



**Planned Development Interventions and Contested Development in  
the Casamance Region, Senegal:  
An Enquiry into the Ongoing Struggles for Autonomy and Progress  
by the Casamance Peasantry**

**Fadel Ndiame**



**Planned Development Interventions and Contested Development in the  
Casamance Region, Senegal:**

**An Enquiry into the Ongoing Struggles for Autonomy and Progress by the  
Casamance Peasantry**

**Fadel Ndiame**

## **Thesis committee**

### **Promotor**

Prof. Dr J.D. van der Ploeg,  
Professor of Transition Processes in Europe  
Wageningen University & Research

### **Co-promotor**

Dr P.G.M. Hebinck  
Associate professor, Sociology of Development and Change Group  
Wageningen University & Research

### **Other members**

Prof. Dr E. Frankema, Wageningen University & Research  
Prof. Dr W. Heijman, Wageningen University & Research  
Prof. Dr J.D. Dessein, Ghent University, Belgium  
Dr PM Bosc, FAO

This research was conducted under the auspices of the Wageningen School of Social Sciences (WASS)

# Planned Development Interventions and Contested Development in the Casamance Region, Senegal:

## An Enquiry into the Ongoing Struggles for Autonomy and Progress by the Casamance Peasantry

**Fadel Ndiame**

### **Thesis**

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of doctor  
at Wageningen University  
by the authority of the Rector Magnificus,  
Prof. Dr A.P.J. Mol,  
in the presence of the  
Thesis Committee appointed by the Academic Board  
to be defended in public  
on Friday 3 November 2017  
at 1.30 p.m. in the Aula.

Fadel Ndiame

Planned Development Interventions and Contested  
Development in the Casamance Region, Senegal: An  
Enquiry into the Ongoing Struggles for Autonomy and  
Progress by the Casamance Peasantry,

196 pages.

PhD thesis, Wageningen University, Wageningen, the Netherlands (2017)  
With references, with summary in English

ISBN 978-94-6343-677-9

DOI: DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18174/421809>

# Contents

<b>ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>GLOSSARY OF TERMS</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1</b>	
<b>ARTICULATING THE MAIN NARRATIVES OF MY THESIS</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
1.2. THE KEY STORYLINES OF THE THESIS	5
1.3 THE KEY ARGUMENTS OF THE THESIS	6
1.3.1. Planned development brought about tensions and contradictions in the Casamance	6
1.3.2. The reworking of modernisation by NGOs and farmers' organisations still does not work	7
1.3.3. Contestations and counter-development	8
1.4. EXPLAINING THE CURRENT FEATURES OF THE CASAMANCE	9
1.5. EXPLORING THE WAYS FORWARD	10
<b>CHAPTER 2</b>	
<b>THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS AND METHODOLOGY</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1. INTRODUCTION	11
2.2. THEORETICAL MAPPING OF DIFFERENT CHANGE NARRATIVES IN THE CASAMANCE	12
2.2.1 Structuralist traditions and the conceptualisation of social change	12
2.2.2. Actors, heterogeneity and social change	16
2.3. EXPLORING THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT LANDSCAPE IN THE CASAMANCE	19
2.3.1. Contrasted interpretations of the food crisis in the Casamance.	19
2.3.2. The Casamance Conflict Interpreted as an Agrarian Crisis	22
2.3.3. Scenario of Hope and Progress	24
2.4. IMPLICATIONS FOR MY RESEARCH	25
2.4.1. Guiding research questions	25
2.4.2. A conceptual framework	27
2.4.3. Structure and organisation of the thesis	29
<b>CHAPTER 3</b>	
<b>THE CASAMANCE REGION: KEY FEATURES AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS</b>	<b>30</b>
3.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES	30
3.2. THE HUMAN AND HISTORICAL FEATURES OF THE REGION	31
3.2.1. General human and socio-economic profiles	31
3.2.2. Exploring the diversity of the social and production systems of the region	33
3.3. PATTERNS OF PLANNED INTERVENTIONS IN THE CASAMANCE	35
3.3.1. A historical contextualisation of key development milestones in the Casamance	35
3.3.2. Rural development interventions in the Casamance region	37

3.4. THE ARMED CONFLICT OF THE MFDC	43
3.4.1. Interpretations of the genesis and making of the conflict	43
3.4.2. Key milestones in the armed conflict	45
3.4.3. The consequences of the conflict on livelihood.	46
3.4.4. Recent peace-keeping and development initiatives	48
3.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS	50
<b>CHAPTER 4</b>	
<b>AN OVERVIEW OF STATE ACTIVISM IN THE CASAMANCE: HEGEMONY AND DEMISE</b>	<b>52</b>
4.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES	52
4.2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON PLANNED INTERVENTIONS IN SENEGAL	53
4.2.1. Timeline and Key milestones of the State Hegemony in the Casamance rural development landscape	55
4.2.2. The Demise of the Hegemonic State in the Casamance	56
4.2.3. The Agricultural Equipment Programme and the Development of Animal Traction in the Lower Casamance Region	58
4.3. LOCAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN SENEGAL: A HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALISATION	61
4.4. MANIFESTATION OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT DYNAMICS	64
4.4.1. Creation of FONGS and Organisational structures	65
4.4.2. Engagement patterns with other development actors	66
4.4.3. CNCR and the genesis of farmer political activism in Senegal	68
4.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS	70
<b>CHAPTER 5</b>	
<b>LOCAL PEOPLE'S RESPONSES AND ADAPTATION TO A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT IN THE CASAMANCE REGION</b>	<b>74</b>
5.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES	74
5.2. A CASE STUDY OF FARMERS ADAPTATION STRATEGIES TO CHANGES IN THEIR ENVIRONMENT	76
5.2.1. Social context and change dynamics at the local level: Case study of Bougoutoub	76
5.2.2. Social structures and land tenure systems	76
5.3. FARMERS PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGES IN THEIR PRODUCTION SYSTEMS	78
5.3.1. An overview of livelihood conditions in Bougoutoub	78
5.4. AN OVERVIEW OF CHANGES IN RICE PRODUCTION SYSTEMS	82
5.4.1. The collapse of local rice production systems	82
5.4.2. The upland crops cultural practices	85
5.4.3. The place of groundnut in Farmers adaptation strategies to challenging circumstances:	87
5.4.4. Major constraints and challenges faced by the "fanks":	89
5.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS	95
5.5.1. Trajectory of self-commoditization and marginalization	95

5.5.2. Scenario of hope and progress	96
<b>CHAPTER 6</b>	
<b>MANIFESTATION OF FARMERS ACTIVISM IN THE CASAMANCE REGION</b>	<b>99</b>
6.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES	99
6.2. CASE STUDY OF A FARMER ORGANISATION: FADECBA	101
6.2.1. The foundations of a local coalition	101
6.3. CHANGING ROLES OF FARMERS' ORGANISATIONS IN THE CASAMANCE	108
6.3.1. AJAC Ziguinchor	108
6.3.2. The Entente Diouloulou	112
6.3.3. The new economic turn provided by ASPRODEP19	116
6.3.4. Emerging lessons and trends in the operation of the Casamance farmers' organisations	118
6.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS	119
<b>CHAPTER 7</b>	
<b>ANALYSING THE ROOT CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARMED CONFLICT IN THE CASAMANCE REGION</b>	<b>123</b>
7.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES	123
7.2. AN ACTOR-ORIENTED APPROACH TO THE CASAMANCE CONFLICT	125
7.2.1. The Key Protagonists of the Casamance Conflict	125
7.3. THE SENEGALESE STATE AND THE CASAMANCE REGION	127
7.3.1. Conflicting dynamics associated with the economic development policies applied by the State in the Casamance:	127
7.4. MFDC AND THE CASAMANCE PEOPLE	129
7.4.1. The political and social context of emergence of MFDC	129
7.4.1. The MFDC: a medium of political expression for the local people	130
7.4.2. Changing Strategy of the MFDC-vis-a-vis local people	132
7.5. THE SENEGALESE STATE VS. THE MFDC: A POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BATTLEFIELD	133
7.5.1. Contrasting conceptions of nationalism	133
7.5.2. The relationship between the contemporary crisis and local particularism	135
7.6. LOCAL PEOPLE RESPONSES TO THE AGRARIAN CRISIS IN THE CASAMANCE	138
7.6.1. Building the institutional capabilities required to engage in local governance activities	138
7.6.2. Investing in Agribusiness Activities	139
7.6.3. The progressive Articulation of a Peasant-like scenario through the development of shared Resource Base	141
7.7. CONCLUDING REMARKS	142

<b>CHAPTER 8</b>	
<b>SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>146</b>
8.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES	146
8.2. SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT	149
8.2.1. Overview of the development landscape in the Casamance	149
8.2.2. Patterns of Government's development Interventions in Senegal and the Casamance.	151
8.2.3. An overview of local people's dominant adaptation strategies to a changing environment	152
8.3. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ARMED CONFLICT IN THE CASAMANCE REGION THROUGH THE LENSES OF AN AGRARIAN CRISIS	156
8.4. EXPLORING SOME POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO THE CRISIS IN THE CASAMANCE	159
8.4.1 Resistance, autonomy and novelties	159
8.4.2 Recommendations	162
8.5. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	163
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>165</b>
<b>SUMMARY</b>	<b>176</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>Funding</b>	<b>180</b>

## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AI	Amnesty International
AJAC	Association des Jeunes Agriculteurs de la Casamance (Association of Young Farmers of the Casamance)
AJAEDO	Association des Jeunes Agriculteurs and Eleveurs du Departement de Sedhiou (Association of young farmers and Livestock producers of the Oussouye Département).
ASESCAW	Association Socio-économique, Sportive et Culturelle pour le développement de l'Agriculture du Waalo (Socioeconomic, sports and cultural association for the development of Agriculture in Waalo)
ASPRODEP	Association Sénégalaise pour la Promotion du Développement à la Base (Association for Local Development Organisations)
ASPSP	Association Sénégalaise de Producteurs de Semences Paysannes (Senegalese Association of Peasant Seed Producers)
CADEF	Comité d'Action Pour le Développement du Fogny (Committee for the Development of the Fogny region)
CBCP	Committee of Dialogue of the Balantacounda Producers
CIAT	Complexe agro-industriel de Touba (Agro-Industrial complex of Touba)
CNCA	Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole du Sénégal (National Agricultural Crédit Agency)
CNCR	Comité National de Concertation et de Coopération des Ruraux (National Council for Consultation and Rural Coopération)
CRECIS	Caisse Intégrée d'Epargne et de Crédit (Integrated Credit and Saving Facility)
DERBAC	Programme de Développement Intégré de la Moyenne Casamance (Integrated Rural Development Programme of the Middle Casamance)
ERPC	Casamance Emergency Recovery Project
FADECBA	Fédération des Associations Paysannes pour le Développement Communautaires du Balantacounda (Federation of Peasant Associations for the Community Development of Balantacounda)
FECAPS	Fédération des Associations pour le développement Agricole (Federation of Rural Saving Associations for Agricultural development)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization

FENAGIE	Association Nationale des Fédérations de Pêcheurs Artisanaux (National Fédération of Artisanal Fisheries Groups)
FNGIE/H	Fédération Nationale des Groupements d'Intérêt du Secteur Horticole (National Federation of Economic Interest Groups in Horticulture)
FNGP	Fédération Nationale des Groupements Féminins du Sénégal (National Federation of Women's Groups)
FO	Farmers' Organisations
FONGS	Fédération des Organisations Non-Gouvernementales du Sénégal (Federation of Non-Governmental Organisations of Senegal)
FSR	Farming Systems Research
GIE	Economic Interest Group
GOS	Government of Senegal
HIV / AIDS	HIV / Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISRA	Institut Sénégalais de Recherche Agricole (Senegalese Institute of Agricultural Research)
LMP	Lineage Mode of Production
LOSP	Local Organisation Support Programme
MFDC	Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (Movement of Democratic Forces of the Casamance)
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPA	New Agricultural Policy
ONCAD	Office National de Coopération et d'Approvisionnement pour le Développement Agricole au Sénégal (National Office of Cooperation and Procurement for Agricultural Development in Senegal)
PADCO	PADCO Planning and Development Collaborative International, Inc.
PEFA	Programme d'Echange Et de Formation en Alternance (Exchange and Training in Alternance Programme).
PIDAC	Projet Intégré de Développement Agricole de la Casamance (Integrated Agricultural Development Programme in the Casamance)
PRIMOCA	Projet Rural de développement Intégré de la Moyenne Casamance (Integrated Rural Development Project of Middle Casamance)
PRS	Projet de Développement Rizicole de Sedhiou (Sedhiou Rice Development Programme)

PSAOP	Structural Programme on Agricultural Producers' Organisations
PSSA	Programme Special de Sécurité Alimentaire (Special Programme on Food Security)
PROGES	Management of the Waters of the South Project
ROPFA	Réseau des Organisations Paysannes et de Producteurs de L'Afrique de L'Ouest (Network of Farmers' and Agricultural Producers' Organisations of West Africa)
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SOMIVAC	Société de Mise en Valeur de la Casamance (Casamance Development Agency)
UCF	Union Charrues France (Land preparation equipment)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WARF	West Africa Rural Foundation
WFP	World Food Programme

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Bainouck and in	an ethnic group predominantly present in the Casamance region Guinea Bissau
Balantes	an ethnic group in the Casamance region and in Guinea Bissau
<i>bofac</i> one	in Diola society, groupings of the members of a family who share kitchen
<i>Domaine National</i>	the national land law which was promulgated in Senegal in 1964
Diola	a Senegalese ethnic group who are the majority inhabitants of the Lower Casamance. The same group is also referred to as ' <i>Joola</i> ' in the literature reviewed as part of this thesis
<i>ekafay</i> group	self-help groups that are typically organised by gender and by age
<i>eluup</i>	members of an extended family in Diola society
<i>essuk</i>	village, in the Diola language
<i>Eyao</i> or <i>Afankaren</i>	the name of a traditional religious leader whose authority is recognised and accepted in the neighbourhood
<i>Fank</i>	a unit of habitat which gathers all members of the same <i>eluup</i>
<i>fanting</i>	hand hoe, traditionally used by women in Madinka-dominated areas of the Casamance
<i>fiil</i>	members of a particular lineage in Diola society Fulani an ethnic group that constitutes a significant percentage of the Casamance region's population
<i>kadjando</i>	hand hoe, traditionally used by Diola men
<i>kalol</i>	a neighbourhood, in the Diola language
<i>Kellumak</i>	a traditional village council, composed of the heads of <i>eluups</i>
Mandinka	an ethnic group of the West African sub-region that is well represented in the Casamance region
Wolof	a major Senegalese ethnic group predominant in the northern part of Senegal and also present in the Casamance region

## TABLE OF FIGURES, BOXES AND TABLES

### Tables

Table 2.1: Key elements of the conceptual framework	28
Table 4.1: Introduction of animal traction technology in the Lower Casamance region:	59
Table 5.1: Estimates of household food accounts	81
Table 5.2: A review of farmers' cultural practices on upland rice	83
Table 5.3: An analysis of Groundnut cultural practices in the Casamance	86
Table 5.4: An analysis of Maize cultural practices in the Casamance	87
Table 5.5: Contribution of revenue from groundnuts in the fank food account	88
Table: 5.6. Number of plots which received purchased Inputs by crop in the Kolda and Ziguinchor regions.	93
Table 6.1: Source of funding and main activities conducted by AJAC-Ziguinchor:	110
Table 6.2: Source of funding and main activities conducted by Entente Diouloulou	113

### Boxes

Box 6.1: The CBCP and Djibanar valley rehabilitation programme	107
--	-----

### Figures

Figure 4.1: Historical configuration of state intervention in the Casamance region	54
Figure 4.2: Key milestones of an era of State Hegemony: 1940s - 1980s	55
Figure 4.3: The demise of planned interventions in Senegal: Some key Milestones	57
Figure 4.4: Historical overview of local development dynamics in Senegal	62
Figure 4.5: Promoting new patterns of relations in development processes	67
Figure 4.6: Building a coalition for the defence of the family farm	72
Figure 5.1: Number involved in Non-Farm activities by gender (in 2008)	94
Figure 7.1: Farmers' organisations investing in local governance systems	138
Figure 7.2. Development landscape of FO in the Casamance	141
Figure 7.3: Building an ecosystem of local development dynamics	144
Figure 8.1: Depressive dynamics linked to processes of self-commoditisation	154
Figure 8.2: Historical Contextualisation of the Casamance Conflict	158
Figure 8.3: A recommended pathway for a more farmer centred development in the Casamance	160

### Maps

Map 3.1: a general map of Senegal	32
Map 3.2: Zoning of the Lower Casamance into agro-ecosystems	34
Map 4.1.: Characteristics of the Lower Casamance zones, taking into account household equipment availability.	58

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **ARTICULATING THE MAIN NARRATIVES OF MY THESIS**

### **1.1 BACKGROUND**

The Casamance region in the south of Senegal is today characterised by a structural food deficit situation and political marginalisation in spite of a number of actions taken towards modernisation and development by the French colonial and post-independence Senegalese governments. This situation raises the question of whether planned development interventions have contributed to the current status of instability and conflict in this Southern region of Senegal.

This thesis seeks to clarify the relationships between i) planned development interventions which took place in the Casamance over the last 100 years; ii) the advent and co-existence of different forms of endogenous responses to State interventions, and iii) the outcomes which emanated from the interplay of i) and ii). The ultimate goal is to shed light on how the interplay between the objectives of planned agricultural development interventions and local responses contributed to the current situation of poverty and conflict in the Casamance, and provide some potential solutions.

The thesis therefore addresses two major research questions:

1. To what extent did the planned development interventions which are typified by agricultural policies of the central government driven by the push for a greater commercialisation and modernisation of the peasantries in the Casamance, on the one hand, and the different types of responses of the Casamance people on the other hand, contribute to the current situation of poverty and prolonged conflict in the region?
2. To what extent do the different local initiatives and novelties still prominent in the current farmers' organisations (FOs) practices still resonate with the aspirations of peace and prosperity in the Casamance?

The Casamance conflict has received a lot attention in the academic literature since its emergence in the Southern region of Senegal more than 30 years ago. The different publications consulted focussed on the historical geographical, political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of the Casamance crisis (Lambert, 1998; Foucher, 2002); Evans (2005) Marut, (2005, 2010); De Jong, (2003); De Jong et al., (2005). The various authors acknowledge the complex ways in which these different historical, political and economic factors interacted and contributed to the making of one of the longest and protracted conflict in Africa in a country well known for its political stability and democratic regime (Fall, 2010; Gehrold and Neu (2010).

