the permission of the Cisse-*Diarmew*.

– A second example is the case of the Cisse-*Pacala*, who immigrated to Sonkorong after all land had been allotted by Birane Cisse and who only received land in *leweul*. These Cisse-*Pacala* of Sonkorong are influential men and although they only have land in *leweul*, nobody denies that it is their property and they do lend some of this land to others.

Besides *diatti* and *leweul* there are also titles to land giving the usufruct of land temporarily to somebody. These titles are called *dink* and *dogal*. *Dink* means that land is entrusted to somebody else who has full usufruct of this land for several years. The duration of the arrangement is not fixed beforehand; the original owner says when he

wants it back. For example, one can give land in *dink*, because one emigrates, but with the possibility of returning. Or one gives land in *dink* because the children are still too young to till it. No present is received by the owner from the person to whom the land is entrusted during the time of the arrangement.

Dogal on the contrary, is the lending of land for a definite and short period, mostly for one year, to be lengthened only if the owner approves. Thus for example the Fula of Diombo Ba now give land in *dogal* to the people of Kaymor. For *dogal* the borrower has to give the owner every year a present, which formerly was in kind but nowadays most often is money (see Chapter 13).

Although land in *leweul* in fact may not be lent to others, this may occur if the representatives of the autochthonous families do not disagree or are not influential enough to disagree. However, land received in *dink* or *dogal* can never be sublet.

The consequence of the law on national domain of 1964 seems to be that land is no longer given in *dink*. In 1971 and 1972 in the Experimental Unit I observed that farmers who had given land in *dink* tried to get it back because the *Chef d'Arrondissement* and especially the Head of the Party Branch of the *Arrondissement*, in accordance with the stipulations of the law, could decide in favour of those who occupied the land. Besides the case of the Fula mentioned before, two other cases of such land disputes were brought before the party leader; both were decided in favour of the owner of the land. Up to 1972, the new law, contrary to its intention, had not helped those who are short of land.

12.1.2 Titles to land within the household and appropriation of yields

Like the early application of the Islamic land-law, the cultivation of groundnuts contributed to the fragmentation of the Wolof domestic units. As was seen in Chapter 6 the cultivation of groundnuts in Senegal became established in 1850. Saloum was one of the first areas to be incorporated in the money economy although it was troubled by internal wars. With the monetization of the economy male and female members of the compound began to cultivate their own plot with groundnuts. In 1933 Geismar said (Fouquet, 1958, p. 67), The possibility of trade on a large scale and the extension of groundnut cultivation have completely transformed the indigenous economy. Formerly the cultivation was mainly for subsistence crops and therefore collective. The saving capital was accumulated in the millet granaries, forming part of family property. The farms allocated to the individual family branches simply provided pocket money. The introduction of groundnut cultivation has suddenly transformed the existing state of affairs. The individual fields are no longer accidental and have become the most important.

The elder in the Experimental Unit stated that in the beginning of this century sons and younger brothers worked 5 mornings on the communal farm till the prayer of about 14 h 00. All afternoons and two mornings a week, they could cultivate their own farm. Women were also entitled to till groundnuts on a personal farm after they had finished their domestic tasks. Shortly after World War II the labour service of the male dependants changed from 5 to 4 mornings a week and from then onwards on Monday, Thursday and Friday the adult male dependants could till their personal farm the whole day. Since then working hours on the communal farm have become shorter and

nowadays they only work till about 12 h 30.

In the decrease of labour service to the family head, the seasonal sharecroppers seem to have played an important role. The farmers reported that after World War II there were some years in which the sons and younger brothers worked 5 mornings and the sharecroppers only 4, and then later the sons and younger brothers started to work only 4 mornings on the communal farm[1].

As personal needs grew, younger brothers stopped working on the communal farm at an earlier age, preferring to start on their own. The old men in the Experimental Unit said that in their young days a man was dependent on his eldest brother until he had sons capable of cultivating and they referred to the *Toucouleur* village Keur Moussa Ba in the Experimental Unit, where this phenomenon of domestic cohesion could still be observed. See Appendix 12.

During their 4 mornings of labour service, the adult male dependants jointly cultivate a millet field and a groundnut field for the head of the household. The produce is shared by all members of the household. The millet is destined to feed the members throughout the year and the norm is that 'a *borom keur* should not sell millet because he has to feed all who live in his *keur*'. As millet is not commercialized by the State Marketing Board and because the shopkeepers sell millet at high prices in the wet season, all households still cultivate a parcel of millet. The average area was 0.18 ha per head in the Experimental Unit.

The groundnut farm of the head of the household is generally the largest plot[2]. From the harvest of this crop the head of the household has to meet several financial obligations: the head tax (600 F CFA/person) for himself, his wives and other female dependants above 18 year; the livestock tax (horse: 650 F CFA, donkey: 350 F CFA, cattle: 300 F CFA, sheep and goats: 150 F CFA); the *assaka*; the gift of millet to the poor at the end of the fast (*mourrou khor*); clothes for his wife (wives) and children below 16 to 18 years old at least on the sacrificial feast (*Tabaski*, or in Arabic: *Aid el Kebir*); food when the millet harvest is not sufficient and part of the bridewealth of his sons and younger brothers. However he is not responsible for the expenses when his children have to visit a dispensary, nor is he responsible for the herbs and relishes of the meals and for firewood. These expenses are paid by his wife (wives). Sometimes it is said that the smaller the millet field of a household, the more the household is individualized. However, apart from the size of the millet field, the degree of individualization also depends on how the head of the household uses the yield from the communal groundnut farm.

Besides the head of the household, all other members who are old enough have their personal plots. Every year the head gives land in *abal* to his wives, to his sons and daughters from about the age of 13 onwards, and to other adults who form part of the household, like sisters, sister's children, or his mother or father. Having land in *abal* means land given by the person who feeds you and it is therefore not the same as land in *dogal*, which is land given to persons outside the household. A man who does not have enough land to give in *abal*, asks for land in *dogal*. A man can even be an independent farmer without having any inherited land (*diatti*) and I observed one case of a farmer cultivating exclusively land received in *dogal* and *dink*, but no case where a head of a

household had not given his dependants a plot.

The plots of the women often lie together. They were small compared with the average cultivated area of the men, 0.38 ha and 1.22 ha, respectively (Tardieu & Ramond, 1970, p. 36). All women grow groundnuts, only a small part of their plots being used to grow vegetables and herbs. Male dependants usually receive 2 plots in *abal* on which they rotate groundnuts with fallow. Normally a male dependant can continue to cultivate these fields every year, but when new members are added to the household he may be assigned a field in *abal* elsewhere. When the farm land of the household is inherited by the sons, they do not always receive their former plots. Therefore the young men invest very little in their plots; from a sample of 20 plots of 20 young male dependants in Sonkorong no field had been destumped and only 6 fields had received fertilizer in 1971.

The yield of the personal plot belongs to the person who has grown the crop. Boys under 18 and girls under about 15 give the harvest to their father and mother, respectively, in turn for which they receive pocket money and clothes and future aid with their marriage expenses. However, the boys hide small parts of the harvest which they sell through a friend and this practice seems to be accepted. After 18–20 a young man may completely dispose of the harvest himself but then he must pay his own tax.

The wives of the head of the household and the youngsters who can dispose of their crops themselves all give the head a present: young men give between 1000 and 1500 F CFA, the wives about 750 to 1000 F CFA. Girls give about 300 F CFA to their mother. This present is called *zaragh*, the Wolof word for the Arabic term *zâka*, meaning charity. The present is a token of respect and it is stated that a generous *zaragh* from a woman to her husband is one way of obtaining his blessing (*barke*).

When it is her turn to cook, the wife of the head of the household is obliged to add herbs and relishes to the food she prepares for the household. Part of it she can obtain from the vegetables or groundnuts grown on her own farm or by collecting it in the bush. However, when this does not suffice, a married woman has to pay for those ingredients from her own pocket.

Appendix 13 gives the results of a post-factum interview on how the money obtained from groundnuts was spent: the yields of 4 young male dependants, 4 women spouses and 4 girls were considered. The data obtained are memorized information and therefore only give a very rough indication of how money from the personal farms is spent. The interviews took place about 5 months before the new groundnut harvest, which explains the percentage not yet spent.

12.2 Labour obligations

The right of individual appropriation of yields is acquired in exchange for the obligation to till the millet and groundnut farm of the head of the household. The exact rules and practices of this duty is now examined per position within the household: *sourga, navetanes* and women.

12.2.1 Sourga

Sourga are all the young men who cultivate a groundnut plot and appropriate its

yield; in return they are required to work a specific number of mornings a week on the farm of the head of the household. *Sourga* are thus the male dependants of Section 12.1.

The term *sourga* is used for male dependants in the context of their economic duties to the head of the household. In the same context a special term is used for the head of the household: *ndiatikee*. The term *sourga* is used independent of his kin relation to the head of the household. So not only sons are called *sourga*, but also the nephews and seasonal sharecroppers as long as the head of the household is their *ndiatikee*. For convenience however, the term *navetane* will be used for those *sourga* who are seasonal sharecroppers.

A boy normally starts cultivating his own plot when he is about 12 or 13 years old. Before that he only works on his father's farm who, depending on his capacities, decides when he can become a *sourga*[3]. A man remains a *sourga* as long as he is fed by the head of the household and continues to work a number of mornings a week on his farm. The labour obligations of the *sourga* are the following:

– In May, thus before the start of the first rains in June, the *tolkeur* has to be cleared of millet stubble and all the groundnut fields, especially the *gor*, of bush regrowth. Both the farm of the head of the household and the plots of the women in the household have to be cleared. However, this task does not take many days and because the *sourga* are not yet occupied on their own farm, there is no need to fix a strict division of days; the head of the household summons his *sourga* when necessary.
– During the short rains or the day after the first big rain in June all *sourga* and also the women assemble on the plot (*tolkeur*) which is annually cultivated with millet and work there the whole day sowing millet; to complete the sowing only some have to continue the next day. After millet has been sown, the *sourga* have to work all mornings of the week on the groundnut farm of the head of the household till it has been sown. When this task is finished they continue to sow the fields of his wives if the women have not done this themselves by hand. They then continue to weed the millet for the first time (*bakhao*). Working hours are normally from about 7 h 30 after breakfast at home, until about 12 h 30. Lunch can be eaten before or after the prayer at 14 h 00. After lunch the *sourga* can cultivate their own farm. Usually they start working late after lunch, at about 15 h 00 or 16 h 00 because of the heat and return home between 18 h 30 and 19 h 00 before darkness falls. In this period only the afternoons are available for the *sourga* to work on their farms.
– When the first weeding of millet has been finished, the *sourga* are from then on only required to work 4 mornings for the head of the household. These mornings, on Tuesday, Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday, are mostly spent weeding the communal groundnut and millet farm. When there is time over, the head of the household can order the *sourga* to help others, for example his wives, his mother or his marabout. In September they harvest the millet of the head of the household and in October sorghum if cultivated. In the second half of August when groundnut is full-grown and cannot be weeded anymore and in the first half of October when everybody is waiting for the day groundnut can be harvested, *sourga* have more leisure and are often engaged in minor activities only. Thus, after the first weeding of millet, the *sourga* are free to cultivate their own farms on all afternoons of the week and on Monday, Thursday and Friday in the morning.

– From the second half of October, onwards, when a farmer starts harvesting his groundnuts, the duties of the *sourga* again change and they are only required to work 3 mornings. According to the farmers, this reduction in duties does not mean that the harvesting of groundnuts is an easy task. Groundnuts have to be harvested before the soil has dried and therefore the farmers are eager to have their groundnuts harvested as early as possible. The informants explained that the work is so laborious that one cannot demand more than three mornings a week. The *sourga* work 3 mornings till all groundnuts of the head of the household as well as those of the women of his household have been harvested. I did not establish whether the *sourga* are obliged to thresh and winnow groundnuts, but all the people that I encountered engaged in these activities only worked for themselves, were paid or were participants of a working party.
– After the groundnuts have been sacked and transported to the co-operative in December and January, the *sourga* work no longer for the head of the household. Only two obligations remain. The first is to repair, if necessary, the thatch of the rooms of the head of the household and that of his mother before the rain starts. The other is to make new fences of millet stalks within and around the compound, because millet only lasts for one season. However when a fence is made of woven bamboo stalks, they are free from this job, because these fences are bought. Because the *sourga* and their friends cooperate in repairing thatch and making fences, these tasks do not take more than a week and between January and May many *sourga* have little to do and leave the village in search of temporary jobs.

12.2.2 Navetanes

The Wolof term for seasonal sharecroppers is *navetane*. Because among the Wolof the sharecropper owns the full yield of his crop and only pays the farmer in labour, the term *navetane* is preferred to sharecropper. *Navetanes* in Saloum are Sarakollee and Bambara from Mali or Fula Fouta Djalon from Guinea. Those from Mali were called Diop, Sow, Cisse, N'Diaye or Fall, the Fula were called Diallo, Barry and Sow. As is indicated in Chapter 15 these clan names are often shared by different ethic groups and

Table 25. Number of *navetanes*[1].

Year	Sonkorong	N'Dakhar Karim
1971	26	9
1972	22	10
1973	17	7

1. The wives and children of the *navetanes* have not been included. According to CNRA, in 1969 and 1970 the *navetanes* formed respectively 16 and 15% of the active population in a sample of 16 *carrés*.

such labels as Sarakollee or Fula are in fact too vague. Besides *navetanes* belonging to other ethnic groups there are *navetanes* coming from one or other region of Senegal itself. In Table 25 the number of *navetanes* present in the village of Sonkorong and the hamlet N'Dakhar Karim are given.

In 1971, of the 35 *navetanes* 24 called themselves Fula, 7 Sarakollee, 2 Serer and 2 Wolof, the last 4 having their family living in Senegal itself. Their estimated age ranged between 18 and 32 years. Seven *navetanes* were married and were accompanied by their wife, 26 were bachelors and 2 widowers.

A *navetane*-contract is established in the following way. From friends or parents that have already worked as *navetanes* in Senegal they know where to look for an employer (*ndiatikee*). In addition the number of *navetanes* who stayed more than one year in Senegal was considerable; in the Experimental Unit it was more than half. After the first year these *navetanes* had acquired enough knowledge from their own experience or from that of their friends to find a better employer, if necessary. Normally a *navetane* presents himself in March or April to a Wolof farmer. Not much discussion follows about the contract because most rules are laid down by custom. When they agree, the *navetane* receives a room, food and seed, the latter to be repaid at a 25% rate of interest, and from June onwards he does the same work as the *sourga*. However, as in Saloum, there is a demand for *navetanes*, especially those from Mali, a *navetane* is sometimes in a position to negotiate and may choose an employer who has a good plot, a good room and farm implements, and rich enough to have ample food. One of the points which is actually discussed, is the amount of labour to be done by the *navetane's* wife in the household.

Before the sowing of millet, the *navetane's* wife is required to work in the household when asked. She will fetch water, collect firewood and the like, but she will not take a turn at cooking. After millet has been sown and the *navetane* has started to work on the groundnut farm of his employer, the domestic tasks of his wife are more restricted so that she can help her husband in cultivating groundnuts on his farm.

Heads of households said that *navetanes* are more difficult to handle than *sourga* and that after the weeding of groundnut and millet and before the start of the millet harvest (mid-August till mid-September), the *navetanes* often leave the village to visit friends elsewhere and will not stay at home to chase the millet-eating bird *betti*. However, this accusation is weak because this period is slack and moreover the period of hunger (*soudure*), so that most heads of households are in fact glad that the *navetanes* leave for some time. However I did observe that the Fula returned rather early from work on the communal farm and from 12 h 00 onwards one could hear Guinean music in the village from the portable radios of the *navetanes*.

Navetanes also only work one morning during millet sowing, while *sourga* have to continue sowing till it is finished. They are not afraid to invite friends who have to be fed by their employer. At the harvesting time of groundnuts, which is the period of hard work, some even break their contract with their employer: they stop working for him and take care of their own food.

With the exception of those from Mali, *navetanes* are poor farmers. They do not destump their plots and their use of fertilizer is negligible. In addition because they like

pocket money in the wet season for the small luxuries of life they engage in paid labour, which sometimes causes them to neglect their own plots. With this money they buy kola nuts, sweets and cigarettes. They also spend it on sexual intercourse; adultery with women of the village causes much suspicion and many quarrels.

From a sample of 19 plots of *navetanes* in the Experimental Unit no plot had been prepared for sowing and only 7 plots had received a gift of fertilizer. *Navetanes* harvest their groundnuts too early, even before they are ripe. Their average yields (852 kg) compared with those of the heads of the households (1010 kg), the *sourga* (918 kg) and wives (881 kg) were rather low (Ramond, 1972b, p. 45). Those *navetanes* who stay more than one year because their crop failed or they did not succeed to make enough money, have to find other jobs because after the groundnut harvest they are no longer fed by their employer. Some earned money in the villages by doing piecework, mostly threshing and winnowing groundnuts. Others, however, tried their luck in town, either as *bana bana*, petty street-traders who sell cloth, soap, ornaments, loaves of bread and the like, or in such paid jobs as houseboy, apprentice-tailor and mechanic[4].

In Sonkorong there were 2 cases of *navetanes* who had a different contract with their employer. These *navetanes* paid for their food and a plot of land and did not have to work for their employer. These *navetanes* were called *mbindane*. In the first case the *navetane* paid 5000 F CFA at the start of the agricultural campaign and had to pay again an equal sum after the harvest. However, there were some quarrels about food and the *mbindane* left the same year without making the second payment. The second case was a *navetane* who paid 1000 F CFA and 70 kilo millet to the farmer and 600 F CFA to two younger brothers. In 1972, seven years later, he no longer paid any land rent to the former owner, although he kept his plot.

12.2.3 Women

Women are engaged in the upbringing of children and domestic activities. In addition they have a small personal plot and they perform small agricultural tasks for others. For more details on the woman's work-load, see Chapter 14 and Ames, 1955, pp. 391–402. The personal plot is received in *abal*. When a girl is about 13 years old, she receives a small plot next to that of her mother. When she is married and has children her field will remain small, because there is little time left to till her field. However, when she has no children yet and her husband is still fond of her, she may have a larger field[5]. When the head of the household has several spouses, the wives in turn cook the meals of the day and there is more time left to work on a personal plot.

When a *sourga* is married and his wife has joined him, the head of the household is obliged to give her a plot as well. Unlike the wife of a *navetane*, she does not work together with her husband on his plot, but has a plot of her own. Again unlike the wife of a *navetane*, the wife of a *sourga* participates in the cooking rota as if she were a junior wife of the head of the household and she may even perform the obligatory domestic tasks of her husband's mother when the latter is old. Thus it is logical that the mother gives her son much help with his marriage payments as was shown in Chapter 11.

For all the agricultural activities for others, except for the sowing of millet for her

husband, the women are remunerated in kind; the present is called *wathan tal* (see Chapter 14).

12.3 Present patterns of self-interest within the household

In a society such as that of the Wolof, which is composed of different status-groups, where office and status are partrilineally transmitted, one would expect that wives and children show rather strict obedience and respect towards the head of the household. According to the villagers the Koran requires that the wife strictly obeys her husband. As has been shown, *barke*, the blessing of a husband which determines the wife's afterlife, is earned by her strict obedience and dutifulness in the performance of her domestic tasks. Men say that their religion does not forbid them to beat their wives and it was occasionally observed. The first wife who has established a good reputation seems to have a more favoured position. The expression *awo bour keur* means 'the first wife is the master in the house'. When a husband trusts his first wife, he deals only with her concerning domestic affairs and the duties of her co-wives. When he goes away, he can even leave her the key of the shed in which the millet is stored.

The same authoritarian relation exists between a man and his children. A man wants to be immediately obeyed and there is almost no greater shame than when a man is contradicted by his son in the presence of others. The man's friends may then together beat the youngster severely in public. When I discussed this relation with the youngsters in the village and enquired what they would do if a young man, who had been wronged by his father, asked them for help, they all said they would first take him back to his father to apologize for running away and then they would start a discussion[6]. Thus one would expect the family life of the Wolof to be rather disciplined and orderly, with the women and *sourga* behaving respectfully towards the head of the household. However in the economic sphere there was much stress between him on the one side and his wives and *sourga* on the other.

Women do not complain about their domestic tasks, but just as their husbands they want to increase their income. Women are very keen to obtain cash. Although the Wolof women hardly engage in trade, they devote much time and effort to their farm, participating in as many working parties as possible to obtain a present in kind and often rear small livestock. One of the 6 richest people in the Experimental Unit was a woman. She cultivated a very large groundnut field with paid labour, she lent money and even was engaged in trading. She occasionally hired a lorry to buy dried fish at the port of M'Bour, 150 kilometres away, to sell it at home at double or even triple the price. However, because most women do not trade, their attention is directed to increasing the yield of their own plot.

The wives complain that their husband and his *sourga* first sow their own fields with the seed drill before helping them. Sometimes they are not helped at all and are left to work with the traditional *conco*. If sowing is finished late the risk of a crop failure is greatly increased (see Chapter 10). The weeding is also usually left to the women, but if it is done mechanically for them this occurs late because the head of the household and the *sourga* are first busy with their own plots. For harvesting they often are dependent on working parties or on hired labour performed by *sourga* and *navetanes* from the

Table 26. Average sowing date and average date of first weeding for the plots of heads of households, sourga and women in 1971. The range is given in brackets.

Position	Average sowing date	Average date of first weeding
Heads of household	23 June (21/6–8/7)	28 June (21/6–18/7)
Sourga	22 June (21/6–26/6)	2 July (23/6–11/7)
Women	3 July (24/6–11/7)	16 July (26/6–31/7)

village. In 1971 a sample of 15 heads of households, 13 *sourga* and 13 women was taken to compare the dates of sowing and of first weeding for the different groups.

Table 26 shows that the average sowing date and the date of first weeding for the women's plots were much later than for those of the other household members. As a result the yields of the women's plots are lower than those obtained by the heads of households and *sourga* (see Section 12.2). Their complaints have had results: now many of their plots are sown and weeded mechanically. In addition, groundnuts and cotton have become more important and as these crops involve activities that cannot be mechanized the number of working parties has considerably increased. The increase in the size of their plots and the fact that working parties often involve female work, has thus increased their incomes.

Besides complaining that they were not helped enough by the men, they were disappointed by the attention they received from CNRA. They said that information on all agricultural modernization was directed towards the men while the women were never considered worthwhile to be spoken to. Even in the specific domains of women, like upbringing of children, midwifery, health care and vegetable growing, up to 1972 no attention had been given to their instruction, although the women regularly expressed their desire to be 'developed'. Only the fixing of pumps on the wells by CNRA has changed one of their many tasks.

Although the men accept that their spouses work on their own plots after the domestic activities, they do not always accept their accumulation of wealth and sometimes try to limit too much economic independence. For example, formerly millet for preparing food was pounded each day or every 2 or 3 days according to the number of wives the head of the household had. The first wife would hand out a share of the pounded millet to each wife to be used when it was her turn to cook. However, there was often an agreement among the wives that each wife should receive a little more than necessary so that she could sell it to the shopkeepers in the village. In 1972 it was becoming more common for the millet to be pounded only occasionally. The head of the household locked up the flour in his room or storehouse and handed out daily the quantity that he thought sufficient for a day's food to the wife whose turn it was to cook. In many compounds there were quarrels about whether this amount was sufficient or not; some women stole millet and were beaten.

The village head of Thysse took the women's part in as much as he advised the men to ensure that the quantity of millet they gave their wives was sufficient. To improve their financial circumstances women often had secret affairs with the *navetanes* to

earn some additional money and in Sonkorong at least 5 men openly acknowledged that they suspected their wives by regularly searching the village for them.

The husband also distrusted his wife when millet or sorghum was harvested. For the harvesting of these crops working parties were organized in which especially the women took part and for their labour received the present in kind. However the women and even the owner's wives commonly hid ears to be collected later. Therefore an elderly man was continuously present to check that work progressed and that the wives did not take advantage of the owner of the crop. For the same reason some farmers preferred to have their groundnuts winnowed by *navetanes* instead of by their own wives or daughters.

That a woman often has to pay her husband for small tasks shows the self-interest of men. For example, although groundnut seed can be borrowed from the co-operative at a 25% rate of interest, a husband can charge his wife a higher rate. Of the 8 women considered in Appendix 13 on how the money from groundnuts was spent, 4 women paid a 25% rate of interest to their husbands, 3 a 100% rate and 1 had retained seed for herself from the previous harvest. When a farmer of Thysse at his wife's request transported 2 bundles of firewood to his house with his horse and cart and then charged her 250 F CFA, a quarrel broke out and the woman returned to her parents. The man's parents and notables of the village decided that the man had misbehaved and a deputy was sent to the woman's village with a gift of appeasement (*nekhalee*) of 5000 F CFA, whereupon she came back.

Just as the relation between a man and his wife can easily be disturbed over economic matters, so can that between a man and his *sourga*. *Sourga* stated that in compensation for the four mornings of labour service, they did not receive enough. Their personal plots were often far away so that much time was lost in walking to and fro and their plots were prone to be attacked by monkeys and bears. In a recently cleared area more than half an hours walking-distance from Thysse (M'Bettie), 14 fields were cultivated by heads of households, 37 by *sourga* and 10 by *navetanes*.

Sourga also complained about the availability of agricultural equipment. Although the head of the household permitted them to use his implements in the afternoons, the draught animals were already so exhausted from the work on the communal farm in the morning that they often refused to work in the afternoon because of the heat. In addition, even on the 3 mornings a *sourga* was allowed to work on his personal plot, a head of a household might use the agricultural equipment himself for piecework, leaving the *sourga* to work with the traditional tools. He might even ask the *sourga* to help him. They also complained that on the days they have to work for the head of the household they could be sent to another village to help a relative, friend or marabout, so that often the whole day or even longer was lost.

On the other hand the heads of households complained about the amount of work done by the *sourga*. They referred to the tradition when *sourga* worked 5 mornings till 14 h 00. When 22 farmers of the Experimental Unit participated in an excursion organized by CNRA, they had a discussion with a big farmer in eastern Saloum who exclusively worked with *sourga* and *navetanes* as paid labourers[7]. This farmer argued that the amount of food eaten by the *sourga* and *navetanes* was not paid for by their 4 mornings of labour service. The village head of Thysse and the other farmers openly

agreed with him and said that they would propose to their *sourga* that henceforth they should work 5 mornings again. However, on return to the village this subject was not spoken of as the farmers were afraid to make a public matter of it. Their complaints remained, however, and farmers still said, in the presence of *sourga* or not, that they did not work hard on the communal farm because they saved their strength for their own plots and that their efforts did not improve even when they could use their farm implements and draught animals.

After having harvested the groundnuts of their head of household, the *sourga* were usually no longer engaged in productive activities, but they continued to be fed by him. Although a head of a household was perhaps not always unhappy when a *sourga* left the village in the dry season to try his luck elsewhere, there were complaints that *sourga* came back too late to help at the start of the wet season. The self-interest in the *ndiatikee–sourga* relation also became clear when every head of household received 1900 F CFA in the spring of 1971 as aid from the government after the crop failure of 1970. This money came from the EEC and it was stipulated that it was destined for every millet and groundnut grower. However, in the Experimental Unit most heads of households kept the money for themselves, saying that they would spent it on buying millet. The *sourga* became very angry and wrote to the people responsible for the popular radio programme *Education Rurale* and at least 5 *sourga* refused to take any orders from the head of the household for some days.

The problematic relation between many heads of households and *sourga* and the way labour is organized contributes to the bad farming of the *sourga*. In a sample of 20 plots of the *sourga* in the Experimental Unit, only 4 plots were prepared for sowing, and only 6 plots received a gift of fertilizer. In Section 12.2.2 it was stated that the average yield of the *sourga* was poor compared with those of the heads of households, 918 kg and 1010 kg, respectively.

Early in 1973 CNRA organized a meeting with some farmers to discuss with them labour organization within the household. CNRA was not interested in how yields were distributed. But it argued that labour and capital would be better employed if all people and equipment successively worked on each others plot, the exact order to be decided by the members of the household. However, this proposal shows that CNRA did not fully understand that the use of labour and equipment in the household was a compromise of self-interest. Therefore the women did not agree with the new proposal because this would arouse feelings of jealousy among co-wives not having plots of the same size. When it was suggested that all the women should have a field of equal size, the farmers stated they would have problems with their parents-in-law, who would argue that their daughter was able to till a larger plot. Among the *sourga* the general preference was to work on their own plots when and with whom they wanted and they were afraid that a change in distribution of labour and capital would be even more favourable for the head of the household. Nobody was very happy about the proposal and when I left the Experimental Unit nothing had changed.

12.4 Break-up of the compound and household, and role of kinship and of wealth

12.4.1 Wealth of head of household

To establish an independent household one must be able to support one's dependants. When one no longer depends on the head of the household for food, the labour service also ends. Because a new head of a household must grow his own millet, fields have been allocated to the newly founded household. Before the head of the household is considered as a *borom keur* by the government agencies (list of members of a co-operative, tax-list), nevertheless a change in status has taken place. The separation and the resulting change in position and status is called *berrou*, which will now be described.

First, for separation to take place a *sourga* has to be married. When a *sourga* is married and his wife has joined him, the wife takes her turn at cooking or even does the domestic chores of her husband's mother. By successfully performing all household duties as required, she publicly demonstrates that she is able to run a household of her own[8]. Now that the *sourga* is married, there is an extra burden on the stored food so that the head of the household requires that the *sourga* makes a small contribution of millet when it is his wife's turn to cook. So the head of the household does not give the *sourga's* wife quite enough millet to prepare the day's meals. This difference might be no more than ½ kg on the 1 to 2 kg supplied by the head of the household. For this part, the *ndollah*, the *sourga's* wife turns to her husband lest she be publicly ridiculed because she has not prepared enough food. Thus the *sourga* either has to buy millet or to cultivate a small field of millet, the latter occurring usually. This in turn prepares him for his future independence.

From the point of view of the *sourga's* wife postponement of separation is in her interest because as long as she can cook in rotation, there are days without domestic duties on which she can completely devote her time to her plot. However since her husband has to procure the *ndollah*, which would suffice for the married couple alone, she often encourages her husband to found a household of his own.