This thesis builds on the widely accepted narrative which links the rebellion to the contradictions between state policies and the aspirations and actions of segments of the Casamance society who are trying to develop their own pathway to public resources and improved livelihood (Marut, 2005, De Jong; 1998c; 1999; 2005; Englebert, 2005, Faye, 2006, Fall, 2010; Gehrold and Neu, 2010; Diedhiou, 2011).

The fundamental causes of this situation is explored in the context of the type of agricultural and economic system which developed in the region and would explain the

current situation of poverty, underdevelopment and conflict in the Casamance. These outcomes are linked to patterns of relationships which emerged between the Senegalese State and the Casamance peasant farmers and which resulted in the exploitation of the fruits of their labour.

By understanding the process of agrarian changes as the outcome of the interplay between planned interventions and local, autonomous processes and practices, and by understanding the latter as manifestations of peasants' objectives and strategies, this thesis is situated in the midst of an academic debate on the fate of the peasantry and the historical significance of the peasants' way of farming in the context of global capitalism (Berry, 1993 Buttel, 2001). This debate is well crystallised in the different interpretations of the agrarian question formulated by authors of different ideological shades (Bernstein et al., 2009; Bernstein 2010a; 2010b; McMichael, 2009a, 2009b; van der Ploeg (2008, 2010, and 2013). Berry (1984) compared and contrasted the views of neoclassical economists with those of Marxist political economists whose interpretations on the current food and agrarian crisis in Africa point to the processes of commercialisation, political centralisation linked to capitalist development in Africa. Depending on their theoretical orientations different authors provide an articulation of this agrarian question either in terms of articulation, integration and/or a more balanced formulation which lends itself to a more dynamic characterisation of the dynamics between the development of capitalism and rural societies. The configuration of agricultural systems is therefore understood in relation to the underlying dynamics of either de-peasantization, desagrarianization and/or deactivation, associated with the development of capitalism in Africa.

A major shortcoming of structuralist accounts of the agrarian change is lack of a full acknowledgement of the agency of local people and their ability to co-determine the content and orientations of agrarian changes in which they actively take part. Berry (1984) argues for an alternative narrative of the current food crisis in Africa based on an examination of the linkages between the condition of access to productive resources and the ways they relate to patterns of accumulation and the use of agricultural surplus generated. The hypothesis of Berry (1984) resonates well with the Wageningen theoretical tradition and more importantly with the articulation of the peasant conditions and the peasant ways of farming formulated by van der Ploeg (2008; 2010; 2013). Contrary to these structuralist interpretations associated with both the neo-classical economics and Marxist political economy brands of theorising, which predict the disappearance of the peasantry through different processes (de-agrarianization, de-peasantization, etc.) the actor oriented approaches promoted by the Wageningen school of thoughts explicitly acknowledges the agency of different categories of actors (bureaucrats, extension agents, politicians, peasant farmers, rebels, etc.) and their ability to engage, accommodate, resist and co-determine the outcome of the development processes. This approach therefore insists mainly on the concept of agency and the significance of paying attention to the critical interface which takes place during the course of the development process.

My approach to understanding the dynamics in the Casamance, as explained in the different chapters of my thesis, is informed by the work of van der Ploeg (2008, 2010, 2013) who builds on, and fuses with actor-oriented theories of development pioneered by Long (2001) and Long (1992), and other scholars of the Wageningen school (Mongbo 1995, Arce and Long, 2000, Hebinck 2013). In addition, I embraced Long's (2001) articulation of planned interventions as arenas where different actors interact, compete and cooperate, based on their own objectives. The work of Olivier de Sardan (2006) and

Bierschenk (2010) and Bierschenk and Oliver de Sardan (1997; 2003) build on similar theoretical arguments. Scott (1998; 2009) extended the critique on planned interventions by critically engaging with experts and their body of knowledge.

In the context of the current debate about the nature of global agrarian development, this implies that peasant farming co-exists with entrepreneurial and capitalist forms of agriculture, and compete for key resources (e.g. land, capital, labour) but operate differently in the broader capitalist economy. However the three types of agriculture differ significantly in the way they are structured and the mechanisms on which their development is based in the context the modern capitalist economy (van der Ploeg, 2010; 2013a). The entrepreneurial and capitalist farms are grounded on commodities and are about making money in order to acquire the resources which are transformed into products to be sold. This is in sharp contrast to peasant farms which use the available, self-owned and controlled natural and social resources to obtain money. This structural feature allows peasant farms to produce for the markets, without being completely dependent on these markets (Van der Ploeg, 2013a). The peasantry is thus able to strive for autonomy by relying on own resources, and enriching these to survive in a globalising economy (Woods, 2014). However, these key features of peasantry can be blocked under unfavourable socio-economic conditions which deprive the peasantries the fruits of their labour thus leading to an agrarian crisis.

Van der Ploeg (2008; 2013) defines an agrarian crisis as dysfunctional relationships between: i) farming and nature; ii) farming and society and; iii) farming and livelihood prospects of those who live on it. An agrarian crisis is likely to emerge when farming is organised in such a way that the interests of peasants are hijacked by other segments of society. An agro-ecological crisis also takes place when agriculture becomes organised and develops through a systematic destruction of the ecosystem upon which it is based, or when it gradually contaminates the wider environment. Other dimensions of the crisis materialise when the relationship between farming and society is compromised. The crisis may also be linked to conflictive intra-household dynamics “such as highly authoritarian relationships between fathers and sons which may provoke the departure of young men. Or oppressive gender relations (often going together with religious fundamentalism) that cause mothers to advice their daughters ‘to marry whomever as long as it is not a peasant’ –which have led to considerable social desertification in many rural parts of the Mediterranean” (Van der Ploeg, 2013).

In all these cases, total production is constrained because of the active disengagement of critical resources (labour, land, water, and capital) from the production process; leading to massive reductions in local production, food deficits and in some instances massive rural hunger, out-migration and conflicts. They generally escalate in dysfunctional relations between impoverished rural people and the state on the one hand and between different segments of the rural household, on the other hand. These conflicts and dysfunctional relations may escalate into a multi-layered governance and political crisis which eventually will lead to an armed rebellion such as the one experienced in the Casamance. Calame (2003) refers to this as a governance crisis which entails a multi-layered process of misalignment and degradation of relationships between individuals and their families and between a segment of society and the state apparatus. A governance crisis thus affects the interface between the private and the public space and weakens rural people’s livelihood prospects as well as the public institutions responsible for regulating and delivering public functions.

The working hypothesis of this thesis is that the central government's modernisation and commoditisation policies (land tenure, technology development and extension, public employment schemes-; fiscal policies and subsidy programmes) were used over the years by the central government in order to stimulate and drive the modernisation of the smallholder agriculture, based on the scripts of an entrepreneurial farming centred on groundnuts and other cash crop production.

These modernisation processes introduced new forms of production systems and some adjustments in the social relations, to accommodate the needs of different segments of the family household. These adjustments processes are apparent in the ways the households allocate family resources (especially labour, land and cash) to different usages (consumption, production, reproduction). Subsequent unfavourable policy and environment changes will upset the delicate balances between government policies and local people's adaptation strategies; they will also affect the delicate compromises and balances developed at the household and village levels to accommodate the objectives of food security, income earning opportunities. Thus planned development interventions accelerate the disarticulation of the traditional production systems and contribute to compromising the livelihood position and the emancipation trajectories of youth and women within the tradition domestic units.

In the context of the Casamance such an agrarian crisis would materialise in a governance, agricultural and food crisis which undermine the production and reproduction capacity of the Casamance peasantries and limit the contribution of the region in the attainment of national food security and development objectives. The manifestation of the agrarian crisis will include the inability of the region to provide food and employment required to the full extent that its relatively abundant resources would otherwise permit. The production and social relationship at the "*terroir*" level where several villages share natural resources would be compromised, resulting in tensions and conflict over ownership, control and use of natural resources at the household level, where contradictions and conflicts may affect the relationship between family members of different sexes and ages over the control and utilisation of family-owned resources. The resulting agrarian crisis would then lead to a processes of deactivation by which productive resources are diverted out of agriculture (either temporarily or permanently).

Social actors nevertheless have the capacity to react to these changes in ways which support, resist, or oppose state interventions. The actors could also rework these interventions to accommodate their own practices, knowledge, and ideas, in ways which strengthen and bring greater value to these resources. This implies that the Casamance peasantries are capable of deploying some innovative answers to production and reproduction challenges by gradually developing some peasant-like solutions to the reproduction and governance crisis that they are faced with. The gains achieved in this on-going battle will largely depend on the extent to which the Casamance peasantries are able to achieve more progress and prosperity by enlarging their resource base and their productivity, and by increasing their space for greater co-production.

The research questions and the hypotheses outlined above inform the methodology of my thesis. An examination of the patterns of engagements between the actors provides clues about the possible dynamics of the continuing conflict. Building on the concept of an agrarian crisis as defined by Van der Ploeg (2008) this thesis explores the extent to which the long-term configurations of relationships between external interventions and local responses have culminated in serious conflictive situations in the Casamance region.

At these different aggregation levels, the dysfunctional relations will be sought for and analysed at specific engagement and interface points between the key protagonists of the Casamance crisis. Such an actor oriented approach compels us to carefully examine the different ways in which the social, political and economic relations of production at the national, regional and household levels affect the level of performances associated with the production and reproduction processes. It also requires a careful examination of the socially sanctioned forms of ownership and control of production resources and the extent to which they are consistent with sustained levels of production growth; or whether conflict of interests and lack of space will lead to diversion of productive resources to other alternative usage. The analysis will also pay attention to gender dimensions of the labour process prevailing in the Casamance production sphere and the extent to which they accommodate the needs and emancipatory objectives of different categories of family members. In that context, the analysis of the migration of rural women and youth and the ways in which it affects the production and reproduction potential of different categories of household will be paramount in the context of the Casamance.

## **1.2. THE KEY STORYLINES OF THE THESIS**

The starting point of my research is to explore the historical trends of development taking place in Senegal over roughly the last 100 years. These trends can be captured by three major storylines or narratives that I have identified in the Casamance region.

1. The first storyline (discussed in chapters 3 & 4) centres on the role played by the state in the development of Senegal. The role and position of the state was neither linear nor often central. This relates to specific initiatives by the colonial powers to introduce new modes of regulating land, and instituting new, modern and commercial ways of producing groundnuts in the Casamance, using mechanisation and salaried labour (Co-Trung, 1996). These types of colonial arrangements were informed by France's need of raw materials for its industrial production.

The Senegalese post-colonial state occupied a hegemonic position in the design, implementation and evaluation of development activities during the first 10 to 15 years after independence, in accordance with its political and economic agenda. This period was followed by an era of retreat and relative withdrawal. My thesis will show how these different positions and roles of the state have been rationalised both theoretically and politically, and the significant ways in which state-planned development affected development possibilities in the Casamance region.

2. The second storyline also discussed in chapter 4 focusses on the role of non-state actors such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and FOs. These actors became more important and took over the state's role in planned development. Like the first storyline, this second storyline is still about planned development, but a new version, led by local institutions. This approach is reconfigured to make room for the aspirations of many actors pursuing their own localised/hybrid forms of livelihood- FONGS, CNCR, for example-, and based on the logic of disengaging themselves from the centrally controlled development trajectory. Together these two contradictory storylines provide the contextual scenario where local people's livelihood and emancipatory trajectories are deployed and negotiated. They provide the bedrock on which the Casamance peasants have built their survival, resistance and emancipation strategies, taking into account the opportunities and challenges associated with planned development interventions.

3. A third storyline hinges on the role played by the younger and more educated segment of the rural population in shaping a differentiated set of local responses to state-induced development processes. I focus on three main responses and strategies: a) the practices of Casamance producers to enhance the use of peasant-like solutions (described in 1.1.) to their production and livelihood challenges; b) the promotion of various types of entrepreneurial ventures as a means of pursuing their own emancipation objectives; and c) more radical forms of contestation of the forms and consequences of state interventions in the Casamance region, leading to the armed conflict. This storyline is clearly *a countering of the modernisation strategies* brought about by the state and NGOs.

### **1.3 THE KEY ARGUMENTS OF THE THESIS**

#### **1.3.1. Planned development brought about tensions and contradictions in the Casamance**

As we will see in Chapters 3 and 4, diverse forms of planned development intervention manifested themselves over time in the Casamance region, through successive phases of state hegemony until its ultimate demise. The phase of state hegemony over rural development activities coincided with both the colonial era, which followed the 'pacification' of the Casamance region, and the subsequent era of nation-building conducted during the post-independence era, from the 1960s.

State interventions in the Casamance typically revolved around land and agrarian reform programmes, supplying agricultural equipment and technology, rural development projects and farming systems research programmes. This was initiated during the 1960s and continued through to the 1980s. These interventions were justified by the need to accelerate the development of the Senegalese nation State by forming new political institutions and gradually transforming its traditional peasantry into modern producers, able to take up new technologies and operate according to the logic of a market-driven economy. The common feature of these interventions was the explicit attempt to 'modernise' the agricultural sector through the promotion of a development scenario based on entrepreneurial farming.

The state-administered agricultural programmes enabled significant sections of rural people to access animal traction equipment and complementary inputs through agricultural credit. This led to a widespread adoption of labour-saving and scale-enlarging technologies, which facilitated in turn a significant increase in the male-dominated production of cash crops, and of groundnuts especially, as a source for rural livelihoods in the region. However, this induced capital- and technology-driven production system was intimately linked to the state's continued involvement in production and marketing activities. Overall this new technology driven approach focused on groundnut production had a significant and (sometime negative) effect on the production of staple foods hence the negative impact of food security.

These choices were consistent with the principle of achieving rural growth and development through integration into a worldwide framework for the division of labour and through specialising in the export of a few cash crops and the import of cheap staple food. Revenue from the export of groundnuts paid for these imports. The choices were also consistent with the explicit political intention of the newly elected Senegalese officials to preserve social peace by ensuring the rapid growth of cities, accentuated

by rural out-migration. The promotion of groundnut production enabled the political authorities to maintain the political support of the *marabouts* (Muslim religious leaders) of the country's Peanut Basin (Marut, 2005; Linares, 2005).

The state-driven development policies and programmes initially resonated favourably in the Casamance region, where local people were able to internalise and reconcile the logic of a partial commodification with some of the key features of traditional production systems, in which non-commodity relations are predominant.

The subsequent state withdrawal from direct production and marketing activities during the 1980s, combined with the negative consequences of a long drought, led to devastating impacts on local production systems (Linares, 2005; Drame, 2005). This was evidenced by the gradual neglect of the staple crops grown for local consumption, and the increased marginalisation of women and youth from the dominant production system. This situation triggered a significant out-migration of the Casamance youth to the country's capital city and other metropolitan areas, in search of alternative employment and livelihood opportunities. The prospects of obtaining gainful employment in the cities did not materialise for many young migrants and the situation worsened during the era of structural adjustment policies in the 1990s. Many young migrants returned home as hungry, and often angry, young men.

In essence, the dominant entrepreneurial mode of farming introduced and promoted by the colonial government and the independent state alike, triggered some adaptation strategies which eventually propelled the Casamance peasantry into a trajectory of instability and marginalisation. This amplified and exacerbated the contradictions inherent in the local production systems which contributed to the further marginalisation of the educated rural youth and rural women in particular.

### **1.3.2. The reworking of modernisation by NGOs and farmers' organisations still does not work**

The demise of the state during the era of structural adjustment opened up a space for farmer activism and violent contestations – both in the rural production system, and in the agricultural political economy in Senegal. This led to the dawn of the farmer-organisation phenomenon – essentially championed by educated rural youth (formerly employed by state rural institutions) with the aim of bringing about significant social and economic gains. FOs positioned themselves as key substitutes for the state in facilitating rural people's access to donor- and state-controlled resources. They operated as a platform for employment and income generation for the educated youth who had been gradually marginalised in local production and reproduction processes. They were, however, unable to ensure the engagement of the majority of smallholder farmers in the more lucrative segments of agricultural value chains such as supplying inputs, storage, processing and marketing outputs. Like the state, FOs were not able to come up with effective answers to the prevailing agrarian crisis in the 1980s and the 1990s (Mercoiret et al 1990).

To some extent, FOs succeeded in facilitating rural people's access to agricultural finance and in playing the technical and advisory role previously provided by state institutions. As shown in Chapters 6 of this thesis, FOs managed to successfully use funding from donors to develop new technical and organisational capabilities. This enabled them to integrate and play a bigger role in the activities of their local government – a strategy promoted during the era of decentralisation. In some instances the educated leaders

of FOs managed to influence local government decisions over resource allocation (sometimes also deriving personal and financial benefits from their efforts).

In a similar effort to fill the gap left by state withdrawal from the rural economy, many NGOs and researchers (in organisations such as the Senegalese Institute of Agricultural Research [ISRA] where I worked myself) attempted to customise technologies to the specific circumstances of local production systems. This gave the researchers and NGOs involved in these initiatives some insights into the complex factors informing the development of technical, institutional and social innovations more suited to peasants' local contexts in the Casamance (Posner et al. 1982). However, they could not overcome some of the structural challenges in the decision-making process of smallholder farmers, nor did they succeed in overcoming the structural challenges (such as the need for infrastructure and specialised training) faced by the Casamance rural producers.

As shown in Chapter 6, other forms of rural business development were carried out by private entrepreneurs and traders from the Casamance or from other regions of Senegal. This option is becoming more popular among donors and private investors who see in this arrangement the promise of a successful participation by smallholder farmers in the agricultural value chain, especially during the era of economic liberalism from the year 2000 to date. This entails some intermediation and coordination for smooth functioning between the different segments of the agricultural value chain in order to enable a successful unlocking of value for value chains actors, including smallholder farmers.

However, there are significant barriers to entry into this potentially successful system, including inadequate access to finance and working capital, mistrust among participants and sometimes ineffective chain management. Successful operation of the model also entails significant brokering and facilitation by higher level FOs, in order to manage the expectations and the risks faced by the smallholder farmers trying to forge links with competitive and highly exclusive agribusiness networks. Whilst the rewards of this model looks promising, it has involved only a few groups of farmers who have been able to meet the stringent quality, quantity and deadline requirements of this type of value-chain-driven intervention.

In summary, the farmer movement gained some level of acceptance and recognition in the policy debate in Senegal during the 1980s and 1990s. However its footprint in terms of the development of unique value propositions manifesting themselves in distinct and viable livelihood options, was less clear. Despite the articulation of a refreshing discourse on peasants' need to regain greater autonomy and prosperity, there was no evidence that FOs could realise the promises of a development scenario grounded in peasant needs at a significant scale.

### **1.3.3. Contestations and counter-development**

Contesting development takes the form of a development process initiated by local people as they try to distance themselves from the challenges associated with planned development interventions. These acts of resistance may take the form of different sets of responses to planned interventions.

As discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6 expressions of contestation were found in the many initiatives taken by the rural youth and women who explored new livelihood and emancipation opportunities by continuing to produce rice for family consumption and

by diversifying their production activities to include seasonal cultivation of fruits and vegetables for sale, and who (mainly youth) embarked on seasonal out-migration which enabled them to accumulate the resources necessary to start their own households. In other words, and despite the dominant model of adaptation through self-commoditisation, some progressive actors embraced some of the key values of the peasantry, based on principles of self-reliance and a diversification of their income and livelihood strategies. That these strategies were adopted by the more marginalised segments of the household – women and youth – points to the fact that different members of the same family unit may pursue different livelihood projects which may, or may not interlock and as a result, either strengthen or weaken one another. This type of social configuration provided the rural households with a type of economic and social ‘cushion’ which enabled them to embark on a logic of self-commoditisation.

Other forms of contestation are found in the ability of local people to build a local governance practice as they respond to change, which becomes a new type of locally-controlled resource. This local adjustment and adaptation to wider change processes may become linked to bolder and more contentious forms of responses, culminating in the gradual construction of a unified ‘voice from below’. This entails a rediscovery and or redefinition of ‘self’ through the collective articulation of a development narrative centred on personal values and responsibility, and mutual accountability for local development outcomes. As illustrated by the cases of FONGS and FADECBA in chapter 6, a key driver of this discourse and practice of local development is a willingness to invest in the development of self-sufficiency, individually and collectively; and to find acceptable ways to cooperate with others for mutual gains based on mutual respect and accountability.

These processes paradoxically emerged in Senegal in the context of an economic, financial and ecological crisis, and can be seen at least partially as an outcome of failed planned development that centred on the script of an entrepreneurial mode of farming. These new development dynamics materialised in a coherent local discourse and local development initiatives, more aligned with the acceptance of local values and circumstances. The cases analysed in this thesis show that this type of development dynamics requires a strong moral repertoire which sets the stage for collective action, based on the logic of performance obligations.

#### **1.4. EXPLAINING THE CURRENT FEATURES OF THE CASAMANCE**

As explained in chapter 3, the Casamance presents the paradox of the persistence of deep poverty and enduring armed conflict, in a region well-endowed with natural resources, and which has benefitted from numerous development interventions over the years. The region’s production systems have undergone many changes related to its unique historical and geographic circumstances. A key thread in the argument throughout my thesis is that the dynamics of technical and social change observed on the ground are informed by the extent to which the different narratives, discourses and practices articulated by the different segments of the local society are compatible, or mutually exclusive.

The same principle guided my inquiries into the potentially conflicting dimensions of the ways in which local people responded to global opportunities and challenges. Contrary to dominant narratives of the conflict, which emphasise structural factors (such as colonisation, ethnicity, and the political and economic marginalisation of the

southern region of Senegal), the argument here is that the deep roots of the crisis reside in the contradictions resulting from the interactions between planned interventions and the internal dynamics inherent in local people's adaptation strategies to a hostile environment. Rural development programmes implemented in the Casamance amplified and exacerbated the internal contradictions intrinsic to local production systems, which further contributed to the marginalisation of the educated rural youth, and of women, in particular. Moreover, changes in state policy relating to its direct engagement in, and its subsequent withdrawal from direct support to agriculture affected positively or negatively the mix of livelihood and emancipatory strategies of various segments of Casamance society, particularly men and the rural youth. This seems to be notably the case regarding leaders of the armed rebellion, whose social status is linked to their level of education and whose emancipatory trajectories within the national state have been constrained and challenged by the political and policy choices made by the central government, as well as by the dominant patterns of responses adopted by the local people themselves. In such a context, segments of the disappointed rural youth from the Casamance joined the rebellion as part of a strategy to create their own pathway to the resources provided by sovereignty. These were educated youth who openly revolted against the principle of the Senegalese Unified Nation State, including the Casamance (Englebert, 2005; Marut, 2005, 2010).

In summary, the economic and financial crisis of the national development model affected and constrained the survival and accumulation strategies of youth and women, and concomitantly, the integrity of household labour processes. In this context, the Casamance conflict is interpreted as a manifestation of the crisis resulting from a strong linkage between the modern state and imported development models (Marut, 2005). A detailed analysis of the identity discourse, articulated by the leadership of the Movement of Democratic Forces of the Casamance (MFDC), highlights the ways in which the Diola tradition is manipulated for political gains and access to state resources.

### **1.5. EXPLORING THE WAYS FORWARD**

The argument which runs through this thesis is that these different tensions which manifest themselves at different levels of aggregation (plot, household, neighbourhood, village, region, country and global) and at different historical junctures represent some visible manifestations of different patterns of interlocking between the modernisation projects carried out by the state and NGOs, on the one hand, and the different forms of local development organisation in the Casamance and in Senegal, on the other hand. The conclusions of the analysis conducted in this thesis point to the need to explore the potentials and prospects associated with the promotion of peace, autonomy and development in the Casamance. The issue for the future is to examine the modalities through which public interventions and organisational practices of smallholders can provide an alternative discourse on development that is compatible with much greater levels of autonomy and progress for the Casamance peasants.

The next chapter will explore and assess the usefulness of alternative modes of theorising in addressing the issues related to the development processes in the Casamance. Given the complexity of the historical processes which took place in the Casamance and the wide heterogeneity observed on the ground, the theoretical overview will specifically prioritise approaches and methodological devices that will enable a proper understanding of the Casamance and its conflict. Only then would it be possible to specify how the Casamance crisis can be settled.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS AND METHODOLOGY**

#### **2.1. INTRODUCTION**

The development processes observed in the Casamance (see Chapter 1) are extremely diverse, complex and dynamic. This diversity materialises conceptually as the coexistence of different forms of livelihood and emancipatory strategies (identified in the Casamance) which are in turn informed to varying degrees by interactions with the capitalist system (or the economy). Together these social configurations comprise the agrarian structure of the Casamance. This development situation mirrors the fragmentation and diversification of livelihood systems viewed and understood by Bernstein et al. (2009) as expressions of 'classes of labour', inclusive of 'petty commodity producers', that are incompletely transformed by capitalism. These are social categories whose dynamics, according to Bernstein et al. (2009), are not necessarily linked to the development of productive forces but rather, reflect a crisis of reproduction within the capitalist system. Bernstein et al. (2009) view the peasantry as such a social category whose its development is closely associated with and incorporated in the capitalist economy, but is bound to disappear or to remain in a dependent state of development, attempting to be relatively autonomous.

Such positioning is in stark contrast with an actor-oriented analysis of the processes of agrarian development. Long (1977, 2001) and Van der Ploeg (1990b, 2013) and a range of other scholars such as Olivier de Sardan (2006) pioneered the argument that the dynamics of agrarian structures are not necessarily ordered by a single and predominant logic of operation or evolution. Rather, the agrarian structure reflects many coexisting and interacting social forms of development. Long has labelled this as heterogeneity, which he regards as 'a structural feature of agrarian development' but which 'does not emerge casually nor can it be easily engineered' (Long, 2001). Development then becomes conceptualised 'as many-sided, complex and often contradictory in nature, and it involves a set of actors originating from international, national and local arenas. The interplay of these forces generates specific forms, directions and rhythms of agricultural change' (Long and Van der Ploeg, 1988).

The main task of this chapter is to operationalise these abstract categories for my exploration of development dynamics in the Casamance. As discussed in Chapter 1, the thesis is positioned in the broader theoretical discussion on the significance of heterogeneity in the context of processes of rural development in Africa. Questioning and operationalising this heterogeneity led to the (re)definition of research questions and the choice of the methodological approach for the analysis of development issues and challenges in the Casamance as independent from, or in relation to the range of planned interventions by state and non-state institutions.

The point of entry into the academic literature on planned development and social change was facilitated by the genealogy and typology of the development literature provided by Long (2001). He identified two broad theoretical strands which offer opposing views on the significance of heterogeneity in development processes in relation to differential responses to structural change:

- The first strand corresponds to structuralist approaches which conceptualise heterogeneity as the manifestation of a temporary and transitory phenomenon. In this narrative, the process of capitalist development, technological and social change will eventually, but inevitably, lead to the disappearance of the peasantry.
- The second theoretical strand corresponds to actor-oriented approaches which position development theory in the actor–structure debate. Heterogeneity is considered an essential feature of agrarian development. Contrary to the structuralist perspective of the first strand, an actor-oriented perspective considers social actors not as passive recipients of interventions, but as active participants. Social actors are attributed with agency – that is, the capacity to rework and reassemble external interventions and incorporate elements of them in their daily lives. Actor-oriented approaches are more likely to account for differential responses to structural conditions and to explore the livelihood strategies and cultural dispositions of the social actors involved in the change process.
- Given that heterogeneity is identified as a key analytical scheme for the thesis, I opted for an actor-oriented approach as the guiding framework for the exploration of the dynamics of change in the Casamance. This is justified by the phenomenon that rather than being dissolved and/or becoming superfluous, the peasantry in the Casamance appears to be dynamically setting out their own pathways for development. Similarly, the most rebellious youth are key actors in the making of the Casamance development narratives. Attributing agency to these social actors is key to understanding what is happening in rural Africa and in what directions the future may unfold.

## **2.2. THEORETICAL MAPPING OF DIFFERENT CHANGE NARRATIVES IN THE CASAMANCE**

### **2.2.1 Structuralist traditions and the conceptualisation of social change**

Structuralist approaches to agrarian change encompass the modernisation perspective typified by neoclassical economics on the one hand, and different variants of agrarian political economy on the other. What these traditions have in common is that they predict the disappearance of the peasantry during the course of modernisation and the development of the productive forces, they explain this ultimate outcome with reference to different processes in which equally different determinants are emphasised. Berry (1984) provides a comprehensive review of the analysis of the African food crisis by different theoretical traditions, based on neoclassical economics and various expressions of political economy. Their key stands on the agrarian question and the fate of the peasantry are summarised below.

#### **2.2.1.1. *Markets, technology and agrarian change: The thesis of the triumphant entrepreneur***

The modernisation trajectory, as articulated in the neoclassical economic tradition, is premised on the increasing involvement of traditional society in commodity markets. The neo-classical economists' view of the processes of agrarian change focuses on the decisive role of market mechanisms, price determination, and the resulting rational behaviours of farmers. Levels of production are explained in this tradition by the responses of farmers to markets signals and the rational act of efficiently allocating resources. This

theoretical tradition rationalises both the emergence of agricultural entrepreneurs and the assumed disappearance of peasant farmers as the tangible outcomes of competitive processes. Technology-driven gains in efficiency and profitability enable the 'fittest to survive', while the unsuccessful enterprises are expelled from the agricultural sector through these market-led mechanisms.

The modernisation narrative posits that when a culturally neutral and exogenously generated technology is plugged into a traditional society, it leads to a new equilibrium through a gradual process of optimisation (Lewis, 1954). The hypothesis of the cultural neutrality of technology was later abandoned in the formulation of the induced innovation model (Ruttan and Hayami, 1998). The subsequent work of Schultz (1964) emphasises the need to equip 'poor but rational' smallholder peasants with access to superior technologies and human capital. These theoretical developments informed the advent of the first 'Green Revolution' (Richards, 2001).

The implementation of a Farming Systems Research (FSR) programme in the Casamance during the 1980s is indicative of attempts by agronomists who were influenced by the application of Western models of farmer behaviour, to adapt green revolution techniques to the African environment. Berry (1984) argues that, overall, FSR contributed to the understanding of agrarian change in Africa, but remained largely informed by technically oriented approaches to agricultural transformation in developing countries. In this thesis, the views and hypothesis of FSR researchers will be challenged on the basis of both theory and empirical evidence. In many sub-Saharan African countries, the 1990s were characterised by famine in rural areas and food shortages at national level. The empirical studies conducted during the research for this thesis also revealed that contrary to widespread belief, most producers were net buyers of food, as was indicated by Berry (1993).

#### ***2.2.1.2. The captured or proletarianised peasantry narratives versus the reality of resilience and resistance***

A central issue addressed in the political economy tradition is whether African farmers are engaged in a transition to capitalism similar to that which occurred in other parts of the World; or whether the spread of capitalism has given rise to processes of agrarian change peculiar to Africa. A diversity of interpretations, including integration and incorporation arguments, are provided within this broad framework (Berry, 1993; Buttel, 2001).

The gist of the integration argument made by some scholars of the Marxist tradition is that European capital exploited African labour, not by transforming them into proletariat, but by dominating and subordinating pre-capitalist modes of production, the latter were made to yield their surplus to the intruders, rather than altering or transforming them into capitalist economies. They insist on how lineage mode of production survived colonial era; hence the current performance of farmers in the post-colonial era (Berry, 1984).

The work of Marxist anthropologists Rey (1975, 1979) and Meillassoux (1981) provides some useful insights on the evolution of pre-capitalist societies and their articulation with the capitalist mode of production, in specific historic phases of accumulation. Rey (1975) highlighted the unique ways in which the lineage mode of production (LMP) was articulated to the mercantilist stage of capitalism through the exchange of slaves for manufactured products during the precolonial era. This is typical of the trade era of

imperialism which operated through a local power structure based on the control of the elders over the double circulation of juniors (as slaves) and women (as brides).

Rey (1979) argued that when the capitalist system required a greater degree of productivity from the local production system for a larger supply of economic goods, capitalist relations were implanted, usually by violence, and articulated with the local pre-capitalist mode of production whose reproduction was subordinated to that of capital. Therefore the LMP continued to exist, both during the colonial and neo-colonial eras, but its reproduction was subordinated to the needs of foreign industry. According to Resch (1992), a similar line of argument was presented by Meillassoux (1981) who explained that capitalism seeks everywhere to exclude the cost of the reproduction of labour by maintaining lineage and other local modes of production in order to ensure a cheap supply of labour to industry. This process in turns leads to the 'super-exploitation' of labour power in the Third World. This phenomenon will obviously be resisted and fought by the local people in different ways, including the gradual dissolution of the family economic structures, out-migration and a search for new means of livelihood. Meillassoux (1981) thus concludes that a key constraint in the development of capitalism in Third World countries is that the reproduction of the LMP is constantly undermined by the precariousness of its articulation into the modern capitalist system.

Neo-Leninist authors such as Bernstein and Byres (2001) articulated a perspective of the agrarian question that follows Lenin's (1964) hypothesis of a strong tendency towards differentiation and the development of a proletariat class in agriculture, leading to the formation of contradictory classes of agrarian capitalists and rural workers. Different categories of farmers are subjected to the compulsion of market forces leading them to distinct development trajectories. While larger-scale farmers are able to accumulate and reproduce themselves as large-scale capitalists, the smaller-scale farmers are subjected to a simple reproduction squeeze which condemns them to the proletarians' class and to exploitation by other, more powerful classes (Bernstein 2010a, 2010b; 2001).

These processes of articulation, subjection and the resistance of traditional economic and social systems to the imperatives of capitalist development were historically associated with state-led interventions during the colonial and the post-independence eras and a gradual commoditisation of the peasant production systems in Africa. This commoditisation process is intimately linked to the mode of access to production resources in general, and to inputs in particular. In general, sovereign states facilitated access of farmers to input and output markets through public institutions. The same institutions and policy instruments were maintained by the independent African states, in order to operate as key agencies for the delivery of their rural development agenda (Bernstein and Woodhouse, 2001).

Bryceson (1997) noted that "the agricultural production of the majority of peasant farmers is increasingly unviable vis-à-vis domestic markets". The main reasons put forward for this anachronism of peasant farming stemmed from the position that: "undercapitalised and geographically dispersed forms of agriculture have become a historical anachronism (Bryceson, 1997). This evolution was seen as a historical reversal of a century of African peasant formation", after a century of colonial and postcolonial peasant formation linked to colonial and post-colonial interventions; and their investments in physical and social infrastructure and in increased production" (Bernstein et al., 2009). During the 1970s and 1980s, energy costs and rapid technological developments were setting the pace of change internally, making geographically dispersed, undercapitalised African

peasants producers a “historical anachronism” (Brycesson, 1997). During the 1980s the structural adjustment policies actually reduced the level of importation causing a contraction of such vital inputs in countries like Nigeria (Brycesson, 1997). In addition, government cutbacks, resulting in the elimination of producers’ inputs and transport subsidies, meant that only large-scale farmers buying inputs in bulk and selling in bulk could overcome the high costs of transport (Brycesson, 1997).

Bernstein. (2001) concurred with the analysis of Brycesson (1977) and restated the process through which the commoditisation of the African agriculture eventually leads to social differentiation and class formation. Other things being equal, it is reasonable to expect that these dynamics of enterprise differentiation will lead over time to the concentration of land and water resources under private ownership and control” (Bernstein 2001). He nevertheless admitted that there were aspects of commoditisation which may inhibit the concentration of landed property. This is the case for example of the marginalisation of farming as a source of livelihood. This argument is at the heart of the author’s views of the peasantry, and his endorsement of the thesis of de-peasantization or de-agrarianization, formulated by political economists such as Brycesson (1993. 1997).

This scenario of de-peasantization and subjection of the peasantry to the law of capital strongly contradicts Chayanov (1966)’s theory on the peasant. Chayanov (1966) challenged both the Marxists and Neo-classicists views on the determinants of the dynamics of farm families. Chayanov (1966) disputed the principle of class differentiation and he provided an alternative theory of peasant development based on his theory of horizontal and vertical cooperation as an alternative to Stalin’s collectivisation of Russia agriculture. This theory of peasant agriculture is an integral part of his analysis of family economy. He saw differences in the structures and income levels of households as the outcome of their differences in demographic cycles. His analysis emphasised the intrinsic superiority of peasant agriculture, based on their orientation towards labour driven intensification processes, and their relative autonomy vis-a-vis the market economy. Many neo-populist writers took their inspiration from Chayanov’s theory of peasant development and the belief that “small is beautiful”. Bernstein 2001 explained how such views informed policies premised on correcting the urban bias of agricultural policies and the promises associated with the inverse relationship between farm size and productivity (Bernstein et al. (2009).

Chayanov’s theory of the peasant economy was also criticised by proponents of different theoretical traditions. Bernstein, et al. (2009) criticised its lack of articulation of alternative production systems that the “peasant way” will bring about. He also emphasised the ways in which the neo-populist writers inspired by Chayanov (1966) tend to overlook the crucial need to increase production to feed the world. These criticisms were obviously rejected by the partisans of a neo-Chayanovian perspectives such as Shanin (2009) on several grounds: Firstly, most Westerns scholars operate from the assumptions about the archaic nature of the family economy. Secondly, they tend to endorse and to favour the prevalence of state wide controlled political economy. Thirdly, their theoretical approaches entail an erroneous reduction of rural realities into economic models. Fourthly, their analysis reveals an obvious lack of acknowledgement of the family economy as a distinct strategy with discreet operational logic which resembles the metaphor of a “social agronomy”. According to Buttel (2001), a neo-Chayanovian theoretical tradition emerged in a leadership position towards the end of 20<sup>th</sup> Century. These views are typified by the work of Van der Ploeg (2008, 2010) which highlights the limitations of structuralist approaches to peasant studies, before proposing a new articulation of the peasant question, grounded on an actor-oriented perspective.