Besides being married a man must also be capable of feeding his family according to local standards before he can separate. People who are physically or psychically handicapped can never found a household and they are just fed or perform small tasks. *Sourga* with heavy debts at the co-operative or who have not yet repaid their friends or relatives the money borrowed for the payment of the bridewealth, are not able to separate and they continue to lean on the head of the household. In the Experimental Unit I met a farmer who, after separation, traded in horses, lost his money and became a *sourga* again.

When a head of a household is rich he can afford the *sourga* depending on him, even if the latter has his proper family. This situation is recognized by the villagers when they speak of '*mana neck borom keur*', literally meaning 'a head of a household still on the back of another', designating a *sourga* still supported by the head of a household, although he is old enough and capable of being independent[9]. According to the farmers there were 3 well-known examples of *mana neck borom keur* in the Experimental Unit. Their heads of household were very rich farmers. (Farmers 3, 4 and 6 described in Section 13.7.3). The marital and material position of the 3 *sourga* was equally healthy:
– Case 1: 32 years old, 2 wives, 2 children; 3 seed drills, 4 cultivators, 1 groundnut

lifter, 1 pair of oxen.
– Case 2: 32 years old, 2 wives, 2 children; 1 seed drill, 1 cultivator, 1 pair of cows (as draught animals), 1 donkey.
– Case 3: 34 years old, 2 wives, 4 children; 2 seed drills, 2 cultivators, 1 horse and 1 donkey. This *sourga* actually became independent at the start of the research period.

However when the head of the household is poor, a *sourga* has no opportunity to establish himself as a well-equipped farmer. If the family of the *sourga* increases or in other ways demands many of his resources, the head might encourage the separation of the *sourga* before he has the means to run an independent farm efficiently. The fact that a *sourga* is easily inclined to break with a poor head of household was shown when a young *sourga* (26 years old), with an elder brother still a *sourga*, separated from the household because he had found a paid job at a French research institute engaged in cotton trials in the neighbourhood of the village Thysse. When a *sourga* he had to pay 2000 F CFA every month to the head of the household and he considered independence preferable to paying this large sum.

12.4.2 Role of kinship in separation

The role of kinship in separation was studied in a sample of 11 *sourga* and 12 *borom keur goundau* from the Experimental Unit. Only married *sourga* (male dependants) and *borom keur goundau* (heads of households) above the age of 25 and below 40 were selected. In theory all men meeting these requirements and having their head of compound (*borom keur goumak*) living in the Experimental Unit could be chosen, but to obtain reliable data mainly those living in compounds already studied by CNRA were selected (then other economic data were also available). The sample is thus not aselect. Use was also made of ages as presented on demographic charts of CNRA and although CNRA were helped by a professional demographer, these data are not very reliable. However, it is assumed that error in ages can be considered as standard errors, all pointing in the same direction. Any conclusions will, however, be interpreted cautiously.

First these 23 cases were studied to see whether a *sourga*, when a son of the *ndiatikee* (paternal relation) would be independent later than when a brother of the *ndiatikee* (fraternal relation).

Although the relation between father and son is problematic in its economic aspects, I assumed that when both grow older this relation becomes more stable. The eldest son, although still a *sourga*, gradually takes the place of his father instead of demanding to be a farmer in his own right. The father, knowing that he has to rely on this son in his old age, grants him more and more favours. That the father considers the delay of *berrou* as a favour appears from such expressions as: "I will wait to rest till my son will be strong enough", or "I will sacrifice myself". He often favours his son by only asking him for three mornings of labour service, by not asking the *ndollah* from the son's wife, thus giving him the opportunity to cultivate groundnuts exclusively, and also by never refusing him his agricultural equipment and draught animals. The son in such a position does not feel obliged to separate and quietly waits till his father retires. As long as the

eldest son is still *sourga*, alll younger brothers remain *sourga* and only two exceptions to this rule were encountered in the Experimental Unit.

However, when the head of the household dies, or his age becomes a handicap, the eldest son will succeed his father and his younger brothers will become his *sourga* and the paternal relation is transformed into a fraternal relation. The fact that after a man's death his property is divided among all sons (although administered by somebody else when they are still too young) may also encourage separation. In addition all informants stated that between brothers a *berrou* can never be refused and although *berrou* against the will of the elder brother is certainly frowned upon, he will never force his younger brother to remain a *sourga*.

In the sample 6 were sons and 14 were younger brothers of the head of the household (3 *sourga* were nephews of the head of the household). Of the 6 sons 4 were still *sourga* at the ages of 27, 30, 32 and 32; 2 were *borom keur goundau*, with *berrou* having taken place at the ages of 33 and 34. In this sample of paternal relations *sourga* became independent between the age of 30 and 34.

Of the 14 younger brothers of the head of the household 5 were *sourga* at the ages of 27, 28, 32, 32 and 35; 9 were *borom keur goundau*, with separation having taken place at the ages of 24, 27, 27, 28, 30, 30, 32, 35 and 38. If the father has died and the *sourga* is fraternally related, in this sample independence seems to be acquired around the age of 30. Therefore there is only a very slight indication that the sons are older when they separate than the younger brothers. Late retirement of the father thus delays separation. However, this conclusion is based on too few cases.

Second the sample was used to see whether whole brothers would separate later than patrilateral half-brothers to test the supposed significance of feelings of rivalry, envy and suspicion of witchcraft between half-brothers.

Of the 14 brothers 11 were whole brothers and 3 half-brothers of the head of the household. Of the 11 whole brothers 5 were *sourga*, their ages being 27, 28, 32, 32 and 35; 6 were independent heads of households (*borom keur goundau*), with separation having taken place at the ages of 28, 30, 30, 32, 35 and 38. In this sample whole brothers separated between the ages of 30 and 35 years old.

Of the 3 patrilateral half-brothers all were independent heads of households (*borom keur goundau*). *Berrou* had taken place at the ages of 24, 27 and 27. In one of these three cases a half-brother separated from the head of the household while a whole brother, three years older than the first, was still *sourga*. Here the fact that the half-brother had 1 wife, 1 child, 1 sister and his mother to support encouraged the head of the household to agree to the independence of this *sourga*. There is thus an indication that whole brothers are more able to cooperate than half-brothers. However, the sample is too small and more evidence is needed to say this assumption is true.

12.4.3 Role of kinship in cohabitation and commensality

Kinship has also been studied as an explanatory factor for the pattern of cohabitation and commensality of households within the compound. In the village Sonkorong I determined the kin relation between the heads of households and the head of the compound to see who lived and ate together and who not. As has been stated before, Sonkorong

numbered 17 compounds, consisting of 50 households; 4 compounds consisted of 1 household only. Thus there remain 13 compounds consisting of 46 households. The kin relation between the 33 (46–13) heads of households and their head of compound are given in Table 27. See Appendix 14 for a diagram of kinship, cohabitation and commensality for Sonkorong.

From Table 27 it cannot be concluded that patrilateral half-brothers or patrilateral parallel-cousins are not able to live in the same compound because of suspicion of witchcraft or feelings of envy.

Table 27. Kin relation between heads of households and the head of the compound.

Kin relation with head of compound	Number
Whole brothers	8
Patr. half-brothers	8
Patr. parallel cousins	7
Miscellaneous[1]	10
Total	33

1. For the category miscellaneous, see Appendix 15.

Not only from studying which people live together, but also who eat together may show how kinship affects the breaking-up of compounds. In Sonkorong I observed that most households within the compound ate in the house of the head of the compound, although they took their own dishes with them which usually were not shared. In fact, only a dining room was shared, the men eating in the room of the head of the compound, the women in the room of his first wife. As is shown in the Appendix 14, there were 25 dining rooms, 8 more than there were compounds of Sonkorong. These extra dining rooms were shared by 11 households. Through the founding of 8 additional dining rooms, the remaining 17 dining rooms were only shared by 39 households, of which 6 dining rooms were used by only 1 household each. There were thus 11 (17–6) dining rooms shared by 33 (39–6) households. Table 28 gives the kin relation between the heads of compounds and the 22 (33–11) heads of households who dined together and the 11 heads of households who established their own dining rooms.

From Table 28 it can be concluded that individualization is demonstrated more by commensality than by residence. There were more households that ate separately than there were households that lived separately. Although there is a slight indication that patrilateral parallel-cousins are not very inclined to share a dining room, the sample is in fact too small to say this is true for the whole village.

Table 28. Kin relation between heads of households and the head of the compound.

Kin relation with head of compound	Heads of households eating together with head of compound	Heads of households having established their own dining room
Whole brother	7	1
Patr. half-brother	6	2
Patr. parallel cousin	3	4
Miscellaneous[1]	6	4
Total	22	11

1. See for the category miscellaneous, Appendix 16.

12.4.4 Role of kinship in co-operation between compound members

Besides studying the kinship factor in separation (*berrou*), cohabitation and commensality, I also determined to what extent kinship affected co-operation between members of a compound. Therefore I studied the participation in all working parties called *santaanee, ngont* and *dimboli* organized for inhabitants of Sonkorong for agricultural operations from sowing till harvesting of all crops in 1971. The participants of these working parties came from other villages and hamlets as well as from Sonkorong. For details of this study on working parties see Chapter 14. The original intention to classify the kin relation of the participants to the beneficiary was not met because of shortcomings in the way the data were collected. However it was possibly to roughly classify the participants and to calculate the number of mandays spent according to their relation to the owner of the plot (beneficiary). See Table 29.

Table 29. Total number of mandays spent participating in working parties according to the relationship with the beneficiary.

Relation with beneficiary	Mandays
Members of the same household	154½
Members of the same compound	186½
People living outside the compound	539
Total	880

Likewise the exchange of agricultural equipment was studied to see whether kin members co-operated outside the household but within the compound. In 1971, 17 households were selected and the circulation of their agricultural implements was followed throughout the campaign[10]. Only exchange without remuneration in cash or kind was recorded. See Table 30. Four households did not own any equipment or draught animals. Of the remaining 13 households almost all farm implements and draught animals were owned by the head of the household; of the 34 *sourga* 9 owned implements or draught animals. In addition the 13 households had 9 *navetanes*, all

Table 30. Number of mandays the farm implements were used by others according to the relationship with the owner of the implements.

Relation with owner	Mandays
Members of household	345
Members of compound	5
People living outside compound	37
Total	387

without equipment. Table 31 shows which members of the household used the implements for the 345 mandays.

Tables 29 and 30 shows that for help from working parties and for borrowing agricultural equipment and draught animals one cannot count on help from members outside the household but living within the compound. People participating in a working party come especially from outside the compound and thus are not close kin members. Equally agricultural equipment owned by a household does not circulate free of charge on the plots of the people not belonging to the household but living in the same compound. Table 31 shows that equipment owned by the head of the household is applied on the plots of the *sourga* and, though less frequently, on the plots of the women. However, equipment of the head of the household was usually employed late on the plots of the women, as was mentioned in Section 12.3.

Because early sowing of groundnuts and timely weeding is of such overwhelming importance to achieve good yields and to reduce the risk of a crop failure, CNRA proposed a reorganization of labour within the household as has already been discussed in Section 12.3. In the meeting held with farmers, CNRA-officials referred to 4 households where co-operation was better than in other households. I noticed that the *sourga* of the 4 heads of households mentioned were either his whole brothers or sons born of the same mother. This is one of the few indications that the assumption that matrilateral relatives are able to co-operate better than patrilateral relatives may be warranted.

Table 31. Number of mandays the farm implements were applied on the plots of the household members.

Position in household	Number	Use of implements in mandays implements owned by		
		heads of households	*sourga*	total
Heads of households	13	123	14	137
Sourga	34	83	29½	112½
Women	52	51	7	58
Navetanes	9	35½	2	37½
Total				345

12.5 Conclusions

Cohabitation, commensality and the extent to which the communal farm is jointly managed, all aspects of the cohesion of a Wolof compound and household, have been decreased by a number of factors. The first factor, mentioned in Chapter 11, was manumission which resulted in many slaves leaving the compound of their master shortly after World War I to found their own hamlet or ward.

The second factor was the application of the Islamic rule by which sons inherit land instead of brothers and which encouraged the development of separate economic units within the compound. This pattern of inheritance of land already existed at least two generations ago. Lineage rights to land were still recognized if, for example, the brother of the deceased lacked land. Up to 1972 women had not inherited land.

The third factor, the growing involvement of the Wolof farmer in cash crops, especially encouraged the development of economically independent households within the compound. The individual plots of the women and male dependants increased in size and the labour service of the latter on the communal farms diminished to the advantage of their own plots. In the decrease of labour service the *navetanes* seem to have acted as an example for the male dependants. Boys and girls have their own plots at the age of thirteen, girls may fully dispose of its yield at the age of about 15, boys at the age of about 18. There was an indication that Wolof farmers started farming for themselves earlier than a generation ago.

Within the compound there are thus economically independent households, headed by younger brothers, cousins or former slaves. This fragmentation did not normally result in the heads of the households either leaving the compound or not eating their own meals in the room of the head of the compound. Fragmentation could be seen more clearly in commensality than in cohabitation.

There were some indications that wealth of the head of the household, late retirement of the father (paternal relation) and being full brothers (fraternal relation) could delay economic separation. Patrilateral half-brothers and parallel-cousins could live together in one compound and could share a dining room. However brothers and cousins hardly co-operated in agriculture: in working parties organized by a household the other members of the compound, although being near kin, seldom participated. Equally, members of a household hardly ever lent equipment and draught animals free of charge to members of its compound. There was an indication that full brothers co-operated better than half-brothers.

Co-operation within the household is based more on competition than on feelings of loyalty. The desire to increase the size of the individual plots and the share which is individually appropriated caused much friction between the head of the household and his wives and male dependants. The outcome of self-interest within the household was that agricultural equipment and draught animals were used on all plots of the members. However, the fields of the head of the household were still bigger and better cultivated than the other plots.

Notes

1 It must be kept in mind that the agreement between the farmer and the sharecroppers may have varied locally. David found in the Casamance some *navetanes* working 3 days for the compound head and giving 10% of the yield and elsewhere *navetanes* who worked 2 days and gave 20% of the yield (pers. commun.). In Saloum, however, the agreement was the same everywhere.
2 According to CNRA the heads of household cultivated 50 to 55% of the area with groundnuts, the male dependants and women 25 to 30% and the sharecroppers 15 to 20% (CNRA, 1973, p. 9).
3 Many boys are at that age already circumcized and initiated into the age-set of boys. Because this ceremony is performed only occasionally it is not connected with the time a boy receives a field in *abal*.
4 *Bana baba* is a Sarakollee word meaning 'one one' or barter.
5 In the first year of a woman's stay with her husband the rule is that she receives seed from her husband without having to repay him.
6 An exception to this authoritarian relation is when a son has long been the adept of a marabout and is better instructed in religious matters than his father.
7 The salary of the paid labourers was on average about 25 thousand F CFA a year.
8 She prepares the food in one of the kitchens already present in the compound. It is only after *berrou* that a separate kitchen is built for her.
9 Fouquet (1958, p. 71) mentioned that among the Sever one becomes independent in the second year after marriage and then a ceremony is performed, called *vatie nala*, meaning: 'I have climbed down', on the analogy of a child who has descended from his mother's back to try to walk alone.
10 In 1970 the circulation of groundnut lifters was followed. 50 hectare groundnut had been mechanically harvested in the Experimental Unit by 25 groundnut lifters, owned by 25 different heads of households. Of the 50 ha, 49 ha were lifted with own equipment, only 1 ha was harvested by a lifter of somebody else and of this 1 ha only ½ ha was lifted without payment. So groundnut lifters were hardly ever lent out.

13 Foundation of social hierarchy

In this chapter I discuss my observations in relation to the second research-objective as specified in Chapter 2 and consider how and to what extent the abolition of slavery, islamization and the increasing involvement in cash cropping have changed the position of the traditional status-groups among the Wolof in Saloum. As mentioned in Chapter 2 at the time of the abolition of domestic slavery, there was enough land available in Saloum for the slaveborn to found independent farms. Thus from a material point of view a slaveborn could obtain a position comparable to that of a freeborn.

This chapter shows that both the village head and the clergy of the Islamic community originate from the freeborn. Until today the freeborn have maintained their traditional esteem, although often in a religious framework. However some slave-descendents and artisans have become rich, farming as well as local trade not being monopolized by the freeborn. Whether slave-descendents are able to occupy positions in the local development-organizations and so acquire influence and esteem, is treated in Chapter 14.

In this chapter first the cultural background of social hierarchy is described by analysing the significance of ascribed status today. This is followed by the study of the possession of land, labour, capital and entrepreneurship in agriculture to establish the economic foundation of actual stratification. In Section 13.7 attention is drawn to the importance of local business as a means to obtain influence and prestige. This section is concluded by describing those villagers who in fact pull the strings.

13.1 Ascribed status today

Table 32 shows the ascribed status of households for the communities Thysse, Sonkorong and N'Dakhar Karim. Of all the inhabitants of the Experimental Unit (1896 in 1973), 44% were freeborn, 40% slave-descendents and 16% artisans (Kleene, 1974, p. 5).

I observed that the freeborn in these communities of the Experimental Unit in fact had maintained their favoured position, not only by clinging to their former status, but also by applying the Islamic rules more strictly than the slave-descendents and artisans. Thus the freeborn as a group did not lose esteem and it was accepted that the clergy originated from among them. Although the slave-descendents no longer work for the descendents of their former master in several ways the freeborn still have material advantages because of their position.

All villages and major hamlets have an Imam, head of the Islamic community. The Imam was always of freeborn status, unless the community had no freeborn household. Then a man from another status-group could be Imam. In Thysse, Sonkorong and

Table 32. Number of households belonging to the different status-groups in 1972 for Thysse, Sonkorong and N'Dakhar Karim.

Ascribed status	Number of households in		
	Thysse	Sonkorong	N'Dakhar Karim
Freeborn (*diambour*)	22	11	6
Slave-descendent (*diam*)		35	10
Leatherworker (*cuude*)	7	3	
Blacksmith (*teug*)	1		
Woodworker (*laobee*)	1		
Fula		1	
Total	31	50	16

N'Dakhar Karim, all communities composed of more than one status-group, the Imam was a freeborn. That the Imam was always a freeborn in communities composed of different status-groups is also shown in Chapter 15. When a village only consisted of slave-descendents or artisans, the Imam was chosen from their own group, as occurred in the hamlet Leona, near Sonkorong, where the Imam was a leatherworker. In Keur Moussa Ba, a *Toucouleur* hamlet of slave-descent in the Experimental Unit, a freeborn *Toucouleur* was invited in 1966 to live there to perform the religious ceremonies.

The position of Imam includes the right to the tithe of the millet crop of all farmers not of slave descent which is meant to be divided among the poor of the village (the slave-descendents giving the tithe to their former master, as was shown in Chapter 11). In Sonkorong no one objected when the Imam used part of this tithe to fill his own granaries. As Imam he is present at all major ceremonies of the life cycle to perform the rites for which he receives presents in kind.

The importance of his role as local judge (*qadi*) is more vague and his authority depends on the power of the village head. In Thysse, although from a notable family, the Imam was not very rich and his family small, especially compared with the village head. Apart from the specific religious functions at the mosque and at the ceremonies of the life cycle, all administrative affairs, including the administration of justice were the responsibility of the village head. In Sonkorong the Imam was the former village head, but he gave up the post to devote his time to the study of the Koran. By this decision he acquired much prestige because he had not failed as village head. His younger brother succeeded him. In cases on internal affairs of the village the Imam still took all decisions. He was the one who intervened in divorce quarrels, land disputes and immigration; only the administrative affairs related to the intervention of CNRA and other government organizations in Sonkorong were left to his younger brother.

In Sonkorong there were 5 Koran teachers (marabouts) with adepts (*taalibee*) living in their compound whom they taught in exchange for the adepts' help on their fields. They were all freeborn. The 2 Koran teachers of N'Dakhar Karim, also a hamlet where the number of families of slave descent exceeded that of the freeborn, were likewise freeborn. That slaveborn-descendents are less ambitious religiously is reflected in the low participation of youngsters of slave descent in these local Koran schools[1]. In

Sonkorong of the 20 adepts 14 were freeborn, 5 slave-descendents and 1 a blacksmith's son; in N'Dakhar Karim the 5 adepts all were freeborn.

As the Koran schools in the village were small, the economic advantages of being a Koran teacher were not very large. In addition the adepts were almost exclusively below *sourga* age because as soon as they were physically able to work independently, the parents called them back home. Of the 25 adepts only 3 were of *sourga* age. Because the adept's parents have to help the Koran teacher in the provision of food for the adept and because an adept has to work the whole day for his marabout, only being taught in the very early morning, at lunch hours and at night, there is a slight positive effect on the income of local Koran teachers[2].

Apart from Koran teachers, there are marabouts which can be consulted by families wanting advice. By writing special Koran texts on paper (*khatim*) (which are then enveloped in small leather pouches by the leatherworkers (*gri gri*) or by washing the ink from these texts with water, which is then preserved in bottles (*loug*) or sprinkled over the body, a marabout practices white magic for those who are willing to pay for his services. These marabouts can analytically be divided into magicians and healers.

In the Experimental Unit there was one magician, who travelled around offering his services. From spring 1971 till the end of 1972 he was at least 3 months in total absent from the village. He could show letters of acknowledgement from regional government officials and from adepts living as far away as Abidjan. After a leave of 2 weeks he once came home with 6000 F CFA, 1 bag of rice, 1 bag of millet and many loaves and pieces of soap. In 1967 the teacher of the old primary school at Sonkorong paid him 6000 F CFA to make him a *gri gri* so that he might be appointed elsewhere. This magician was a freeborn.

There are also magicians who are predominantly farmers and do not travel around, but work with *khatim* or *loug* at home when requested. It was very difficult to determine exactly how many of this type of magician dwelt in the Experimental Unit, because first all Koran teachers were willing to perform the same services, and second whereas many freeborn farmers said they were active in this area, others said they were not. In addition the distinction between this type of magician and the healers is rather vague. However the magicians who were visited at home worked more often with Koran texts than the healers did. The latter used traditional magical instruments. The farmers who I ascertained to be magicians, 1 in Sonkorong and 1 in N'Dakhar Karim, were freeborn.

The healers, the second division, treat fractures, bleeding, leaching, snake bites with for example indigenous leaves and roots. The patients wear these remedies as amulets or hang them up in horns in their rooms. Of these healers 1 was a freeborn, 6 were slave-descendents and 1 a leatherworker. In the freeborn village Thysse there was only one healer. Apparently this role has less religious status and is left to the lower strata who are not able to write Arabic.

The freeborn indeed consider themselves to be more religious than the lower status-groups because more of them than the slave-descendents and artisans undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca. It must be borne in mind that the expenses of such a journey are higher for slave-descendents because a man of slave descent has to compensate his former master for his absence during the pilgrimage. In 1971, in a hamlet of the

Experimental Unit, a rich slaveborn paid the descendents of his former master 20 000 F CFA and one ox to be allowed to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca and to acquire the title of *El Hadji*.

On returning from Mecca the man or woman, the latter acquiring the title of *Adjaratou*, gains considerable prestige. The person in question gives a big feast on which he shows photographs, clothes, booklets, prayer mats and sometimes his golden tooth, obtained in Mecca. On Islamic holy days he wears a special turban. From then onwards it is the custom to address the pilgrims first by mentioning their title and then their name. They belong to the notables of the village (see Section 13.7.3). Of the people in the Experimental Unit with the title of *El Hadji* or *Adjaratou* 8 were freeborn, 1 a slave-descendent, 1 a leatherworker and 1 a *Toucouleur* of slave origin.

I observed that status distinctions were maintained by the custom that freeborn and artisans had to observe a mourning period of 4 months and 10 days, the slave-descendents only half this period. In the graveyard the slave-descendents and artisans were buried further towards the west than the freeborn.

Although the Koran does not specify that caste people may not marry freeborn or slaves, the artisans on the one side do not intermarry with freeborn or slave-descendents on the other. Repugnancy to physical contact with artisans still exists and the tools with which they perform their crafts must not be touched. If a man sleeps with a *nieenio*, he becomes covered with pimples. However, marriage between a woman of slave origin and a freeborn man does occur, but only if the slaveborn woman is either redeemed or is conceived of as a concubine (*tara*). Besides the few heads of households born of a marriage between a freeborn man and a redeemed slaveborn woman, in Sonkorong there was 1 head of a household whose father was a freeborn and his mother a concubine. He was referred to as having only 'one noble leg' and lived in a ward (N'Galo) separate from the ward of the freeborn. Although Silla (1969, p. 40) stated that offspring from a *tara* could not inherit wealth, this man had inherited land from his father. In 1972 a woman of slave descent was redeemed by a freeborn so that he could marry her and he paid two cows to the master of the woman. Islamization thus did not improve the status of the slave-descendents and artisans.

Village heads in Saloum were descendents of the founders of the villages. Most village heads were therefore freeborn. I never heard of a village head belonging to one of the artisanal groups. There were too few immigrated artisanal families to occupy a complete village and they lived in wards of the main villages of Saloum (like in Thysse) or occupied a small hamlet falling under the jurisdiction of a village (like Leona, which is dependent on Sonkorong). Between the two World Wars the slave-descendents, however, founded their proper communities and, as will be seen in Chapter 15, village heads of slave origin do occur, although never in villages with freeborn families.

Village heads receive a government allowance of 25 000 F CFA a year. Besides the salary, other economic advantages come with the position of village head. In Sonkorong land is lent (*dogal*) to some farmers outside the village area to grow millet and besides the owner of the field, the head of the village receives 2 or 3 bushels of millet (27–40 kg) in return. Here the head of the village exercises his legal right as ultimate distributor of land but he can also use his power for personal gain. The village head of Sonkorong strongly opposed the merger of his village's co-operative with that of Thysse, because,

together with the chairman and vice-chairman he had some personal interests in the co-operative (see Chapter 14). In Thysse the village head prevented a stranger from buying a shop in the village and then his son bought the shop for a price lower than the stranger had offered.

Being unable to occupy positions of authority and prestige in communities also inhabited by freeborn, the slave-descendents and artisans cling more to traditional religious and ceremonial customs than do the freeborn. Sections 11.1 and 11.2 showed that the slave-descendents were more attached to tribal religion and the ceremonies and activities connected with the age-set system than the freeborn. Moreover slave-descendents and artisans received gifts in exchange for performing ritual services for the freeborn. During the ceremonies of the life cycle the slave-descendents and artisans slaughter the animals, while their wives prepare the food, fill the water jars, dress the hair and so on, all in exchange for gifts from the freeborn. In Nioro I observed that two *guewel* woman received 6 and 10 thousand F CFA, respectively, as gifts at the naming ceremony of the first child of an extension worker. At the village level these gifts were usually smaller. In this context it is important to note that a host higher in rank never receives money from a guest lower in rank; on the contrary, it is he who will offer money to his guest. However, a guest does not come wholly empty-handed. The men may give 10 or 25 F CFA, but a freeborn host can even refuse this gift by saying that he is the person who gives. Women bring a cup of grain or a piece of handicraft, like pottery, but in the latter case the host will repay her. The total expenditure on gifts for a naming ceremony has been given in Appendix 10. Table 33 shows the amount of money, considered as usual by the villagers, given by a moderately rich host to his clientage at a naming ceremony.

Also on the Islamic holy days, *Tabaski* (*Aid el Kebir*), *Koritee* (*Aid Seguir*) and *Tamkharet* (*Achoura*) a man's clientage receives presents (*dewana*), which may be a quantity of food, some coins or kola nuts. On the last day of Ramadan, when the *mourrou khor*, a gift of 2.5 kilo millet, has to be given to the poor in the village, a master

Table 33. Gifts made by a moderately rich host to his clientage at a naming ceremony.

Status of host	Amount of money received in F CFA according to status of guest				
	freeborn	slave descendent	artisan[1]	subcastes of *Toucouleur* origin[2]	*guewel*[3]
Freeborn		200	100	100–300	300–500
Slave-descendent			100	100–200	100–250
Artisan			100	100–300	150–300
Subcastes of *Toucouleur* origin					200–300

1. Hosts of one artisanal subgroup also give money to guests of another.
2. Among the subcastes of *Toucouleur* origin are the *Laobee, Bambado* and *Mabo.*
3. *Guewel* are also divided into subcastes, like *guewel, bissaite* and *tole.*

Winnowing of groundnuts.

Farmers of Thysse-Kaymor selling their cotton.

A herd of cattle to be watered.

is obliged to give this to his former slave if he is poor.

Today only a few artisans earn money by practising their craft. In Chapter 11 it was seen that in about 1880 farm land was allotted to the artisanal families in the Experimental Unit and at least from that period onwards, and very probably from before, they have been engaged in farming. In 1971–1972 there were only 2 blacksmiths in the Experimental Unit who applied their skills besides cultivating their farms. In addition there was 1 woodworker, who made pestles, mortars, calabashes and benches, as well as being engaged in farming. The leatherworkers could be considered as farmers only. Occasionally in their spare time, some old leatherworkers made pouches to be worn as amulets, repaired water bags or did other work[3].

13.2 The rich and the poor: a preliminary categorization

Logically the possession of land, labour and capital is related to the wealth of a farmer. I supposed that the freeborn through their former position of authority over slaves and their religious activities would be classed among the rich. Therefore all farmers of Sonkorong were placed in three categories of wealth so that in later sections of this chapter we may see how the possession of land, labour and capital as well as ascribed status is related to this categorization. The continuum of rich to poor farmers was categorized in rich, moderately rich and poor by the use of 2 items, both of which were considered to be analytically independent of the possession of land, labour and capital.

The first indicator of wealth was the number of wives. Three divisions were made: heads of households with 1 wife, those with 2 wives and those with 3 or 4 wives. In Sonkorong in 1971 23 heads of households had 1 wife, 18 had 2 wives, 5 had 3 wives and 4 had 4 wives. Thus 54% of the heads of households had more than one wife. The ratio of wives to heads of households was 1.8[4].

Because in special circumstances (young husbands, inheritance of a wife, divorce and death) just one indicator of wealth could give errors in the categorization, a second indicator was included, the possession of durable luxury goods. The score on this item depended on how many metallic beds, bicycles, motorcycles, sewing machines and modern sporting-guns the households owned[5].