## **2.2.2. Actors, heterogeneity and social change**

### ***2.2.2.1. Key concepts and methodological approaches***

Actor-oriented theoretical traditions that focus on the nature of processes of change at the micro level and exemplified in the work of (Long and his students, emerged essentially as a critique of structuralist interpretations of social change as being linear and too deterministic. Long (1984, 1992, 1997, 2001) proposed an actor perspective of social change centred on the concepts of 'agency' and interface analysis. The concept of 'agency' refers to the 'knowledgeability, capability and social embeddedness associated with acts of doing (and reflecting) that have an impact upon or shape' one's own and others' actions and interpretations Long (1977, 1992, 2001) attributed 'agency' to people and institutions and argued that since social actors are not 'puppets on a string', their life worlds are not preordained by the logic of capital, as implied in structural theories of development. These concepts of agency and room for manoeuvre were incorporated in the social constructivist and the actor network approaches to technology and social change.

Long (1984, 1989a, 1989b, 1992, 1997) also popularised 'interface analysis' as a crucial analytical scheme for the understanding and conceptualisation of interventions as transformational processes, in which several social actors play a role. Long and Villarreal, (1992) explain that interfaces between actors are 'characterised by discontinuities in interests, values, and power, and their dynamic entails negotiations, accommodations and the struggle over definitions and boundaries'.

### ***2.2.2.2. Post-structuralist perspectives on heterogeneity and social change***

This broad theoretical tradition is typified by the conceptualisation of heterogeneity as an understanding of social form in the sociology and anthropology of development literature. Key theorists in this tradition include Long (2001); Van der Ploeg (1991, 2009, 2013a); Arce and Long (2000) and Olivier de Sardan (2006).

More recently, and building on such traditions, Umans and Arce (2014) argue that development processes are not always systemic; they argue that development situations can be simultaneously heterogeneous and highly fragmented and explain that such fragments can be conceptualised as an 'assemblage'. Similarly, Tsing (2000) analysed processes of change and development, such as globalism, as a confederation of interconnected but non-homogenous sets of projects. Van der Ploeg et al., (1994) and Hebinck and Van der Ploeg (1997) analyse the key features of these projects as 'interlocking with', 'distancing from', and 'redesigning of' planned development interventions. Arce and Long (2000) portray development likewise but as counter-tendencies or counter-work. Olivier de Sardan (2006) goes even further: he rejects analyses that continue to emphasise a Western hegemonic discourse of development as they ignore the complex interplay of discursive narratives and modes of practice. He emphasises the need to go beyond seeing development 'as a single and dominant voice', which is all-powerful and beyond influence (Olivier de Sardan, 2006).

Development interventions seen from this angle are defined as processes of negotiation involving multiple-level values and realities. In this perspective, local actors are actively involved in shaping and redesigning the content and the course of external interventions with the result that planned interventions cannot be seen as linear processes evolving through phases of design, implementation and evaluation (Long, 1984, 1992, 2001).

Furthermore, interventions (ideas, technologies and infrastructures) are not often openly resisted or ignored by the local people; they are also reworked, redesigned or reassembled in ways that fit what local people do and their ways of life. This dimension of local people's agency is consistent with Long's (2004) description of 'how policy ideas and planned interventions, in general are transmitted, contested, reassembled and negotiated at the points where policy decisions and implementations impinge upon the life circumstances and everyday life and worldview of so-called "lay" or "non-expert" actors' (Long, 2004). This actor-oriented approach portrays 'development' as an arena of struggle where actors negotiate, compete and manipulate one another at the different interfaces during the process. This provides a crucial analytical scheme for the understanding of *differential patterns* of agricultural change as well as being a critique of the modernisation and structuralist points of view.

The theoretical and methodological postures inaugurated by the actor-oriented approaches triggered new perspectives on the process of agrarian change. They provided new analytical lenses and methodological devices for a radically different view on the role of peasants and local people in bringing about agrarian change and shaping the course of development in ways that are consistent with their own circumstances and aspirations.

#### **2.2.2.3. *Heterogeneity as an expression of resistance and progress***

The concepts of agency and interface proved to be extremely useful for Van der Ploeg (2008) in his reconceptualisation of the peasantry. Van der Ploeg (2008) took on the intellectual challenge to shed some light on the confusing and highly diversified mix of empirically observed modes of farming in the twenty-first century, for which there was no adequate theory. He provided an alternative interpretation of the current processes of agrarian development in both developed and developing countries (Van der Ploeg, 2008). His formulation of the agrarian question thus shed some light on the potentials of progress and prosperity associated with the new peasantries to spur new levels of production and productivity and creation of values because of the particular patterns of relations that this form of agriculture entertain with markets, society and nature (Van der Ploeg, 2008; 2011b).

According to Van der Ploeg (2008), peasant condition is:

"the struggle for autonomy that takes place in a context characterised by dependency relations, marginalisation and deprivation. It aims at, and materialises as the creation and development of a self-controlled and self-managed resource base, which in turn allows for those forms of co-production of man and living nature that interact with the market, allow for survival and for further prospects and feedback into, and strengthen the resource base, improve the process of co-production, enlarge autonomy and thus reduce dependency [...] Finally, patterns of cooperation are present which regulate and strengthen these interrelations. (Van der Ploeg, 2008)"

Van der Ploeg (2008) identified the labour process as another locus of social struggle implied in his conceptualisation of the peasant condition:

- \* Peasants are striving to improve available resources, mainly making small adaptations which together contribute to the creation of better lives and well-being, to improve incomes and to bringing about brighter prospects for local people.

- \* Cooperation mechanisms are key in this process. The author argued that contrary to the prediction of the structuralist theoretical traditions, the countryside was not converted into a generalised marginal land in a linear way.
- \* Instead, different development trajectories are likely to unfold, giving rise to a growing range of diversified solutions for a general problem.

These key features of peasant strategies are particularly relevant to overcoming the looming agrarian crisis in the Casamance region. This perspective on the peasant condition allows for an analysis of the dynamics associated with the role of the peasantry in rural and agrarian development processes (Van der Ploeg, 2008). More recently, Van der Ploeg (2010) provided a synthesis of his argument and emphasised how the peasantry is actively and effectively responding today to the globalised pressures that would otherwise destroy them.

Building on the earlier work discussed above, Van der Ploeg (2008) was able to show that peasant farms are more resistant to, and better equipped to survive an externally induced crisis: the repeasantization process is triggered and develops as a response to squeezes imposed on farming and the marginalisation, deprivation and growing dependency that go with it. This is essentially achieved by developing a multi-product farm resulting in new levels of competitiveness and simultaneously, more autonomy.

Often, the diversification of outputs is combined with on-farm processing and the construction of new short links to consumers. As shown by Van der Ploeg (2008), redefining the farm as a multi-functional unit that relates in several new ways to society and nature implies a redefinition of the identities of farming men and women, and the creation of new networks that link with consumers (thus redefining consumers). Since local development emerges as a self-oriented process of growth, a relatively large part of the total value generated by it is reallocated within the region itself (Van der Ploeg, et al. 2002).

However, this potential is dependent on a number of factors, including the specific linkages between the locality and more global constellations such as markets and policy. In fact the dominant mode of structuring production and food systems, referred to as 'empire' tends to marginalise and destroy the peasantry along with its values and its products. The notion of 'empire' is a metaphor for characterising 'the new "superstructure" of globalising markets which increasingly re-orders large domains of the social and natural worlds by subjecting them to a new and centralised control and massive appropriation' (Van der Ploeg, 2008).

Van der Ploeg (2008) links this argument to the classical idea of an agrarian crisis which centres on the interrelations between the organisation of production and the interests and prospects of those engaged in it. He argues that an agro-ecological crisis takes place when agriculture becomes organised and develops through a systematic destruction of the ecosystem upon which it is based or when it gradually contaminates the wider environment. Van Ploeg (2013) further argues that a situation of deactivation can also be accelerated when the production processes are systematically based on the destruction of the environment and nature in general.

An additional dimension of the crisis materialises when the relationship between farming and society is compromised. In that case, the crisis is materialised not only in

recurrent food shortages, but also in widespread conflicts between different segments of the local society. Van der Ploeg (2008) highlights the dramatic expression of deactivation present in Sub-Sahara Africa. While historically, demographic and agricultural growth went together, the former being the driver of the latter, contemporary Africa has already shown for decades an ongoing and dramatic decline in agricultural production per capita. Deactivation translated here directly into widespread de-agrarianization. In these instances there is likely to be an agrarian crisis during which total production is constrained because of the active disengagement of critical resources (labour, land, waters, capital) from the production process. The outcome is usually an escalation in dysfunctional relations between impoverished rural people and the state; but also between different segments of the rural household. These conflicts may eventually escalate into a multi-layered governance and political crisis which eventually will lead to an armed rebellion such as the one experienced in the Casamance.

## **2.3. EXPLORING THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT LANDSCAPE IN THE CASAMANCE**

### **2.3.1. Contrasted interpretations of the food crisis in the Casamance.**

The situation in the Casamance is defined as one of a chronic food deficit owing to the inability of the household in this region to grow enough food to feed its inhabitants, despite the enormous potentials of a region which was meant to be a breadbasket for the whole country. Some authors (Posner et al., 1982; 1985; Fall, 2010) focus on natural determinants such as quality of soils, droughts, farmers' irrational behaviours and similar factors to explain the poor levels of production. In the context of the Casamance, a severe drought affected the Senegalese country side, including the Casamance region during the late 1960, and the effects of the long lasting drought on groundnuts production have therefore played a crucial role in the advent of the food crisis. Because of high proportions of rice lands being abandoned due to salt intrusion into paddy plots and drought stress on the upper fields, rice production fell markedly during the years of drought.

Berry (1984; 1993) criticised these views, highlighting the fact that environmental conditions are parameters of production, but development of productive forces depend on how people exploit their environment; therefore environmental characteristics are not enough to explain social organisation or history of agricultural performance in Africa. Similarly, Linares (2005) warns that exogenous factors such as drought are never the sole cause of lowered agriculture outputs; rather inappropriate government policies have contributed to the poor performance of the Senegalese agriculture).

These conflictive dynamics between government policies and local production systems have been accounted for and diversely interpreted by authors of different shades. For example, Marut (2005), Dramé (2005) and Englebert (2005) to name but a few, emphasise the cumulative effects of the contradictory processes and relationships between the government and the peasants in explaining the current food, social and political crisis in the Casamance.

Marut (2005) analysed the state policies implemented in the Casamance and the political and strategic considerations which informed them. He focused on the extroverted development models inherited from the Colonial period, which favoured the development of groundnuts as an export crop at the expense of the staple crops traditionally grown in

the region. The cultivation of staple foods such as rice was therefore neglected in favour of cheap imports (rice from America or Thailand; wheat from France), which were paid for with receipts from the export of groundnuts. The consequences of these policy choices include structural budgetary deficits and imbalances in the foreign accounts. It is this extroverted model, based on the world division of labour which translated into a deterioration of the terms of exchange and a debt crisis thus increasing the dependency on the West.

In her analysis of the evolution of the Casamance region's rural economy from the colonial era to the post-independence period, Linares (2005) focused on the relations between the Senegalese government and the Diola peasants of Basse Casamance. Her long-term study of the life trajectories of specific individuals and families living in Diola villages reveal significant contradictions in the economic and political relations between the state and peasants. At the time of independence, Diola farmers were already engaged in commercial cultivation of groundnuts as a cash crop, but they retained a measure of autonomy from the State by producing enough rice to feed themselves. The rice-growing system was sophisticated and based on scientifically sound knowledge of soils, water conditions and rice varieties. They retained a measure of freedom on whom they sold their groundnuts to, and where (Linares, 2005). The author argued that the Senegalese peasantry was 'captured' and held hostage by the continuous interference of the Senegalese state in local agricultural activities.

Linares (2005) analysed how the State played a major role in the formulation and implementation of agricultural policies through agricultural parastatals (such as ONCAD). There was a monopoly of production and marketing through special cooperative agencies, the provision of agricultural services, and the organisation of markets into cooperatives. Government agencies distributing seeds (often the wrong one) sold fertiliser and equipment at a profit and bought groundnut crop below world market prices. Thus ONCAD contributed to the crisis during the period of 1981-1984 through the following operations: i) the sale of the inappropriate seed varieties - slow growing variety in a drought-stricken area; ii) the sale of appropriate seed varieties - rapid growth at non-affordable prices; iii) delays in the delivery of fertilisers and errors in the types and quantities of fertilisers provided. As a results of these state inferences, peasants had no control over production activities.

However, and despite her emphasis on the thesis of the captured peasantry, she highlights many strategies used by Diola peasants to sabotage the efforts made by the government to control local production and the import of cereals from foreign countries. The resistance strategies identified include: refusal by villagers to join the state-controlled cooperative system, seen as a spoliation mechanism used by the government; the use of parallel commercialisation circuits; a boycott groundnut production in favour of the production of upper-land cereal food crops; and refusal to repay loans contracted from government agencies during period of droughts when they needed to purchase food to compensate for their deficit. Similarly, Dramé (2005) explained how the Casamance FOs took advantage of the changing policy landscape in the country in order to pursue their own and radically different views of rural development.

These views echo the scepticism and doubts expressed by some scholars about the real impacts of state-led interventions in relation to the prevailing food crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. They also agreed with those formulated by van der Ploeg (2008, 2010) which highlights the limitations of structuralist approaches to peasant studies, and their lack

of acknowledgement of the ability of the peasantry to shape the course of development in ways that are consistent with their own circumstances and their aspirations. In this context, van der Klei (1988) analysed the sources of contradictions and/or conflict between the Senegalese State and the Diola peasant farmers who refused to participate in the public programme to reclaim the acid-sulphate soils in the tidal swamps of Basse Casamance and in the government's programme to increase the cultivable land under rice cultivation not because of climatic and technical reasons, but rather for socio-economic and political reasons.

Van der Klei (1988) situated the origin of the problem to processes which took place during the colonial era. Traditionally rice was produced both for local needs (food consumption, religious ceremonies) and for trade. Rice and slaves were exchanged for cattle and textile with the Mandinka traders who brought them from the Middle Casamance and the Gambia, based on an established barter system. Cattle and textile were acquired by the Diola for the initiation ceremony (Bukut) which play a central role in the reproduction of the Diola society. Young Diola men need to go through the Bukut rite in order to gain the status of economic and religious autonomy required gain their full place in the Diola society.

This economic system was disturbed when the colonial trading houses were no longer interested in rice which could be procured more cheaply from Indochina, and rice cultivation was therefore replaced with groundnuts which was needed to supply the oil industry in the French metropolitan cities. This shift in the trading commodity by French merchants also terminated the commercial relations between the Diola and the Mandingos who preferred to grow groundnuts in order to buy rice from Indochina. In order to sustain their own livelihood and social reproduction requirements the Diola youth were sent out to work as labourers in order to acquire resources required to buy the goods; This turn of events introduced a process of gradual commodification of local the reproduction system, and access to the ceremony goods was then mediated by entering into a wage relationship with the groundnuts growers in the Northern part of Senegal. This was followed by the introduction of groundnuts production to the Diola villages.

These events led to a situation where rice was relegated to the simple status of a self-consumption, and led to the refusal of the Diola community to collaborate with the State in the reclamation project because they no longer had the incentive to produce more rice, and the out-migration of the youths, making the reclamation of the salinised land more difficult. Moreover, while a greater production of production of rice would enable the local people to maintain the dikes and protect the rice fields, they had no incentive to do so because of the low purchase price of rice set by the State.

This situation explains why the State used more coercive measure to force the Diola peasant to conform including: i) reducing labour out-migration; and, ii) promulgation of a land reform program by which the State nationalised Diola lands. These measures were actually resisted violently by Diola peasants during the 1982-1983 armed rebellion.

Both Berry(1993; 1984) and van der Klei (1988) agreed more or less on the required approach to solving the food crisis in the Casamance, i.e. the need to examine relationship between the conditions of access to productive resources and the ways in which they relate to patterns of accumulation and the use of the agricultural surplus generated. The latter's analysis highlights the fact that the colonial exploitation of Africa's economies

prompted patterns of accumulation which militated against the development of enhanced local production capacity. This calls for the need to critically examine the type of relations that the Senegalese State entertained with the Diola peasant farmers over the years and the extent to which they culminated into contradictions, contentions and an armed conflict in the Casamance.

### **2.3.2. The Casamance Conflict Interpreted as an Agrarian Crisis**

The analytical focus of this thesis is on an understanding of the extent to which the changes in the agricultural policies of the central government (both colonial and post-independence), and the different types of responses of the Casamance people, contribute to the current situation of poverty and prolonged conflict in the region.

My research on the armed conflict and subsequent war economy thus builds on the work of specialists of the Casamance question. It is based on the widely accepted narrative which links the rebellion to the aspirations and actions of segments of the Casamance society who are trying to develop their own pathway to public resources and improved livelihood (Marut, 2005, De Jong, 1998; 1999; 2005; Englebert, 2005, Faye, 2006, Fall, 2010; Gehrold and Neu, 2010; Diedhiou, 2011). I took a good note of the different theoretical framings of the Casamance conflict and the ways in which these views influence the narratives on the history, geography, political and the cultural dimensions of the Casamance conflict. Irrespective of the disciplinary and ideological orientation of the authors consulted, there seem to be a general agreement on the circumstances and events which relate to the conflict, its causes and consequences, and the current impasse in which the Casamance region finds itself today.

I paid more attention to accounts of the conflict which emphasise the actors behind the conflict and the extent to which they pursue their own ideological, political and economic emancipation plans. This perspective provides a more credible account of the nature and social significance of the MFDC, which appears like a social mediator of State-society relations (De Jong, 1999). It also sheds light on the contradictions associated with the more recent changes in the posture of the rebellion movement towards a war economy, further alienating them from the Casamance population. These issues are notably reflected in the debates of the thesis: grievance vs. greed, and the recent shifts in the strategies and tactics of MFDC (Faye, 2006; Fall, 2010; Diedhiou, 2011).