The weight given to each luxury good depended on the approximation of their new value and were 1, 1, 2, 2 and 1½, respectively[6]. Three categories were made: farmers scoring 3 or more, farmers scoring between 1 and 2½ and farmers scoring zero. The distribution of the farmers over this and the former item are given in Appendix 17, Table 1.

Both items were highly correlated, Goodman-Kruskal's gamma (γ) being 0.76. The items were then combined into an index and the farmers in the 3 left top cells (16) were considered to be rich and those of the right bottom cell (12) to be poor. The remaining farmers (22) were considered to be moderately rich.

To evaluate the classification with these two indicators the number of 'rich' farmers was compared with that of farmers having houses of mud bricks (considered to be more expensive than walls of millet stalks), and then with the number of farmers having the title of *El Hadji*. All houses of mud bricks (9) were owned by farmers considered to be rich. Likewise the 3 farmers with the *El Hadji* title were rich. The 2 farmers who owned a cash box belonged to the rich category. It was therefore concluded that the categories

Table 34. Division of the famers of Sonkorong according to wealth and ascribed status.

Category of wealth	Freeborn	Slave-descendent	Leather-worker	Fula	Total
Rich	5	8	2	1	16
Moderately rich	5	17			22
Poor	1	10	1		12
Total	11	35	3	1	50

of wealth were acceptable and could be used for studying the possession of land, labour and capital in the next sections.

Table 34 shows that relatively more freeborn are rich. Also heads of households of slave descent can be rich, although more often they fall in the moderately rich and poor category.

13.3 Possession of land

As has been explained in Chapter 10, land had become scarce in the Experimental Unit. Thus it is relevant to know who were the landowners.

I presumed that in Sonkorong in 1972 the freeborn possessed more land than the slave-descendents, because the freeborn formerly could employ their slaves in expanding their farms[7]. However I did not expect this difference to be large because increasing wealth was probably accompanied by polygamy so that rich families would have to divide their land among many children.

To investigate this presumption a list was made of heads of households in Sonkorong who borrowed groundnut plots (land in *dogal*) and those who lent plots, the borrowing and lending of land being taken as a first approximation of the amount of land in possession. Of the 50 households, there were 15 which borrowed plots (in total 20 plots) from villagers or farmers outside the village. There were 8 households which lent 21 plots: 4 households lending 7, 4, 4 and 2 plots, respectively, the other households lending only 1. Of the lenders none was of freeborn status, of the 15 borrowers 5. Being of freeborn origin thus was not related to amount of land possessed, instead it was related to land borrowing.

To make the investigation on land possession more realistic the number of active persons in the households of the lenders and borrowers was calculated, because for example, a farmer with many active persons in his household and still lending land is, relatively speaking, a large landowner, while a household with few active persons and still obliged to ask for land in *dogal* is almost landless. Table 35 gives the average size of household and the average number of active male equivalents of the households of the borrowers and lenders of farm land in Sonkorong. Heads of the household and *sourga* were estimated at 1 active male equivalent. Because women only cultivate a third or even less of the area cultivated by a man, all women having their own plot were calculated as 1/3 active male equivalent[8].

The farmers who borrowed land were those with large families and a high number of

Table 35. Average size of household and average number of active male equivalents for households of Sonkorong.

	Average size of household	Average number of active male equivalents
All households of Sonkorong	9.3	3.9
All households of Sonkorong borrowing land	12.1	4.9
All households of Sonkorong lending land	8.1	3.2

active persons, unlike those who were able to lend land. Land was thus equally distributed among the households. Farmers who borrowed land were in addition wealthy. All 15 land borrowers, with one exception, belonged to the rich or moderately rich category, while of the 8 land lenders 3 belonged to the category of poor farmers.

Besides family size and wealth, the familial position and date of settlement in the village plays a role. Of the 7 male lenders 4 were the eldest brother and 2 had no brothers living in the village; the grandfathers or fathers of all 7 had been born in the village. Of the 15 borrowers, 9 were a younger brother, 3 were the eldest brother and 3 the only brother; there were 2 who had not been born in the village. Thus, not only the size of family and wealth is related to landownership, but also one's familial position, those having older male siblings apparently being in a disadvantageous position.

All these variables were of more importance than being freeborn or slave-descendents. Although the 2 immigrants were of slave descent, the fathers of other slave-descendents had been born in the village. Their descendents inherited the land their father had cleared just as the freeborn had done for centuries.

The land lenders, poor or moderately rich and with small families, were partly compensated in land rent. For lending land for groundnut cultivation the lenders received a 'present', as they called it. This 'present' was a sum of money. Although since the introduction of the law on national domain farmers have been very reluctant to discuss these 'presents', the amount could be established in 3 cases. For lending 1 ha the annual remuneration was 500 F CFA, for about 2 ha 3000 F CFA and 1 bag of millet and for about 4 ha 3000 F CFA. For borrowing a plot to cultivate millet, 2 bushels of millet were given to the owner, which amounts to about 27 kg. Two cases involving the selling of land were found, the sale being confirmed by both the seller and the buyer. One plot of about 2 ha was sold for 2500 F CFA and 100 kg millet, another plot of unknown size for 2500 F CFA. I am convinced that the sale of land is more common than the evidence shows.

Here I shall briefly discuss the payment of *assaka* or the tithe. Actually the farmers give the tithe of their millet crop, but for groundnut they do not, saying the tithe has already been given to the women who helped to heap the groundnuts and received a present in kind (*wathan tal*). In addition they say that everybody who is hungry may take some haulms when passing a groundnut field.

Slave-descendents pay the tithe to their former master, and just as their labour formerly was inherited, nowadays the right to *assaka* from a slave-descendent is matrilinially inherited. When a slave-descendent can no longer trace his master, he may choose a symbolic master of freeborn status and give him the tithe. Diop (1968, p. 50) and Labouret (1941, p. 99) used the term 'land rent' for this tithe or *assaka*, but this term can be questioned. What seems to be important is that the tithe leaves the house as it is considered as a religious duty. The freeborn, just like the artisans, give the tithe to the Imam, who then divides it among the poor. The freeborn and the artisans are traditionally the landowners and there is no reason why they should pay a 'land rent', other than out of religious motivation. Although a slave-descendent has to pay the tithe through the traditional channels of hierarchy, the use of the term 'land rent' for this obligation seems not to be the proper term.

13.4 Possession of labour

13.4.1 Size of household

As Wolof culture has a military and aristocratic focus it is to be expected that the culture bearers, the freeborn, attribute much importance to a large family. Because slaves formerly could be bought or captured in raids and because the rules of inheritance resulted in slaves being scattered over several villages, it has probably been less easy for them to develop the same kind of kin-solidarity as the freeborn. Many adult slave-descendents do not remember the name of their father's father. However, Chapter 12 on the Wolof compound and household showed that households of slave descent, when living together, do form a compound as a domestic unit and now they probably have developed the same kind of feelings towards their kin as exist among the freeborn.

The strict application of Muslim rules by the freeborn may also have resulted in large households. As stated in Chapter 12, Islam attaches much value to paternal authority. The *sourga* of the freeborn were not allowed to leave the village to look for temporary jobs in the dry season so that their parents did not run the risk of their finding steady jobs. Nor are they allowed to work as a *navetane* elsewhere. Table 36 records which of the *sourga* of Sonkorong left the village in the dry seasons of 1971 and 1972 to look for temporary jobs. It shows that paternal authority is stronger among the freeborn.

The freeborn households were larger because they included adepts of the 5 Koran teachers of Sonkorong. Although the average number of adepts per teacher (4) was not

Table 36. Number and relative percentage of sourga of Sonkorong having temporarily left the village.

Status	1971		1972	
	number	per cent	number	per cent
Slave-descendent	13	20	10	16
Freeborn	1	5	1	5
Leatherworker	2	20	0	0

impressive, it nevertheless increased the average size of the households of the freeborn.

If economic assets are available, the size of household may be increased by a second or third wife. Wealth may also attract new members. In Chapter 12 it was observed that there was a tendency for a *sourga* to delay separation (*berrou*) when his father or oldest brother was rich. Also it is understandable that widows, orphans or elderly people prefer to live in the house of a rich relative. Data from the census in spring 1972 are given in Table 37 which shows that in Sonkorong and N'Dakhar Karim the average size of a freeborn household was larger than that of slave-descendents.

Table 37. The relation between ascribed status and size of household[1] for Sonkorong, Thysse and N'Dakhar Karim.

Status	Sonkorong		Thysse	
	number of households	average size of households	number of households	average size of households
Freeborn	11	11.5	22	9.4
Slave-descendent	35	8.4		
Artisan	3	13	9	8.0
Fula	1	6		

Status	N'Dakhar Karim	
	number of households	average size of households
Freeborn	6	13.8
Slave-descendent	10	9.7

1. The *navetanes* were not counted as members of the household, but the temporarily absent *sourga* were.

The correlation coefficient γ between wealth and size of household was 0.68 (see Appendix 17, Table 2). Thus status and wealth are both related to size of household. Though status is very probably an independent variable, the variables wealth and size of household are so closely related that neither can be considered as independent: the number of active persons contributing to wealth and vice versa[9].

However, as for possession of land, other variables have to be taken into account. The variable age has been isolated. As shown in Table 38 old heads of households have sons of *sourga* age and young heads of households have brothers of *sourga* age, but a head of a household of middle age has no brothers living with him nor sons of *sourga* age. Thus not only status and wealth, but also the age of the head of the household is related to size of household and number of active persons.

Table 38. Relation between the age of the head of a household and the size of the household.

Age of head of household	Number of heads of households	Average size of household	Average number of active persons
> 50	20	10	4.7
40–50	22	7.6	3.0
< 40	8	11	4.2

13.4.2 Utilization of navetanes

In Chapter 12 I assumed that *navetanes* would be found in rich households with an employer (*ndiatikee*) well equipped with agricultural implements and with sufficient food in the months before the harvest. Of the 26 *navetanes* in Sonkorong in 1971, 15 *navetanes* lived in 8 rich households, 9 in 6 moderately rich households and 2 in 2 poor households. The average value of agricultural implements and draught animals of the 16 households with *navetanes* was 22 600 F CFA, while the average for all households of Sonkorong was 14 250 F CFA (see Section 13.5). Thus the assumption was warranted.

This result, however, posed a problem. Rich households had large families and more active persons than poor households and thus one wonders why these rich households needed the extra labour force of *navetanes*. However, although the actual number of active persons in wealthier households was high, this number expressed as a percentage of the total number of household members was low (see Appendix 17, Table 5). The average percentage of adult male equivalents per household for the whole of Sonkorong was 46%, that for the households with *navetanes* (16) was 36%, with only 5 households having *navetanes* with a percentage above the average of Sonkorong.

Thus, rich and large households have a high absolute number of actives, but a low relative number because they often include many women and many youngsters not yet having a plot. Poor farmers mostly have only 1 wife and a few children, which results in a relatively high number of active persons.

The possession of land was not related to the presence of *navetanes* in the household. While the 15 land borrowers had on average one *navetane* living in their household, the 8 lenders had on average only half a *navetane*. These results confirm my finding that the land lenders were relatively poor and that the *navetanes* look for wealthy employers.

For other sources of labour, like working parties and wage labour and their relation to status and wealth, see Chapter 14.

13.5 Possession of capital

13.5.1 Agricultural implements and draught animals

For the 50 households of Sonkorong I calculated how much was invested in agricultural implements and oxen, horses and donkeys. The value of the implements per household were calculated from the purchase value at the co-operative, even if they had

been bought second-hand and no correction being made for depreciation. Because only an ordinal scale was made of farm investments, this approximation was considered acceptable. The possession of animal-drawn carts was not consistently recorded, so that they have not been included in the calculation. For the purchase value of the implements and draught animals see Appendix 18.

Calculated in this way the value of farm investments per household ranged between zero and 349 000 F CFA, the average farm investment being 54 830 F CFA. The 50 households were classified in three categories: those with farm investments of 60 000 F CFA or more, those with farm investments between 20 000 and 60 000 F CFA and households with farm investments of 20 000 F CFA or less. These categories of farm investments were then correlated to size of household and number of active persons in the household. The coefficient γ between farm investments and size of household was 0.61 and between farm investments and number of active persons 0.73 (see Appendix 17, Tables 6 and 7).

Households with many active persons had a higher farm investment per active member than the households with few active members, the coefficient γ, however, being only 0.22 (see Appendix 17, Table 8)[10]. Wealth and farm investment per active member were strongly correlated, the coefficient γ being 0.80 (see Appendix 17, Table 9).

13.5.2 Cattle

The social and economic aspects of cattle have already been treated in Chapters 10 and 11. Here the pattern of ownership of cattle is briefly described. In 3 communities of the Experimental Unit in 1972 there were 12 herds of cattle: 6 were owned by households of Sonkorong, 3 by households of Thysse and 3 by households of N'Dakhar Karim. Most herds were owned by more than one household.

In addition, heads of households were not the exclusive owners of cattle. The complex pattern of ownership of a herd is shown by the example of a farmer who tended 45 head of cattle. Of this herd 14 head belonged to the head of the household, 11 to 3 children, 8 to 2 daughters of a sister, 3 to a matrilateral parallel-cousin and 9 to the former master of the head of the household. Of the 8 households owning more than 10 head of cattle 5 belonged to the category of rich farmers, 3 to the category of moderately rich[11].

Possession of small livestock gives less indication of wealth. According to the list of CNRA that works with 39 *carrés* instead of 50 households, 23 *carrés* had some sheep and 37 of the 39 some goats, the size of the flock ranging between 1 and 25.

13.6 Entrepreneurship in agriculture

13.6.1 Interest in farming

Taking into account the military and migratory past of the Wolof, the aristocratic elements in their culture, and their stratification in nobility and dependants, many writers decided that the Wolof in general were 'bad farmers' compared with those tribes in Senegal with long established agricultural traditions, like the Serer and Diola (Pelissier, 1966, pp. 150, 448; Raulin, 1967, p. 98; Bronchier, 1968, pp. 65, 142). However, although I found the Wolof to be early adopters, and shrewd business-men,

here I am only concerned with differences in entrepreneurship among the Wolof themselves, and not with a comparison with other tribes and ethnic groups.

Although the freeborn did not monopolize land and as the elite, some of their wealth was distributed on ceremonial and religious festivities, Sections 13.1 and 13.4 have shown that the freeborn had more religious side-activities and better access to labour. Thus there are differences between status groups in the wherewithal to become a good farmer.

However differences in subculture may also play a role. The freeborn consider themselves as the best Muslims of the village. On average they spend more time on studying the Koran, organizing religious festivities and visiting regional marabouts than do the slave-descendents. In addition it is mainly freeborn who visit the big mosque in Kaymor on Friday. This attention to religious affairs may occupy time otherwise spent on agriculture. Also it can be argued that, having been the former labour-commanding class over the slaves, they still are more inclined to leisure. The freeborn of Thysse were called *Soleil*, after the name of Senegal's newspaper, because, according to the *sourga* of slave descent in Sonkorong, they liked babbling so much that they never stopped their discussions. A freeborn is often too proud to work as a day-labourer (*sat*) or to participate in working parties of which a slave-descendent is the beneficiary (see Sections 14.2.3 and 14.3.1). Likewise a poor farmer of slave descent can still be asked to run errands for his former master, the latter being too proud to do jobs considered beneath his dignity. Therefore I assumed that the motivation of the freeborn to pay attention to their farms was less than that of the slave-descendents as a result of established cultural patterns.

On the other side the slave-descendents and artisans, not including the *guewel* who are really bad farmers, have a tradition of much work and little leisure. They do study the Koran but they do not deny that the freeborn are their superiors in this matter. However, they were more attached to the ceremonial tradition and they participated more in village festivities than the freeborn (see Chapter 11). The CNRA field staff were of the opinion that the slave-descendents listened better to them and were less proud than the freeborn who sometimes refused to take their advice.

To see whether motivation in farming differed between these status groups, the farmers were assessed according to the degree of application of yield-improving methods. These were chosen in such a way that they referred only to those practices which could be applied by everyone, independent of one's wealth. The following items were used:

	score
– Use of improved millet seed[12] in 1971 or 1972	½
– Use of improved sorghum seed in 1971 or 1972	½
– Cultivation of maize in 1971 or 1972	½
– Cultivation of cotton in 1971 or 1972	½
– Cultivation of rice in 1971 or 1972	½
– Use of a marker[13] or seed drill as such on a millet field	½
– Use of a marker or seed drill as such on a groundnut field	½
– Use of DDT for the preservation of groundnuts when stacked	½
– Groundnut field of head of household destumped[14]	1
– Reservation of proper groundnut seed or buying it from CNRA	1

When a farmer scored between 3 and 6 points he was considered to be highly motivated as a farmer, when scoring more than 1 point but less than 3 he was placed in the average category and when scoring 1 point or less he was considered to be poorly motivated as a farmer. The distribution of the farmers over the different categories is given in Table 39.

Table 39. Distribution of farmers according to their motivation.

Score on motivation in farming according to application of some farming practices (Items 1–6)	Number of farmers mentioned by CNRA fieldstaff			
	2 or 3 times	once	not at all	total
3–6	7	6	1	14
1½–2½	4	5	8	17
0–1	0	3	16	19
Total	11	14	25	50

In another way motivation in farming was measured by asking 3 CNRA fieldworkers to divide the farmers into 3 classes (see also Table 39). It was made clear to them that the farmers should be classified according to their interest in farming independent of their economic capability to adopt the innovations propagated. So farmers who had adopted the farm model *thèmes lourds* but who were not really putting it into practice, were not necessarily highly motivated farmers, whereas farmers hardly able financially to adopt any innovation but starting work early and keen to improve their production by measures lying within their possibilities were regarded as most interested farmers. Each extension field-worker classified the farmers independently. Those they mentioned twice or three times were considered to be highly motivated, those mentioned once moderately and the farmers not mentioned as poorly motivated in farming.

Both indicators correlated highly ($\gamma = 0.79$). It was then decided to combine both into an index and to consider as highly motivated farmers those falling in the 3 top left cells (17), as poorly motivated farmers those of the bottom right cells (16) and the rest as moderately motivated farmers (17).

When we consider the ascribed status of these farmers 4 freeborn had high scores, 4 moderate and 3 low and that of the 35 slave-descendents 10, 13 and 12 had corresponding scores. Motivation thus seems independent of ascribed status and my assumption was not confirmed. Wealth was more related to motivation in farming, the coefficient γ being 0.83 (see Appendix 17, Table 10).

The reasons why poor farmers pay less attention to their farms are not fully understood. Perhaps the fieldworkers bypassed the poorer farmers or they were so poor that they could not even apply the cheapest farming practices.

13.6.2 Adoption of innovations

In 1971 17 farmers of freeborn and slave origin from Sonkorong cultivated the propagated crop cotton. The correlation between cotton cultivation and wealth was moderately high, γ being 0.50 (see Appendix 17, Table 11). The crop was cultivated by 6 freeborn and 11 slave-descendent farmers.

In 1971 205 bags of fertilizer of 50 kg were bought by 23 farmers of Sonkorong. The coefficient γ between application of fertilizer and wealth was 0.58 (see Appendix 17, Table 12). It was applicated by 7 freeborn and 16 slave-descendent farmers. The number of bags bought ranged between 0 and 26 per household; the 5 freeborn or slave-descendent farmers who bought 10 bags or more belonged to the category of rich farmers. Three were of slave origin.

Ploughing at the end of the wet season was widely adopted by the farmers but the total area ploughed was still small. Of the about 250 households in the Experimental Unit 41 farmers ploughed 36 hectare altogether in 1971. Many farmers had adopted ploughing partly because it was possible to hire ploughs cheaply from CNRA (only 125 F CFA per 0.25 ha). Of the 10 farmers of Sonkorong who had adopted ploughing, 6 were rich and 4 moderately rich. Five farmers were of slave origin.

Farmers who want to apply the *thèmes lourds* have to destump a plot of at least 4 hectare, as rectangular as possible. They have to use improved seed, and follow a fixed rotation-schedule. When they correctly follow this advice of CNRA and have a pair of oxen, the government gives them 400 kg calcium phosphate free of charge to counteract phosphate deficiency. Farmers with oxen and enough labour to destump such an area were the richer farmers. In the Experimental Unit in 1971 there were 13 farmers who had started to destump their (*diatti*) farms. Of these 13 farmers 10 received the phosphate and these could be considered as having begun to apply the *thèmes lourds*. Altogether the farm model *thèmes lourds* was applied on only 16 hectare. The 3 farmers of Sonkorong applying this farm type were all rich men; one was a slave-descendent.

The *palonnier double*, a chassis for the use of 2 seed drills at a time had been adopted by 6 farmers in the Experimental Unit. Of these 6 farmers 2 were farmers of Sonkorong, both belonging to the category of rich and freeborn farmers.

It can be concluded that the wealthy farmers are the agricultural innovators. If one considers the relative numbers of freeborn and slave-descendent farmers in Sonkorong, adoption of farm improvements seems to be independent of ascribed social status, as was motivation in farming.

13.7 Businessmen among the farmers

13.7.1 Lending of oxen

The number of oxen as draught animals has increased rapidly in the Experimental Unit because of strong encouragement of the extension and government officials. There were 6 pairs of oxen in 1969, 43 pairs in 1971 and 66 pairs in 1972. However, farmers often lacked the labour, feed and knowledge to make full use of their oxen and so the oxen hardly worked. Hence, due to lack of feed in the dry season, most oxen were sent back to the herd to graze in the bush (see Chapter 10).

That farmers only partly used their oxen and that the increase in the number of oxen implied less success than CNRA would have the Prime Minister believe when speaking of an 'irreversible process of modernization', must also be explained as follows. Only some of the farmers with a pair of oxen actually own them. Rich farmers, thus those with a herd of cattle, have interpreted the advice of CNRA in their own way. They observed that oxen separated from the herd and housed in the homestead during the wet season increased in weight more than if left grazing the bush area. On the basis of this observation they calculated that a profit could be made by selling oxen which had been housed in the wet season. They therefore took oxen from their herd not only to be housed as draught animals in their own homestead, but also lent them to farmers without a herd.

These latter farmers readily accepted a pair of oxen for several reasons. First, when an ox dies, the loss is for the owner as long as negligence has not been established on the part of the borrower. Second, the borrowing of a pair of oxen is encouraged by government policy which stipulates that a farmer with a pair of oxen, whether he owns them or not, at the start of the wet season should receive 220 kg groundnut seed extra on loan[15]. Third, a man with agricultural implements but without traction is helped in this way and is not only able to till his own farm but also other plots for which he will receive remuneration (*sat*). Farmers who believe that by having a pair of oxen their income and yields will increase, are therefore willing to have a pair entrusted to them.

However, an owner, in need of cash or seeing a profit, may withdraw the oxen to have them slaughtered or to trade them. When housed an adult pair of oxen can easily reach a slaughter weight of 250 kg and when sold for the price of 100 F CFA per kg, which was the usual price, he has a larger profit than just slaughtering or trading a pair from the herd[16]. Although the borrower has the first right to buy the pair at their value in meat, he often is not able to do this and as a result is left with his implements. For example in 1971, when the village head of Sonkorong went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, he withdrew 3 pairs of oxen on loan to farmers in the Experimental Unit and sold them to the local butchers for 111 500 F CFA to pay for the pilgrimage and for millet for his household during his absence. Likewise, the son of a rich farmer in Sonkorong withdrew in 1971 2 pairs from borrowers, 1 pair was sold and the other was traded for another pair which later was entrusted to one of the original borrowers. Another borrower worked with a pair of oxen on other people's plots, but the owner became afraid they had to work hard and would lose weight and he withdrew the pair.

A farmer who borrows a pair of oxen has to become a client of the owner and spends some days a year on the owner's farm using his pair of oxen to help with the weeding, harvesting or soil preparation. For example, it was observed that one borrower had to lift half a hectare of groundnuts for the owner of the pair, while another was obliged to cultivate the owner's land at the start of the wet season and to transport groundnut straw to the owner's homestead at the end of the wet season. Still another farmer had to transport and spread the dung of the borrowed pair over the millet plot of the owner.

In Sonkorong in 1971 there were 11 farmers with oxen, 7 were owners of the pair of oxen, 4 were borrowers. Of these 7 owners, 3 had not only lent out 4 pairs to villagers, but also 3 pairs elsewhere. With the exception of one farmer, all 7 owners belonged to the category of rich farmers. The 3 farmers of Thysse who had lent out 6 pairs of oxen

to other farmers were all rich farmers, as were the 2 farmers of N'Dakhar Karim who entrusted 3 pairs of oxen to others.

The farmers thus have adopted oxen as draught animals because of the strong recommendations of the government and extension service. Although it is doubtful whether the use of a pair of oxen increases their yields, the rich farmers, lenders of oxen, do make a profit by making new clients and by trading their oxen.

13.7.2 Moneylenders and shopkeepers

It is not surprising that many Wolof farmers overspend or consume conspicuously. Gorer stated that the Wolof are: "much preoccupied with money; it is one of the most constant words in their conversation. They do not value it for its own sake, however, as soon as they have paid their taxes and their debts they will employ whatever money they possess in gifts and in ostentation. When the groundnut cultivators were making a great deal of money, they would as soon as they were paid ransack the shops for the most expensive perfumes, clothes, cigars; they would flaunt these till they had been seen by everyone and then discard them, and wait in comparative poverty till the next harvest" (cited by Gamble, 1967, p. 74).

That the Wolof were early adopters was seen in Chapter 9, which proved that many farmers were willing to adopt agricultural innovations but had severe problems in the repayment of the installments. Thus the role of moneylender and shopkeeper is still more important today.

In the village Thysse I observed that at least 5 farmers sold their bags of fertilizer, obtained on credit from the co-operative at the start of the wet season, for two-thirds the value to other farmers, because they urgently needed cash. Likewise, when at the start of the wet season the Development Assistance Office ONCAD lent groundnut seed to the farmers to be repaid after the harvest, some rich farmers collected this seed from their debtors, who were then left with nothing. Four farmers of Sonkorong had to sell in this manner 1100 kg groundnut seed. Indebtedness increased through the high rates of interest. When money was lent from the start of the wet season (June) till the moment the groundnut co-operatives started buying (January), an interest rate of 50% was calculated. One case was observed of an interest rate of 25% a month for a cash-loan. The interest rate of 25% of the co-operative for groundnut seed and fertilizer on credit for one year compared favourably with private rates of interest.

The main moneylenders of Sonkorong were 3 farmers of whom 2 also kept a shop. Of the 12 persons whose income and expenditure were investigated (Appendix 13), 7 of them had borrowed money from these farmers, in total 20 000 F CFA.

While there were some farmers in the Experimental Unit who lent money, but were not shopkeepers, more often the functions of moneylender and shopkeeper were combined. A shopkeeper has the additional advantage that he can increase his wealth not only by lending money, but also by lending in kind and accepting repayment in kind. The price for the goods as repayment for a loan in kind is far below the official price. In September, when millet has been harvested and the women have obtained some kilograms of millet as presents for participating in working parties (*wathan tal*), they offer this millet to the shopkeeper to repay their debts incurred in the wet season when

they bought relishes for the meal and other necessities on credit. Although the official price for a kilogram of millet was 18 F CFA in 1971, the shopkeepers only paid the women 12.5 F CFA. In the next wet season, the period of food scarcity, the shopkeepers sold this millet for 30 to 40 F CFA per kg. A shopkeeper in the Experimental Unit bought in this way 500 kg millet in September for 12.5 F CFA per kilo and sold it in October for 20 F CFA to another shopkeeper. The latter shopkeeper also bought 900 kg at 25 F CFA per kg in December to sell it for 40 F CFA at the start of the wet season of 1972.

Although it is strictly forbidden to trade in groundnuts, the trade being monopolized by the Board, shopkeepers also accept payment in groundnuts. While from January onwards the farmers could get 23 F CFA per kg for their groundnuts from the co-operative in the campaign 1971, shopkeepers bought at 15 or even 10 F CFA in November from people eager or compelled to sell. These people were women in debt with the shopkeepers, *sourga* wanting to leave the village to look for jobs in the towns and *navetanes* eager to return to their family. One of the biggest shopkeepers in the Experimental Unit bought in November and December receipts of groundnuts delivered at the co-operative for a price far below their value in January when the co-operative starts buying for the official price. At the start of the wet season this shopkeeper also gave groundnut seed on credit at an interest rate of 40%. However, he was tracked down by a government inspector and because of the volume of his illegal transactions in groundnuts, estimated at about 8000 kg, he was fined 50 thousand F CFA. This fine would have been probably still higher if CNRA had not intervened, as they considered him to be a progressive farmer.

There were 24 shopkeepers in the Experimental Unit of about 250 households. In Sonkorong (50 households) there were 6 shopkeepers, in Thysse (31 households) there were 5 and in N'Dakhar Karim (16 households) there were 3. For every 8 households there is thus a shopkeeper. Not all shopkeepers are as rich as the shopkeeper mentioned above. Although most shopkeepers are able to accumulate wealth, the Wolof shopkeepers are given to overspending and sometimes are robbed by their wives, so that some of them went bankrupt and had to close their shop. Of the 24 shops, no less than 7 were owned by *navetanes* who settled in the Experimental Unit years ago. These *navetanes* had no relatives living in the neighbourhood. Therefore they travelled less than Wolof so that they seldom had to entrust their shop to someone else. If necessary, he could even leave his wife in charge of the shop, there being more trust between a *navetane* couple than between a Wolof man and his wife. Of the 17 Wolof shopkeepers, 10 were freeborn and 7 were slave-descendents, which is roughly representative of the status groups in the Experimental Unit.

According to the villagers the first shopkeepers were slave-decendents. In the Experimental Unit 4 shops were established shortly after World War II and 1 shop before. Of these 5 shops, 4 were owned by slave-descendents and 1 by a farmer descending from a freeborn father and a slaveborn mother. It is very likely that some slave-descendents have improved their position by being shopkeeper because freeborn women borrow from slave-descendent shopkeepers. Freeborn men also borrow money from slave-descendents (Klein, pers. commun.).