The studies on the Casamance conflict highlight the links between state policies in the Casamance and the agrarian crisis prevailing in the region which culminated in a protracted armed conflict (Foucher, 2009. Marut, 2005; 2010). According to this narrative the deep causes of this situation lie in the context of the patterns of relations which emerged in the region between the Senegalese State and the Casamance peasant farmers and which resulted in the exploitation of the fruits of their labour. These processes significantly informed the type of agricultural and economic system which developed in the region and would explain the current situation of underdevelopment, poverty and conflict in the Casamance region. This situation is linked to the contradictions and the dysfunctional relations between the different protagonists of the agrarian systems at the regional and local levels, which have been largely documented in the literature (van der Klei, 1988; de Jong, K. et al., 1978; Linares, 2003; 2005).

The advent of the armed conflict also contributes to and amplifies the situation of low agricultural production, food crisis and environmental degradation, due to the combined effects of high level of insecurity which also contribute to the out-migration

of the Casamance people (Foucher, 2009; Marut, 2005; 2010; Evans (2005); Drame, 2005). The dysfunctional relations are also expected to manifest in the contradictions which emerge between the inhabitants of the Casamance regions and economic migrants originated from the North and who are attracted by the prospects of taking advantage of the enormous development potentials of the regions (Cormier-Salem, 1994). Conflicting dynamics are also expected between different members of the households, as the choices made by the heads of the households in order to take advantage of specific opportunities in the development landscape, may not satisfy the emancipatory plans of youth and women in particular. The crisis is triggered by a logic of competition over limited and shrinking resources, and by the prevalence of a 'run and grab' logic characteristic of the dominant mode of entrepreneurial farming. This leads to increased pressures on people's livelihood prospects and a continuous degradation of the resource base.

The thrusts of these analyses match the characteristics of a food and governance crisis as defined by Calame (2003). The essence of a governance crisis lies in a multi-layered process of misalignment and degradation of relationships between individuals and their families and between a segment of society and the state apparatus. A governance crisis thus affects the interface between the private and the public space. In the Casamance, the crisis weakened rural people's livelihood prospects and the public institutions responsible for regulating and delivering public functions. What is at stake here is the inadequacy of the dominant mode of representation regarding progress and modernity and the obsolescence of the institutional processes which were used to set up rural development priorities, allocate public resources and bring about progress and prosperity (Calame, 2003). The consequence of these inadequacies was a degradation of food security.

Building on this concept of an agrarian crisis as defined by Van der Ploeg (2008) the analysis conducted in this thesis focuses on how the long-term configurations of relations between external interventions and local responses have culminated in serious conflictive situations in the Casamance region. In the case of the Casamance, such an approach compels one to carefully examine the different ways in which the social, political and economic relations of production at the national, regional and household levels affect the level of performances associated with the production and reproduction processes.

The action oriented approach also compels us to carefully examine whether the socially sanctioned forms and structure of ownership and control of production resources are consistent with a sustained level of growth of production, or whether conflict of interests and lack of space will lead to diversion of productive resources to other alternative usage. This also brings out need to pay attention to gender dimensions of the labour process prevailing in the Casamance production sphere and the extent to which they accommodate the needs and emancipatory objectives of different categories of family members. The issue of migration of rural women and youth and the ways in which it affects the production potential of different categories of household members becomes paramount in the context of the Casamance (de Jong, K., 1978; Linares, Lambert, 1999; Linares, 2003). Also, paying attention to how other forms of labour processes enable agrarian structures (based on different patterns of relations between the local and the external), but also between different segments of the rural population could lead to new possibilities of production and reproduction.

This perspective also provides the opportunity to look at the conflict in light of the many challenges and potentialities emanating from different patterns of interactions between planned development interventions and the responses of local people. Accordingly this thesis explores new conceptual and methodological perspectives of finding acceptable solutions to the conflict, on the basis of a deeper understanding of the patterns of relationships which lead to the conflicting dynamics observed in the Casamance region.

### **2.3.3. Scenario of Hope and Progress**

This thesis will explore the issue of endogenous development in the Casamance with the insights gained from the debate about structure and agency and the relations of mutual determination that they entertain.

Building on research in Peru, Long and Roberts (1984) and Long (2001) were able to illustrate the complex ways in which the strategies pursued by different interest groups – peasants, miners, entrepreneurs, company managers and state bureaucrats – have contributed in important ways to the evolution of the regional system. These findings inform the approach recommended for an analysis of the relationship between the ‘local’ and the ‘global’. According to Long (2001), an actor-oriented perspective aims to elucidate the precise set of interlocking relationships between actor ‘projects’, and social practices that interpenetrate various social, symbolic and geographic spaces, rather than seeing the ‘local’ as shaped by the ‘global’ or the ‘global’ as an aggregation of the local. .

Similarly, van der Ploeg et al. (2002) argue that endogenous rural development patterns are based principally, but not exclusively, on local resources. However, a decisive criterion is whether the particular articulation between the local and the global will result in a greater appreciation and valorisation of the local resource base. In this thesis, local development dynamics will be analysed as processes in the valorisation of local resources that result in the improvement and greater appreciation of these resources, defined by the authors as the ‘ecology, labour force, and knowledge of an area, as well as those patterns which developed locally to link production and consumption’.

Van der Ploeg and Long (1994) also explain that the ‘close dependency of endogenous development on local resources implies that this type of development can have a positive impact on the interests and perspectives of local people’

Other distinguishing features of endogenous development approaches are their degree of exposure to market mechanisms and the extent to which they reward the livelihood prospects of local actors. While exogenous development models are defined by the greater internalisation of technological models and new market tendencies, in endogenous models the key features are active distancing and active reconstruction of its relations with markets and the supply of technologies (van der Ploeg and Long, 1994).

This implies that the Casamance peasantries are capable of deploying some innovative answers to their production and reproduction challenges by gradually developing some peasant-like solutions to the reproduction and governance crisis that they are faced with. The gains achieved in this on-going battle will largely depend on the extent to which the Casamance peasantries are able to achieve more progress and prosperity by enlarging their resource base and their productivity, and by increasing their space for greater co-production. These gains would not only depend on peasants and rural people’s greater capacity for more effective cooperation within the farmers’ movement, but also on the development of strategic partnerships with other segments of societies

such as consumers, researchers, civil society organisation, alternative funding agencies, etc. The conditions for an effective deployment of these solutions will be systematically explored and analysed in this thesis.

Influenced by these findings, I have embraced a more dynamic approach to understanding social change and local development – an approach which stresses the interplay and mutual determination of ‘internal’ and ‘external’ factors and relationships. The issues and opportunities associated with the attainment of endogenous development in the Casamance region will be assessed through a detailed analysis of the different Casamance peasants’ adaptation and livelihood strategies and the ways they evolve over time and under unfavourable circumstances. The ultimate purpose my work is in re-interpreting known empirical data, accounts, events and narrations about the conflict through a new theoretical perspective which opened up more robust methodological approaches to the study of contemporary changes in the Casamance. Therefore the expected contribution of this research is to move beyond the mere interpretation of the economic, social and cultural dimensions of the conflict, to one which explores new patterns of engagement between the involved parties. Hopefully, a better alignment of shared goals and objectives, a more explicit set of foundational values and ethics, and negotiated concrete modalities of working together would lead to new development opportunities in the Casamance.

## **2.4. IMPLICATIONS FOR MY RESEARCH**

### **2.4.1. Guiding research questions**

Building on the insights gained from the literature review, my thesis takes the view that the ongoing transformation of the rural landscape in the Casamance region could be reinterpreted as the dynamic outcomes of the interplay of different projects of modernity carried out respectively by local and external actors. This entails understanding the complex and dynamic patterns of interlocking between externally driven modernisation interventions and different adaptation, emancipatory and development aspirations and projects promoted by the local people. Planned development interventions set the context and create the opportunities for the articulation of many types of local response, which fit the following broad profiles:

Attitudes and practices of submission, and accommodations which may entail a forced or deliberate internalisation and adaptation of the logic, discourse and instruments of external actors, in an attempt to create space and some room for manoeuvre. This strategy of deliberate submission may coexist or alternate with some forms of active or passive resistance depending on the circumstances, as local people are pursuing their own survival and livelihood strategies.

- An attitude of active resistance may develop when the dominant patterns of relations between external actors and local actors do not meet the requirements of the emancipatory strategies and projects of certain segments of the local society. This type of scenario is more likely to destabilise the status quo and trigger a governance crisis.

- An agrarian crisis may also be triggered or accelerated by the unforeseen occurrence of either a natural or a political catastrophe, which then jeopardises the precarious balance between external and internal factors.

This analysis of the Casamance conflict will therefore take into account the adaptation, contestation and conflicting dynamics associated with the historic involvement of Senegal and of the Casamance region into the historic processes of colonisation, decolonisation, market liberalisation and the privatisation of their economy. The deep and root causes of the current situation of poverty and armed conflict will be sought for there.

The main theoretical trajectory I will pursue hinges on an analysis of the dynamics and relationships between planned interventions in the Casamance region, the different types of response from local people to these interventions, and the diverse forms of development and outcome which emanate from these interlinkages.

This triggered two major questions investigated in this thesis:

1. To what extent did the planned development interventions which are embodied in the agricultural policies of the central government (both colonial and post-independence) driven by the push for a greater commercialisation and modernisation of the peasantries in the Casamance, on the one hand, and the different types of responses of the Casamance people on the other hand, contribute to the current situation of poverty and prolonged conflict in the region? This broad question will be explored thorough the review of several others:
  - What have been the historical conditions of the deployment and demise of the planned development interventions in the Casamance?
  - How did the people of the Casamance perceive, respond to, and shape the outcomes of the planned development interventions in the region?
  - How did the different forms of local responses manifest themselves in different localities and at different historic junctures in the Casamance?
2. To what extent can the Casamance conflict be interpreted as the outcome of the particular interlocking between externally driven modernisation policies, and the specific emancipatory trajectories of the Casamance rural youth?
3. To what extent do the different local people initiatives and novelties embodied in the current evolutions in the practises of FOs fit into the scenarios of peace and prosperity in the Casamance? This question will be discussed through an exploration of two further questions:
  - Under what conditions can the crisis be overcome- as different protagonists renegotiate relations to find an acceptable balance between local and external agencies?
  - What prospects do more peasant-centred approaches hold for local development and peace in the Casamance region?

The specific answers derived from these research questions will also inform my approach to the analysis of local development dynamics as specific manifestations and outcomes of different types of interaction between local and external elements.

### 2.4.2. A conceptual framework

The methodology used in this thesis is informed by the actor-oriented approach to social change, as discussed by Long (1977, 1984, and 1992). Building on the previous theoretical discussion, my objective is to develop a methodological framework which provides a starting point for the analysis and interpretation of the processes of change associated with the goal-driven discourses and practices of, not only the state and experts, but also NGOs, peasants and other development actors.

I have therefore adopted a post-structuralist, actor-oriented approach in order to better understand the evolving practices of different categories of actor operating in the Casamance. The conceptual approach that I have taken entailed the following steps and activities:

1. The identification of the key actors whose behaviours are relevant to my narrative (state, MFDC, the Casamance rural people, NGO, researchers, peasants, donors, rural youth and so on), without starting from preconceived notions about actors' categories or uniform classes.
2. A careful and detailed documentation of how the social practices of different actors reflect their own livelihood project and the ways in which social relationships, technologies and other resources (such as discourses and texts) are deployed.
3. Paying attention to the issue of interface and the accommodation of different actors' projects as they materialised at different units of aggregation: the farm, the plots, the household, the farmer organisation, the region, the nation and so on).
4. A rigorous examination of the extent to which the patterns of relationship between different actors' projects and the ways they evolve over time may lead to conflicting dynamics, or not. In this context, a particular attention will be put on some crucial interfaces involving different protagonists of the Casamance question: State versus local people; State versus MFDC; MFDC versus local people; FO versus local People; FOs versus State
5. An analysis will explore areas of cooperation and areas of conflicts and the conditions under which these dynamics will emerge taking into account the more internal dynamics taking place within: the State, MFDC, the people of the Casamance, FOs and the donor community itself.

**Table 2.1 provides a sketch of the key principles which underline these relationships.**

Actors	Goals	Strategy	Evolutions	Relations with other actors' projects	Nature of the interface
State	Political stability;  Governability-	Modernisation;  controlled development	Alternates from hegemony to demise, and to military interventions	Top-down and hierarchical; exploitative	Fusion of elites; limiting and exploitative in relation to the peasantry; enabling for NGO and foreign investors
NGOs	Own survival; represent the poor	Reworked modernisation; access to public resources	From humanitarian assistance to the facilitation of local development	Replace the state; represent the poor; channel of development money	Shifting; mixed; mainly supply-sided populism; interface role between donors, state and locals

Actors	Goals	Strategy	Evolutions	Relations with other actors' projects	Nature of the interface
FOs	Livelihood strategy	Search for autonomy; attempt to articulate a local voice	From development assistance to local development	Cooperation; distancing; confrontation	Emancipatory outlets for local youth; outlet for the educated rural youth; service delivery platform; voice of the rural poor
Farmers	Livelihood	Self-commodification; resistance	Ongoing adaptations and resistance	Search for room to manoeuvre	Fluid, dynamic patterns of relationship; enabling or regressive relationships
Radical youth	Livelihood	Emancipatory	Integration; resistance	Contestation; conflictive	Cooperative or conflictive, depending on consistency with their own modernisation project

*Table 2.1: Key elements of the conceptual framework*

The methodological approach taken in my thesis includes:

- A historical contextualisation of processes of state interventions and withdrawals from development activities in the Casamance region over a long period of time. The analysis will focus on the type of relations that the state entertained with local people over the years, as it attempted to modernise the agriculture sector through the promotion of a new land tenure regime, new technology and rural credit. Through case studies and the analysis of longitudinal data on specific localities and actors in the Casamance region, attention will be paid to how continuities and discontinuities in state activism in rural development created both opportunities and challenges for different segments of Casamance society.
- Through case studies built on the analysis of longitudinal data on specific localities and actors in the Casamance region, a detailed analysis of various forms of response to planned development interventions deployed by different segments of Casamance society at different historical junctures. This analysis will in turn examine the extent to which the specific forms of interaction between planned development interventions and certain types of local response created some room to manoeuvre for certain segments of the Casamance society.
- Building on a review of the literature on the history and the current state of affairs in the Casamance region, a comparative analysis of alternative narratives about the Casamance conflict will be carried. The analysis will establish the linkages between the advent of the conflict and the particular interaction between the government modernisation policies and the emancipatory plans and trajectories of the Casamance youth.
- Finally, and building on the key insights of this research, an analytical examination of the Casamance conflict to identify the critical conditions needed for a peaceful resolution will be carried out, and a transition towards a more peasant-centred development scenario will be suggested. The conditions for such an evolution will be determined on the basis of the results of the analysis conducted in the course of this thesis. This will set the stage for the formulation of some research and policy recommendations.

When this approach is applied to the situation of the Casamance, the current agrarian crisis in the region is interpreted as the outcome of a series of mismatches between external influences and local development dynamics. In my view, the prospects for the Casamance peasants to attain greater autonomy and progress might be related to the achievement of a peasant-centred development scenario in the Casamance. My hypothesis is that the gains achieved in this on-going battle will largely depend on the extent to which farmers are able to achieve more progress and prosperity by enlarging their resource base and hence their productivity, and by increasing their space for greater co-production. These gains would also depend on peasants' and rural people's greater capacity for more effective cooperation within the farmers' movement, but also through the development of strategic partnerships with other segments of society: local private sector, consumers, researchers, civil society organisations and alternative funding agencies, for example.

At this juncture, I would like to acknowledge some limitations of the study due to the absence of my direct engagement in the Casamance region from 2005 onwards, when my personal and work circumstances kept me away from Senegal. However, these limitations are partially mitigated by the incorporation of my review of the more recent publications concerning the Casamance region. I also conducted at the end of 2013 a rapid survey of selected FOs that had been studied during the 1980s and 1990s. The objective of this rapid survey was to get a sense of how the FOs, which I had interacted with personally during the mid-1990s, had evolved and adapted to the changing context in the Casamance region. The preliminary results of this survey have been incorporated in various chapters of this thesis. They have enabled me to keep the historical perspectives of some of the findings and conclusions of the earlier studies conducted in the Casamance region.

### **2.4.3. Structure and organisation of the thesis**

The eight chapters of this thesis fall into four major parts:

1. The first, made up of Chapters 1, 2 and 3, sketches the context of the study, provides a summary of the main argument, introduces the theoretical orientation and sets out the research issues and the methodology followed.
2. The second, which is composed of Chapters 4, 5 and 6, deals with planned interventions and the local responses which emerged and evolved in the Casamance region.
3. The third comprises Chapter 7 and deals with an analysis of the Casamance crisis through different theoretical lenses before suggesting a new narrative for the enduring conflict.
4. Finally, Chapter 8 provides an analysis of possible ways out of the Casamance conflict and recommends a more locally controlled development scenario.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE CASAMANCE REGION: KEY FEATURES AND RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

#### 3.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

The Casamance is the southernmost region of Senegal. It consists of three agro-ecological regions- the lower Casamance, the middle Casamance and the Upper Casamance. With an area of 30,000 square kilometres, the region is bordered by Guinea-Bissau to the South and is separated from the rest of the country by Gambia to the North. The Casamance region has rich forest resources on which both The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau rely for timber and coal as sources of energy.

The region is known for its extraordinary richness and enormous diversity in agro-ecological landscape. The Casamance belongs to the tropical humid zone, with an average annual rainfall estimated at 1,000 mm and a rainy season which extends from June to October. The arable land in the region is estimated at 1 million hectares (Sadio et al., 2004). These elements explain why the region enjoys dense forests and a hydrological morphology of very tight backwaters (Gehrold and Inga, 2010; Roche, 1985).

This relatively abundant resource base combined with sufficient rainfall, position the Casamance region as a high-potential area for agriculture. Under normal circumstances, the region produces enough food to feed its inhabitants and serve as the country's breadbasket. The major crops grown include rice, groundnuts, millet, sorghum, maize, sesame, and *fonio*<sup>1</sup>. The Casamance is also geographically well located to facilitate trade with neighbouring countries. It has one of the biggest traditional markets in Senegal. The region is also a major tourist destination in Senegal (Gehrold and Inga 2010; fall, 2010). A significant part of the region's social and economic life is centred on the exploitation of the Casamance River.

Despite this huge economic and ecological endowment, the region's agricultural resource base has continually been eroded due to several natural and human factors, including the pressures emanating from the activities of local people. The region is confronted with a serious economic and political crisis, attested by the protracted armed rebellion that the MFDC is waging against the central government of Senegal. (Fall, 2010; Faye, 2006; Linares, 2005).