Shopkeepers of the rural towns also do business with the village. So the shopkeepers of the Experimental Unit obtain most of their merchandise from the shopkeepers of Kaymor, sometimes on credit. For this favour two shopkeepers of N'Dakhar Karim and their clients therefore organized some working parties for their creditor in Kaymor. Of the 12 cases on income and expenditure (Appendix 13), 7 people had borrowed money, 2 from a shopkeeper in Kaymor. Amin (1969, p. 62) gave the names of former private traders in groundnuts under the colonial rule (these traders were called *Organismes Stockeurs* (O.S.). After nationalization of the groundnut trade in the early sixties, these private traders became the large shopkeepers, wholesale traders and taxi or lorry owners at the former collecting points or *escales*, such as Kaymor. Of the 4 transporters in Kaymor, 3 were former private traders (O.S.) and together they owned 5 lorries and 3 taxis.

Mauretanians are also active in these larger villages and towns as shopkeepers. Like the *navetanes* they are able to work without having to share their wealth with kin. These Mauretanians often live only temporarily in Senegal, their aim being to return home after some years as a rich man and they therefore take for granted a level of living which a Wolof would consider unacceptable. Many shops have been taken over by these 'Moors' from the authochtonous population. In addition they buy sheep and goats in the villages and hamlets to sell to the butchers of the towns. In the dry season many *navetanes* roam the countryside on their bicycles as small mobile vendors (*dioula*) of cloth, wrist watches, ornaments and the like which they bought in the towns or smuggled in from Gambia. Because the Wolof travel much, they often return with articles from the towns which the small village-shopkeeper or *dioula* are not able to sell due to the low turnover. The articles are bought in shops owned by Mauretanians, Syria-Lebanese or even Frenchmen. The non-state commercial sector outside the village is thus largely owned by people of other ethnic groups.

13.7.3 The borom barke

Barke stems from the Arabic term *baraka*, meaning blessing or blessed. The Wolof consider a *borom barke* or 'blessed person' as someone who is rich, has much a fortune, is wise, has a large family and is influential. 'A *borom barke* is a man who has many people who listen to him', a farmer stated. Another said, 'a *borom barke* is a man who can afford everything', while another concluded 'Formerly a *borom barke* was a man with a large family, nowadays he is a man who is rich because it is him who is obeyed'. When asked how to become a *borom barke*, they often replied that *barke* can be obtained by strict obedience and devotion to one's Caliph and one's parents and for a woman, by submissiveness to her husband and diligence in her domestic duties. Success or fortune thus seems to be obtained by religious devotedness. However, in practice, the *borom barke* were the outstanding wealthy men who became rich by being active in the agricultural and commercial sector. Some of the characteristics of those known as *borom barke* in the Experimental Unit are given in Table 40.

It shows that the *borom barke* are very rich. They continue their traditional investments in wives and herds and try to obtain the title *El Hadji*. But they also invest in agriculture by hiring labour and buying farm implements. They had the largest share of the innovations adopted as mentioned in Section 13.6.2. All the *borom barke*, with one exception, were

Table 40. Characteristics of the borom barke in the Experimental Unit.

Village or hamlet	Code number of *borom barke*	Size of household	Number of wives	Bearing title *El Hadji* or *Adjouratou*	*Borom*[1] *sat* (hires labour)	Number[2] of head of cattle	Number of pairs of oxen lended	Farm investment per member of household in F CFA	Male *navetanes* in household	Side-activities[3]	Status
Sonkorong	1	17	4	yes	yes	< 50	4	82 030	3	village head, money-lender, marabout	freeborn
	2	6	1	no	yes	—[5]	—	15 930	—	shopkeeper money-lender, cattle-trader	Fula slave-descendent
	3	24	2	yes	yes	> 50	1	32 310	1	money-lender, former shopkeeper	leather-worker
Thysse	4	14	2	yes	yes	> 50	1	—	3	village head	freeborn
	5[4]	14		yes	yes	> 50	3	—	3	wife of village head trader	freeborn
N'Dakhar Karim	6	24	4	yes	yes	> 50	1	—	4	shopkeeper	freeborn
Keur Dianko	7	11	4	yes	yes	> 50	1	—	—	former trader, money-lender	freeborn
Keur Moussa Ba	8	46	4	yes	—	> 50	1	—	—	head of hamlet, shopkeeper	*Toucouleur* of slave descent

1. See Chapter 14 for information on *borom sat*.
2. Because cattle are taxed, only rough indications are given here.
3. In Chapter 14 other side-activities of *borom barke* are discussed.
4. No. 5 was a woman.
5. no data obtained.

active in local trade.

Since the 8 *borom barke* belong to all status-groups, status does not necessarily prevent a man from being recognized as influential. In Chapters 14 and 15 it will be seen whether rich slave-descendents are also allowed to occupy formal positions of authority in the local development agencies.

13.8 Conclusions

Although the artisans and the slave-descendents established themselves as fully fledged farmers some decades ago, the freeborn, being more strict practitioners of Islam than the artisans and the slave-descendents, could maintain their position of esteem. Their esteem is still expressed in the respective lengths of the mourning periods of the different status-groups, the place destined for each status-group in the graveyard, the giving of gifts at the ceremonies of the life cycle and in status-group endogamy. Because the religious elite originates from among the freeborn and because in mixed villages only freeborn are village heads, they have more authority and more avenues to additional income than the other status-groups.

When farmers were categorized according to wealth, the amount of farm land possessed was not important in explaining wealth. Till 1972 land was equally distributed over the households and the wealthier farmers had to borrow land from the poorer farmers. More important was the amount of labour available per household. The category of wealthy farmers had the largest households with more active persons per household than the other categories. They also profited most from the labour of *navetanes*. By a stronger family-tradition and the reception of adepts the freeborn as a group had larger households. Thus they were overrepresented in the category of the rich, while the slave-descendents were overrepresented in the categories of the moderately rich and poor farmers. Because wealth is so much connected with having large polygamous families, involvement in the money market thus did not decrease the size of the household. However, because of the large size of the households of the rich, their economic mobility is cyclical.

Because wealthy households, including several active members, have the opportunity to collaborate and are able to borrow farm land, they invest most in farm implements and draught animals. I observed that wealthy households were early adopters of both cheap and expensive farming methods. Adoption of these practices was not related to differences in ascribed status. Shopkeeping and moneylending, mostly being combined, as well as the trading of cattle (oxen) are additional, but very important avenues to wealth. The fact that the slave-descendents were the first shopkeepers may explain why some slave-descendents also belong to the category of wealthy farmers. Nowadays local shops are also owned by the freeborn and settled *navetanes*, the latter rarely having to entrust their shops to others and therefore seldom losing money through embezzlement. Shops in the towns are often owned by non-Senegalese.

The very rich are called *borom barke*. They are pre-eminently the agricultural entrepreneurs. They are able to attract a clientage by lending oxen and by occupying the most important positions in the local commercial sector. Although underrepresented, some slave-descendents also were considered as *borom barke*.

A working party of young men harvesting groundnuts.

The heaping of groundnuts: a female task. The plot was badly kept.

Heaps of groundnuts and a proud farmer.

Threshing of groundnuts by two navetanes.

Notes

1 These schools cannot be called *dara* as some writers call them, because a *dara* is a religious community, settled in a separate village, who work mainly for their marabout who is the village head.

2 We do not speak here of the descendents of the founders of the brotherhoods (Caliphs) in Senegal. These benefit on a large scale from the work of the *taalibee* on their farms and they also receive presents in money or in kind from the members of the brotherhood when they pay their annual visit (*magal, ziara*) to the Caliphs. In addition they receive economic advantages from the government. For example: one of their activities is farming. The Caliphs Tydiane at Kaolack cultivated a farm of 600 ha; a son of the Caliphs Mouride at Touba even had a farm of 2500 ha. Government tractors sometimes were employed on their farms and food granted by international agencies or western countries was used to feed their *taalibee*. (Pers. commun. from extension officers).

3 A blacksmith charges about 100 F CFA for making an *iler*, 50 F CFA for making a *conco* and 200–500 F CFA for making an axe. A woodworker charges 350 F CFA for making a pillar, 600–1000 F CFA for making a mortar and 300–350 F CFA for making a bowl.

4 This percentage is higher than that calculated by Diop, who estimated that 30% of the marriages in the rural areas of Senegal were polygamous and also higher than the percentage given by the daily newspaper *Soleil*, which estimated that 28.6 % of the marriages in Senegal were polygamous. The higher percentage for Sonkorong may reflect the more favourable economic situation of Saloum and of the Experimental Unit in particular. Ames calculated that the average number of wives of a married man was 1.36 and 1.95 in the villages Njau and Balanger, respectively. (Diop, 1969, p. 6; *Soleil*, 16 July 1971; Ames, 1955, p. 391.)

5 Having a cemented latrine would also have been a good item, but his was realized too late. The high number of farmers with a portable radio made this item not discriminative enough.

6 Although the weight of items may imply that the items refer to qualitatively different variables, in this case this is not so, all items referring to ownership of durable luxury goods. See Galtung, 1970, p. 252.

7 In addition a slave formerly was matrilinially inherited. After his master's death he was first inherited by the master's siblings, but then by the son of his sister. When the slave had to move to the village of his master's sister, he may have lost the plot he had already cleared. Similarly this loss of land may have occurred when a slave was owned by a woman who married somebody outside the village.

8 *Navetanes* in view of their temporary stay in the household were not calculated as active members of the household. Then the *navetanes* could be manipulated as a distinct variable as well. Although *navetanes* were not included as active members it is unrealistic to base economic calculations on a fraction of active male equivalents in the household of 2/3 as does CNRA (see Chapter 10).

9 Thus there is a very clear relation between size of household and number of active persons in the household ($\gamma = 0.94$) and between wealth and number of active persons ($\gamma = 0.66$). See Appendix 17, Tables 3 and 4).

10 The 6 cases in the left bottom cell that weaken the correlation were all farmers scoring high on investment but still too young to have a large household.

11 Because cattle are taxed, the exact number of cattle owned by the farmers in Sonkorong, although known, is not given here.

12 Improved millet and sorghum seed can be acquired from CNRA on loan or paid directly. Because only a few kilograms are necessary, the cost is very low. Cotton seed is provided by the CFDT, which subtracts expenses before paying the farmers later for their cotton.

13 Markers can be made locally by the farmers themselves.

14 The last two items were given more weight because CNRA considered these themes especially important for the increase of farmers' incomes. Groundnut seed of ONCAD is often damaged and of low quality. For the reason for different scores, see the footnote in Section 13.2.

15 Groundnut seed can be obtained on credit from the Development Assistance Office ONCAD

as follows: for every tax-paying man 120 kg and for every tax-paying woman 60 kg.

16 According to the extension service SODEVA a young but good developed pair of oxen, selected from the herd was worth between 12 and 15 thousand F CFA when traded (SODEVA, 1971a).

14 Traditional and modern forms of co-operation

As has been explained in Chapter 13 the degree of success of the Wolof type of farming is very dependent on the amount of labour available in the household. Although in the 1960s agricultural equipment and draught animals were introduced among the farmers, manual labour, however, has remained almost as important as in former days. Many agricultural operations can only be done manually, like the weeding of the rows, the harvesting, heaping, threshing and winnowing of groundnuts and the harvesting and pounding of millet. In addition the new farming-methods such as timely sowing and weeding, application of fertilizer and thinning are very time-consuming. The keeping of a pair of oxen also demands extra labour effort, as also the new crop cotton (see Chapter 10).

Since former days the Wolof have made use of several types of working parties and of paid labour in addition to the labour available in the household and that offered by the *navetanes*. The use of these working parties is considered in Sections 14.1 and 14.2, paid labour in Section 14.3. Traditional respect for the freeborn by those of low status and the costs of organizing a working party resulted in the hypothesis that ascribed status and wealth are related to the reception of working parties and to paid labour.

I assumed that the village marketing-co-operative, introduced in 1962, had become controlled by the freeborn farmers, the men of standing. I examined also whether any wealthy slave-descendents or artisans were allowed to acquire authority by becoming members of the co-operative council and other local organizations. In Section 14.4 membership and participation in the village co-operative is studied. In Sections 14.5 and 14.6 the village branch of UPS, the village school and other sources of education are dealt with.

14.1 The 'traditional' working parties

Apart from the age-sets tilling a communal field and the groups of farmers cultivating a marabout field, among the Wolof of Saloum the following types of working party exist: *santaanee, ngont, dimboli, sat tol* and *tankhoudji*. First the different types of working party are described and then in Section 14.2 data are given about how often these working parties occur, who participates in them and who receives them.

14.1.1 Santaanee

The term *santaanee* stems from the verb *santa* meaning 'calling somebody' or 'asking a service'. This type of working party is organized for somebody to whom one is socially or economically indebted. A farmer of N'Dakhar Karim explained to me why he and

a group of relatives had organized a *santaanee* at Sonkorong: "This man is my best friend. He gives me cash on credit at the start of every wet season. In return I help him in cultivating his fields and I repair the doors and the roofs of his house".

A *santaanee* takes the whole day and in return the participants receive 2 meals, one at about 11h30, the other at about 18h00. The receiver of a working party remains at home, supervising the preparation of the meals by his wives or visiting the working party only to distribute kola nuts and cigarettes. He remains at home so that the participants do not feel that they are being supervised in their work. If they were treated as paid labourers their pride would be hurt because the work is intended to honour their host.

One has to be invited to join a *santaanee* because only specific persons participate. A farmer who wants to have a certain agricultural operation done by a *santaanee* does not organize it himself, but uses an intermediary who also directs the working party. The intermediary who organizes a *santaanee* feels very ashamed when the people he has invited do not turn up. However, when many accept his invitation and everybody works hard, he feels fine and he and the beneficiary will praise the participants.

The intermediary can be somebody who is personally indebted to the receiver of a working party, like a son-in-law, a descendent of a former slave or a debtor. Then he usually obtains participants on the basis of reciprocity. For example a son-in-law who is indebted to the beneficiary, is helped by his friends, not because they are his clients but because some day they will need his help too when they have to organize a *santaanee* for their family-in-law. Participants are likewise invited on the basis of reciprocity when a man works for other kinsmen, like for his mother's brother or his father's brother's daughter (*dieukee*) or when a former slave works for his master.

However, to obtain participants, an intermediary can also make use of debt relations between him and his clients. In N'Dakhar Karim there were 2 shopkeepers, one was in debt to the other and the first shopkeeper organized a *santaanee* for his creditor and recruited participants from among his clients. However, his creditor was in debt to shopkeepers of Kaymor, and he, his clients and the other shopkeeper of N'Dakhar Karim and his clients left the hamlet 3 times to work in Kaymor in the agricultural campaign of 1971, the size of the working parties being 15, 17 and 18 members.

If all members of the working party have social or economic obligations towards the farmer benefitting from the working party the intermediary can be just a relative or an ordinary participant. A working party of 40 heads of households and *sourga* of Sonkorong weeded a groundnut field of a moneylender in Thysse. A farmer explained as follows this very large number of participants: "When a man is influential everybody comes; when not, one only goes to help the person who invites you (intermediary). In this case we all respect him, and we have come to honour him". These examples show that, besides the position of the beneficiary of a working party, the position of the intermediary is also very helpful in understanding participation.

The receiver of a *santaanee* is expected to give the participants very good meals; especially the evening meal must be excellent. However, when there is a strong vertical relation between the beneficiary and the intermediary, it is the latter who pays for the meals as a man organizing a *santaanee* for his fiançée or her parents (see Chapter 11).

For some agricultural operations done by *santaanee* the total costs of the two meals served have been calculated and are given in Table 41. The average costs of a *santaanee*

Table 41. The cost of a *santaanee*.

Agricultural activity	Number of participants	Total costs[1] in F CFA	Costs per head in F CFA
Weeding groundnuts	13	2340	180
Weeding groundnuts	10	2100	210
Weeding groundnuts	10	2000	200
Weeding groundnuts	8	1110	139
Harvesting groundnuts	14	860	61
Harvesting groundnuts	11	1570	143
Weeding sorghum	12	1900	158
Pounding millet	12	1500	125

1. When products, poultry or small livestock from the beneficiary's own farm were used for the meals, these have been calculated according to the current prices in the village.

were higher than have been calculated by Couty and Copans, who stated that these expenses ranged between 80 and 150 F CFA per head (Copans et al., 1972, p. 198).

For paid labour the wage is 100–150 F CFA for a morning's work (see Section 14.3). A *santaanee*, which takes the whole day, thus seems a cheaper form of labour. However, paid labourers start working earlier than a *santaanee*, at about 7h30, and continue till about 12h30. They work faster and more systematically. A *santaanee* is larger and people regularly stop working to call a person names or to make jokes. So often less work is done than by a group of paid labourers equal in size but only working for the morning. When the beneficiary of the working party has to borrow money to buy food, the costs per head are still higher. Two of the *santaanee* mentioned in Table 41 were organized with a loan at an interest rate of 50%.

Although participation in most *santaanee* is based on social or economic indebtedness, there are also *santaanee* organized by and for friends or *santaanee* in which people participate just to have a meal. These *santaanee* are often smaller and usually the beneficiary himself also participates in the working party. These *santaanee* are probably organized by a host who wants to have a certain activity done quickly, but cannot make use of paid labour because he lacks cash and is considered too poor by the moneylenders to obtain cash on credit. Ingredients and relishes for meals, however, are advanced by the shopkeeper who will be paid back in millet or groundnuts after the harvest. This type of *santaanee* is also necessary because there is often not enough paid labour available, this type of work being considered inferior and only being done by persons in financial trouble.

According to the village elder the number of *santaanee* has increased in the last decades. Probably this increase was caused by the increase in area cultivated with groundnuts.

14.1.2 Ngont

Ngont is the same type of working party as a *santaanee*, but the participants work only in the afternoon between about 15h00 and 18h00. Only one meal is offered. Since

the working hours of a *ngont* are short, the field of the beneficiary must be small. It is usually a woman's plot on which the male agricultural activities have to be done. The woman who is not helped by members of her own household, can make use of her position as patrilateral parallel-cousin (*dieukee*), fiançée, mother's sister or washerwoman[1] and ask a man to help her. On the basis of reciprocity this man invites friends and age-mates to participate in a *ngont*. For three cases the costs of the meal were calculated. See Table 42.

Table 42. The cost of a *ngont*.

Agricultural activity	Number of participants	Total costs in F CFA	Costs per head in F CFA
Weeding groundnuts	4	450	113
Weeding groundnuts	7	565	81
Harvesting groundnuts	5	640	128

14.1.3 Dimboli

While people most often participate in *santaanee* and *ngont* to acquit social and economic debts or help a debtor on the base of reciprocity, a *dimboli* exemplifies real solidarity in which levelling mechanisms fully operate. The verb *dimbeul* means 'helping a person'. Either the receiver or the participants profit from this type of working party.

Sometimes a *dimboli* is organized for people who, not due to their own fault, are behind with their agricultural operations. For example, in 1971 a young man of Thysse was ill during the weeding period and no less than 49 *sourga* worked on his field for a morning. Such a working party operates without an intermediary and the date, the length of the working day and size of the group is determined by the villagers themselves. No meal is required. When the beneficiary is rich he may offer a meal, but this is up to him. When work is done all people who have participated are not praised, as after a *santaanee*, but they are blessed by the beneficiary or his representative. Apart from labour-aid to a sick person or persons in other ways not able to till their farm, aid between closely related families is also called *dimboli*, because the working party involved is seen as mutual aid between equals. Here agricultural equipment is often employed. As was seen in Section 12.4.4, this type of aid between related households is rare.

At the end of other *dimboli* the participants receive help, i.e. gifts in kind. For example, when a head of a household has cultivated a large millet field, everybody is allowed to help him to harvest the crop and to carry the bushels to his homestead. He cannot refuse anybody. For cutting the ear of millet (*ngob*), men as well as women may participate and when this activity takes a whole day, they receive a *wathan tal* of 5 to 8 kg millet. Especially the poor farmers and the women participate in harvesting millet to increase their food supply.

For the agricultural tasks performed during and after the harvest of groundnuts and cotton this levelling also operates, but for these cash crops the owner must approve participation in a *dimboli*. Except for the digging up and threshing of groundnuts, which is hard work and a male task, all other activities during and after harvest are exclusively the women's domain who participate to increase their income. For the heaping of the dug-up groundnuts, the women receive a present of about 5 kg groundnuts, for winnowing groundnuts about 10 kg, for pounding millet about 6 kg and for picking cotton 150–200 F CFA a day.

14.1.4 Sat tol or togne

Sat tol means 'stealing a field', *togne* means 'teasing somebody'. Both terms refer to the same working party which has an obvious levelling effect. The working party is performed by the youngest male age-set when it is in need of some cash to organize a festivity. At night or in the early morning, 'without warning', the age-set may suddenly appear on a field of a villager to work on it. In this manner they oblige him to give them a present. The terms 'stealing' or 'teasing' refer to this obligation to give a present for work performed which was not asked for. The villager chosen by the age-set was said to be a rich man.

In 1969 in Sonkorong a *sat tol* was organized when the youngest age-set was in need of pressure lamps to illuminate their weekly wrestling parties (*lambe*) and they 'stole' a field from a rich shopkeeper in Kaymor by harvesting his millet. In 1971, the youngsters of Thysse 'stole' a field from the rich village head to earn money to offer a meal to their guests who had come to the Experimental Unit during the visit of the Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture. In this case I observed that the work on the field was done by day and first discussed with the village head, who paid 5000 F CFA. In 1972 in Thysse and Sonkorong no *sat tol* was organized. People said that *sat tol* was organized more regularly in the past.

14.1.5 Tankhoudji

Tankhoudji literally means 'visiting a parent'. *Tankhoudji* has the same levelling effect as a *dimboli* but is more restricted. Strictly speaking it is not a working party because there are only one or two participants. *Tankhoudji* can be observed during the shelling of groundnuts just before the start of the wet season and during the winnowing of groundnuts after the wet season.

Shelling in fact is a very easy task, often done by the children of the household or by a group of women or men who chatter and joke continuously. Villagers can spontaneously join in shelling, because it gives them an opportunity to talk and to express friendship. No present in kind is given. However, women without groundnut seed for the coming agricultural season can visit a richer relative to help with the shelling. This man is then obliged, apart from feeding her, to give her groundnuts. Visits of female relatives may likewise occur at winnowing time. They receive a present in groundnuts which is often larger than that given to the women of the village. How often *tankhoudji* occurs has not been established but seems of minor importance, compared with the frequency of the working parties *santaanee, ngont* and *dimboli*.

14.1.6 Nadant

The *nadant* is based on mutual aid between friends and is strictly reciprocal. There are no meals or presents involved, the only reason for collaboration is that people work more motivatedly in this way. If a meal is served all contribute to the expenses, but this happens rarely. A group of 3 *sourga* can work in rotation on each other's plots and also co-wives work in this manner. The *navetanes* of the same ward or hamlet prefer to work in a *nadant*. Also a head of a household may choose a *nadant*-partner, so that he can work with animal-drawn implements. For example, he may own a cultivator, but not a horse and he may try to co-operate with a farmer who owns a horse but not a cultivator. A farmer may also exchange two days of manual labour on somebody's farm for one morning's use of his agricultural equipment.

The relations between *nadant*-partners are always those of friendship. I also observed that *nadant*-partners belonged to the same status-group: of a sample of 11 freeborn *sourga* only 3 co-operating with a *sourga* of slave-descent and of a sample of 28 *sourga* of slave-descent only 4 co-operating with a freeborn.

14.2 Quantitative data on santaanee, ngont and dimboli

14.2.1 Frequency of working parties

In the first three months of 1972 a post factum interview was held in Sonkorong to obtain quantitative data on the most common working parties *santaanee, ngont* and *dimboli* to determine which farmers profited most from these working parties. For an example of the questionnaire see Appendix 19.

A questionnaire was completed for each of the 50 households of Sonkorong by my two assistants. In every household, the head of the household and one of his wives were asked about the working parties received by the household and about the working parties in which the members of the household had participated. The period considered was from June 1971, the start of the wet season, until January 1972.

In the questionnaire there was a built-in check on the total number of working parties and their size. For every working party the number of participants (from Sonkorong and other villages) had to be equal to that reported by the beneficiary as having taken part. The enquiry showed that the villagers remembered the number of people who worked for them better than the number of times they had participated in a working party (or they raised the first number). However, I also made mistakes: first participants that were members of the household were not consistently recorded; second the questionnaires were not completed for the working parties organized for *navetanes* while their aid to the villagers was recorded; third and most important the interview was post factum and not every member of the household was questioned individually. As a result the total number of participants having given aid was less than two-thirds (60%) that reported by the beneficiaries. Only this two-thirds of total exchange-labour was taken as really having been given and received. Thus the average size of a working party was reduced considerably.

Nevertheless, the number of working parties recorded and the number of participants and mandays involved was still high. From the extent of coverage I decided that some

conclusions could be drawn from the data. However, because I was not certain whether specific categories of the population had become underrepresented in the census, participants were only split up into broad categories and this only in a few situations. So no conclusions have been made about the specific kinship-relation between the beneficiary and participants. Instead this relation was divided into three broad categories: participants being members of the same household, participants living in the same compound, not of the same household, and participants from outside the compound (see Chapter 12).

Of the 50 households of Sonkorong there were 299 persons with one or more plots. Together they were the potential participants and beneficiaries of working parties. From this population 173 persons of Sonkorong had received 395 working parties of the type *santaanee, ngont* or *dimboli*. In these working parties 880 mandays were invested[2]. The participants and beneficiaries were differentiated according to whether they lived in Sonkorong or outside Sonkorong. So data were obtained about working parties organized for and by villagers, working parties entering Sonkorong and working parties leaving Sonkorong, so that labour exchange between villages could also be studied. 227 persons came from other villages to Sonkorong and spent 204 mandays in working parties on behalf of the villagers, almost a quarter of the total mandays spent in Sonkorong. The number of people from Sonkorong that participated in working parties outside the village was 265, involving 237 mandays.

14.2.2 Exchange of labour and the male and female agricultural duties

Table 43 gives the number of mandays spent in working parties on different agricutural activities in Sonkorong. Working parties for pounding millet have not been included.

Table 43. Labour spent in working parties per agricultural activity in Sonkorong.

Agricultural activity	*santaanee* + *ngont* in mandays	*dimboli* in mandays	total in mandays
Millet			
weeding	46	2	48
cutting the stalks	7	2½	9½
harvesting the ears	14	69	83
Groundnuts			
sowing	1	4	5
weeding	205½	1½	207
harvesting	181½	22	203½
heaping	10	48	58
making a stack	14½	6½	21
threshing	58½	13	71½
winnowing	33	107½	140½
transporting	1	1	2
Cotton			
picking		31	31
Total	572	308	880

Table 43 shows that most labour in working parties is employed for operations which cannot be mechanized or only with difficulty, as is explained in Chapter 10. These operations are the weeding of the rows and the third weeding of millet and groundnuts, the harvesting of millet and groundnuts and the heaping, threshing and winnowing of groundnuts. The working parties *santaanee* and *ngont* were mainly organized for early agricultural operations, such as the weeding and harvesting of groundnuts, in which it is not possible to give a present in kind, while *dimboli* is mainly organized for the operations after the crops have ripened, such as the harvesting of millet and the heaping and winnowing of groundnuts, when a present can be given.

Table 44 shows who performs which activity. In Appendix 20 the working parties have been split up according to the familial position of the beneficiary involved: head of household, *sourga* or woman.

Table 44. Composition of the working parties per agricultural activity.

		Number and position of participants		
Agricultural activity	number of work groups	heads of household	*sourga*	women
Millet				
weeding	15	8	41	
cutting the stalks	6	1	12	
harvesting the ears	35	14	13	121
Groundnut				
sowing	3		6	2
weeding	92	38	209	2
harvesting	72	38	192	2
heaping	42		3	97
making a stack	15		33	
threshing	29	4	88	
winnowing	73	1	24	183
transporting	3	2	1	
Cotton				
picking	10			62
Total	395	106	622	469

Table 44 and Appendix 20 show that there are male and female agricultural tasks. Men participate in working parties that weed millet, cut millet stalks, weed and harvest groundnuts, make one big stack of groundnuts and thresh groundnuts. As shown by Table 44 most of these male activities are done by *santaanee* and thus men seldom receive *wathan tal*. Woman harvest millet, heap and winnow groundnuts and pick cotton. These activities are those in which a present in kind can be given.

Most working parties involving the male tasks weeding, harvesting, stacking and threshing take place on the women's plots. Working parties on millet or cotton fields are almost exclusively organized on the farm of the heads of households, occasionally on a

sourga's plot but never on the women's plots.

As seen from Appendix 20, Table 2, most working parties are organized for a head of a household with the women and *sourga* as participants. Heads of households hardly ever take part in working parties benefitting *sourga* and women.

The working party's average size was 3 participants and this result is too low. As already explained the average size of a working party was reduced by deciding to use only 60% of the total exchange-labour. In addition the beneficiary of the working party was never included, even if he worked with other participants. Also the many small *ngont* on the women's fields and the many small *dimboli* decreased the average size of the larger *santaanee*. So the working parties organized for women and *sourga* were very small (without the beneficiary the average being 2.2 and 2.5, respectively), while those organized for heads of households were larger (on average 4.2 participants).

14.2.3 Who participates in working parties?

Section 12.4.4 showed that few participants were near kin of the beneficiary. Affinity and not kinship was more important in explaining participation. Affinity as motivation to participate in a working party was studied in the working parties of villagers leaving Sonkorong and of those of non-villagers entering Sonkorong. Those leaving Sonkorong involved 265 persons or 237 mandays. Of the 237 mandays, not less than 126 mandays were spent on helping a man meet his marriage obligations towards his in-laws by participating in a working party organized for his fiançée and her parents. These 126 mandays were spent in 33 working parties which were organized by 16 *sourga* and 5 heads of households whose future wife lived outside the village. One working party was organized by a girl for her boyfriend.

Those entering Sonkorong involved 227 persons or 204 mandays. Of these 204 mandays, 114½ were spent helping somebody with his marriage obligations. In total 27 working parties were organized by 13 people: 2 were organized by heads of households, 9 by *sourga* and 2 by girls. On the basis of reciprocity *sourga* and girls were helped by their friends and age-mates, the head of the household was helped by his *sourga* and those of his friends and kin. The data confirm that affinity is often the motive for participation in working parties. working parties.

Apart from affinity, membership of the same status-group is important in determining participation. Of the 1197 persons participating in the working parties organized in Sonkorong, only 62 freeborn participated in a working party of which the beneficiary was a slave-descendent, while the opposite was quite usual[3]. The 62 of freeborn status were almost all women and *sourga*. Asked why the participation of freeborn in working parties for slave-descendents was so low the informants replied that formerly a freeborn would never work on the farm of a slave-descendent and that even today the heads of the households refused to do so. They also stated that freeborn youngsters sometimes helped an age-mate of slave-descent, but only if they were sure that there was an equal (*naolee*) present.

Also the net-aid a household received was calculated, being the difference between aid given and received. Net-aid for the 50 households of Sonkorong was listed and then correlated with the size of the household. Net-aid was corrected for aid received from and given to family-in-law and then correlated with wealth and possession of farm im-

plements. See Appendix 21.

The correlation coefficient γ between size of household and aid given or received in mandays was 0.46 and 0.50, respectively. See Appendix 22, Tables 1 and 2. Family size thus partly explains the number of working parties received and how often one participates in working parties.

The coefficient between wealth and net-aid was 0.21 (Appendix 22, Table 3) and between wealth and net-aid corrected for affinity also 0.21 (Appendix 22, Table 4). The coefficient between agricultural implements per head and corrected net-aid was 0.18 (Table 5), so that an increase in value of farm implements per head corresponds with a slight increase in net-aid. People with many farm implements thus do not receive fewer working parties.

The last 3 coefficients indicate that wealth partly is associated with net-aid.

On average a freeborn household gains 6 mandays net-aid (corrected for affinity), a leatherworker's household 2 mandays, while a slave-descendent's household loses 6 mandays in exchange-labour. (For individual deviations from these averages, see Appendix 21.) High status thus coincides with net-aid.

14.3 Hired labour: sat and sas

Sat and *sas* are Wolof terms referring to wage labour. *Sat* is wage labour which is paid by day or by half a day, while *sas* is wage labour paid at piece rate. *Sat* and *sas* may refer to the hiring of manual labour as well as to the hiring of labour and agricultural implements together.

14.3.1 Sat as paid manual labour

Sat already occurred a generation ago, although to a small extent, the older people of Sonkorong only remembering 3 farmers in the neighbourhood being able to pay for labour in money or in kind. These farmers, or *borom sat* as they are called, were 3 traders in cloth and kola nuts living in Sonkorong, Diama and Bambali, respectively. Nowadays the number of *borom sat* and the number of *sat* organized has increased, although people still consider it below their dignity to work in *sat*.

A *sadoucat* or 'participant in a sat' feels ashamed that he has to take part in *sat*. One has to work manually, as hard as possible and there is supervision. When there are many *sadoucat* on the field of the *borom sat*, the latter is often present to lead the work. But a *sadoucat* may also work alone, the farmer trusting him because he often has been chosen for his efficiency and conscientiousness. In addition people say that a *sadoucat* works because he undoubtedly has desires that cannot wait. They probably want to have sexual intercourse with a woman of the village or cannot do without stimulants such as kola nuts, cigarettes or sweets. *Sadoucat* therefore, are often the *sourga* and *navetanes*. Especially *navetanes* are *sadoucat* because often when they start work for their employer, they have no pocket money left. Those *sadoucat* that are *sourga* often avoid the public square when going to the field of the *borom sat*, so that people will not see them. People who are indebted and have to repay with *sat* or who just need some cash often neglect their own farm. '*Sadoucat bi dona boyal*' ('a *sadoucat* abandons his farm'), mock the youngsters, when a friend returns home after having participated in a *sat*.

For a *sat* one has to work from about 7h30 until 12h30. For sowing, the peak period in the Wolof agricultural system, a *sadoucat* earns 150 F CFA, for weeding 125 F CFA and for harvesting 100 F CFA. Sometimes a *sat* is organized in the afternoon from about 14h30 until 18h00, the wage being 75 F CFA, but hardly anyone wants to leave the village so early in the afternoon because it is too hot.

The expenses per head are thus about the same for *sat* and *santaanee*. Although a *santaanee* takes the whole day, a *sat* of equal size for a morning only is at least as productive and even cheaper when the meals served at a *santaanee* have been obtained on credit (see Section 14.1). One farmer said: "Because people come late and even at noon (to participate in a *santaanee*), they do not work any more as was customary. You can see that the money spent to give them food and cigarettes has more value when one organizes a *sat*. When you organize a *sat* you will have tilled a larger area".

A *sadoucat* is paid in cash, but I observed that he often worked to pay off a debt to the beneficiary of the *sat*. Because it is necessary to have cash to organize a *sat* and because of the attitude of the villagers to a *sadoucat*, the working parties *santaanee* and *ngont* continue to exist, although they are more expensive and less productive for the beneficiary.

In the agricultural campaign of 1971 22 of the 50 farmers had organized one or more *sat*. There were 16 farmers who spent more than 1000 F CFA to have a *sat* on their farm, the average being 6819 F CFA. Of these 16 farmers 13 belonged to the category of rich farmers. There was a strong correlation between wealth and expenditure on *sat* ($\gamma = 0.90$, see Appendix 22, Table 6). Of the total sum spent on *sat* 69% was destined for harvesting, threshing and winnowing of groundnuts, the rest for sowing and weeding groundnuts. Threshing and winnowing was especially done by the *navetanes*.

The expenditure on *sat* was not related to a low number of active members in the household, because the *borom sat* had on average 4.8 adult male equivalents in their households, while the average for whole Sonkorong was 3.9. Nor was it related to a low value of farm investment per household. The *borom sat* are thus the rich, who do not lack labour and agricultural implements.

While not all the names of the *sadoucat* were recorded, the names of 9 heads of households and 34 *sourga* of Sonkorong are known. Of the 9 heads of households, 5 were poor farmers, 3 moderately rich and 1 was rich. Of the 15 heads of households of the 34 *sourga-sadoucat*, 4 were poor farmers, 5 moderately rich and 6 rich. *Sourga* thus may participate in *sat*, even if their father is rich. Of the 34 *sourga-sadoucat* only 5 were of freeborn origin. To check the latter, the names of 44 *sourga-sadoucat* were recorded in the hamlet N'Dakhar Karim and only 9 were of freeborn origin. Many freeborn thus still consider participation in a *sat* to be beneath their dignity.

14.3.2 Mechanically performed sat

Sat is not only paid manual labour, but also can involve the hiring of agricultural implements. An interesting phenomenon about this type of *sat* is that in working with agricultural implements on another man's farm, a *sadoucat* does not feel he loses his dignity as he does when performing the manual type of *sat*. In fact it is the richer farmers who hire out their implements and their labour or the labour of their *sourga* for this type of *sat*. Of the 14 farmers performing *sat* with implements, 8 belonged to the

rich category and 6 to the moderately rich. Up until 1972 however, mechanically performed *sat* occurred only occasionally.

During the campaign 1971 the exchange of agricultural equipment in 17 households was studied (see Chapter 12.4.4). A *sat* involving farm implements was observed 13 times with a total remuneration of 7900 F CFA. These *sat* were paid for by the rich farmers and shopkeepers; more than half of the amount was, in fact, paid by shopkeepers. In 1972 average wages were as follows. For sowing 100 F CFA per seed bin (about 4.5 kg seed) was paid. When the seed drill is drawn by a horse about 5–7 bins can be sown in a morning, and with a donkey about 4–5. The *sadoucat* brings with him the seed drill, the draught animal and a boy to lead the horse or donkey. For weeding about 500 F CFA a morning was paid, as well as for harvesting groundnuts with a lifter. For one morning's ploughing about 750 F CFA was paid, which was about 3000 F CFA per hectare.

14.3.3 Sas

Sas is piecework and covers such activities as transport by cart, repair of thatch and fences, threshing and winnowing per stack. An example of *sas*, hiring a herdsman, has already been given in Chapter 10. Although mechanically performed wage-labour as mentioned in Section 14.3.2 is also work at piece rate, it is not called *sas* but *sat*.

When a farmer owns a cart and transports firewood, bushels of millet or bags of groundnuts for people other than members of his household, he may ask for payment. For the transport of 20 bushels of millet from a distant field to the house payment was sometimes 1 bushel (valuing about 175 F CFA), but often the farmer was able to find somebody who would do this free of charge. For groundnuts however, the man or woman had always to pay the *borom charet*. For transporting 2 bags of groundnuts from the farm to the homestead about 50 F CFA was charged and for transporting it to Kaymor, 4 kilometres away, to repay the groundnut seed received on credit, 100 F CFA had to be paid.

Thatches and fences can also be repaired by means of *sas*. Although the repair of the houses is the task of the *sourga* in the dry season, people without *sourga* or whose *sourga* have left the village looking for a temporary job, are sometimes compelled to use labour from outside the compound. For thatching grass has to be collected in the bush, 4 bushels of grass can be collected and thatched in one day, the payment being about 200 F CFA a day. To make new fences a man has to collect millet, preferably sorghum stalks and carry them to the house. For a fence of about 10 metres these tasks take a day. The following day the fence is made with the aid of poles and wire or strips of the baobab tree. The remuneration for making a fence of 10 m was 200 F CFA.

Threshing and winnowing groundnuts was done per stack or per 100 kg. For threshing 100 kg groundnuts a man was paid 150 F CFA; when he also winnowed the groundnuts he received 200 F CFA per 100 kg. Threshing and winnowing by *sas* was only done by men, often by the *navetanes* of the village and sometimes by *sourga*. As was seen in Chapter 13 these young men (*bathian*) are quite often hired, especially in those households with many female members. I do not know how much a *bathian* can earn per day.

14.4 The village co-operative

14.4.1 Malfunctioning of the village co-operative

Since 1962 Thysse and Sonkorong both have had a co-operative which buys groundnuts from the farmer and sells them to the National Marketing Board (OCA) at fixed prices.

The co-operative of the village Thysse and the hamlets Keur Dianko, Keur Diombo Ba, N'Diba and Moussa Ba, administratively belonging to Thysse, had a membership of 123 farmers. Sonkorong and its hamlets N'Dakhar Karim, N'Dakhar Bacary, N'Dakhar Layine, N'Dakhar Aly Coumba, Leona, Same and N'Diayene had a co-operative with 126 members. Because these co-operatives had few members, the tonnage of groundnuts commercialized per co-operative was small, on average between 200 and 400 tonnes per campaign.

The co-operatives only trade in groundnuts. From November onwards farmers can deliver their groundnuts to the co-operative, which are then cleaned, weighed and stored. Each time a farmer delivers groundnuts, he receives a receipt which can be changed into money when the Board buys from the co-operative, from January until April. As the Board buys the stock in 2 or 3 lots, farmers are paid 2 or 3 times. Besides selling groundnuts for the farmers, the co-operative is the intermediary for agricultural implements and fertilizer on credit, implements to be paid for by 5 yearly installments and fertilizer to be paid for at the end of the same agricultural campaign.

Groundnut seed is borrowed directly from a branch of the Development Assistance Office ONCAD at Kaymor at 25% interest rate to be repaid in the same year. Fungicide, when in stock, is given to the farmers together with the seed. Occasionally the co-operative is used to distribute grain supplied by the Government after a crop failure.

The co-operatives were formed by compulsory membership. As loans could be obtained at low interest rates and the co-operatives were used as intermediary to distribute food aid, most farmers did not object to become a member. Moreover from 1963 onwards it was forbidden to sell groundnuts to private traders (the *Organismes Stockeurs*), the Board only allowing these traders to transport groundnuts to the regional collecting points and to the oil mills.

A co-operative has a chairman, a council, a general assembly and a weigher. The position of the chairman is the most important. He has more influence than the other members of the council because he handles daily affairs and signs all papers when groundnuts are sold and fertilizer or equipment is ordered. He announces the meetings, visits the regional branch of the Board and supervises the delivery of groundnuts to the co-operative by the farmers. The chairman has to be chosen by and from the members of the council and he can be re-elected. He is the only person of the council paid for his services. In Thysse and Sonkorong the chairman's salary in 1972 was 10 000 F CFA a year, paid by the respective co-operative.

Their councils consisted of 10 and 11 members respectively, including the vice-chairman and the treasurer. In the Experimental Unit every hamlet and ward had to have a member on the council. Election for membership was supposed to be free and occurs at the general assembly once every 3 years.

General meetings were held on the days that the farmers ordered fertilizer and equipment, sometimes on days of payment, or when requested by ONCAD officials or extension officers. For the election of a new member to the council normally no special meeting was arranged, but it took place at meetings held for other purposes.

To understand why the co-operatives malfunction, it is necessary to establish who bears the losses of the co-operative. The Board does not start to pay the co-operatives before the members have repaid a certain percentage of debts to the co-operative and ONCAD[4]. Thus the government uses the social control in the village, farmers who have already repaid their debts being expected to encourage those farmers not yet having repaid their debts. In years of crop failure the government may accept a lower percentage and let the Board pay the co-operative earlier.

From the money received by the co-operative to be paid to the farmer, a percentage is deducted to account for losses of the co-operative. These losses occur when outstanding debts have not been fully repaid by the farmers. When all debts have been repaid, the percentage deducted is given back to the farmers, but when only a part of the debts have been repaid, they only receive a part of the *ristourne* (rebate) for every kilogram delivered. So in 1969 the farmers were refunded 0.23 F CFA per kg, in 1970 1.16 F CFA and in 1971 1.48 F CFA (between 1 and 7% of the price per kg). The amount of rebate paid per kg is the same for all the members of the co-operative and probably one of the reasons why farmers pay off their installments with such a lack of enthusiasm.

The amount of rebate paid to the farmers is also dependent on other losses of the co-operative, those incurred by embezzlement. Fraud is often practised by the chairman and the weigher, especially when they collaborate. Because the farmers want to have their receipts turned into money as soon as possible, the chairman is under pressure to show the Board that the required percentage of groundnuts has been delivered to cover the debts. So he may write out receipts benefiting himself or his friends fraudulently inflating the total of groundnuts delivered. When the groundnuts are weighed again at the regional collecting points the fraud comes to light and the deficiency is deducted from the amount to be refunded to the members of the co-operative. Members who have repaid their debts at the co-operative are in this manner injured financially by the members who have not, or only partly, repaid their debts.

The weigher is an educated young man, employed by the council, who receives a course of some days at one of the ONCAD training-centres. The weigher is paid per tonnage commercialized (200 F CFA/tonne). Because the turnover of a village co-operative is small, his total salary per agricultural campaign is rather low (about 60 000 F CFA). Like the chairman he may write out fictitious receipts to his friends to increase the turnover. Also he may not object if the members clean their groundnuts badly, because this also increases the turnover. A former weigher also told me that a weigher may also organize that the complete load of a lorry is credited to the co-operative of a weigher-accomplice in a neighbouring village and the value of the load is then divided between the weighers. The loss, however, is carried by the members of his co-operative. The weigher thus is an important man in the village and farmers try to become his friend.

Members of the councils of the co-operatives of Thysse and Sonkorong used the en-

trance fee of 50 kg groundnuts to become a member of the co-operative to 'cover their expenses'. In 1971 a chairman annexed and tilled one of the fields of a farmer who owed money to the co-operative for at least a year. When ONCAD officials brought the money to the chairman of the co-operative of Sonkorong because commercialization had started, the bundles of banknotes were said to be incomplete. In other villages it was customary that about 10 000 F CFA was deducted from the total as a gift to the ONCAD officials. These losses are born equally by all members of the co-operative by the lowering of the rebate per kilogram. When studying the characteristics of the chairman, weigher and council members of the co-operatives of Sonkorong and Thysse I observed the following.

Between 1962 and 1972 only two members of the council were changed. A democratic election therefore did not take place. The different hamlets of the Experimental Unit were rather well represented, all hamlets having at least one member in the council. The council of the co-operative of Sonkorong had 6 members coming from the surrounding hamlets and Thysse 5 members.

The members of the council were rich men. Only when a hamlet or ward had no rich men was a poor farmer a member; in this case often an elder of the village was elected. Of the 5 council members living in Sonkorong 4 were rich men, 2 of the 4 being known as *borom barke*. Of the 11 members of the council of Sonkorong 4 were freeborn, 2 were leatherworkers and 5 were slave-descendents. Of the council of Thysse, a freeborn village, of the 10 members 8 were freeborn, 1 was a leatherworker and 1 a *Toucouleur* of slave origin from another hamlet. Two of the members were known as *borom barke*. Ascribed status did not determine membership of the council of Sonkorong, wealth and residence being more important.

A slave-descendent could also be chairman. Since 1962 the co-operative of Sonkorong has had 4 chairmen, the first 3 all making a loss in the second year and being dismissed by ONCAD. These 3 chairmen were all slave-descendents and rich men, the fourth chairman was also rich but a freeborn. The first chairman was a former shopkeeper, the second still had a shop and the third lent much land. From 1962 till 1967 in Thysse the chairman of the co-operative was a freeborn *borom barke*, and from 1968 till 1972 a rich Koran teacher.

Since 1962 the co-operative of Sonkorong has employed 5 young men as weighers: the first two were strangers, the third the son of a farmer of Thysse, the fourth a parent of a former *chef d'arrondissement*, the fifth a praise-singer of the Cisse-*Diarmew* still occupying the post in 1972. The first four all had to be dismissed because of embezzlement. In Thysse in 1962 the chairman was also the weigher, from 1963 till 1967 the weigher was the son of a brother of the village head, from 1968 till 1970 the son of a brother of a council-member and in 1971 a person without relatives in the Experimental Unit.

14.4.2 Role of the borom barke in the council

The chairman is always a notable: a shopkeeper, land lender, village head or marabout. He can come from any status-group. He is not necessarily the most influential man in the council. In fact the co-operative is manipulated by the *borom barke* who

have a say in this institution just as they have a decisive say in Wolof institutions.

In 1969 when the third chairman of the co-operative of Sonkorong had to be dismissed because the co-operative had such large losses, a new chairman had to be elected. Influenced by the *borom barke* the council wanted the chairman to continue, saying it was the weigher who had been responsible for the loss. The general assembly, the majority being slave-descendents, at first did not agree with the proposal and supported as candidate a freeborn from a hamlet belonging to Sonkorong. This man was the son of a former owner of many slaves living in the Experimental Unit. Being the son, he had no traditional rights over the slave-descendents, but he was much respected and considered as their patron. Thus the council supported a slave-descendent, the slave-descendents supported a freeborn. Because the election was in deadlock, ONCAD officials proposed as candidate a rich freeborn but not a *borom barke* who was accepted by the council and the meeting. This man did not belong to the most influential men in Sonkorong and he was generally considered to be a front man for the *borom barke* of the council. An analysis of how implements and fertilizer were ordered by the farmers at the co-operative showed this to be true.

At the general assemblies for ordering implements and fertilizer, the first held in February and the second in April (to place a supplementary order), the recommended procedure is that farmers first propose what they want, their orders are then discussed and decided upon by the council, having heard the advice given by the extension fieldworker or ONCAD official. However, in Sonkorong only one or two members of the council took almost all decisions on behalf of the members. When a farmer disagreed, he argued with this council member but finally had to give in. These council members were those known as *borom barke* and the farmers whose orders they refused at the co-operative, their debtors.

Most farmers of the village Sonkorong were dependent on one of the *borom barke* of Sonkorong, a large moneylender who used his position in the co-operative to settle affairs with his clients. The farmers of the hamlets north of Sonkorong were dependent on a *borom barke* of N'Dakhar Karim. Here the council did not disagree with the orders placed by these farmers, knowing that their *borom barke* had already screened the orders. Likewise, in Thysse a council member known as a *borom barke*, decided on almost all orders. Here again one hamlet was left in peace, as it had its own *borom barke* on the council who considered all orders placed by the farmers of his hamlet. Most of these farmers were even absent from the meetings.

That the co-operative belongs to the *borom barke* and not to the members also could be observed from the merger of the co-operatives of Sonkorong and Thysse.

14.4.3 History of the merger of two co-operatives

As remarked in Chapter 7, the aim of the government in recommending such fusions is to reduce the number of co-operatives in Senegal so as to increase the volume of turnover and the efficiency of the co-operatives[5].

One of the first mergers of two co-operatives, that of Thysse and of Sonkorong, took place in 1972 in the Experimental Unit. To the astonishment of the CNRA extension-agents, who suggested the fusion, the whole village Thysse agreed, while Sonkorong under the leadership of the 2 *borom barke* of the council furiously opposed the merger.

Although Sonkorong had a slightly larger membership (126) and thus theoretically could outvote Thysse (123 members) in the co-operative to be founded, this village nevertheless was afraid it would lose control of its own affairs because it felt less strong than Thysse.

Thysse, founded in about the 16th Century, was much older than Sonkorong, which was founded by a descendent of Thysse (Section 11.3.3). Sonkorong regarded Thysse as an elderly and distant relative which it must respect, while the inhabitants of Thysse argued that Sonkorong had to behave like a younger brother towards them. In addition, Thysse was a freeborn village (22 freeborn and 9 artisanal households), while Sonkorong had among its 50 households only 11 freeborn households.

Religious knowledge was more developed in Thysse than in Sonkorong. While in Sonkorong there were only 3 freeborn heads of households who could read and wrote Arabic properly, in Thysse there were at least 7 who did so. For more than a decade drumming has been forbidden in Thysse, but it still continues in Sonkorong. Sonkorong once made a proposal to Thysse that the villages should build a mosque together, but Thysse was too proud to participate. Rivalry between the two villages was observed in 1971 on *Koritee*, the last day of the month of the fast, when games had been organized between Sonkorong and Thysse by CNRA fieldworkers. Quarrels between the youngsters of the two villages very quickly ended the proceedings of the day. The more religious character of Thysse village implies that their marabouts have travelled extensively and have many contacts with the outside world, especially with the regional Caliphs who have an important political influence. With the aid of a Caliph, Thysse arranged that in 1960 the primary school was not built in Thysse but in Sonkorong, because the school could distract the youngsters from religion. Therefore it is not surprising that Sonkorong considered itself weaker and was opposed to the joint co-operative, especially as it was to be built on ground belonging to a Thysse farmer. However, during 1972 the government and CNRA continued to advocate the merger and some farmers of Sonkorong gradually admitted its necessity.

First there was a group of 5 farmers led by the Imam, who stated that 'religion was for unity' and 'because the white men (of CNRA) themselves did not cultivate groundnuts, there was no need to believe there was a trick behind the fusion'. The Imam was supported by the brother of his father's wife, his father's brother's son and by the *nodoucat* (muezzin) and his brother. In 1971 the orders for implements of the muezzin and his brother had been refused by one of the *borom barke* of the council and therefore they were not satisfied with the actual management of the co-operative.

Another group consisted of 2 former chairmen of the co-operative, each supported by a friend with whom they worked in *nadant*. Apparently their attitude was influenced by envy of the chairman of Sonkorong's co-operative. In addition there were 2 progressive farmers of N'Dakhar Karim who agreed to the fusion because 'the co-operative would become the possession of the whites and then embezzlement would stop'. One farmer of Sonkorong favoured the fusion because the chairman had taken one of his fields, saying he was in debt at the co-operative.

All other farmers of Sonkorong, however, said that the co-operative of Sonkorong belonged to the village head and the vice-chairman, both *borom barke*. These *borom barke* and also the chairman of the co-operative, the man of straw, were continuously

busy to encourage these farmers in their opposition; the chairman even went so far as to say that at Kaolack he had heard from ONCAD that farmers could decide for themselves whether they wanted to merge or not and there was no need to be afraid if they opposed the fusion.

Thysse met Sonkorong by offering them the chairmanship of the council of the new co-operative. The pressure of CNRA and the government continued. ONCAD officials urged the members to fuse by such remarks 'whatever the opposition, the co-operatives will merge, because the government wants it'. The farmers of Sonkorong lost their courage when voting started and gave in. Just before the voting, the two *borom barke* of Sonkorong had left the meeting.

The merger took place at the end of 1972 and a new council was set up, most of its members being chosen from the councils of the two old co-operatives. However, CNRA succeeded in introducing some young progressive farmers on the council. In 1973 when farmers could again place their orders before the council, it was observed that these younger farmers had been instructed by the *borom barke* before the meeting which orders could be approved. Two of these young farmers were in addition shopkeepers; so at the start of the new co-operative little had changed.

14.5 The village branch of UPS and the savings bank

In the Experimental Unit there were committees of UPS, that sold membership cards to the population and whose representative visited the regional meetings. There were separate committees for the adult men, the women and the youth, but the last two had not undertaken any activity for several years. In the middle sixties a field was tilled every year collectively by the adult farmers to buy membership cards from the yield, but over the years this practice has been abandoned by the villages and hamlets and in 1971 and 1972 no field at all was tilled in the Experimental Unit. In Sonkorong the chairman of the committee of the adult men was a *borom barke*, like the secretary. The vice-chairman was also the chairman of the co-operative and the treasurer an ordinary member of the council of the co-operative. They were both rich men. Only one of the four was a freeborn. In Thysse the chairman was also a *borom barke*, but I did not enquire who were the other members of the committee.

A development agency wanted to introduce a savings bank in Sonkorong, where farmers could borrow at a 1% interest rate per month. Meetings started in 1972, but that year a savings bank was not established. At these preliminary meetings only the two *borom barke* of Sonkorong and a brother of a *borom barke*, also a rich man, were present. Two of the three were slave-descendents.

14.6 The village school and other sources of education

In 1960 the government decided to start a primary school for Thysse and Sonkorong. Thysse refused to have the school in the village being afraid that the youngsters would be diverted from their religion by the use of the French language in the school. Sonkorong had to allow the school to be built on its grounds and the first teacher arrived in 1961.

Parents were not easily convinced that education at school had nothing to do with

religion and that it was better that their children were educated than that they worked on the farm. Because the parents were not motivated and because the government provided the school with few facilities the work was very hard for the teachers.

The first class started with 9 or 10 pupils; with the exception of one, all pupils were slave-descendents and leatherworkers[6]. The first teacher, from Dakar, only remained 14 days. The second stayed two years but was replaced. The villagers said that the third teacher was very good for the pupils, but he was a Catholic and finally, after 2 years, he left because of the opposition of the freeborn. The Imam of Sonkorong told the villagers he would refuse to pray for the pupils of the Catholic teacher if they died. The fourth teacher discouraged the pupils, saying continuously they were lazy and stupid. After 2 years he consulted the travelling marabout of Thysse and promised to pay him 6000 F CFA if he was transferred and gave him 2000 F CFA in advance. Coincidentally two weeks later he received orders from the government to teach elsewhere. However, even today the farmers remember this magic of the marabout. Between 1967 and 1972 there was no teacher. Between 1961–1972 only 8 pupils finished primary school.

The situation in the bigger village Kaymor, the nearest place with a school, was almost the same. The school started in 1959 with 45 pupils. In 1969 the school had 3 teachers. However in that year the head teacher, who was never absent and even remained in the village on holidays tilling his farm, was replaced by a new teacher. This man drank, chased women, played cards and was often away travelling. Informants stated he sold part of the school equipment to a private trader. The attendancy rate dropped and the head teacher was dismissed. In 1972 the school had only 1 teacher and 13 pupils.

In Senegal there are also travelling teachers or *oustache*, who have been educated at Muslim schools at Dakar. They regularly visit villages to teach the pupils the Koran and how to read and write Arabic for a small fee. The level of instruction is far better than that offered in the Koran schools of the local marabouts. In 1972 such a teacher decided together with the *sourga* of the Experimental Unit to start a course in the dry season. Huts were built in Thysse and Sonkorong and a fee was paid of 100 F CFA a month per person. About 40 *sourga* participated in the course given in Thysse and in Sonkorong, with meetings held once a week. The teacher had some modern opinions. He said it did not matter whether the pupils were educated in French or in Arabic as long as they did not remain uneducated. "I was 15 years in a local *dara* and I did not learn anything", he told the pupils. He came into conflict with the spokesman of the Imam of Sonkorong, his son-in-law, who reproached him several times for being a modernist and a bad Muslim. However, the pupils backed up the teacher and the course continued that year.

In the dry season of 1970/1971 CNRA started a course for the illiterate *sourga* of Thysse and Sonkorong, to teach them the three Rs. The course was well attended, and although many freeborn villagers did not agree with the course, the young men did not listen to the objections of their parents knowing that they were supported by CNRA.

In the dry season of 1971/1972, the second year of the course started. The first sessions were held after the evening prayer of eight o'clock so as not to annoy the Imam nor to interfere with the work on the farm. Besides the three Rs the *sourga* were taught

about the new agricultural innovations. Twice a week a course was held at Thysse and at Sonkorong by a teacher nominated by CNRA. In Thysse 21 youngsters enrolled for the second year of the course and in Sonkorong 16. Attendancy rate was on average about 10 pupils per meeting. Some *sourga* did not attend meetings because they still had not threshed and winnowed their groundnuts or were sometimes obliged to water their father's cattle. The teacher sometimes missed a meeting in Sonkorong, 1½ kilometre away from his home, because of the 'distance'. Close supervision of CNRA and aid from CNRA fieldworkers in teaching the teacher to ride a bicycle resulted in a well-organized course and the outcome was encouraging. Freeborn as well as slave-descendents participated in the course.

14.7 Conclusions

In the Wolof farming system the need for extra labour is satisfied by exchange of labour. Most exchange-labour is used for agricultural operations that cannot be mechanized or for acquiring male or female labour on the farms of women and men, respectively. The different types of exchange-labour ranged from that profiting the poor villagers at one end to that benefiting the rich at the other end.

In the types of exchange-labour *dimboli, tankhoudji* and *sat tol* levelling took place benefiting the participants: poor villagers, kin members and age-set respectively. In a *dimboli* poor villagers are helped by receiving presents in kind. Also an unfortunate beneficiary can be helped by such a working party. *Dimboli* organized early in the agricultural season are nearly always for such a beneficiary as no present in kind can be given.

The working party *nadant* is strictly reciprocal in which no member gains or loses at the cost of others, all however profiting from the fact work is done jointly.