The question addressed in this chapter is: to what the extent do the social structures and political features of the Casamance reflect the footprints of the complex relationships between the Central government, non-State actors and the inhabitants of the region? The key assumptions which underline the analysis conducted in this chapter and the rest of this thesis are that the social, cultural and political structures in the Casamance region carry the footprint of the many processes of engagement between the inhabitants of the region and external actors intervening in the Casamance. These contradictory processes culminated in the prolonged armed conflict, leading to significant degradation of production potential of the region. This chapter therefore pays a special attention

---

<sup>1</sup> A type of millet crop, widely consumed and well appreciated by local people for its relatively cheap production costs and its high nutritional value.

following key events and milestones:

- Pre-colonial wars and conflict in the Casamance;
- Engagement with European merchants and traders during the pre-colonial era;
- Colonial occupation and the pacification of the Casamance;
- Development and nation building interventions of the post-independence period.

The objective of this chapter is therefore to provide a broad overview of the context of my research. It sets the stage with a review of the historical changes that have taken place in the Casamance region over the '*longue durée*', and provides an overview of the various modernisation interventions that have taken place as well as how these are shaping future evolutions of the region. The chapter further focuses on key factors that have influenced the livelihoods of small-scale farmers of the Casamance, and how these have evolved over time.

The chapter relies mainly on the review of the published literature on the Casamance, focusing on different dimensions of the evolution of the region:

- The agro-ecological and socioeconomic features of the region;
- Accounts of the historic relationship of colonial powers with the people of the region;
- Some key features of the post-independence State interventions in the Casamance;
- The treatment of the Casamance conflict: causes, key milestones and consequences;
- The prospects of bringing about lasting peace in the Southern region.

The next section provides an overview of the general characteristics of this region of Senegal, and highlights its unique potentialities in terms of agriculture, natural resources, culture and tourism, and economic development. This is followed by a review of major developments which led to the armed rebellion in the region. The chapter ends with an analysis of the current mitigation approaches used in an attempt to end the conflict and bring peaceful development in the region.

## **3.2. THE HUMAN AND HISTORICAL FEATURES OF THE REGION**

### **3.2.1. General human and socio-economic profiles**

The ethnic composition within the Casamance region is very diverse. The Diola people are the majority, followed by the Fulani and Mandingue, and numerous other ethnic groups. Nowadays, there is also the Wolof, who represent the majority and most dominant in the rest of the country, but account for only five percent of the Casamance population. (Faye, 2006)



*Map 3.1: a general map of Senegal*

Source: [www.google maps](http://www.google.com/maps)

Although the Casamance region has been islamised like the rest of the country, there are a significant number of people who practice Christianity and/or traditional beliefs. In fact, the region's population is mainly Muslim (75%), with significant Christian (17%, mostly Catholic) and animist (8%) minorities. The Diola are 60% Muslim. These figures represent a significant divergence from the national average – Senegal is 94% Muslim. Despite the predominance of Islam in the region some Western media continue to portray the Casamance conflict as a predominantly Christian and animist enclave pitted against Muslim northern Senegal (Evans, 2003; 2005).

The Lower Casamance where the conflict originated, coincides with the administrative region of Ziguinchor and has high economic potential for agriculture, fishery and tourism. The region, composed of the three departments of Ziguinchor, Bignona and Oussouye, covers an area of 7,339 sq. km. The population of 390,252 is mostly Diola, though there are also Bainuk, Mandinka, Manjak and Mankagn. The Diola are the most important group in the region of Ziguinchor, and constitute over 60 percent of the resident Senegalese population (Fall, 2010)

The Lower Casamance is especially well known for its fertile soils, setting it apart from the rest of the country, characterised by a drier environment as in the Sahel. Agricultural activities, such as orchards, rice, and vegetable cultivation have replaced a large majority of the natural vegetation of the region. The forests of the Casamance are exploited intensively but not in a sustainable manner. In addition, oysters are bred in the many distributaries of the Casamance River. Fishing also an important occupation of the local population. Other livelihood activities of the Casamance people include: commerce, off-farm activities linked to seasonal migration to urban regions in the northern part of the country, and to neighbouring countries such as The Gambia and, Guinea Bissau, and even to Europe (Gehrold and Neu 2010; Fall, 2010. The next section explores the ways in which the social, cultural and economic footprints of these historical developments in the Casamance manifest themselves in the major production systems identified in the region.

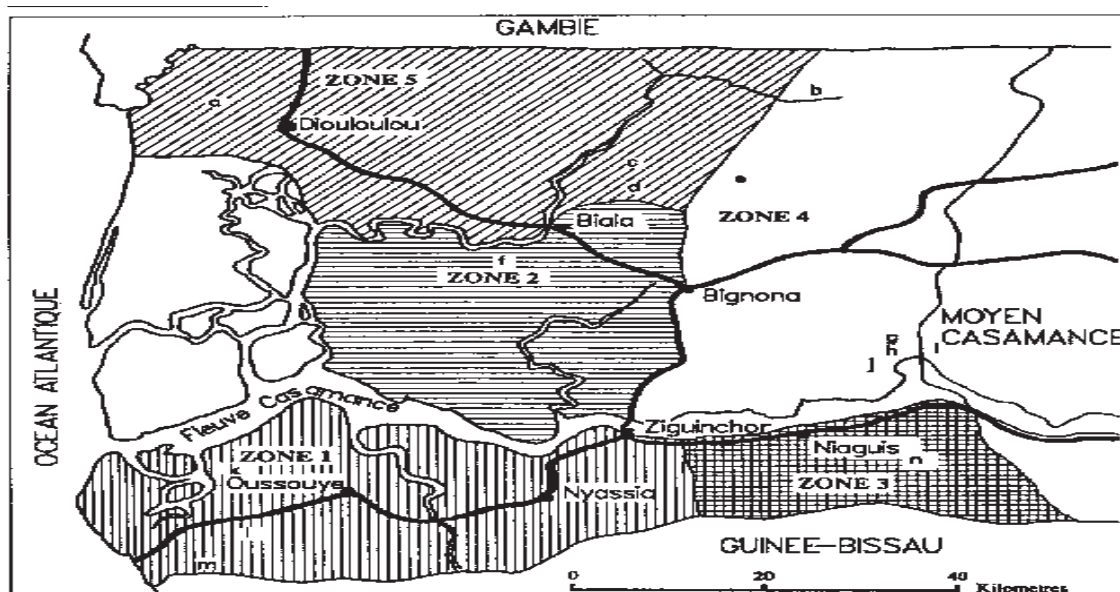
### **3.2.2. Exploring the diversity of the social and production systems of the region**

The Casamance region displays a significant degree of diversity in terms of its human settlement patterns and its production systems. These features have been clearly outlined by the work of the ISRA Farming Systems Research (FSR) team (Posner, et al. 1982; Posner 1985). Their work, which maps differentiated production systems identified in the region and the ways in which they have evolved over time, reflects a level of diversity. This research dealt with the differences in production conditions and the different strategies implemented by farmers in each agricultural situation (Posner et al., 1982). ISRA divided the area into three zones based on three major criteria:

- The relative importance of upland crops – peanuts and cereals – compared to lowland crops such as rice.
- The sexual division of labour, which distinguishes two major labour structuring and organising processes for men and women. In the first type of production system, the labour process is differentiated by the nature of tasks conducted by men and women. Both men and women participate in all crop production activities, but perform different cultural operations (Diola model). In the second type of production system, labour is specialised according to different types of crop production – women conduct all the cultural operations related to lowland rice production, while men specialise in upland crops (Mandinka model).
- The level of development of animal traction technology. This criterion distinguishes the different zones of the region according to the level of diffusion of the animal traction technology and the type and importance of agricultural equipment available.

The combination of these criteria led to the determination of five major situations, corresponding to agro-ecosystems which delineate five smaller zones, but more homogeneous areas with respect to specific features. These are shown in Map 3.2. The characteristics of these rural agro-ecosystems rural are:

- Zone 1: Diola-type social organisation. No animal traction; transplanted rice dominant.
- Zone 2: Diola-type social organisation. No animal traction; upland crops important with direct seeding of rice.
- Zone 3: Mandinka-type social organisation. Minimal animal traction with direct seeding of rice.
- Zone 4: Mandinka-type social organisation. Developed animal traction and important upland crops production. Prevalent in the Middle Casamance mostly populated by the Balantes – a minority ethnic group in Senegal, with a majority of the rural population in neighbouring Guinea-Bissau.
- Zone 5: Diola-type social organisation; animal traction important; transplanted rice still important.



Map 3.2: Zoning of the Lower Casamance into agro-ecosystems

Source: Posner (1985); Posner et al. (1982)

Several studies conducted on the socio-economic features and outlook of the Casamance region (Posner, 1985; Posner et al. 1991; Linares, 2003, 2005; Dramé, 2005) highlight key trends which contributed to the challenging livelihood conditions for rural people. They emphasise a context of degradation of natural resources mainly attributed to a long-term pattern of drought and a decline of rainfall. The ISRA farming system research estimated to a 20% decline in rainfall, combined with a reduction in the duration of the rainy season, from 5–6 to 3 months. Rainfall declined from an annual average of 1,500 mm per year to 1,000 mm (Linares, 2005). The series of droughts which occurred in the region have progressively lowered the average rainfall recorded during the 1950s, through the 1960s and into the 1980s. For example, Ziguinchor, which had an average annual rainfall of 1,800 mm in the 1950s, recorded, on average, less than 1,200 to 1,400 mm during the period 1970–1980 (Posner et al. 1982). As a result, the minimal rainfall required for successful rice production in different zones of the Casamance region was not guaranteed for many years. This situation brought many areas of the region close to a benchmark below which the cultivation system is in imminent danger.

According to Linares (2005), the situation seriously jeopardised the balance between local production and local needs. Production fell markedly during the years of drought because large proportions of rice lands were abandoned due to salt intrusion into paddy plots and drought stress in the upper fields (Linares, 2005). The decline in rainfall was accompanied by a process of degradation of natural resources. The soils suffered from the impoverishment of the vegetable cover with the loss of biological ecosystems. Indeed, the region's soils were impoverished either by water or wind-related erosion or by a gradual process of salt intrusion and increasing acidity of the soil. These adverse climatic and environmental changes negatively affected livelihood opportunities and performance, and hence the standard of living of rural families. These changes contributed to undermining the rice production systems, which constitute the basis of families' food security, and the reproducibility of the livelihood systems of farmers. The cumulative effects of farming practices further contributed to the degradation of the environmental base (Posner et al., 1982; Posner, 1985). These challenges informed the

different interventions carried out in the Casamance by the central Government and many NGOs and (FOs)

The combined effects of changes in the production environment and the adaptation strategies of farmers translated into a significant level of heterogeneity in the socio-ecological morphology of the region. In fact, and despite the relative level of homogeneity implied by the typology of the Casamance production systems, the different agro-ecosystems manifest major differences in their cultural practices. Moreover, significant differences in cultural practices and styles of farming can also be found even in a smaller and relatively more homogeneous zone. (Posner et al, 1982). These differences are in turn explained by the labour process used, as different farm units may pursue different objectives and adopt very different strategies accordingly. Farmers' practices are nevertheless heavily influenced by their technological environment, the sophistication of their equipment and farm implements, and the level of their adoption of animal traction.

The level of heterogeneity found in the different ecosystems of the Casamance provides some important clues on how a particular articulation of external interventions and internal responses might translate into different trajectories, both for the livelihood options of local people and for the overall outlook of the region. This statement will be examined later, in Chapter 5 of the thesis, through a more detailed analysis of the responses of local farmers to planned interventions undertaken both by state agencies and by FOs.

The characterised features of the production systems imply that the Casamance region was subjected to a series of changes over a long period of time, as a result of numerous interventions by the state and other development actors, as well as the adaptation strategies put in place and perfected over the years by the local people themselves. A key analytical focus of this thesis is therefore to analyse the extent to which the economic, social and cultural practices prevalent in the Casamance today carry the footprints of historical processes of engagements between the region and the rest of the world, including the central government of Senegal.

### **3.3. PATTERNS OF PLANNED INTERVENTIONS IN THE CASAMANCE**

#### **3.3.1. A historical contextualisation of key development milestones in the Casamance**

There are several sources on the history of the Casamance region (Thomas, 1959; Nugent, 2007; Roche, 1971, 1972, 1973; 1985). This section builds on Roche (1985) for a high-level overview of the region's tumultuous historical development from the 16<sup>th</sup> century until recently. Roche's account of the historical development in the region highlights the ethnic rivalries in the region; prior to encounters between European navigators (Portuguese, British and French) and the various inhabitants.

Accounts of conflicts during this era are historically linked to the belligerent activities of different ethnic groups as they competed for land and other natural resources. Roche (1985) provides historical accounts of some of the major conflicts between the Diola and the Bainouck, the Mandinka and the Balantes in the Lower Casamance, and the Mandinka and the Fulani in the Upper and Middle Casamance (Quinn, 1971). These inter-ethnic conflicts intensified as the region came into more frequent contacts with European navigators, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

The relationship between the Casamance region people and the Europeans during the precolonial time were based on commercial exchanges with the local inhabitants. The European navigators' interests in the region were directly linked to the prospects of economic gains, particularly those associated with the expansion of groundnut production, the collection of rubber, and the exploitation of the many resources in the Casamance forests. These commercial activities explain the installation of European commercial trading centres along the Casamance River as early as in 1836, with the blessing of local authorities. However, this settlement process was made more dramatic by fierce rivalry between the European powers for control of the commercial centres and the territories in their catchment areas, leading to occasional confrontations between the two parties.

When the actual settlement of the Europeans gradually intensified the local people reacted in different ways to the increasing interference of foreign powers in their political and social life. Notably they started to resist the European presence when their commercial activities began to shift into more open attempts to dominate local political, economic and social life. However, their resistance was often compromised by the state of division and rivalry that existed among the local people themselves, which was exploited by the colonialists to achieve the domination of the region (Roche, 1985). For example, when the French colonialists were attracted by the prospect of extending their production of groundnuts into Middle Casamance, they combatted the Mandinka people, who dominated that region, with the help of the Fulani from Upper Casamance, who had previously been controlled by the Mandinka and wanted to revolt against their former dominators. Meanwhile, when groundnut production declined in 1885 and the French moved to the Lower Casamance to exploit rubber and other resources from the forests, the Diola people, who predominantly inhabit this region, resisted with vigour. This marked the start of a long period of Diola resistance to colonial domination, from 1900 until 1920.

Roche (1985) explains that the Casamance people combined open political struggle with other forms of resistance, mainly economic and cultural. For example, the Mandinka farmers refused to sell their groundnuts to French traders when they became exasperated with the abuses caused by auxiliaries who were officially brokering their activities with the European traders. Roche also highlights how the Diola people adopted the *Bukut*, a new form of initiation rite, as a cultural response to the havoc created in Diola society with the advent of the colonial order (Roche, 1985).

While the different people of the Casamance resisted the settlement of the colonial order in the region, Roche (1985) notes that the local reactions espoused the social characteristics of each group. He notes two types of resistance deployed respectively by the class conscious Mandinka groups, who live in hierarchical groups, and those offered by the people living in forests, such as the Diola and the Balantes. The former groups were generally of Muslim faith, and lived in less densely forested areas, under the leadership of powerful charismatic leaders. They were generally able to rally the large segments of communities subordinated to their power around powerful chiefs in order to offer strong resistance against the colonialists. Once they were defeated by the greater military powers and sophisticated machinery of their adversaries, these communities, whose leadership systems had been dismantled, would reluctantly succumb to the circumstances imposed by the colonial masters. The second category, on the other hand, comprised people living in densely forested areas and belonging to more egalitarian societies of autonomous groups. Contrary to the former category, the

people from these communities were individualistic and did not answer to a central authority. They were characterised by their physical courage and they resisted attacks by the European invaders, hence it was much harder for the colonialists to conquer and subject the members of this category to colonial order. Fully aware of their material limitations, the members of this group did not opt for direct confrontation, but rather, for passive resistance, through which they often managed to block or paralyze the activities of the colonial administration.

Roche (1985) explains that the resistance of the Casamance people is testimony to their determination to defend their freedom and their dignity. In fact, because of their relative isolation due to both to natural factors and unique historical circumstances, the Casamance people have the cultural traits and characters of their ancestors. While they could be open and hospitable, they could also be suspicious and anxious or even hostile when they do not fully comprehend the circumstances in which they find themselves. Dialogue and compromise as a way of resolving differences and managing conflicts is valued in these societies. These principles are therefore seen as strategic resources to be built on in order to achieve and maintain a climate of peace and security in the Casamance region. These arguments based on some cultural and psychological traits of the Diola people informed the identity narratives of both the partisans and opponents of the armed rebellion in the Casamance (Roche 1985)<sup>2</sup>.

In general, and despite the different forms of resistance by the Casamance people, the colonial power undertook a series of interventions starting with the military pacification of the region which culminated in the political domination and economic valorisation "*mise en valeur*" of the resources of the Casamance.

Co-Trung (1996) provides an illustration of this colonial posture of "*mise en valeur*" through a detailed analysis of the experience of CGOT, a French company active in the development of oil products in the colonies. Her analysis focuses on the historical and geo-strategic conditions which informed the creation of large scale groundnuts production farms using tractors and salaried labour in Sefa, a district of the Sedhiou region. The project was designed as a modern farm totally operated with salaried labour, in order to secure the need of the colony in terms of vegetable oils. After years of operation, from 1948 until 1962, the original design of the project was modified and local people were hired as seasonal labourers, working with their own traditional production techniques. While the original objectives were largely unsuccessful, the activities of the programme were continued by the newly independent Senegalese authorities in order to propagate mechanised agricultural production in the Casamance. The case illustrates how the rural development projects initiated by the newly independent country were strongly influenced by the past colonial experiences (Co-Trung, 1996).

### **3.3.2. Rural development interventions in the Casamance region**

#### ***3.3.2.1 Land Tenure and Agrarian Reforms***

Throughout the history of Senegal, land policy has been used by public officials as an instrument of agrarian reform and economic development, from the colonial period to independence. Niang (2004) provided an analysis of the colonial land policy which was applied in Senegal from the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Through unequal treaties, France (as

---

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 7 for a critical assessment of these essentialist arguments which have been challenged by many specialists of the Casamance (Diedhiou (2011), Marut, 2004; 2005), Lambert (2005); Englebert (2005).

the colonial power) was able to subdue the rights of the political authorities and those of the traditional Senegalese chiefdoms to become the only legitimate landlord. The colonial land policy subsequently introduced a dual system: a Common Law statute, applicable to Europeans; and Customary Law applicable to the African people. The colonial land tenure policy was part of a strategy to introduce some legal principles derived from the Civil Code and a regime of individual ownership of land. The application of this type of common law was preceded by the promulgation of certain principles aimed at ensuring that the colonial master had the rights to most of the African territory. One of these principles which reinforced the colonial power on land matters was based on the theory of "vacant land with no master". The application of such principles in the colonial territories made it easier for the Colonial government to control local people's holdings (Hesseling, 1984; 1985).