In the working parties *santaanee* and *ngont*, use is made of social and economic obligations to acquire sufficient participation. Apart from being in debt to the beneficiary of such working parties, somebody may be motivated to organize or to join in a working party to fulfil social obligations such as meeting one's marriage obligations, showing one's respect to a former master or to a *dieukee*. The dependency relations are very disguised, the beneficiary praising the participants for work performed and giving them extensive meals. In addition, not all participants may have obligations towards the receiver of the working party, other members helping clients on the principle of reciprocity. However, the hypothesis was confirmed that exchange-labour of the type *santaanee, ngont* and *dimboli* (expressed in mandays received) benefited the rich and the freeborn.

In performing paid daily labour of the type *sat* and *sas*, the labourers were often paying off outstanding debts. That the amount of payment depended on whether labour was performed in the peak period or not shows the need for extra labour in the Wolof farming system. Although freeborn farmers participate very reluctantly in manual labour and leave this mainly to the *navetanes* and slave-descendents, they do hire themselves out together with their farm implements.

Paid labour with farm implements is a recent phenomenon. Manual labour was paid for at least one generation ago. Paid labour, whether manual or performed with implements, is on the increase because it is a cheaper form of labour than a *santaanee* or

ngont. However, the number of *santaanee* and *ngont* were also said to have increased. This increase seems plausible because the acreage cultivated has also increased. Moreover these working parties continued to exist because of lack of cash in the village and the low status of a daily labourer. The increase of area cultivated has also increased the number of *dimboli*. However, *sat tol* as well as *tankhoudji* seem of minor importance today.

The new institutions are used in the traditional way: the *borom barke* used their authority also in the local organizations set up by the state. They used them for their personal benefit and to strengthen their clientage relations. Up until 1972 the *borom barke* had not met much opposition from the common people and intervention of CNRA had not weakened their position. They were in fact responsible for intravillage solidarity. Also the influence of the non-freeborn *borom barke* has been recognized as they have been admitted to the councils of the local development organizations. Fraud, committed by ONCAD officials, the chairman and weigher, contributed also to the malfunctioning of the village co-operative.

They were able to manipulate the common members because they were illiterate. Freeborn heads of households opposed all education. However, the willingness of the freeborn youngsters to learn the three Rs and to participate in the course of the travelling Islam teacher show that the opposition of the older freeborn has been without success.

Notes

1 Mothers do not wash for their sons of *sourga*-age. Therefore they and other bachelors, like the *navetanes*, choose a woman who washes their clothes and fetches water for them. Apart from organizing a working party for her, they give her cloth at the end of the agricultural season.
2 A person's participation in a *santaanee* was taken as one manday, that in a *ngont* as half a manday and participation in a *dimboli* according to the completed questionnaires (one or half a manday).
3 This result does not confirm the statement of Ames (1959a, p. 227) that, "there are no class restrictions on membership and participation, except that the children of the chief often feel that it is beneath their dignity to belong to them. In general, however, the co-operative working party cuts across lines of both class and lineage." Couty is of the same opinion as Ames (Copans et al., 1972, p. 191).
4 Farmers usually pay their outstanding loans and installments on implements in groundnuts, because at that time they lack money.
5 The aim is to have co-operatives with a turnover of about 1500 tonnes groundnuts. In the campaign 1971, the average tonnage commercialized per co-operative was between 500 and 600. In the *Département* Nioro there were 114 co-operatives and the aim of the government was to maintain only 30. In the *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach alone there were 26 co-operatives.
6 According to Silla (1969) formerly only slave-descendents were sent to French schools when a village was obliged to recruit pupils for a school. Klein (1968, pp. 221 and 223) stated that at the beginning of this century decrees of the French government limiting the influence of Koran bush schools to encourage the establishment of French schools had no success and that no effort was made to apply the decrees in Sine-Saloum.

15 The influential men of the Wolof communities in the Arrondissement Medinah Sabach

Chapters 13 and 14 have shown how some social factors impeded rural development. One of these factors was the wealth and influence of the farmers called *borom barke*, acquired from their activities in local trade as moneylenders, shopkeepers and as council members of the village co-operative. Most of them were of freeborn status.

Because this conclusion was only based on results from the Experimental Unit, I decided to determine who were the influential men of a village in a larger statistical population. A sample of 28 communities was drawn at random from the 108 villages and hamlets in the *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach in Saloum, having a rural population of about 19 000 inhabitants (Gueye, undated). For the names of the selected communities, see Appendix 23. Of these communities 6 were populated by either *Toucouleur* or *Fula*. Data on these 6 communities were used in the short description of the local history of the area, but not for the study on influence, when I concentrated on 22 Wolof communities. A small questionnaire was completed for these 22 communities. Some of the questions I asked, the rest were put by another interviewer. For items in the questionnaire see Appendix 24.

The answers to the questionnaire showed who were the influential men of a community and whether these influential men also occupied official, religious and commercial positions and if so which positions in particular.

The procedure for selecting influential men is described in Appendix 25. I explained my definition to the judges who had to give the names of the influential men in their community. I told them I was interested in those people whose voices especially carried weight at meetings. These people could be the chairman of the co-operative, the Imam or the village head, but not necessarily so. Perhaps an ordinary farmer was often listened to. If there was anyone whose voice carried weight whatever the subject, this person had to be mentioned first.

As seen in Appendix 25 the number of influential men per community was assumed to be dependent on its size. So in the smallest communities 2 influential men were chosen, while in the largest communities at most 8. Although there was no evidence for this assumption, selecting a number of influential men proportional to the size of the community seemed the most practical method.

Because communications in the area were poor the enquiry was restricted to one *arrondissement*. However, since the social and ecological structure of the *Arrondissement* N'Ganda and the southern part of Birkelane are identical to that of the *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach, the findings can be applied to the whole of mid-Saloum. In 1970 the total rural population of this area was slightly more than 50 000 inhabitants (Gueye, undated).

Some specific aspects about local history are described in Section 15.1 before the

findings on influential men of the village are given in Section 15.2.

15.1 Ethnic origin of the population and some characteristics of the communities

Chapter 4 describes how the Mandingo Guelowar originally came from Gabou in Guinea, crossed the Gambia river and settled down at Kahone in the north of Saloum and established their rule over the population in the 15th Century. On their way to Kahone they established in Saloum some small village sovereignties like those in Djiguimar and Kular. *Guewel* stated that some time later they established frontier posts in Saloum like in Kaymor, N'Diba Kaymor and Padaf ruled by clients of the Guelowar, known as *tiedo.*

Not much is known about the ethnic background of the population of Saloum over which the Mandingo established their rule. According to Gray (1940, p. 325) a small strip of land along the north-bank of the River Gambia was inhabited by Mandingo in the 15th Century. Some also seemed to have lived for centuries in eastern Saloum where they are now known as *Sossee.* Authors said that the Wolof entered Senegal from the northeast in the 11th or 12th Centuries. From there they spread in a westerly direction. Some migrated even to Gambia where they were noticed by Portuguese sailors in the 16th Century. So there is a commonly accepted legend that Kaymor was founded in the 16th Century by Birane N'Deme N'Diaye, a Wolof coming from Baol.

But not only Mandingo and perhaps Wolof lived in mid-Saloum when the Guelowar arrived. Scattered Fula and *Toucouleur* hamlets may also have been founded at that time. The actual inhabitants of Kaymor stated that the founders of the village had captured Fula from Saloum to herd their cattle. According to the inhabitants of Youna, a Fula village in *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach, this village existed long before the arrival of the Guelowar, as did Diama Thiewie, a *Toucouleur* village of which the founders originate from Dimal in Fouta Toro. Ba (1957, p. 566) recalled likewise the legend of *Toucouleur* settlements well before the arrival of the Guelowar. When the Mandingo Cisse arrived in Saloum in the 16th Century, they thus were not the first inhabitants. They founded Thysse and Pacala, and many daughter-villages which in turn were the origin of new villages and hamlets (Chapter 11). N'Gayene and Passy N'Gayene are examples of old Mandingo villages. The history of the Mandingo who immigrated in Saloum is complicated because all of them consider themselves to be Wolof, although originally they were Mandingo. See Appendix 26 for the clan names in Medinah Sabach which are used by different ethnic groups.

The number of Wolof in the area increased considerably in the 19th and 20th Centuries, the villages they established thus being far younger than those previously mentioned. Two reasons have been given to account for the influx of Wolof (Pelissier, 1966, pp. 434–436; Ba, 1957, pp. 579, 581). First, in the second half of the 19th Century MaBa, a *Toucouleur* marabout, led the first successful *jihad* in Saloum and increased his power. He attracted many followers, mainly Wolof and *Toucouleur*, who had come in conflict with the traditional chiefs or the French, or who were genuine believers seeing in MaBa their spiritual leader. Second, the number of Wolof in Saloum increased because of the growing market for groundnuts. Saloum, far less densely populated than Cayor, Baol and Sine and more fertile, received many immigrants in the first half of the 20th Century (see Chapter 6).

Geographic mobility in the area was stimulated by the introduction of head tax, labour tax and military recruitment by the French administration from 1900 onwards. Because every *chef de canton* applied the rules differently, many villages moved regularly and peace did not return to the area until the 1930s (Chapter 11). According to Klein (1968, p. 184) differences in tax policy between Senegal and the neighbouring state Gambia also contributed to the instability of the population, while the emancipation of the domestic slaves early in that century resulted in the founding of new hamlets. All these phenomena had resulted in small villages and hamlets.

Of the 28 communities sampled at random in 1972, 12 were inhabited by Wolof, 10 mainly by Wolof, 4 by *Toucouleur*, 1 by Fula and 1 mainly by Fula[1]. Villages or hamlets composed of inhabitants of different ethnic origin were not common. However some *navetanes* of other ethnic groups have permanently settled in a community just as some Fula families have done, without affecting the dominant position of the Wolof.

Some of the 28 communities were founded long ago, but most of them were established in this century. 15 villages or hamlets were founded after the end of World War I, all by fission of 11 older communities.

The 28 communities included 735 *carrés* with an average size per community of 26 *carrés*. The range was between 3 and 100 *carrés*. Of the 28 communities 12 were inhabited by freeborn, 6 by slave-descendents and 10 by freeborn as well as slave-descendents[2].

Of the 6 communities of slave origin 5 were established between the two World Wars and the sixth after 1945. This observation supports the conclusion, made in Section 11.3, that the slaveborn were not really emancipated until well into the 20th Century as can be seen from the date of the establishment of separate hamlets.

15.2 The influential men of the village

As I was not sure whether the influential men in *Toucouleur* and Fula communities were selected on the same principles as in Wolof communities, I excluded 6 communities from the sample. Thus the sample consisted of 22 Wolof communities only. Of these communities, 10 were freeborn, 8 were mixed freeborn and slave-descendent and 4 slave-descendent.

Of the 620 heads of *carrés* in these communities, 61% were freeborn and 39% were of slave-descent.

According to the method described in Appendix 25 in total 101 persons were selected as influential. Of these 76% were freeborn and 24% slave-descendents. The slave-descendents are thus slightly underrepresented among the influential men.

The influential men were asked whether they occupied official positions in order to see whether they were the village officials. As village officials were considered the community head, the chairman of the village co-operative and the chairman of the local UPS branch. To limit the number of village officials I did not include common members of the council of the co-operative or the UPS branch. The ascribed status of the influential men occupying official positions were studied for all influential men in general (Table 45) and for influential men in freeborn communities, mixed communities and slave-descendent communities separately (Appendix 27). This division into types of

community was considered necessary because in a community mainly consisting of either freeborn or slave-descendent farmers, it was not expected that members of the other status-group performed most of the official jobs. As an influential man could occupy 2 or 3 positions, he may be mentioned two or three times in the Tables 45–47. For all side-activities taken into account in this chapter there was in average an overlap of 1.4.

Table 45 shows that the influential men were the village officials.

Table 45. Official positions occupied by the influential men.

Official positions	Total number available	Number occupied by influential men	Number occupied by influential	
			freeborn	slave-descendents
Community head	22	20	19	1
Chairman of the Co-operative	10	10	7	3
Chairman of the Local UPS branch	13	11	10	1

Also the Table shows that only 12% of those occupying formal positions were slave-descendents. In the mixed communities the official positions were also mainly occupied by freeborn. In 2 of the 4 slave-descendent communities freeborn were even community head and in one a freeborn was chairman of the UPS committee.

In the same way I established whether the influential men were also the religious leaders of the community and whether ascribed status was related to religious position (Table 46). I considered as religious leaders the Imam and Koran teacher, marabouts were not included as their activity is not sufficiently discriminative (see Section 13.1). Data after division into three types of community (freeborn, slave-descendent, mixed) are given in Appendix 27.

Table 46 shows that the influential men only occupied part of the religious positions. Thus the influential men were not necessarily the religious elite.

As in the Experimental Unit the religious positions in Medinah Sabach were all oc-

Table 46. Religious positions occupied by the influential men.

Religious positions	Total number available	Number occupied by influential men	Number occupied by influential	
			freeborn	slave-descendents
Imam	46	10	10	
Koran teacher	58	25	23	2

cupied by freeborn, even in the mixed and slave-descendent communities. The religious aspirations of freeborn farmers were higher than those of the slave-descendents: 94% of the influential men occupying religious positions were of freeborn status; far more freeborn farmers than slave-descendents had visited Mecca, 20 of the 21 influential men bearing the title *El Hadji* being freeborn.

To determine whether the influential men were also the business elite I asked the names of the shopkeeper, local wholesale dealer (with or without shop but having a store room) and taxi or lorry owner. Moneylenders were excluded because I was not sure whether reliable data could be obtained. See Table 47. Data after division according to type of community are given in Appendix 27.

Table 47. Commercial positions occupied by the influential men.

Commercial positions	Total number available	Number occupied by influential men	Number occupied by influential	
			freeborn	slave-descendents
Shopkeeper	48	12	8	4
Wholesale dealer	13	12	8	4
Taxi or lorry owner	7	5	3	2

Besides being the village officials the influential men were the big businessmen. However shopkeeping, a small business, is not monopolized by influential men.

Most of the local businessmen were of freeborn status. However the percentage of influential freeborn engaged in local trade (66%) was lower than that occupying official positions (88%) or religious positions (94%). Slave-descendents, assessed as influential men, were thus mostly either local businessmen or farmers without side-activities.

On average there was one shop every 13 *carrés*. Although in Medinah Sabach there were proportionally fewer shops than in the Experimental Unit, the importance of shopkeeping as a side-activity is clear.

The influential men were the rich men of the village. While in Sonkorong on average every married man had 1.8 wives, the influential man had 2.4 wives.

To see whether the local term *borom barke* was a good indicator for influential men I counted how often they were referred to as such. Of the 620 *chefs de carrés* in the sample 48 were known as *borom barke*. Of these 48, 26 had been selected as influential men. If we take into account the relative proportions of those defined as influential men and those who are not, the term *borom barke* is a good indicator of influence ($\gamma = 0.77$, significant at the 0.01 level). The 26 *borom barke* were on average richer than the influential men in general. While on average the influential men had 2.4 wives, the *borom barke* had 3.0 wives. Of the 26 *borom barke* 8 were farmers of slave origin.

15.3 Conclusions

More than half of the communities in *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach in the sample had been founded after World War I, by fission of already existing communities in that area. Fission probably had taken place first, because part of the population tried to evade colonial taxes and second, because slave-descendents set up their own hamlets. The communities were small, on average 26 *carrés*, with a range between 3 and 100 *carrés*. Most communities were populated by Wolof. More than half of the *carrés* in the communities were populated by freeborn. While communities composed of different ethnic origin were rare, mixed freeborn/slave-descendent communities did occur.

The influential men were the village officials and for a part, those who performed religious side-activities. The slave-descendents were underrepresented among the influential men because the freeborn occupied proportionally more official positions as well as religious positions. Because these positions imply formal authority it is not surprising that the freeborn are overrepresented among the influential men.

The influential men were also local traders, those of slave-descent being more than proportionally represented in the commercial sector. This result confirms the findings in Chapter 13 that some slave-descendents might have improved their material position by being active in trade. Wealth acquired in this manner has opened informal ways to obtain influence.

The most wealthy influential men were called *borom barke*.

Notes

1 In this context 'mainly' signifies that at least 75 % of the *carré* were of the ethnic group stated.
2 A community is defined as a freeborn or a slave-descendent community when it contains less than 25 % of the other status-groups. In the nuclear villages Kaymor, N'Gayene, Diama Thiewie, Padaf and Youna and perhaps in some other villages too, there were also a few artisans living in the village. However, these were not included in the calculations.

16 Summary and conclusions

This study on Wolof communities in Saloum concerned changes in community stratification, agricultural co-operation and cohesion of the compound and household. I also studied how these aspects of Wolof social structure affected the government's effort to increase rural welfare.

I first examined islamization, the cultivation of groundnuts and abolition of slavery in a broad context by studying the literature on how islamization termination of the trade in slaves and cash cropping had affected traditional rulership in Senegal in the 19th Century. By looking at what had determined change in rulership at the state level, I hoped to find the principles of local stratification.

Consecutively the termination of slave trade, islamization and the introduction of groundnuts were responsible for the downfall of traditional rulership in Saloum as in Senegal in general, as was discussed in Section 2.1. Some questions on this research objective have been left unanswered or were not discussed because of lack of information as well as a certain reserve on my part as I am not a historian.

Islamization, cash cropping and the abolition of slavery were also responsible for changes in stratification in the rural communities and in co-operation and cohesion as discussed in Sections 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4. In Saloum, Islam revival and the cultivation of groundnuts has affected Wolof society since 1800 and 1850, respectively, while manumission of domestic slavery has contributed to change since the start of the 20th Century.

The study showed that it was necessary to demarcate the effect of each of these factors on the institution considered. For example, the stricter application of Koran rules had more impact on stratification than on cohesion. The study also showed that changes in stratification, co-operation and cohesion were co-determined by structural aspects of other Wolof institution, like kinship, affinity and the age-set system. The extent of change in local stratification, co-operation and cohesion was less than expected.

16.1 Change in traditional government

The Wolof states which were founded in the 15th and 16th Centuries resembled those states which historians group together as the 'Sudanic Civilization'. Characteristic of these Sudanic states was that their political system had become distinct from the kinship system. The kings of such states as the Ghana and Mali empires, like the rulers of the Wolof states, commanded a standing army, were surrounded by a large court of notables and levied taxes to support this court and army.

However the more westerly situated Wolof states were less bureaucraticized than the Sudanic states. The royal families of the Wolof states, originally from other ethnic

backgrounds, had established marital ties with freeborn families among their subjects. These intermarriages enhanced the position of the freeborn and freeborn lineages even provided candidates for rulership. In addition, heads of provinces within the Wolof states were not always appointed; instead many of these provinces were indirectly ruled by elders, *lamane* or *diambour boureie*, of the autochtonous freeborn families. At the court the influence of the freeborn was formally acknowledged: important decisions, like succession to the throne were only taken after the elders had advised the ruler. Some authors argued that they could even block decisions.

The influence of the freeborn originated partly from the internal conflicts about succession in which the ruling elite was engaged. Although in these royal families political office was matrilineally transmitted, also descent directly in the male line from the first ruler was involved. Hence there was often confusion when a new ruler had to be elected. This was aggravated by the fact that brothers as well as sons often competed for succession. Competing factions therefore patronized freeborn families in order to obtain support for their cause. Because of the marital ties between the ruling elite and autochtonous freeborn families in these Wolof states and because of the indirect rule over part of the population some authors prefer the term chiefdom, others speaking of kingdoms.

Even though tribute was levied historians argued that sovereignty in these states was based on 'compromise' and that there was a 'state of harmony of powers' within these states (Diagne, 1965, p. 168; Klein, 1968, p. 20). So one wonders what caused the downfall of the Wolof states in the 19th Century.

Events in the 18th Century were very important for answering this question. Muslim uprisings (*jihads*) among the subjects occurred regularly from the 18th Century onwards and increased in intensity in the 19th Century. These uprisings had started before French colonial administration was established in Senegal in the second half of the 19th Century, so that these states may have been confronted with internal problems. Although plausible, it was difficult to demonstrate that these uprisings were a form of protest against the slave raids of the rulers among neighbouring states. Besides slave raiding, the power of attraction of the Muslim clerics (marabouts) and the leadership they offered could have been an incentive for this Islam revival. Even the rulers asked the Muslim clerics to serve at court as magicians, scribes or ambassadors so that their power of attraction for the ordinary Wolof population was to be expected, especially as part of the population called themselves Muslim long before these uprisings.

In the 19th Century after the slave trade had declined many Muslim uprisings occurred in Saloum, as in the neighbouring state Badibu. This decline had seriously affected the incomes of the ruling elite and thus their military capacity. Probably to maintain their standard of living, rulers imposed heavy taxes on their subjects, especially on the Muslim communities in the area. Thus the rulers indirectly lost respect and the influence of the Muslim clerics increased.

Traditional rulership became further undermined when the farmers started in 1850 to grow groundnuts. While the rulers had monopolized the slave trade, the ordinary subjects could cultivate groundnuts which required little organizational skill and investment. Thus the income of the rural inhabitants and clerics increased and they were able to buy arms (Klein, 1972, p. 424; Quinn, 1972, p. 51).

In Saloum the struggle between the *Bour* (ruler) and a cleric (MaBa) had weakened

the power of the first in such a way that from 1860 onwards his territory became the scene of numerous fights between the followers of the *Bour* and those of MaBa. However, these clients fought as easily among themselves as against their original adversaries. From 1861 onwards the French and British intervened on a large scale in the internal upheavals in Saloum as well as in Badibu to pacify the area. After the campaign of 1887 and the subsequent annexation of Saloum, the Bour and other warlords became incorporated in the lowest level of French colonial government. They became *chef de canton* and as such the executers of the decisions taken by the French *commandant du cercle*; the Saloum state as such had become stripped of its power.

The answer to the first research-objective is that the history of the Wolof states stressed that factors preceding the introduction of cash cropping and the establishment of colonial administration gave rise to the political crises in West African states in the 19th Century. Nevertheless, in Senegal the cultivation of groundnuts did accelerate the downfall of the traditional states, while the establishment of French rule completed it.

16.2 Change in stratification in the rural communities

The study showed that freeborn of the same clan had their own communities. Although one belonged to one's father's descent-group and land was transmitted patrilineally, these communities split up frequently.

Witchcraft and certain diseases were considered to be inherited genetically along the female line. Moreover political office and ascribed status were patrilineally transmitted. Hence there were often feelings of rivalry and suspicion among patrilineal kin, those not having the same mother or grandmother sometimes founding their homestead elsewhere. Another fact was responsible for this fragmentation of villages. To escape the colonial policy of enlisting young men for military service and the imposition of labour corvée and head taxes on the population, in the first decades of this century part of a village or even whole villages moved to other areas. Nowadays people belonging to other clans live in the same community.

Besides people of different clans, the slaves of the freeborn and sometimes artisans lived in their communities. There could be as many slaves as freeborn but the number of artisans was far lower than that of the freeborn or slaveborn. In addition, leatherworkers, blacksmiths and praise-singers only lived in the large communities. (Because there were so few artisans and they were unevenly distributed over the villages, the study on stratification was concentrated on the position of slave descendents compared with that of freeborn.)

As argued in Section 2.2, in which I elaborated my second research-objective, the abolition of slavery, the increasing involvement in cash cropping and islamization were the most important influences in stratification in the Wolof communities. While the first two factors contributed to the improvement of the position of the slave-descendents, the effect of stricter application of the Koran tended to conserve the status quo.

Although in Senegal domestic slavery officially was abolished in 1903, indications were found in the Experimental Unit that the slaveborn continued to live with their master and to work for him till in the 1930s. Hereafter most of them went to live in a

ward inhabited by slave-descendents only or founded their own hamlet and so became independent farmers. Because in Saloum there was land available to clear they were successful.

Informants in the Experimental Unit stated that some slaveborn were the first farmers to keep a shop. These slaveborn in particular might have improved their material position. At the time of the research freeborn as well as settled sharecroppers (*navetanes*) also owned shops. Outside the Experimental Unit, in the *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach, those farmers of slave descent considered as influentials nevertheless were more often shopkeeper, local wholesale trader, taxi or lorry owner than could be expected from the relative number of influential freeborn and slave-descendents. With respect to my second research objective, the abolition of slavery and cash cropping terminated the material disabilities of being a slave-descendent.

However, a slave-descendent still has a lower status. In Saloum in the first decades of this century, although all slaves were required to say their prayers, they did not receive any Koran education and could not enter the mosque (Marty, 1917, p. 38). Ames (1953, p. 18) said that to obtain benediction (*barke*), it was sufficient if a slave was subservient to his master.

Both in the Experimental Unit and in Medinah Sabach I observed that the Imam, Koran teacher as well as magicians working with written texts only came from the freeborn. In the Experimental Unit the lower religious motivation of a slave-descendent was shown by the number of adepts (*taalibee*) of slave descent in the local Koran schools being far lower than that of the freeborn. In the Experimental Unit the freeborn adults opposed state primary education for their children from fear that the education in French would undermine their religious opinions. Objections were not heard from the slave-descendents. There was evidence, however, that the freeborn youngsters rejected the difficulties made by their parents.

Because of differences in religious standing, economic obligations of a religious character have been maintained. A slave-descendent who wants to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, has to compensate his master for his absence. While freeborn as well as artisans pay the tithe (*assaka*) of the millet crop to the Imam who usually distributes it among the poor, in the Experimental Unit the slave-descendents gave the tithe to their master. The lower standing of the slave-descendents was also shown by the length of their mourning period which was shorter than that of the freeborn and by the area reserved for them in the graveyard. Till today a freeborn man wanting to marry a woman of slave descent is first obliged to redeem her. Marriages between freeborn and artisans do not occur at all. Also on the *rites de passage* and on the Islam holy days poor slave-descendents, as also poor artisans, render services in exchange for presents.

In the Experimental Unit freeborn were more than proportionally represented among the category of wealthy farmers. Some freeborn earned extra income from religious side-activities. Also freeborn households in the Experimental Unit were on average larger than households of slave-descendents because of a stronger attachment to familial authority and because of the adepts living in the households of Koran teachers. In a farming system where land, till recently, was not scarce, the larger labour-force of the freeborn households has contributed to their more favourable material position.

Wealthy slave-descendents (and artisans) have 3 or 4 wives just as wealthy freeborn do and few of them even bear the title of *El Hadji*. Their prestige is acknowledged by

the freeborn when they refer to these slave-descendents as *borom barke*, just as they refer to the influential men among themselves. In the Experimental Unit those slave-descendents (or artisans) called *borom barke* were even chairman or members of the council of the local co-operative or local UPS branch. These slave-descendents had the power to refuse orders and therefore could control their clients who owed them money. In the communities studied in *Arrondissement* Medinah Sabach such influence of slave-descendents was not confirmed, the chairmen of the co-operatives and UPS branches being freeborn influential men. The argument of Flores (1971, pp. 361–374) is thus confirmed that failure of the co-operative movement in almost all African countries is largely due to its conserving effect on existing inequalities.

16.3 Change in co-operation

Working parties have an economic function. The study showed that economically working parties were necessary because several agricultural activities were still performed manually and help from outside the household had to be enlisted.

I mainly studied the rules governing participation in and reception of working parties. The Wolof kinship system restricted patrilineal kin-members from taking part in exchange-labour. Moreover the more strict application of Islamic rules seemed to impede co-operation, the freeborn adults being opposed to several activities organized by the male age-sets and female associations. They discouraged the age-sets and associations from tilling a communal field and from participating in feasts (*ndaga*, *lambe*). Also it was said that 'stealing a field' (*sat tol*) the secretly tilling of a plot of a rich farmer in order to obtain a sum of money for the fund of the age-set of the boys, was organized less often than in former years. Instead the freeborn encouraged the age-sets, with little result, to till communally plots whose yields were destined for marabouts of regional importance.

Despite the constraints mentioned above, in the Experimental Unit a working party was frequently employed to till a field. To obtain participants in a *santaanee* or *ngont*, the Wolof made use of social as well as economic dependency relations.

Social obligations were operative when a man organized a *santaanee* or *ngont* for such persons as his in-laws, his washerwoman or his female patrilateral parallel-cousin (*dieukee*). In these examples usually only one of the participants had such social obligations. This person was nevertheless able to organize a *santaanee* or *ngont* of sufficient size by the rule of reciprocity: his friends helped him because they had the same social obligations and would need his help on another day.

Economic obligations were employed when a person was asked by his creditor to organize a *santaanee* for him. When several community-members were indebted to a farmer, he could easily obtain a large enough *santaanee*. This was more difficult when only one or a few were indebted to a farmer; then friends were not obliged to join this working party as they were when support was enlisted for meeting social obligations. Therefore the debtors sometimes had to pay off their debt by paid daily labour.

Santaanee and *ngont* can be called festive labour because all the participants received extensive meals in exchange for their aid. Even when a working party is organized for a creditor, the relation of dependency is not accentuated. Besides receiving meals, the participants are praised for their effort. Dependency, however, is marked for one specific social relation: working for one's in-laws was such a heavy obligation that the son-in-

law himself and not the beneficiary was required to provide a meal. This duty stresses the dependent position of the bride-receiving group towards the bride-giving group. While for *santaanee* or *ngont* one is 'invited' and social and economic obligations are the determinants of participation, taking part in the working party *dimboli* is voluntary and there is only a moral obligation to participate. *Dimboli* were organized in two ways. First, community members would organize a *dimboli* for a farmer who, not due to his own fault, had fallen behind in the normal progress of crop husbandry. There was no intermediary who organized the working party; instead some people together felt themselves responsible to support a friend. Giving a *dimboli* implies some levelling because the beneficiary was not required to provide a meal. Therefore, the participants were not praised, as in a *santaanee*, but were blessed.

Second, *dimboli* were organized, not by community members for a poor friend but by rich farmers for community members who were in need. The owner of the crop helped the participants, first by giving them a present in kind at the end of the day and second by not refusing anybody from joining the *dimboli* to harvest millet. For participating in a *dimboli* for heaping and winnowing groundnuts and for picking cotton, all female activities, prior approval was required. Besides being more frequently organized for the rich farmers, the working parties *santaanee, ngont* and *dimboli* taken together, were more often organized for the freeborn than for the slave-descendents. Although slave-descendents participated in working parties organized for freeborn, the freeborn adults did not join those organized for slave-descendents, considering participation below their dignity.

Ascribed status likewise played a role in determining friendship; usually the strict reciprocal form of labour aid (*nadant*) between friends was organized among people of the same status-group.

Wealth, besides being related to the reception of working parties, also was related to the hiring of day-labourers (*sat*), manual work performed at piece rate (*sas*) and the use of the labour of *navetanes*. Although paid daily labour and manual work at piece rate was stated to be more efficient than a *santaanee* or *ngont*, there were some constraints on their use. First, the farmers felt ashamed to participate in paid manual labour. Therefore freeborn adults did not work as paid manual labourers for rich slave-descendents, although freeborn youngsters did. Second, lack of cash in the communities restricted the use of wage labour. Therefore working parties were still frequently organized, the ingredients for the meals either obtained from one's own farm or on credit from the shopkeeper. The villagers stated that more working parties were organized than in the past because farms were larger than a generation ago.

I observed that those farmers owning implements and draught animals all were willing to perform wage labour with their equipment. As soon as more money begins to circulate in the village, I believe that this type of wage labour as well as paid manual labour will increase at the cost of the working parties. Likewise, when the youngsters in the rural areas are able to find salaried jobs in the future, again the number of working parties will decrease, the young men generally preferring to meet their marriage-obligations by cash payments rather than by organizing working parties.

As hypothesized in my third research-objective, most working parties were organized for the rich as well as the freeborn farmers. However, they had a lower accumulating

effect than was expected. Although wage labour had become more common, it was stated that the number of working parties had also increased. This was not unlikely. Therefore, the argument of Moore (1975) was not yet true of the Wolof: that festive labour usually is replaced fairly quickly by pure wage labour after monetization of the tribal economy.

16.4 Change in cohesion of the compound

Because of feelings of competition between patrilineal kin men living in the same compound but of different households hardly co-operated by participating in each other's working party. Likewise they did not lend each other farm implements free of charge. However, although there were feelings of suspicion among patrilateral half-brothers and cousins, they lived in the same compound and ate their meals in the communal dining-room.

The fragmentation of the compound very likely increased through the more strict application of Islamic land-law. After the death of the father, land is divided among the sons and only in specific cases are lineage rights to land acknowledged. Male dependants started to found their own household earlier than a generation ago. Within this process of fragmentation, indications were found that late retirement of the father, the wealth of the head of the household and a fraternal relation, in which the head of the household and the male dependant have the same mother, could delay the separation (*berrou*).

With the introduction of groundnuts, the labour obligations of the male dependants (*sourga*) towards the head of the household gradually decreased. This decrease might have been stimulated by the example of the Fula and Sarakollee *navetanes* as well as of their wives whose obligations to their employers were fewer.

In the research period, girls above 13 years old and spouses all had their own plot. Girls could dispose of their own crop from the age of about 15 onwards, boys from the age of about 18. Women as well as male dependants continued to give their head a present (*zaragh*) as a toke of respect; however this present formed only a small part of the yield. Young men above the age of 18 paid the head tax themselves, while the wives were obliged to use part of their income from their farm or their sheep and goats, for the medicines for their children and for adding herbs and relishes to the meals when it was their turn to cook.

The desire to increase the size of the personal plots and to increase the share which was individually appropriated caused friction between the head of the household on the one side and the wives and male dependants on the other. Conflicting self interests within the household resulted in animal-drawn farm-implements finally being used on almost all plots of the household. However, on those of the women, mechanical intervention took place late in the agricultural season, so that their yields were lower than those obtained by the male members of the households. The male members of a household seemed to be able to co-operate better if they had the same mother.

In looking for the background of the decrease in cohesion of the Wolof compound and household, the fourth research-objective, I concluded that the communal farm today is less important because the compound had split up into economically indepen-

dent households, and because the obligations of the male and female dependants towards the head of the household are fewer than a generation ago. It is very likely that this process was the result of the more strict application of the Islamic rules of land-inheritance and the increase of individualization after the cultivation of groundnuts. It is very likely that the competition between patrilateral relatives restricted co-operation within the household and compound also in earlier times. I found some evidence that the view of Goddard (1972, pp. 207–218) and Hill (1972, pp. 38–56, 98–105) was also true for the Wolof. They argued that separation among the Hausa depended on the wealth of the head of the household. McNetting (1965, pp. 422–429) stated that separation for the Kofyar was related to the farming system and that a system demanding much labour for short periods encouraged cohesive households. For the Wolof, this argument is incomplete. Although they had such a farming system, they had ways of obtaining labour from outside the household.

16.5 Practical relevance of the study

This study showed that the Wolof communities of mid-Saloum have many features which usually are termed as 'traditional': ascribed status which is relevant in their system of stratification, social obligations that are important in participating in festive and exchange labour and particularism in the village co-operative. On the other side the Wolof household was individualized to a degree not uncommon in 'modern' societies. Also the Wolof farmers were so receptive to agricultural innovations that many of them had become indebted. Many farmers kept oxen and had obtained on credit farm implements to use with these draught animals, although they were not in a position to make full use of them.

Which features of Wolof communities hamper or encourage rural development? The answer depends on the objectives and the means used for achieving them. Because the national economy depends on the annual groundnut production as well as on the size of the import of food-crops the government gave high priority to endeavours to increase production, and so increase the income of the rural inhabitants. Prevailing ideology resulted in a technocratic approach towards development. Therefore the government has attached most importance to increasing farmer's yields through extension education, expansion of credit and retrenchment of the distribution channels by founding local marketing co-operatives. It is to the credit of the Senegalese government that in the 3rd Plan period, 1969–1973, these policies as such were indeed applied. However, they were only partly successful in achieving their goal: the increase in agricultural production and farmer's income.

One of the reasons was that the extension services had an incomplete knowledge of the Wolof farming system. Since the Wolof farm is split up in a communal plot and personal plots, the latter together about as large as the communal farm, it is questionable whether the recommendation to use heavy farm-implements and oxen as draught animals is realistic. Some of these personal plots are very small, others lie dispersed, and most of them have not been destumped, all facts difficult to reconcile with the slow pace and poor manoeuvrability of a pair of oxen.

This recommendation calls for special attention because in the Experimental Unit, in an area considered as sparsely populated, land is now scarce. In addition the social unit

in which these implements are shared is much smaller than the *carré*, used as unit by the development organizations, thus making it more difficult to obtain a return on the investment in these implements. The endeavours undertaken to grow fodder crops have not yet been successful, so that the oxen are weak in the agricultural peak-period. If therefore the extension fieldstaff continue to underestimate the importance of the adoption of smaller innovations in crop-husbandry, the income of the farmer will continue to remain low.

Incomplete knowledge of the Wolof social system by credit agencies is another reason for agricultural development lagging behind. As with farming innovations, in their personal relations the Wolof are equally ready to enter into economic obligations. They have their sense of honour, more exactly, the feeling that honour depends on the number of people paying respect. This explains why personal bonds among Wolof are so important and why the Wolof invest so much in social relations.

Taking into account the local interest rates and the readiness of the Wolof to take production as well as consumption loans, the government could stimulate establishment of savings banks in the villages. As part of the government policy to reduce the number of co-operatives and to exercise more control over the way they are managed, government shops could be set up too that would compete with the local shopkeepers. Such shops could also sell spare parts of farm implements for which the farmers now must wait some months.

Such a policy will have an effect only if the government attaches more importance to literacy of the population and to the conscientiousness of local government staff. Otherwise the running of these shops will become controlled by the local influention men as were the village co-operatives. It is recommended to increase functional literacy in the countryside. Such education would also help to decrease the importance of ascribed status in the daily life of the Wolof.

Resumé

Une recherche a été effectuée sur les Wolof, dans la région de Saloum, au Sénégal. Le but de cette recherche était d'étudier le système de stratification, les formes de coopération dans le travail agricole, ainsi que la cohésion des ménages chez les Wolof; à cette étude, s'ajouta l'examen de ce que ces trois aspects considérés signifient en vue d'une politique de développement agricole.

Cette recherche ne visait pas à n'être exclusivement qu'un 'cliché' d'un moment précis. C'est pourquoi une recherche des sources fut entreprise avec l'étude du patron de stratification pré-colonial et colonial dans les états Wolof, et de la politique agricole pratiquée pendant et après la période coloniale.

Des observations et des interviews furent effectuées à côté de l'emploi de questionnaires. Après avoir, pendant un ans, concentré la recherche sur le village de Sonkorong, nous avons pu, dans les cinq mois suivants et ce, à l'aide d'un questionnaire soumis aux villages environnants, déterminer à quel point une partie de cette recherche était représentative pour une région plus étendue. Lors de cette même période, des questionnaires étaient également complétées à Sonkorong.

Il est apparu que l'état Saloum – de même que d'autres états Wolof – était moins puissant, durant la période précoloniale, que ne l'étaient les états du Soudan mieux connus, à sa frontière orientale. Bien que les dirigeants disposassent d'une armée permanente et d'une suite importante, les chefs de province n'étaient pas des fonctionnaires nommés par eux, c'étaient les représentants des lignages. A cause de nombreux conflicts de succession, les familles régnantes avaient noué des liens de mariage avec certains de leurs sujets de condition libre. C'est ainsi que beaucoup de dirigeants appartenaient aux patrilignages des sujets libres.

La puissance des instances traditionnelles diminua davantage quand, au 18ème et dans la première moitié du 19ème siècle, les armées des dirigeants Wolof durent faire face à l'influence croissante que les directeurs spirituels islamiques exerçaient sur leurs sujets. La baisse des revenus des dirigeants durant cette période – baisse provoquée par le déclin du marché des esclaves – les contraignit à prélever des impôts lourds. Ceci a vraissemblablement joué un rôle important dans l'avènement et la réussite de ce mouvement de réforme islamique. Déjà avant l'introduction de l'arachide comme culture de rente et l'établissement du gouvernement colonial qui y fit suite, ce mouvement de réforme avait entraîné l'état traditionnel Wolof dans une phase de crise.

Après l'établissement du régime colonial dans la seconde moitié du 19ème siècle, la production de l'arachide s'accrût rapidement. Ce fut en l'occurrence le cas dans le Saloum, parce qu'il y avait là des terres adéquates en suffisance. Il est vraissemblable

que les esclaves purent également profiter de cette situation car ils pouvaient travailler quelques jours par semaine pour eux-mêmes. Ils purent améliorer davantage leur condition matérielle lorsque, après la première guerre mondiale, des exploitations totalement indépendantes furent érigées.

Brokensha et Erasmus, ainsi que d'autres, ont affirmé que, dans bon nombre des états africains, tous les sujets pouvaient disposer de la terre, et que les instances dirigeantes étaient liés avec leurs sujets par des relations fondées sur la parenté. Sous ces types de régime, les paysans seraient beaucoup moins limités dans leurs possibilités économiques que dans des sociétés complexes, dotées de patrons rigides de stratification. Les traits de méfiance et d'individualisme tels qu'ils sont décrits par Foster, n'apparaîtraient, selon eux, que dans la strate la plus basse des sociétés complexes. Ailleurs, la population rurale serait bien en état de collaborer à des projets locaux de construction. Le type de système politique propre aux états Wolof pendant la période précoloniale et coloniale, n'a pas fourni de réponse réellement concluante à la question de savoir si – sur la base du critère proposé par Brokensha et Erasmus – les Wolof étaient à même de travailler en collaboration dans de tels projets.

Bien que la disponibilité de la terre et l'établissement d'exploitations indépendantes aient amélioré la condition matérielle des descendants des esclaves au Saloum, nous avons toujours pu constater que la considération sociale dont ils jouissaient restait faible. Le mouvement de réforme islamique n'y a apporté aucun changement. A côté de ce principe de stratification, un autre critère est également d'un réel intérêt. Le foyer aristocratique présent dans cette société a eu pour conséquence que la richesse a constitué une source importante de considération et d'influence lorsqu'elle était utilisée en vue de constituer une suite. Est, dès lors intéressant, le fait que dans les villages – habités autant par des sujets libres que par des descendants d'esclaves – ces derniers ne pouvaient remplir le rôle de fonctionnaire religieux et de chef de village. Ceci apporta aux sujets libres des avantages matériels.

L'exercice d'activités secondaires aux activités agricoles, telles que boutiquier de village, commerçant et prêteur de fonds locaux, se révéla lucratif. Les descendants des esclaves entreprirent aussi ces activités. A Sonkorong, il apparut que certains d'entre eux acquirent par cette voie une richesse et une influence évidents et purent de ce fait même occuper des fonctions dans le conseil d'administration de la coopérative et de la section locale du parti.

Brokensha et Erasmus ainsi que d'autres auteurs, ont contribué à enrichir la notion de coopération en avançant l'argument que les différences sur le plan de la considération sociale et du bien-être, présentes dans la strate la plus basse elle-même, sont importantes pour déterminer le caractère de la coopération. Nous avons constaté que les villageois riches tout comme les sujets libres recevaient plus d'aide sous la forme d'équipes de travail (sorte de travail collectif réciproque) que les pauvres et que les descendants des esclaves. A côté de cela, des équipes de travail étaient organisés également pour la belle famille et pour les pauvres. Les amis s'entraidaient souvent sur la base d'une stricte réciprocité. La conviction de Moore selon laquelle la participation aux équipes de travail en contre-partie de repas serait assez rapidement remplacée par un travail salarié dans une communauté insérée dans l'économie de marché, n'a pu jusqu'à présent s'appliquer

aux Wolof. Bien que le travail salarié devint plus fréquent, on a affirmé que le nombre des équipes de travail augmenta également. Cela parut acceptable. Toutefois, il semble bien que l'organisation des équipes de travail perdit de son importance dans les classes d'âge inférieures, et cela, pas tellement à cause de l'influence de l'économie de marché mais bien à cause de l'opposition exercée par les sujets libres menant une vie plus orthodoxe.

McNetting argumenta que la cohésion du ménage est dépendante du système agricole. Là où le système exige un travail ardu durant de courtes périodes, un ménage collectif se maintiendrait plus longtemps que dans un système exigeant moins de travail et n'en connaissant pas de montée en flèche. Cette conception, appliquée aux Wolof, est incomplète car les Wolof savent pourvoir à leur manque de travail par d'autres voies. On a pu en même temps découvrir une indication prouvant que l'éclatement du ménage est retardé là où le père quitte tardivement l'exploitation et là où une relation fraternelle unissait, par l'intermédiaire d'une même mère, le chef du ménage et le cadet. On trouva également une indication justifiant l'opinion de Goddard et de Hill. Ceux-ci disent que l'époque d'éclatement est dépendante de l'aisance dont jouit le chef du ménage.

En comparaison avec les deux générations précédentes, l'exploitation commune a été plus tôt désintégrée par l'application du droit de succession islamique et par son insertion dans l'économie de marché. A l'intérieur du ménage également, on constata que les devoirs des membres envers le chef s'amoindrissaient. Leur collaboration ne reposait pas tellement sur la loyauté mais bien sur un compromis des intérêts respectifs. La collaboration entre les ménages d'un même carré se révéla limitée par des sentiments de jalousie et des soupçons de sorcellerie. Toutefois, ces sentiments ne provoquèrent pas le départ du carré des demi-frères ou des cousins et ne les empêchèrent pas de continuer à prendre leur repas dans la pièce du chef du carré.

L'idéologie de 'l'économie de marché planifiée' développée par le président Senghor eut pour résultat que la politique agricole telle qu'elle fut exercée à la fin de la période coloniale, fut poursuivie et intensifiée. Cette politique comportait une approche technocratique des problèmes du développement. Du fait que l'économie nationale était fort dépendante de la récolte annuelle des arachides et de l'importation alimentaire, l'état accorda la plus grande attention à l'augmentation de la production des cultures vivrières et de rente. On voulut atteindre cet objectif par la recherche et la vulgarisation agricoles et par l'extension des facilités de crédit. Un nouveau pas fut franchi par la nationalisation du commerce des arachides. A cet effet, le nombre des coopératives s'étendit largement sur la zone rurale. Cependant, ces mesures ne se révélèrent pas suffisantes pour atteindre le but poursuivi.

Premièrement, les organisations étatiques impliquées dans l'achat des arachides et la livraison des moyens de production agricoles aux coopératives, s'avérèrent inefficaces dans l'exercise de leurs fonctions, ceci, très au désavantage des paysans.

Deuxièmement, il parut que la vulgarisation agricole ne savait pas dans quelle mesure le carré était fragmenté en ménages et les ménages en exploitations individuelles. Cette fragmentation, une estimation trop optimiste du travail disponible dans ces unités et un certain nombre de problèmes techniques ont eu pour conséquence que la réconversion propagée à la traction bovine ne profita qu'à une petite partie des paysans. Une plus

grande attention devrait être accordée à des rénovations à plus petites échelles dans le domaine des soins accordés aux cultures.

Troisièmement, les organisations étatiques qui étaient impliquées dans l'octroi des crédits n'avaient pas, nous avons pu le constater, une connaissance suffisante de la façon dont se gagnait dans le village la considération sociale. Les Wolof investissaient beaucoup dans les relations personnelles et dans tout ce qui symbolisait la jouissance de la considération sociale. A côté de cela, ils acceptèrent rapidement les rénovations agricoles. De plus, à cause de la hausse des taux d'intérêt, un grand nombre des villageois furent couverts de dettes. Ceci pourrait faire penser à établir des banques d'épargne et des petits magasins d'état.

Quatrièmement, il résulta des relations proches du 'patronage' existant dans le village que les paysans riches (*borom barke*) eurent la voix la plus importante dans les organisations locales des paysans. Comme cela a été argumenté par Flores et d'autres, on a pu constater l'incorporation de ces organisations dans la structure du pouvoir local. L'utilisation particulariste de ces organisations locales ne disparaîtra qu'après une large extension des facilités d'enseignement dans la zone rurale et une amélioration évidente du contrôle exercé sur ces organisations par le personnel de l'état qui y est indirectement impliqué.

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Appendix 1 Factors determining the power of Latdior, Chief of Cayor

As happened regularly two factions contested for the throne of Cayor. In 1862 the French had driven the Chief Macodou out of Cayor, partly because he opposed the building of a telegraph line, and supported Madiodio as the new Chief of Cayor. Although Madiodio was a Fall through his father, his matrilineage, the Dorodbee was not well known in Cayor. His office was contested by Latdior, called Diop through his father and Guedj through his mother. His candidature was supported by the freeborn Guedj, the soldiers under the officer (*Grand Farba*) Demba Waar Sall, the Muslim Diop of Coky and anti-French elements. As always, everything hinged on marriage alliances and slaves. Latdior defeated Madiodio and was installed in his place as Chief of Cayor.

However, he in his turn came into conflict with the French and was expelled from the area in 1864. Because the Chiefs of Sine and Saloum had to consider French feelings, Latdior sought support from the Muslim cleric MaBa. MaBa and Latdior invaded Djolof, the main objective being to re-install Latdior on the throne of Cayor. However, they had to return because their intentions were betrayed to the French. Because of Latdior's presence in MaBa's ranks and because the French suspected MaBa of having too many political aspirations, MaBa was attacked twice, but he held out.

In 1867 MaBa died when he invaded the Serer country, but found strong resistance from the Chief of Sine, Math Diakher, and his soldiers. MaBa was succeeded by his brother Mamour Ba. After the defeat of MaBa, Latdior went to Cayor, where he was accepted by the French as the Chief of Cayor, the main reasons being that the Ministry of Marine had warned the acting governor to avoid internal political troubles, because of the financial repercussions of expeditions (Klein, 1968, p. 95). Latdior's conversion was followed by the proselytizing of Cayor. The influence of the *tiedo* at the court was exemplified when the *Grand Farba* Demba Waar Sall, disagreeing with the new ideas of the Damel, caused his overthrow in 1886 (Monteil, 1967, p. 273).

Appendix 2 Personal information on MaBa

MaBa was born in 1809 in Badibu, called *Rip* by the Wolof of Saloum, to where his father had immigrated after the replacement of Deniankee by Torodbe rule over a state in the lower Senegal Valley in the 18th Century. The Ba family, being Deniankee, had to renounce political aspirations and become Muslims. A sincere Muslim, MaBa's father settled in Badibu and led a pious life. He sent his first son to a Koran school in Cayor at an early age. In Cayor MaBa attracted attention by his intelligence at school, his industriousness on the fields and his courage in fights. He married the niece of the Chief of Djolof and when he returned to Badibu in 1840 he was a respected man. The Chief Diery Ba offered him the post of the principal *Qadi* of Badibu, but MaBa refused and founded a Koran school in the village Same, somewhat out of the way. Among the first families who sent their sons as adepts to MaBa were the Cisse and the Toure who had immigrated to Saloum in the 16th Century. In the 1850s MaBa visited the famous marabout *El Hadji* Omar, the conqueror of the pagan Bambara of West Sudan, when the latter gave audience in the village Kabakoto, nearby Badibu.

Appendix 3 Total planned public investment in 1969–1973

During the 3rd Plan a total public investment of 124 874.9 million F CFA was anticipated[1]. This was divided among the different sectors as follows (Senghor, 1969, p. 33, 34):

Sector	million F CFA	
Primary sector		
agriculture	33 481.8	(26.8%)
livestock	2 543	(2%)
fishing	4 430	(3.6%)
forestry	1 098	(0.9%)
total	41 552.8	(33.3%)
Secondary sector		
industry	4 033	(3.2%)
handicraft	1 082.5	(0.9%)
tourism	3 985.5	(3.2%)
trade	990	(0.8%)
road transport	2 081	(1.7%)
total	12 172	(9.7%)
Infrastructure	18 453	(14.8%)
Social structure	36 552.2	(29.3%)
Administration	1 342	(1.0%)
Local projects	3 998.9	(3.2%)
Research	10 804	(8.7%)

1. Although called 'public', this investment is largely financed by private and external sources. For example, the following scheme for financing the agricultural sector was foreseen: government budget 16%, private sector 27%, bilateral aid 15%, multilateral aid 42% (SEPMP, undated).

Appendix 4 Some features of the diversification policy in the 3rd Plan-period

Senegal has never been exclusively dependent on the traditional crops groundnut and millet. Other crops have also been grown, especially those which improved the farmers' diet, like vegetables, fruits and rice. However, these crops were only for local consumption and did not meet national demand at all. Because of the crop failure of 1968 and the steadily increasing imports of rice and vegetables during the first and second Plan-periods, the effort in diversification was increased considerably in the third Plan-period.

As is shown below, the results of these efforts were encouraging for the schemes in cotton and edible groundnuts, but not for the more important projects with rice and with fruits and vegetables. In 1972 the sugarcane scheme was not yet operational. Hence by 1972 Senegal's diversification policy was only partly successful.

Rice

Irrigated rice was locally grown in the Casamance and rainfed rice on some scattered spots in Saloum and Eastern Senegal. After independence production increased gradually due to controlled flooding projects in the Casamance and in the River Basin of the Senegal River. During the first two Plan-periods the amount of rice consumed nationally increased more than that producted and the import figures of rice rose likewise as is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Production and import of white rice from 1962–1968. Data from MFAE, 1972.

	Amount of white rice in 1000 t						
	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
Production	77	106	110	122	125	138	58
Import	118	101	184	179	159	153	185

The *opération riziculture* of the 3rd Plan-period was aimed at diminishing considerably the rice imports which weighed so heavily upon the trade balance. The objective was to invest 4226 million F CFA in the rice-growing sector to increase production in the 3rd Plan-period to 220 000 tonnes and to increase the cultivated area from 90 000 ha to 120 000 ha.

Quite a number of externally financed projects started in the Casamance and in the River Basin, or had their scale of operation increased. However, in the first two years of the 3rd Plan only 39.8 % of the investment planned for these years took place due to the abandoning of some projects.

The decrease of the area cultivated since 1969 in the largest rice-growing areas, the Casamance and the River Basin, as well as the low yields in the Casamance in 1970 due to the weather were mainly responsible for the low productions in 1970 and 1971. In addition, in the

River Basin the *Société d'Aménagement et d'Exploitation du Delta* (SAED) had to contend with serious problems of salination. The production of 145 000 tonnes rice in 1971 as forecasted in the readjusted 3rd Plan has not been reached at all. See Table 2.

Table 2. Production and import of white rice from 1969–1971. Data from MFAE, 1972; MDR, 1972.

	Amount of white rice in 1000 t		
	1969	1970	1971
Production	156	91	108
Import	146	119	188

Cotton

The *Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Textiles* (CFDT) began with 63 ha cotton in 1963 and by 1966 there were about 1000 ha under cotton with an average production of 1.2 t per ha. Production increased according to Table 3. The company had no doubts that it

Table 3. Acreage under cotton and cotton production from 1968–1971. Data from MFAE, 1972; MDR, 1972.

	1968	1969	1970	1971
Production (1000 t)	10	12	12	21
Acreage (ha)	6 400	9 800	13 900	18 300

would not reach the objective of 25 000 ha with 30 000 tonnes by 1973/1974 and with the present increase in production, this seems indeed possible. Because of these results, 1 cotton mill was extended and 2 were on the way to being installed in 1971. In fact, cotton is one of the two crops (also edible groundnuts) of which the production objective has not been reduced in the readjusted 3rd Plan. With a price of 30 F CFA per kg for cotton of first quality and an average yield of 1100–1200 kg per hectare, the remuneration per hectare is higher than for groundnut. However, cotton is far more labour-intensive due to the necessity to ridge the crop and to apply several hygienic treatments. In general farmers are only allowed to cultivate 0.5 ha at most. Because cotton is sown in the same period as groundnut and sowing has to be done manually, not too much hope must be placed in the future increase of this crop. In the Experimental Unit it was observed that some farmers cultivated cotton because they had no groundnut seed.

Sugarcane

Applying results of experiments of IRAT started in 1961 in the Upper-River Basin, a private sugar-company, the *Compagnie Sucrière Sénégalaise*, member of the Mimram group, began a sugarcane plantation near Richard Toll in the 3rd Plan-period. Some of the land used was originally destined for rice-growing projects but these had been abandoned because of problems of salinity. By 1971 no sugarcane had been planted.

However, it was estimated that in 1972 there will be 2500 ha under sugarcane with a total production of 135 000 t and that in 1978 the area cultivated will be 7300 ha with a total production of 325 000 t per year. The sugar will be refined on the spot by a refinery of a capacity of 3000–3500 t sugarcane per day. In addition a distillery will be installed with an annual capacity of 50–60 thousand litre alcohol. In 7 years in total 11 million F CFA will be invested to satisfy the national demand of 50 000 t sugar per year and to result in the gain of foreign currency.

Fruits and vegetables

The most important development in the fruit and vegetable sector was the establishment of the American–Netherlands firm BUD in Senegal in 1971, branch of BUD Antle Inc. It specializes in the growing of out-of-season vegetables to be exported to Europe. The products concerned are green beans, tomatoes, melons, mangoes, peppers and lettuce. One of the reasons for BUD's establishment in Senegal was the existence of a developed air network and the relative short distance from the United States and Europe. In 1971 already 200 million F CFA had been invested, to be followed by 150 million F CFA in 1972. In 1971 it employed 100 workers, but in the next 5 years this number should increase to 400–600, with 4–6 thousand seasonal workers, after which it will export 100 000 t of vegetables and fruit. The state has a share of 20% in BUD-Senegal (Le Soleil, 12 May 1971).

Up to now the horticulturists in the Niayes, in the zone between Dakar and Saint-Louis, have not yet profited much from the infrastructure established by BUD. The newspaper remarked that farmers would find themselves in a difficult competitive position. However this seems unlikely because it had been stipulated in the contract that BUD should not interfere in the home market.

Apart from the successful start of BUD, investment in this sector fell short. While for fruit the aim was to invest 430.8 million F CFA, only 15.8% was invested in the first two years of the 3rd Plan-period and of the 470.2 million F CFA to be invested in vegetables in the first two years, only 28.1% was realized. Production volume did not increase considerably: during the 2nd Plan-period vegetable production ranged from 30 to 50 tonnes, in the 3rd Plan-period production of vegetables only increased from 40 tonnes in 1969 to 42 tonnes in 1971. A project to grow tomatoes and concentrate them started in 1965 with the establishment of the *Société des Conserves Alimentaires au Sénégal* (SOCAS) in the River Basin (L'Observateur Africain, 92, April–May 1971). In 1969 45 ha was cultivated and 1000 tonnes processed by the plant at Ross-Bethio. In 1970 107 ha was cultivated. Yields ranged between the 10 and 30 tonnes per hectare. In January 1972 French aid was received to enlarge the project to 400 ha under tomatoes.

Edible groundnuts

While in 1963 only 41 tonnes edible groundnuts was obtained, in 1969 6200 ha was cultivated producing 6000 t. In 1971 the cultivated area had been increased to 8500 ha which produced 8600 t table-groundnuts. The price paid to the farmer was on average about 28 F CFA per kg unshelled, average quality. The production mainly took place in the *Région* Sine-Saloum.

It is expected that in 1975 20 000 ha will be grown with edible groundnuts in Senegal, amounting to a production of 28 000 tonnes. During the first two years of the 3rd Plan-period 81.7% was invested of the 196 million F CFA calculated and the estimated production for the last year of the 3rd Plan-period was slightly increased from 24 to 25 thousand tonnes (MDR, 1972).

Appendix 5 Agricultural innovations in Saloum. Data from SODEVA, 1971b

	Dép. Foundiougne	Dép. Nioro	Dép. Kaffrine
Number of ha destumped	136	266	802
Number of ha received phosphate	656	396	1075
Number of ha ploughed	137	263	464
Number of pairs of oxen	1099	664	977
Tonnes fertilizer ordered in 1971	1901	2179	3597
Tonnes calcium phosphate ordered in 1971	337	130	437

Appendix 6 Inhabitants of the wards of Sonkorong

The remaining Thiam left the ward Thiamene and chose to live in the ward N'Diki when Goumbo Cisse took over the village. Since then Thiamene has only been inhabited by one of the descendents of their former slaves. A decade ago this family of slave origin was joined by a Fula from Fouta-Djalon, at first a sharecropper, but now an independent farmer. A Cisse *Diarmew*, descending from a freeborn father and a slaveborn mother, installed himself in 'N'Galo' together with some slaves.