In the case of Senegal, the colonial idea of land tenure and holding also played an important role in the "*Loi sur le Domaine National*", the Land Law which was adopted after the country's independence, on 17 June 1964 (law 64-46 of 17 June 1964 ), as a means of achieving both economic and social objectives. The underlying philosophy of the land and agrarian reform has a different character; the objectives of the land reform law are to simplify and provide greater clarity to the tenure system; to eliminate the traditional privileges on land; to re-organise the exploitation of the rural space in such a way as to make it more rational and to bring about an increased agricultural production. In other words, the increased agricultural production was the primary objective of the reform (de Jonge et al, 1978).

The "*Loi sur le Domaine National*" was completed by a regional and local administrative reform which took effect on 11 February 1972 (Law 72-02 of 11 February 1972). In order to ensure an increase in production the Senegalese Government nationalised almost all the land in the Senegalese territory. While this first measure did not change much rural ways of operation except in a few cases where land was confiscated for public utilities, the second aspect of the Agrarian Reform implied that new structures and authorities were set up in order to distribute land. A major feature of this reform relates to the creation of a new local institution called the '*Communaute Rurale*', which was endowed with a legal and fiscal personality to manage public land on behalf of the state. The organisation was governed by locally elected rural councils.

The application of this land reform process in the Casamance proved to be highly problematic as it negatively impacted on land distribution and the livelihood prospects of the Casamance people. De Jonge et al., (1978) provided a comparative analysis focused on the major differences between the broader agrarian reform and the social organisation of the traditional tenure system. The analysis highlights some unique features of the traditional Diola society and the principles which govern local access to land. In the absence of formalised political systems beyond the level of the village, ownership and control of the Diola territory is limited to the natives of the villages and their kins. Villagers are organised in clans which are managed by the elderly. The head of the lineage manages the family capital and asset base, especially the land which is distributed to people who are entitled to it by inheritance. In case someone who inherits land does not have enough land for his family, he can borrow from other villagers. The survey conducted by de Jong et al, (1978) revealed that 20% of all the land of the Diatock village fall in this category. The underlying principle of the Diola tenure system is to ensure that all married men have enough land at their disposal in order to feed their family.

The new land distribution regulations brought in the following changes: land and other production factors of the community were to be distributed by the Rural Council which represented the Executive organ of the “Rural Communauté”. The powers of the Council are quite extensive but they operate under the control of the State. The “Rural Communauté” comprise between 8000 and 10000 people, which imply that they will amalgamate the lands of several villages. Land was to be allocated to people who cultivate it, and land use right was *intuitu personae* and could not be transacted. Land use rights ended when the person died, implying a *de facto* abrogation of the patrilineal inheritance and also the principle of borrowing land from other families. This meant that all the Diola who lived in town would have lost their traditional rights on the land owned by their relatives, and also that other categories of people who traditionally were not entitled to inherit land (unmarried men and women) became qualified to receive it.

Given the objective of the Reform to rationalise and increase production, it is logical that the Reform will favour those actors who are more able to contribute to the realisation of these objectives. Increasing production in the Lower Casamance depend on intensification, and this requires a level of resource that the peasants usually would not have. Another group which would benefit from the Reform is the private or semi-private businesses that will ensure an increase in production through their investments. This category of actors would meet the conditions for accessing land implying that there will be peasants who will be dispossessed of their land in favour of private companies because the latter would better serve public interest. This would be detrimental to the weakest segments of the communities who might become the ‘new type of migrants’, thus leading to the migration of peasants who have been chased by the agrarian Reform (de Jonge et al., 1978).

### ***3.3.2.2. Overview of Government agricultural development policies in Senegal***

State-led interventions -which took place from the colonial period to the post-independence era- adopted the process of commoditisation of the peasant production systems in Africa. This process was intimately linked to the mode of access to production resources in general, and to inputs in particular. In general, access to input/output markets by farmers was facilitated through State institutions, with the help of cooperatives and other marketing agencies. These state institutions represented the major vehicles of State-led interventions: they were created to manage the production of both export and food crops. They were responsible for cooperatives development and export crop marketing, land use, planning, conservation regulations, and rudimentary macro-economic planning. In some instances the colonial powers set up some large farming schemes for the exploitation of specific cash crops; the same institutions and policy instruments were maintained by independent African States, in order to operate as key agencies for the delivery of their rural development agenda. However, they were often refashioned, as proactive agencies of vertical integration, along their respective commodity chains- providing everything from inputs, credit and extension services, to marketing, as well as storage and distribution of food staples. (Bernstein et al, 2009; Bryceson, 1993).

In the case of Senegal, ONCAD, a state agency, was charged with the following: i) the marketing of agricultural products, notably groundnuts; the distribution of fertilisers; and; iii) the importation of food products, especially rice. In order to perform these 3 functions very well, ONCAD is well endowed with a strong commercial outfit; it is well

equipped in terms of staff, means of transport and in terms of budgetary allocation. The operations of ONCAD relied on a network of 150 cooperatives with a membership ranging between 50 and 100 peasant-members. The governance structure included a President, and an ONCAD trained officer in charge of weighing the produce. Members of the cooperative could access fertiliser, seeds and agricultural equipment through a loan with an interest rate of 25% for 6 months and the inputs and equipment were generally delivered to farmers in June, but some time they come late for farmers to start their growing season.

The analyses of the country's investments showed significant disparities between the different regions both in terms of population densities and in the level of allocation of investments. The peanut basin and the Cap Vert region received the largest share of public investments during the first 2 quadrennial plans. Such a concentration of the public investments in the Dakar region reflected the policy choices made since the colonial era by French colonial powers. The country maintained a policy of specialisation on groundnuts and a development of an import substitution light industry funded by foreign donors (Amin, 1971).

A similar orientation was maintained and reinforced in the country's 3rd Quadrennial plan (July 1969-July 1973). The government set up an ambitious objective of producing 1,450,000 metric tons of groundnuts through improvements in productivity (fertiliser, equipment seeders, harvesters, etc.). However the objective could not be met because the peasant farmers had very little reserves as the production of peanuts was not profitable. In fact, the evolution of revenues generated by farmers was negative as they fell by a percentage comprised between 30 and 50 % (Klaas de Jong et al, 1978). Several factors contributed to this phenomenon:

- \* the suppression of the French system of price guarantee mechanism, following the Yaoundé agreements; and the start of the Common European Market;
- \* 3 exceptional years of drought compromised the level of production ;
- \* The Funds accumulated by the Stabilisation Fund were used to subsidise products for consumers in the large urban consumption areas, and peasants did not benefit from this.

This orientation towards groundnuts production is the consequence of an integration in the international economic circuits; more precisely the sign of submission to the demand of France which was eager to deliver to the French consumer cheap oil. However it did not hold all the promises as expected. From this point of view the orientation towards a specialisation on groundnut production for exports entailed a number of risks for the country and for the peasant farmers. In fact, from 1968/69 and 1975/76 ONCAD transferred amounts ranging from 1.5 to 4 billion CFA to the Price stabilisation Fund. This money was mainly used to provide for the cash flow requirements of state institutions. The money was also used to subsidise the import of rice, sugar and oil for urban consumers. The combined effect of lower price and the long series of drought led to dramatic consequences such as, a debt crisis and a reduction in the use of fertiliser by farmers and the reduction of production. However, the Fund reversed its policies from the 1974/75 campaign, and replaced it with a policy to sustain producer prices when the world commodity price started falling (Klaas de Jonge, 1979). In summary, ONCAD had a lot of influence on the rural sector in Senegal; however, it operated mainly as a commercial structure, operating in a remote fashion from the peasants themselves. But

as long as ONCAD limited its activities to groundnuts, and removed itself from the provision of the full set of technical services needed by farmers, ONCAD will not achieve its potential of becoming a unique instrument for an integrated rural development strategy. In fact, ONCAD contributed to the 1981-1984 crisis (Linares, 2005).

The country's 4th Quadrennial plans put more emphasis on industrial production for export, diversification of agriculture, and land management (*'aménagement du territoire'*). Agricultural diversification included the introduction of new crops, the intensification of irrigation, the creation of dams and their integration in villages, agricultural industrialisation and a more optimal spatial allocation of industries to better valorise production and limit rural exodus. The regional distribution of the investments made during the 4th the quadrennial plan is as follows: Cap Vert 57.7%, Casamance 6%, Diourbel 0.9 %, Fleuve 18.9 %, Senegal Oriental 1.3 %, and Thies 9.7 %. The resource allocation still hugely favoured few regions (Cap Vert, Fleuve and Thies) which received 86.7% of all investments, reflecting the high level geographic concentration of the country's industrial activities in few coastal regions. The strategy of light industrialisation translated into positive results for the country's exports records, as the share of groundnuts in the country's exports had been reduced in favour of industrial products (de Jong et al., 1979). However the 3rd Quadrennial plan witnessed a progressive concentration of industrial activities in Cap Vert region (55.2%) and Thies (25.8%). This means that 81% of the country's industrial activities are concentrated in 2 coastal zones of the country (de Jong et al., 1979).

Thus, the nature of the quadrennial development plans further accentuated the concentration of resource in the Coastal areas of the country. These critiques echo Amin's argument that a development strategy based on a specialisation on groundnuts and the development of an import substitution light industry funded by foreign donors led the country to a dead end (Amin, 1971). During the 5<sup>th</sup> quadrennial plan (1977-1981) the government revisited its investment priorities to focus more on productive sectors. Primary sector which include agricultural production was poised to receive the most important investments, followed by industry. In that context, the agricultural programme focused essentially on the implementation of regional development societies, and the most promising regions in terms of rice production were prioritised to receive the bulk of Government's investments: SAED, in the Fleuve region received CFA 17 billion and SOMIVAC (36% of total investments), in the Casamance got CFA 13 billion (27% of total investments). However 78% of the projects' funding relied on foreign funding while national contribution to the national investments amounted only to 21% (de Jonge et al, 1978).

In this context several development interventions were implemented in the Casamance. They emanated essentially from the Senegalese government and took the form of integrated rural development programmes and projects; such as the "*Office National de Coopération, d'Approvisionnement pour le Développement Agricole au Sénégal (ONCAD)*", as well as from integrated rural development programmes developed in partnership with external donors: the Republic of China funded ILICO, the "*Projet Intégré de Développement Agricole de la Casamance (PIDAC)*", the "*Société de Mise en Valeur de la Casamance (SOMIVAC)*" and the "*Programme de Développement Intégré de la Moyenne Casamance (DERBAC)*".

For the foreign funded integrated rural development projects de Jonge et al., (1978) noted that they did not see a clear exit strategy from any of these projects which made no significant investment in sensitising the local people and enhancing their ownership

of the projects, and there was no plan to build collaboration with the technical services. On the contrary the different projects were operating competitively, trying to prove to their leaders the value of their work and therefore securing more resources for themselves. In summary, the international funding agencies did not plan to collaborate directly with the technical services. They preferred to fund independent interventions for a relatively short duration, under the leadership of European managers. Moreover, the Senegalese government did not directly take on and fund its own rural development policies, leading to a system of temporary short term projects - a situation which was not conducive to a harmonious development and an improvement in the living conditions of the rural people.

Other interventions were initiated by NGOs whose activities developed considerably during the 1970s, when drought and the subsequent hunger problems generated a lot of attention in the country and internationally. The drought situation led to massive aid projects aimed at alleviating poverty or targeted at specific sectors where social needs were considered urgent. They influenced the strategies used by farmers in the Casamance region in significant ways (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1990). These interventions were, to a large extent, accompanied by agricultural research and development programmes, aimed at informing and guiding the state's investments in the rural sector. In this context, ISRA conducted several action research programmes aimed at providing a comprehensive diagnosis of constraints and opportunities faced by smallholder farmers. During the 1980s, ISRA set up FSR teams to develop technologies suited to the climatic, social and economic conditions of farmers in the Casamance.

In the 1990s and early 2000s, FOs developed several initiatives in the region, with the help of development NGOs. Their activities were largely triggered by significant changes in the development landscape in Senegal including: state withdrawal from direct involvement in production activities in compliance with the structural adjustment programmes; the return of the Casamance youth in search of alternative livelihoods in the region; and the greater involvement of donor organisations in the region. The policy reforms initiated by the state during the 1980s also favoured the mushrooming of private sector-led ventures, involving the Casamance FOs and different agribusinesses interested in valorising the enormous natural and agricultural resources available in the Casamance region.

Marut (2005) showed how the State development policies in the Casamance triggered a set of activities which benefitted mostly foreign investors. A significant development of tourism and trade was earmarked to contribute to increased state budgetary resources and to foreign currency earnings. The new activities were controlled by foreigners who have the competencies and the resources required, and benefitted from favours from the central administration in the allocation of public licenses for the exploitation of resources. The tourist facilities set up along the maritime façade of the region deprived the local people from a significant component of their economic space, without proper compensation (not even in terms of employment).

The Casamance region presents unique opportunities which very well suit the requirements of donors. Its coastal location and the existence of the Casamance River's estuaries and its ramifications positioned the region for significant developments in tourism and trade for increasing contributions to state budgetary resources and to foreign currency earnings (Marut, 2005). The Casamance was therefore set for the extraction of huge commercial and tourism-related benefits. This approach resembled a colonial type of exploitation (Marut, 2005). It allowed the state to achieve the double

objective of offering an outlet for both young northern farmers chased by the drought, and to disgruntled urban youth in search of lucrative employment.

The Casamance region became a new frontier attracting both people and capital. Forests were cleared for increased production; new economic activities were developed in fisheries; cold storage and refrigeration factories were established, and tourism ventures controlled by foreign investors associated with Senegalese business operators originating mainly from the north were set up. These new activities were linked to networks of Murid traders operating internationally in West Africa, the USA and Europe (Marut 2005). Access of local people to these new ventures was generally limited because the operators bring their personnel and products from Dakar, and moreover, local candidates were limited by the lack of capital and know how. The urban expansion in Ziguinchor pushed the local people to the periphery of the city.

These developments had a negative impact on the livelihood of the Casamance people and contributed to the emergence of a regional sentiment which was exploited by the MFDC leaders and led to the protracted armed conflict in the Casamance.

### **3.4. THE ARMED CONFLICT OF THE MFDC**

The focus of this section is on an overview of the main narratives on the conflict, the key milestones in the enduring conflict in the Casamance region, followed by an overview of its consequences for the livelihoods of the Casamance people.

#### **3.4.1. Interpretations of the genesis and making of the conflict**

The dominant thesis on the Casamance conflict can be classified broadly into the structuralist interpretation of secession conflicts, (emphasising issues such as ethnicity and cultural heritage of the protagonists) and the more actor-oriented narratives which link its advent to the consequences of state penetration in the Casamance. Faye (2006) provides an overview of the common approaches to the analysis of causes of secession. Three sets of variables such as the geography, age, size and composition of the population are commonly identified as causes of secession. Since these variables are strongly correlated with the history and geography of the region, some historical factors linked to ethnicity become part of the explanatory variables of the conflict.

For many analysts of structuralist orientation, the root causes of the crisis associated with the Casamance conflict are linked to the complex ways in which the region was colonised and exploited during the colonial era (McGowan 2005; Faye 2006; Fall, 2010). For instance, McGowan's (2005) theoretical and empirical approaches to conflicts in West Africa highlight some major structural causes of the recurrent armed conflicts in the region. They point to the historical legacies of colonisation and decolonisation in the region, its specific cultural features, and the political and economic neglect of the Casamance by the central government. According to McGowan (2005), the Diola tribe (which constitutes the largest group in an ethnically mixed region) has traditionally rejected the central authority of the Senegalese government. The partisans of an ethnic interpretation of the Casamance separatism locate the source of on-going activism and the subsequent violence in the Diola culture. Similarly, Fall (2010) suggested that the Casamance rebellion took its root in the history of the colonial arbitrary boundaries that divided the same people, and which resulted in the emergence of a colonial elite, ethnic identity, as well as economic, social and political grievances.

The ethnic dimension of the conflict is further reinforced by economic disparities between the north and south of the country, which resulted in the perception by the Diola population that they are marginalised. The historical, cultural and family links with the neighbouring states of Guinea-Bissau and Gambia play an extremely important role. The political, economic and infrastructural connection of the '3B' Banjul-Bignona-Bissau axis, the link between Banjul (Gambia), Bignona (Casamance) and Bissau (Guinea), is a nightmare for the Senegalese government (Fall, 2010). Accordingly, many analysts would contend that the deeply rooted perception of marginalisation held by the Diola people of the Casamance became the major mechanism reinforcing the struggle for the independence of the region. Such a notion spread like wildfire among the predominantly Diola majority residing not only in the Casamance, but also across the borders of Guinea-Bissau and The Gambia. Hence, the ethnic configuration of the region and the nature of its political and military alliances continued to be the driving force behind the intermittent escalation of the crisis.

Authors of different theoretical orientation have challenged this ethnic and cultural interpretation of the Casamance conflict. Several specialists of the Casamance question, such as Englebert (2005), Marut (2005) and Tomas (2005) also question the mechanical linkage between the Casamance conflict and the affirmation of Diola culture. They follow Lambert (1998) who argues that by locating the roots of the current movement in the violent history of the Casamance, attention is drawn away from questions about the relationship between the Casamance and Senegal. These authors subsequently provide an analysis of the complex relationships between the processes of globalisation, the development of regional and ethnic particularism, and subsequent conflictive dynamics which unfolded in the southern region of Senegal. This argument is based on the fact that the Casamance region has historically entertained strong links with the modern state. In this respect, the Casamance conflict emanated essentially from a crisis of modernity, which eventually led to the affirmation of a mythical past in the context of globalisation (Marut, 2005).

This narrative echoes the initial view of De Jong (1999) that state penetration was the main cause of the armed rebellion. He argued that one of the reasons for widespread discontent with the Senegalese regime was its implementation of the 1964 "*Loi sur le Domaine national*", which led to both rural and urban land expropriations in Casamance (De Jong, 1999). The authors later questioned these views on the basis that the MFDC also accused the Senegalese government of economic negligence in promoting the development of the Casamance region. It would therefore be erroneous to consider state-penetration as an unambiguous reason for the revolt (De Jong, 1998a; 1998b). He therefore points to other reasons for the rebellion beside the failures associated with state penetration. He proposes a cultural understanding of the phenomenon and tries to distance himself from the grievance argument by highlighting the strong anchoring of the MFDC political and ideological struggle into the Diola religion and culture.