The descendents of the former slaves of the freeborn families of Sonkorong still live in this village or in the hamlets originating from it. In Sonkorong they live either in the ward of their former master or in the ward only inhabited by slave-descendents, called *Santhiabi*. Actually the wards are inhabited by the following compounds. See Section 12 for a definition of the terms compound and household.

N'Diki 2 freeborn compounds (Cisse-*Pacala*), consisting of 9 households, 3 slave-descendent compounds (Toure, Khouma, Sall), consisting of 8 households
Sennala 1 freeborn compound (Cisse-*Diarmew*), consisting of 2 households
N'Galo 1 freeborn compound (Cisse-*Diarmew*), consisting of 1 freeborn household and 2 slave-descendent households, 2 slave-descendent compounds (Cisse, Lo), consisting of 6 households
Thiamene 1 slave-descendent compound (Badiane), consisting of 1 household, 1 Fula compound (Diallo), consisting of 1 household
Cuude 1 leatherworker compound (Niang), consisting of 3 households
Santhiabi 5 slave-descendent compounds (Cisse, Cisse, Cisse, Sarr, Toure), consisting of 17 households.

Appendix 7 Clan membership of 37 married couples in N'Dakhar Karim

Cisse-Cisse	9	N'Diaye-Gueye	1
Seck-Seck	1	N'Diaye-N'Guette	1
Toure-Toure	1	N'Diaye-Cisse	1
Cisse-Toure	4	Lo-M'Baye	1
Cisse-M'Baye	3	Lo-Seck	1
Cisse-Seck	1	Lo-Sow	1
Cisse-Gaye	1	Lo-Cisse	1
Cisse-N'Diaye	1	M'Baye-Cisse	1
Cisse-Sow	1	N'Guette-Thiam	1
Toure-Cisse	1	Seck-N'Dau	1
Toure-Camara	1	Marone-N'Diaye	1
N'Diaye-Seck	1	Marone-Lo	1

Appendix 8 Ranking in kinship as expressed at ceremonial events

At the ceremony of *tiedde* or 'joining the husband', after the marriage payments have been completed, the bride leaves her village in a large procession with her 'slaves' who carry her luggage, her girl-friend, the *botal* or chairwoman of the female association, and close relatives. If she is a freeborn girl, women of lower status-groups also go with her to her husband's homestead (see also Ames, 1956, pp. 161–163).

The 'slaves' traditionally were given a goat in compensation for their service of carrying her luggage, but nowadays they receive between 500 and 1000 F CFA, depending on the groom's wealth. The 'slaves' of the groom kill and prepare the cow or goat which is eaten at the marriage feast. In compensation they receive the head, the legs and the neck of the animal. The 'slaves' of the bride will proudly show to all who are present the household articles the bride had brought with her and they will praise her.

At the naming ceremony the 'slaves' perform the same services, while on the religious festivity *Aid el Kebir* (*Tabaski*), the female 'slaves' of a man clean his house, fetch water for him and do errands (see also Gamble, 1967, pp. 62–63). This relation of servitude is also expressed in other terms sometimes used by the 'master' and 'slave' when speaking about each other. Instead of referring to mother's brother's children as being my 'master' one can also speak of my *sange*, meaning 'persons being clean'. The 'master' may speak of his 'slave' as his *diam sabou*, meaning 'slaves who make you clean'. Also the term *gir* is used for designating the 'slaves', signifying 'people who are commanded'.

Although a 'slave' may only see the good characteristics of his 'master' (*sange*), there is also a joking relationship between the two. A 'slave' may insult his 'master' and may steal food or articles of clothing. During initiation a song is learned with the phrase 'I have reared a hen, now I come to take her eggs', where the hen refers to the 'master'. The 'master' has to be very lenient in his relations with his 'slave'. According to Ames (1956, p. 158) this behaviour might be expected between potential mates and it is not in disharmony with the ranked relation between the two.

Appendix 9 Expenditure on meals, gifts and miscellaneous articles on the day the bride joins her husband: a rich slaveborn farmer

		F CFA
Cost of hiring a lorry to fetch the bride and her suite		10 000
Ceremony *ngonar*, the gifts to women who accompanied the bride		2 000
Gifts to cross-cousin 'slaves' of the groom		1 300
Cost of the meals on Friday		
rice (80 kg)	3 600	
oil (16 litre)	1 800	
tomato concentrate (2½ kg)	450	
bread (28 loaves)	420	
hens (7)	700	
onions	75	
goats (7)	10 500	
milk	500	
sugar (7 boxes)	560	
biscuits	200	
sweets	220	
		19 025
		32 325[1]

1 Exluding expenditure on kola nuts

Gifts received from visitors of different villages in F CFA:	
N'Dau	500
—	500
Keur Diangane	300
Thysse	300
Sonkorong	500
N'Dakhar Karim	250
N'Dakhar Layine	100
Leona	50
Bambaly	200
Loubo	100
N'Doyely	150
Same	125
Thiekenne	100
N'Dakhar Toucouleur	35
	3210

Appendix 10 Expenditure on meals and gifts at the naming ceremony: first child of a slave-descendent family

	F CFA
Rice	1 250
Sheep	3 500
Oil	1 500
Millet	600
Sugar	325
Canned vegetable and relishes	1 000
Gifts to *guewel*	2 500
Gifts to leatherworkers	500
	11 170

For a second child of a rich slave-descendent total expenditure was 11 675 F CFA, of which 2 075 F CFA was spent on gifts.

Appendix 11 Description of a Wolof house

Most Wolof houses were constructed from stalks and mud and thatched with grass. Nowadays nearly all new houses are built of bricks from sun-dried mud, and have corrugated iron rooves. These houses are square, contrary to the old houses, which were round. The houses, whether new or old, may have had an ideal layout, but additions to the family and consequently additions to the house make it difficult to determine the original plan. However, from similar characteristics in existing houses and in the plans of newly built houses, the following description can be given.

Each house has a courtyard (*eut*). Around the courtyard are the rooms and behind the rooms the kitchens, stable, storehouse, washroom and latrine, if any. All these buildings are surrounded by a fence of millet straw or sometimes of woven bamboo of about 1.75 m high, which has an opening connecting it with the paths to the public square.

The room of the oldest man of the family is rather central, the rooms of his wife or wives being nearby. The rooms of the male youngsters and seasonal sharecroppers (*navetanes*) are nearer the entrance. There seems to be no other rules for positions of rooms and where a person lives depends very much on the quality of the room (new building for the family head) and what space is available when a relative, sharecropper or additional wife has to be lodged.

Each wife has her own room where she lives with her children. During the first period after marriage when she still has no children and her husband is still dependent on the family head, she lives with him in his room. But when she has had a child, a separate room is built for her. Girls stay with their mother in her room till they are married and leave their parents; boys from about 8 onwards share a room.

Behind the room of a married women one finds her kitchen, which is just a fenced place connected with the room and in which a platform is built to place household articles. Somewhere around the courtyard one finds the storehouse, a shed or an unoccupied room, where the family head keeps his millet and agricultural equipment. In the backyard is the stable and a door which leads to the *tolkeur* and, if the family is rich, to a fenced place with a latrine. Sometimes behind one of the rooms or the kitchen, there is a small corner where one can wash oneself.

The room of a married younger brother or a married son of the family head is often separated from the other rooms by a secondary fence, which has an opening to the courtyard. When this family increases in size, a decision has to be taken where to build the other rooms. Mostly this family will remain in the house of the family head by moving the fence. However, the new family may build on the other side of the fence with (a) door(s) or an opening connecting the family with the house of the family head. Houses joined together in this manner are considered by the Wolof as one house. Sometimes there is no joint door. Then each family has his proper fence and the houses are considered as independent houses.

Appendix 12 Age, number of wives and children of 10 married sourga in Keur Moussa Ba, 1972

Age	Number of wives	Number and age of children
43	2	3, of 21, 17, 10
42	2	4, of 12, 8, 3, 0
41	2	3, of 10, 7, 2
40	1	1, of 18
37	1	3, of 5, 2, 0
35	2	3, of 5, 3, 0
34	1	2, of 3, 1
32	1	4, of 7, 5, 3, 1
27	1	2, of 3, 0
23	1	2, of 4, 1

Appendix 13 Average expenditure of the money from groundnuts (in percentages) for 4 married women, 4 girls and 4 sourga

4 married women

Yields 505, 600, 600, 750 kg groundnuts. Average income 13 502 F CFA.
Average expenditure:

repayment of seed	19%
other debts	11%
ceremonial gifts	9%
(e.g. *zaragh* 500, 1000, 15000, ... (unknown) F CFA) clothes	20%
household articles	8%
religious expenditure	2%
still in cash or invested	31%

4 girls

Yields 400, 525, 530, 532 kg groundnuts. Average income 12 215 F CFA.
Average expenditure:

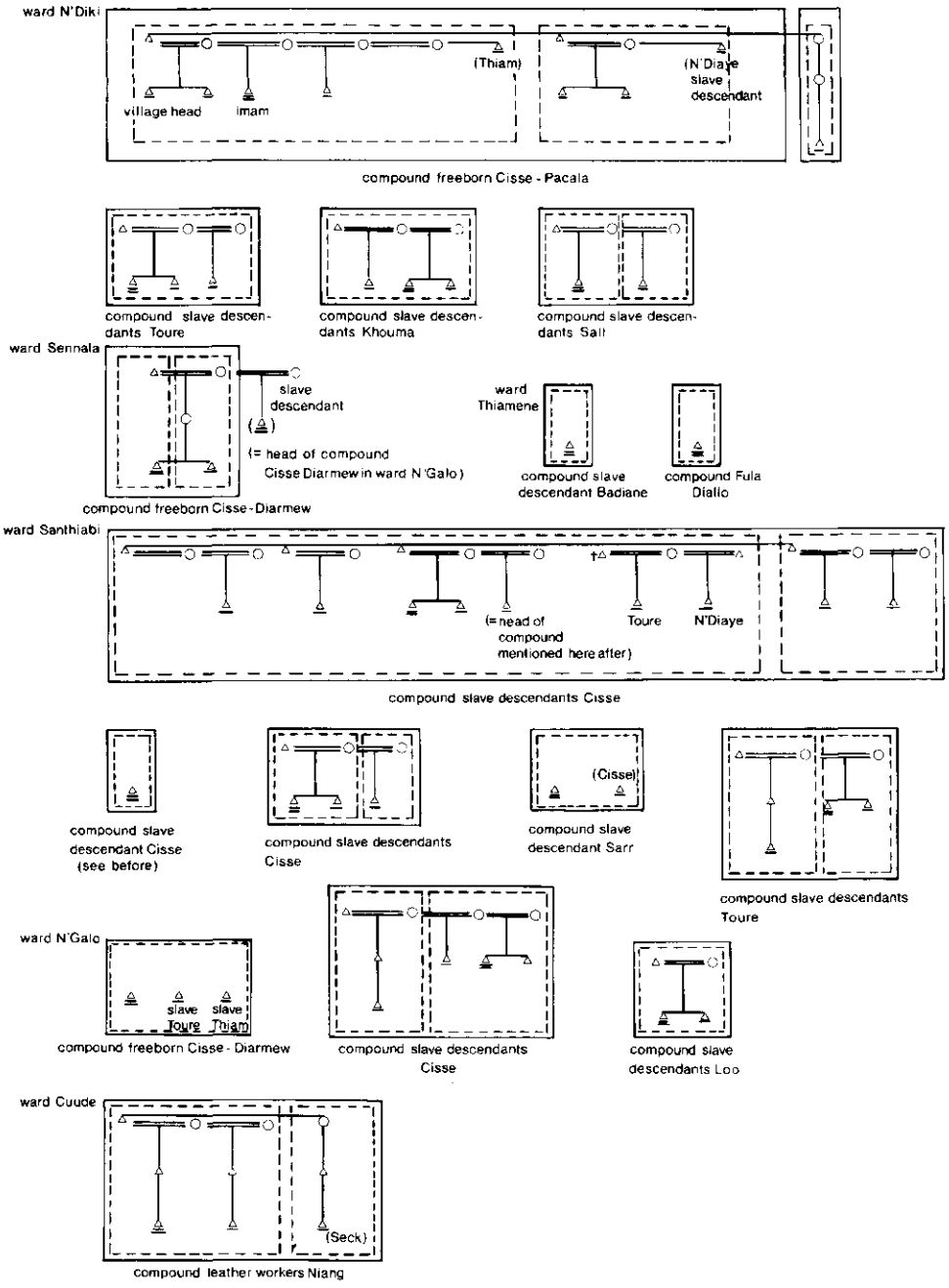
repayment of seed	16%
other debts	14%
ceremonial gifts	10%
(e.g. *zaragh* 300, 350, 400, ... (Unknown) F CFA) clothes	28%
household articles	0%
religious expenditure	9%
still in cash or invested	23%

4 *sourga*

Yields 951, 1025, 1400, 1800 kg groundnuts. Average income 28 468 F CFA.
Average expenditure:

repayment of debts at the co-operative	29%
other debts	10%
ceremonial gifts	19%
(e.g. *zaragh* 0, 1000, 2000, 2000 F CFA) clothes	10%
household articles	0%
religious expenditure	9%
still in cash or invested	23%

Appendix 14 **Village Sonkorong. Compounds (▭) and units with same dining room (⬚). The Symbol ⧋ stands for head of the compound, the symbol △ stands for head of the household**



Appendix 15 Kin relation between heads of households and head of compound: category miscellaneous

Kin relation with head of compound	Number
Former slave	3
Brother's son	2
Grandson of father's father's sister	1
Brother of father's wife	1
No relation or relation through wife	3
Total	10

Appendix 16 Kin relation between heads of households and head of compound: category miscellaneous

	Heads of households eating together with head of compound	Heads of households having established their own dining room
Brother's son		2
Former slaves	2	1
Brother of father's wife	1	
No relation or relation through wife	3	
Grandson of father's father's sister		1
total	6	4

Appendix 17 Correlations

Those correlations in this Appendix marked * are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 1. Correlation between number of wives and luxury goods. $\gamma = 0.76^*$.

Number of wives	Number of households according to score on luxury goods		
	$\geqslant 3$	1–2.5	0
3, 4	6[1]	2	0
2	7	7	5
1	0	10	12

1 Although the number of households in Sonkorong was 50, 1 household, that of a rich shopkeeper was omitted because of unwillingness to co-operate. However, because he was clearly very wealthy, he was added to the category of rich farmers.

Table 2. Correlation between wealth and size of household. $\gamma = 0.68^*$.

Category of wealth	Number of households according to size		
	> 10	10–7	< 7
Rich	9	5	2
Moderately rich	6	11	5
Poor	0	4	8

Table 3. Correlation between size of household and number of active members. $\gamma = 0.94$*.

Size of household	Number of households according to active members		
	> 5	5–2.5	< 2.5
> 10	10	5	0
⩽ 10 ⩾ 7	2	13	5
< 7	0	2	13

Table 4. Correlation between wealth and number of active members of a household. $\gamma = 0.66$*.

Category of wealth	Number of households according to number of active members		
	> 5	5–2.5	< 2.5
Rich	8	5	3
Moderately rich	4	12	6
Poor	0	3	9

Table 5. The relation between size of household and relative percentage of active persons.

Size of household	Relative percentage of active members of a household
> 10	39
10–7	43
< 7	52

Table 6. Correlation between size of household and value of farm investments. $\gamma = 0.61$*.

Size of household	Number of households according to value of farm investments in F CFA		
	⩾ 60 000	60 000–20 000	⩽ 20 000
> 10	9	4	2
10–7	4	12	4
< 7	2	4	9

Table 7. Correlation between number of active members of a household and value of farm investments. $\gamma = 0.73^*$.

Number of active members	Number of households according to value of farm investments in F CFA		
	$\geqslant$ 60 000	60 000–20 000	$\leqslant$ 20 000
> 5	8	4	0
5–2.5	5	11	4
< 2.5	2	5	11

Table 8. Correlation between number of active members of a household and value of farm investments per active member. $\gamma = 0.22$.

Number of active members	Number of households according to value of farm investments per active member in F CFA		
	> 15 000	15 000–6 000	< 6 000
> 5	4	7	1
5–2.5	5	9	6
< 2.5	6	4	8

Table 9. Correlation between wealth and value of farm investments per active member. $\gamma = 0.80^*$.

Category of wealth	Value of farm investments per active member in F CFA		
	> 15 000	15 000–6 000	< 6 000
Rich	10	6	0
Moderately rich	4	12	6
Poor	1	2	9

Table 10. Correlation between wealth and motivation. $\gamma = 0.83^*$.

Category of wealth	Number of households according to score on motivation		
	high	moderately high	low
Rich	12	4	0
Moderately rich	4	11	7
Poor	1	2	9

Table 11. Correlation between wealth and the cultivation of cotton. $\gamma = 0.50^*$.

Category of wealth	Number of households cultivating	
	cotton	no cotton
Rich	10	6
Moderately rich	6	16
Poor	3	9

Table 12. Correlation between wealth and the application of fertilizer. $\gamma = 0.58^*$.

Category of wealth	Number of households applying	
	fertilizer	no fertilizer
Rich	12	4
Moderately rich	11	11
Poor	3	9

Appendix 18 Purchase value of agricultural implements at the co-operative in F CFA

	F CFA
Seed drill	14 000
Groundnut lifter	11 000
Cultivator	8 500
Cultivator 'Arara' (without lifter)	28 000
Cultivator 'Ariana'	50 000
Cultivator 'Polyculteur'	106 000

The value of draught animals has been calculated from the average prices for adult animals sold in the village in 1971–1972.

	F CFA
A pair of oxen	15 000
A pair of cows	25 000
A horse	27 000
A donkey	5 000

Appendix 19 The questionnaire on working parties

A

Name head of household:

Name spouse interviewed:

date:

name beneficiary	type of working party	duration	crop	type of operation	number of participants	participants from outside Sonkorong				reason intermediary organized workingparty; his name
						name	village	familial position	statusgroup	

Name head of household:

B

Name spouse interviewed:

date:

name participant	type of working party	duration	crop	type of operation	name beneficiary	beneficiary living outside Sonkorong: name	village	familial position	statusgroup	reason intermediary organized workingparty; his name

Appendix 20 Position within household of beneficiary and participants of working parties

Table 1. Position within household of beneficiary and participant per agricultural activity

Agricultural activity	Position of beneficiary	Number of working parties	Position participant		
			head of household	*sourga*	woman
Groundnut					
sowing	head				
	sourga				
	woman	3		6	2
weeding	head	29	34	82	
	sourga	31	1	68	
	woman	32	3	59	2
harvesting	head	16	29	65	
	sourga	18	3	44	2
	woman	38	6	83	
heaping	head	13			37
	sourga	23		1	52
	woman	6		2	8
making a	head	1		6	
stack	*sourga*	7		15	
	woman	7		12	
threshing	head	9	2	39	
	sourga	9		17	
	woman	11	2	32	
winnowing	head	22	1	1	75
	sourga	24		14	60
	woman	27		9	48
transporting	head	2	2		
	sourga	1		1	
	women				
Millet					
weeding	head	14	8	40	
	sourga	1		1	
	woman				
cutting	head	5	1	11	
the stalks	*sourga*	1		1	
	woman				
harvesting	head	31	14	13	114
the ears	*sourga*	4			7
	woman				
Cotton					
picking	head	9			55
	sourga	1			7
	woman				
	total	395	106	622	469

Table 2. Total number of work groups and participants received according to position in household.

Beneficiary	Number of work groups	Participants			
		head of household	*sourga*	woman	total
Head of household	151	91	257	281	629
Sourga	120	4	162	128	294
Woman	124	11	203	60	274
Total	395	106	622	469	

Code of name of household	Received working parties (mandays) (1)	Participated in working parties (mandays) (2)	Net-aid (mandays) (3)	Aid from household to family-in-law (4)	Aid received from family-in-law (5)	Corrected net-aid (mandays) (6)
1	58	12.5	45.5	1		46.5
2	37	4	33			33
3	70.5	12.5	58			58
4	55.5	37	18.5	6		24.5
5	23.5	17.5	6	2		8
6	58	62.5	− 4.5	3	20.5	−22
7	25.5	4	21.5			21.5
8	46	54.5	− 8.5	4		− 4.5
9	46	40.5	5.5	5		10.5
10	12	12	0			0
11	8.5	34	−25.5	2.5		−23
12	20	38	−18	6		−12
13	27.5	53	−25.5	16	0.5	−10
14	1	4.5	− 3.5			− 3.5
15	13.5	15	− 1.5		2	− 3.5
16	9.5	6.5	3			3
17	5	16	−11			−11
18	2	5	− 3			− 3
19	10.5	17.5	− 7			− 7
20	15	36	−21		4	−25
21	18	26.5	− 8.5			− 8.5
22	5.5	7	− 1.5		4	− 5.5
23	0	0	0			0
24	1.5	11	− 9.5			− 9.5
25	4.5	0	4.5			4.5
26	9.5	26	−16.5			−16.5
27	19	4.5	14.5			14.5
28	33.5	39	− 6	5	22	−23
29	16.5	21	− 4.5			− 4.5
30	5	12.5	− 7.5			− 7.5

Code of name of household	Received working parties (mandays) (1)	Participated in working parties (mandays) (2)	Net-aid (mandays) (3)	Aid from household to family-in-law (4)	Aid received from family-in-law (5)	Corrected net-aid (mandays) (6)
31	14.5	17	− 2.5			− 2.5
32	4.5	6	− 1.5			− 1.5
33	5	19	−14			−14
34	15	9	6		8	− 2
35	17	23	− 6		9	−15
36	10.5	4	6.5			6.5
37	24.5	24.5	0	3	10.5	− 7.5
38	2.5	4.5	2			2
39	44.5	24.5	20	1	22	− 1
40	4	10	− 6	5		− 1
41	23.5	25	− 1.5		10	−11.5
42	5.5	3	2.5			2.5
43	6.5	10.5	− 4			− 4
44	10	7.5	2.5			2.5
45	7	14.5	− 7.5			− 7.5
46	4	15	−11		2	−13
47	9.5	10.5	− 1			− 1
48	10	5	5			5
49	1.5	0	1.5			1.5
50	3	3	0			0
Total	880	866[1]		59.5[2]	114.5	

1. Mandays given by the inhabitants of Sonkorong must be the same as mandays received by inhabitants of Sonkorong minus mandays received from non-villagers plus mandays given to non-villagers:
   $866 = 880 - 204 + 237$
   $866 = 913$
The difference is due to the inclusion of aid from *navetanes* in Column 1 but not aid given to *navetanes* in Column 2.
2. Aid from participants not living in the household is excluded.

Appendix 22 Some variables correlated with mandays received via working parties

Those correlations marked with * are significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 1. Correlation between size of household and mandays received. $\gamma = 0.50$*.

Size of household	Number of households according to mandays received (column 1)		
	$\geqslant 20$	20–5	$\leqslant 5$
> 10	8	5	2
10–7	5	10	5
< 7	2	6	7

Table 2. Correlation between size of household and mandays given. $\gamma = 0.46$*.

Size of household	Number of household according to mandays given (column 2)		
	$\geqslant 20$	20–5	$\leqslant 5$
> 10	8	3	4
10–7	7	11	2
< 7	1	7	7

Table 3. Correlation between wealth and net-aid. $\gamma = 0.21$.

Category of wealth	Number of households according to net-aid (column 3)		
	> 5	5– –5	< –5
Rich	7	5	4
Moderately rich	2	10	10
Poor	2	7	3

Table 4. Correlation between wealth and corrected net-aid. $\gamma = 0.21$.

Category of wealth	Number of households according to corrected net-aid (column 6)		
	> 5	5– –5	< –5
Rich	6	6	4
Moderately rich	2	8	12
Poor	1	8	3

Table 5. Correlation between farm investments per head and corrected net-aid. $\gamma = 0.18$.

Corrected net-aid (column 6)	Number of households according to farm investment in F CFA		
	> 15 000	15 000–6000	< 6000
< –5	5	8	6
–5–5	5	10	7
> 5	5	2	2

Table 6. Correlation between wealth and expenditure on sat. $\gamma = 0.90$*.

Category of wealth	Number of households according to expenditure on *sat*		
	> 1000 F CFA	⩽ 1000 F CFA	0
Rich	13	0	3
Moderately rich	3	6	13
Poor	0	0	12

Appendix 23 The names of the communities sampled

Wolof communities:

Santé Diaga
Pakane Dongel
Padaf
Tene Peul
Kaymor
Keur Ajib
Foutah
N'Diba N'Diayene
Diaglé
Diawara
N'Garan
Diary Kaw
Séveul
Keur Ajib
Koupakh Gamou
Keur Diané
Falifa
Sangab
Passy N'Gayene
N'Gayene
Lohena
Darou

Toucouleur communities:

Pakana Dimba
Diama Thiewie
Saloumbel
Kacounda

Fula communities:

Keur Ardo
Youna

Appendix 24 Questionnaire on influential men

Fieldworker:
Community:
Size of community:
Community head:

The 2 or 4 'judges' chosen by the fieldworker:
1.
2.
3.
4.

The 'reserve judge'
1.

The influential men chosen by the 2 or 4 judges:

Name:
choice (in order of influence)
1.
2.
3.
4.

Name:
choice (in order of influence)
1.
2.
3.
4.

Name:
choice (in order of infiluence)
1.
2.
3.
4.

Name:
choice (in order of influence)
1.
2.
3.
4.

	Number of choices received
The influential men chosen in order of number of choices received	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
	6.
	7.
	8.

Questions to one of the judges

1. Name of informant:

2. Size of the community (in number of *chefs de carré*)
   Number of *chefs de carré diambour*:
   Number of *chefs de carré diam*:
   Number of *chefs de carré nieenio*:
   Number of *chefs de carré* Wolof:
   Number of *chefs de carré* Fula:
   Number of *chefs de carré Toucouleur*:
   Number of *chefs de carré* other ethnic groups:

3. Status group	Last mother-village	*Arrondissement*	Date of migration to present community	Originally coming from

4. Remarks on the history of migration:

5. Number of Imam:
   Names of Imam: 1.
   2.
   3.
   4.

6. Number of Koran schools:
   Names of the Koran teachers: 1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.
   6.
   7.
   8.
   9.
   10.

7. Have you a co-operative?
   Chairman of the co-operative if living in the community:

8. Do you have a branch of UPS in this community?
   Chairman of UPS-branch if living in the community:

9. How many shops are there in the community?
   Names of the shopkeepers: 1.
   2.
   3.
   4.
   5.
   6.
   7.
   8.
   9.
   10.

10. Are there wholesale traders in the community?
    Names of these traders: 1.
    2.
    3.
    4.

11. Are there taxi or lorry owners in the community?
    Names: 1.
    2.
    3.
    4.

12. Are there people in the community called *borom barke*?
    Names: Number of wives:
    1.
    2.
    3.
    4.
    5.
    6.

Influential men
- name and title if any
- status group
- number of wives
- official side-activities
- religious side-activities
- commercial side-activities

Appendix 25 Procedure for selecting influential men

The extension fieldworker for each community in the sample (22) was asked for names of community members well informed about village affairs. For communities with 10 or less *carrés* 2 names were sufficient; for villages above 10 *carrés* 4 names were required (one or two additional names of informants were asked for as reserves in case of absence or illness). These people were considered to be the 'judges' of who were the influential men in the community. Each of them had to give the names of the 4 most influential persons in his community in order of influence. In this manner a number of names was recorded which per community could range between 4 and 16, but of course there was overlap in the choices of the judges. From the number of influential men chosen per community I selected a number proportional to the size of the community. However the number of influential men could never be higher than 8 per village because the questionnaire had to be completed in a reasonable span of time. The number per village selected was:

Number of carrés in village	Number of influential men
$\geqslant 12$	2
13–18	3
19–24	4
25–30	5
31–36	6
37–42	7
$\geqslant 43$	8

The order in which the influential men were chosen depended on the number of choices received from the (2 or 4) judges. When the judges did not agree about somebody being an influential man, at least two choices being necessary, the extension fieldworker was asked which of the persons who had received only one choice he considered to be the most influential. Of the 101 influential men selected in total, the fieldworker helped to choose 28 of them. I do not think that their help has influenced the reliability of the data on influential men. On average 1 fieldworker was in charge of 6 communities only (on average of 116 *carrés*) and could therefore be considered to be acquainted with local leadership unless his appointment was recent. Only 3 of the 15 fieldworkers contacted had been appointed less than 2 years ago. Four communities in the sample were in the working area of the 3 fieldworkers only recently appointed. In 3 of these four communities the help of the fieldworker had to be enlisted to obtain the requisite number of influential men. For these 3 communities the village head was substituted for the fieldworker.

Some simple data were obtained about general community characteristics and some specific characteristics of the influential men by putting a few questions to one of the well-informed judges, chosen according to the personal preference of my assistant.

Appendix 26 Clannames in Arrondissement Medinah Sabach

The clannames found in Medinah Sabach of those who considered themselves Wolof were: Cisse, Toure, Gueye, Lo, N'Dau, Thiam, Seck, Diagne, Diouf, Niang, Dieng, Diop, Diba, N'Dioye, Thioye, Fall, Diau, Nogho, Sall, Sow, Camara, Diawara, Drame, Dione.

According to Diop (1948, p. 849) the clannames Diagne, Diouf and Fall are Serer clannames. According to B. N'Diaye the names Gueye, Diop, N'Dioye, Niang, Sall, Seck, Sow and Thiam are *Toucouleur*.

The clannames of those who called themselves *Toucouleur* were: Ba, Sy, N'Diaye, Thioum, Seck, Kane, Sall, Ka, Loum.

Most *Toucouleur* with a clanname also used by the Wolof were slave-descendents, like those called N'Diaye, Thioum, Seck, Sall, Lo.

The clannames of those considering themselves Fula were Ba and Diallo.

Appendix 27 Side-activities of the influential men

	Posts occupied in 10 freeborn communities		Posts occupied in 4 slave-descendent communities		Posts occupied in 8 mixed communities	
	free-born	slave-descendent	free-born	slave-descendent	free-born	slave-descendent
Community head	10		2	1	7	
Chairman of co-operative	2			2	5	1
Chairman of UPS-branch committee	4		1		5	1
Imam	2		3		5	
Koran teacher	8	1	2	1	13	
Shopkeeper	4			3	4	1
Wholesale dealer	6			1	2	3
Taxi or lorry owner	1				2	2