However, these views do not rule out the fact that the political posture of the MFDC stem from the exploitation by the leadership of the MFDC of the grievance of local people, and this was done through the instigation of a regional sentiment based on the common perception of rejection shared by many '*Casamançais*', as Foucher (2009) puts it. In fact, Faye (2006) provides an analysis of the process of *ideologising* which converted the popular feeling of discontent into an armed rebellion.

### **3.4.2. Key milestones in the armed conflict**

The Movement of Democratic Forces of the Casamance (MFDC) launched a bloody independence campaign against the central government during the early 1980s (Marut, 2005; 2010; Biagui, 2008a). In 1982, supporters of the MFDC demanded that the Government of Senegal grant independence to the Casamance region. This demand sparked a three-decade conflict.

The armed conflict was started in December 1983, following a set of violent incidents which had taken place during the previous year, sparked by a set of public demonstrations orchestrated by the members and leadership of the MFDC (Marut, 2005; 2010; Faye, 2006; Fall, 2010). The most notorious incidents include the death of Idrissa Sagna, a high school student in Ziguinchor, and the violent repression of a 'peaceful' march towards the residence of the Governor in Ziguinchor, during which the Senegalese national emblem was burned down and replaced by the emblem of the MFDC. These events culminated in the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders and members of the separatist movement and an open armed conflict between the military arm of the MFDC and the Senegalese army. Throughout the period ranging from 1980 to the late 2000s, periods of fighting were followed by moments of respite during which peace negotiations would take place and treaties would be signed (Biagui, 2008a; 2008b).

Sporadic fighting continued throughout 1999 in the Casamance area (Marut, 2005; 2010). In January 1999 the government and the leadership of the MFDC began a new peace initiative with a meeting between President Diouf and MFDC head Abbé Augustin Diamacoune Senghor. The MFDC demanded the release of all political detainees in connection with the Casamance conflict as a condition for dialogue. On 12 February 1999, the government released 123 suspected MFDC members who had been detained without trial in Dakar, Ziguinchor, and Kolda. Some of these suspects had been detained for several years on suspicion of compromising or plotting against the security of the state. According to the Amnesty International report issued in June 1999, 110 suspected MFDC rebels remained, without trial, in prisons throughout the country (AI, 1997; 1998; 1999).

The MFDC leadership held a conference – the 'days of reflection' – in Banjul, The Gambia, in June 1999 to develop a unified position for advancing the peace process (Marut, 2005; 2010). These talks marked a historic turning point for the Casamance peace settlement process. The talks and the end of the crisis in neighbouring Guinea-Bissau helped pave the way for direct peace negotiations between the Government of Senegal and the MFDC in late December 1999. On 26 December 1999, the government and MFDC leaders met in The Gambia to begin negotiations on the future of the Casamance. During these talks, the two parties agreed to an immediate ceasefire. The parties also agreed to meet face to face at least once a month to negotiate a peaceful future for the region. By year's end, neither side had a concrete proposal to bring to the negotiating table, although the government released 44 persons who had been detained in connection with the Casamance conflict, on 30 December 1999.

The parties nevertheless developed a framework for discussion. President Wade said he wanted to meet with rebel leaders to hammer out a broader peace agreement. But despite the truce, hard-core elements of the MFDC armed wing continued to fight; they even attempted to disrupt Senegal's presidential election in February 2000. The militant wing of the MFDC ignored the subsequent political changes in Senegal – including Mr Wade's election – and remained committed to independence at any cost.

The intensity of the conflict has varied over the years. Occasionally there have been violent flare-ups. The areas in which armed robberies or attacks take place have also changed over the course of time.

Up until 2000, for example, most of the Kolda region was relatively peaceful. During the 1990s the conflict was extended to all of the natural Casamance region, and this extension was also marked by an increase in the sophistication of the arms used, including mass destruction devices such as landmines. Moreover, increasing frequency of cattle rustling and banditry from bands of armed people who routinely fled into Guinea-Bissau resulted in closure of the border with Guinea-Bissau in September 2000. The incidence of violence in the Casamance region increased during the year 2000, particularly in June and July, and reportedly resulted in some deaths.

The military zone commander for the Casamance region made an effort during the year to reduce the number of human rights abuses committed by security forces under his command. Throughout 2001, the press continued to report frequent small armed attacks, raids, ambushes, and clashes with military forces by suspected MFDC gunmen, with continuing military and civilian fatalities. In March 2001 the government and the MFDC signed two peace agreements designed to end the 20-year insurgency. However, these agreements were ineffective and fighting continued in the Casamance (Marut, 2010).

The situation was made more difficult by the infighting which opposed Sidy Badji and Abbé Augustine Diamacoune (Biagui, 2008b). Badji had remained, at least nominally, the head of the MFDC military wing and commander-in-chief of its guerrilla army. Badji and his supporters opposed the softer line taken by MFDC veteran president, Augustin Diamacoune Senghor, a Roman Catholic priest who had shown a willingness to settle for a modest degree of autonomy for the Casamance. Sidy Badji, a hard-line leader, had held out against any compromise with the government in Dakar. For over two years, there was a concerted campaign by local NGOs and other would-be peacemakers to improve relations between Diamacoune and Badji and to send an unequivocal message of peace to MFDC combatants in the bush. On 26 May 2003, separatist rebels in the Casamance announced the death of Sidy Badji, at the age of about 83. The MFDC confirmed the news.

By January 2004, for the first time in several years, there were reasonable expectations for peace in the Casamance, as a result of calls for peace from MFDC members at their annual conference in October 2003. The Government of Senegal and one of the three armed groups agreed to a timeline for pacifying the northern part of the Casamance between The Gambia and the city of Ziguinchor. The government also accelerated efforts to re-establish 'normal' economic and social life to provide an alternative to the rebellion. In addition to the prolonged insurgency, armed bandits and landmines presented a threat in rural areas. A set of negotiations had been initiated in 1991, but this did not prevent the massive displacement of rural people and the abandonment of crop production areas. The conflict has also contributed to a much reduced intervention capacity for public support efforts and other interventions. Sporadic fighting between the government and the secessionist MFDC continues in the Casamance region to date (Marut, 2010).

### **3.4.3. The consequences of the conflict on livelihood.**

The conflict claimed relatively few lives in comparison with other conflicts in West Africa. Nevertheless, by 2004, between 3,000 and 5,000 people had been killed. At least 652

people fell victim to land mines. Children aged 12 to 14 are most often affected. Twenty six accidents caused by mines have spread a feeling of extreme fear in the region. This fear is partly responsible for the decline in agriculture, in particular subsistence farming (Gehrold and Neu, 2010).

Furthermore, the Casamance civil war has had significant humanitarian consequences for the local population of the Casamance and neighbouring countries of Guinea Bissau and The Gambia. A census in 1998 by Caritas gave a total of 62,638 internally displaced persons (IDPs). Refugee displacement was apparently influenced by geographical locations of the conflict, with Ziguinchor region accounting for about 70%. Ziguinchor town is estimated to have received some 14,000 IDPs while thousands more have moved to other Casamance towns and relatively secure villages (Evans, 2003). The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates that there are 10,000-13,000 refugees in Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia, roughly equally divided. Many of the displaced have returned in recent years, partly under United States Agency for International Development (USAID) -funded projects – an estimated 10,000-15,000 returnees were expected in 2004 alone (Evans, 2003). The survey done by Demba Keita in 2007, established that 26,000 displaced people from 227 different villages returned to their villages (Keita, 2007, Cited by Gehrold and Neu, 2010).

It is clear that the conflict adversely affected the potential of the Casamance to contribute fully to the economy of Senegal. The conflict has cut agricultural production by an estimated 50%. The tourism industry has been devastated by the conflict, and many of its 16,000 employees have been dismissed as a result of the continuing struggle. In addition, Sadio et al. (2004) estimated that thousands of refugees have fled the Casamance to the neighbouring countries of Guinea-Bissau and The Gambia (Minteh, 2009).

The economic impact of the Casamance conflict has been borne by the most underprivileged segment of the rural population. For example, the communities in the surrounding areas of Ziguinchor and Kolda were increasingly marginalised in terms of access to national programmes for infrastructure and to development resources. Access to basic social services was made difficult in the rural areas because of the destruction of infrastructure and the absence of personnel (especially for health services and education). The remaining infrastructure deteriorated further after it had been abandoned and the equipment plundered. The insecurity and the difficulty of movement, especially during the rainy season, also contributed to keeping people away from the centres where they would have access to necessary services. The social costs of the crisis are thus fairly important including: weak or no access to social services such as education and health, damaged or non-existent transport infrastructure and the maintenance costs of the troops, among others (Sadio et al., 2004).

Moreover, significant constraints related to the degradation of natural resources, such as salinisation, erosion and deforestation, also limited the agricultural productivity of the area. The drop in agricultural production was due as much to the bad rainfall as to the insecurity prevailing in the region. Development projects in the zone were affected by the conflict, with the interruption of programmes such as the Management of the Waters of the South Project (PROGES) in December 1997 and DERBAC. Finally, the formal private sector was also affected by the insecurity, with some businesses discontinuing their activities (Sadio, et al. 2004). The tourism industry was devastated by the conflict. While the local population living in the area continued to develop strategies to improve and safeguard their livelihoods, they could not take full advantage of the significant agricultural potential at their disposal in this region. This would require the end of the

military action and the exploration of more peaceful ways of handling the conflict in the Casamance region.

Evans (2005) conducted an empirical study during which he administered a questionnaire to 200 respondents randomly selected from four areas affected by the conflict. The results of the survey showed that while the level of insecurity faced by local people could vary from one village to another or from one locality to another, it was, in many instances, the cause of households' limited access to their production sites. Evans (2005) argued that the armed conflict between MFDC and the Senegalese government has triggered some grave consequences for the livelihoods of local people even though these consequences are difficult to measure, they have certainly had disastrous consequences on the agricultural and rural development sector. He showed that the conflict triggered several difficulties for local people who depend on exploiting natural resources for their livelihood. Some of the most visible consequences of the armed conflict include:

- Displaced people becoming refugees in their own region or in neighbouring countries;
- Insecurity and fears limit the accessibility of production areas (Linares, 2005);
- Lost opportunities with the cessation of projects (such as PROGES) that were to have built irrigation schemes;
- Curtailed activities related to vegetable production and the sale of crafts to tourists, and
- Little hope of achieving food security in the region until the conflict is resolved.

Thus insecurity and the poor state of transport infrastructure limit commercial activities at the local and regional levels. However, most analysts agree that the negative factors which limit production are more general than the negative consequences of the continuous conflict. Evans (2005) acknowledged that it was difficult to isolate the impact of conflict from other factors which affect the livelihood of rural people. The issues related to production and commercialisation in the primary sector often reflect complex relationships between the effects of insecurity and economic isolation on the one hand, and changes in the environmental and economic context on the other hand. Agricultural production has plummeted in the Casamance, once the country's breadbasket, as a result of more than two decades of sporadic violence and landmine contamination of much of its fertile land.

#### **3.4.4. Recent peace-keeping and development initiatives**

Several state and non-state actors are involved in efforts to restore peace and promote development in the Casamance region. The hallmark of most peace-building initiatives is their explicit acknowledgement of the need to deal with the livelihood issues of the local people. This section provides an overview of the different initiatives under way.

As part of its strategy to resolve the crisis in the Casamance region, the Government of Senegal appealed to the donor community to fund a dedicated development programme in order to launch economic activities in the embattled region during the 2000s. The European Commission and the United Nations Development Programme were requested to lead the efforts to rebuild the region's economy. Priority interventions were targeted at the areas of the region most affected by the conflict. The following programmes typify the development interventions conducted by the Senegalese government with the help of multilateral and bilateral donors:

- Through World Bank funding, the Casamance Emergency Recovery Project in Senegal (ERPC) aims to assist the Government of Senegal to complete mine clearance starting with the most urgent areas, to demobilise and reinsert 3,000 combatants and their families, to reintegrate the combatants and their families, refugees and internally displaced persons socially and economically, to support the Casamance communities affected by the conflict in rebuilding their social and economic infrastructure through a community-based approach, to rebuild or rehabilitate major social and economic public infrastructure in three major sectors - transport, health and education, to prepare a long-term development programme aimed at upgrading the Casamance development level to the average of other Senegalese regions, and to address the fundamental causes of the conflict.
- Since 2000, USAID provided several hundreds of millions of dollars to carry out several activities intended to help stabilise the Casamance region. The agency worked with the Senegalese government, the local population, village-based associations, and NGOs through activities designed to give people hope and reasons to opt for peace. Its private sector, agriculture, natural resources management, local governance, health and education programmes also actively intervene in areas of the Casamance. Some of these interventions are highlighted below:
  - \* Peace process support. A peace process support activity encouraging individuals and groups seeking peace to maintain dialogue. Prominent actors at the local and national levels in the peace process are given training through workshops and technical assistance as needed in conflict resolution and negotiation, and are helped to create opportunities for dialogue. The activity especially targets civil society and civil, religious, and traditional leaders who can encourage dialogue between conflicting parties, and can speak for the local population to ensure that their needs are included in a peace agreement. Influential local and regional leaders can have a positive impact on the process of preparing the MFDC and government for dialogue.
  - \* Conflict mitigation and peace-building with the youths. USAID invests in the youths as future leaders who will be responsible for maintaining peace once it is has been restored. Working with middle-school-aged children in and around schools, this activity is designed to first train young people and teachers in conflict resolution, and then provide them with leadership opportunities to apply what they have learned in order to affect their communities in concrete ways, thus helping to bring long-lasting peace to the Casamance.
  - \* The USAID economic growth, natural resources management, health, and education programmes also finance activities implemented in the Casamance that aim to improve forest management and income generation, to expand access to middle school and girls' scholarships, to improve mother and child health, and efforts to prevent and treat diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS. The agency's major partners who have activities in the Casamance are Planning and Development Collaborative International, Inc. (PADCO) and World Education.

Many of the development and peace-building efforts were mediated by FOs during the 1990s and the first decade of the 2000s. During the era of liberalisation in the 1990s and early 2000s, the Senegalese government also prioritised the tourism sector as a main driver for the development of the Casamance region. This sector is the region's biggest economic driver and the country's second largest revenue source after fishing. When the

conflict worsened in the early 1990s, visitor numbers slumped, with just 1,406 people visiting Casamance in 1993 – down from 45,000 in 1991. While visitor numbers are yet to rise to these high levels, they have been steadily creeping up in the last few years, with 25,819 people visiting Casamance in 2006 (USAID, 2003).

Since 2000, with the help of the European Union and the World Bank, the government has focused on developing the region's infrastructure, building a new road from Ziguinchor to Cap Skirring and extending the Ziguinchor and Cap Skirring airport runways to 2,000 metres in order to enable international charter flights to land. The Senegalese government has also extended loan facilities to hotel owners who were forced to close their establishments when violence caused tourists to flee, and who have not been able to reopen them. Heeding complaints from hoteliers, the government also created facilities to refuel planes in the Casamance, rather than forcing them to refuel in Dakar, which increases the ticket prices for tourists. In addition, the hotel promoters are encouraging the government to do more to attract visitors, by promoting Casamance nationally as a peaceful area, and by lowering arrival taxes for chartered flights. While visitor numbers are yet to attain the high levels of 1991, in 2007 over 14,600 tourists visited the pristine beaches of Cap Skirring, the region's most-visited location, 80 km east of the capital Ziguinchor. The officials and business operators involved in the tourism sector emphasise the social and economic benefits of the sector for the local people, in terms of building social infrastructure (such as schools and health centres) and providing employment opportunities for the local people.

However, after a period of relative calm in 2007, 2008 has seen three landmine incidents and an upsurge of violence in the region. In one of the incidents, which took place on 7 May 2008, men armed with machetes, claiming to represent the MFDC, attacked 20 villagers 15 km east of Ziguinchor, hacking off the left ears of most of them. Though the troubled area is mainly around the northern border with The Gambia and does not directly affect Cap Skirring, such incidents still affect tourist numbers. Village-run hotels are particularly vulnerable. When level of violence rises, tourists avoid villages in favour of large internationally run resorts perceiving them to be safer. Casamance had 15 village camping areas in the early 1990s; six of these have now closed.

### **3.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The main issue addressed in this chapter is the extent to which the current key features of the Casamance region carry the hallmarks of historic processes of interventions of the State and non-state actors in the Casamance region. The analytical focus of the chapter was therefore a review of the region's natural, cultural and economic landscape, and setting the stage for the analysis of the change processes that have taken place in the region over a long period. Chapter 3 has therefore provided a detailed review of the key physical, socioeconomic and political features of the Casamance region.

It follows from this review that the Casamance region represents one of the richest regions of Senegal. However, the region has undergone numerous changes in its production systems, due to the historical, ecological and political changes that have taken place during the last 100 years. This chapter examined the evolution of agrarian systems associated with different research and development programmes, from the colonial period until the mid-2000s. It analysed the major factors which affect and influence peasants' livelihood strategies, and the ways in which these contribute to broader change processes in the region.

The chapter further analysed the disastrous consequences of the series of droughts experienced by the region during the 1970s (Linares, 2005), the disturbance of the balance between local production and local needs of the Casamance region, and the subsequent impact on livelihoods and food security.

The discussions in this chapter also focused on the experiences inherited from the colonial era, which started with peaceful trading arrangements between European trading companies, but later culminated into situations of political domination and economics of valorisation “mise en valeur” of the resources of the Casamance (Roche 1985; Co-Trung, 1996). Subsequent institutional reforms and rural development programmes initiated by the post-independence Senegalese government were implemented through national development plans and numerous State controlled parastatals. Numerous aid projects aimed at alleviating poverty or targeted at specific sectors where social needs were considered urgent. This situation culminated in the creation of many regional development agencies and rural development programmes in the 1970s which resulted in many complex and sometime contradictory relationships with the local people (Linares, 2005; Drame, 2005)

The policy reforms initiated by the state during the 1980s also favoured the mushrooming of various sector-led private ventures. The region was then set for significant development in tourism and trade and for increasing contributions to state budgetary resources and to foreign currency earnings (Marut, 2005). The Casamance was therefore subjected to the extraction of huge commercial and tourism-related benefits and the approach taken resembled a colonial type of exploitation (Marut, 2005).

These interventions and the reactions they triggered in the region have been multifaceted-combining efforts of support and collaboration, as well as resistance, rejection and conflict. The most dramatic changes were triggered by the launch of an armed campaign for the independence of the Casamance region during the 1980s. The armed conflict, which has been ongoing for three decades, has resulted in major human casualties, in terms of the number of people killed and the number displaced from their villages. This chapter has also focused on the factors and processes underlying this enduring armed conflict, as well as its disastrous consequences on the livelihood of the Casamance people. The armed conflict has not only considerably altered livelihood conditions for the inhabitants of the Casamance region, but has also compromised the rural development prospects of the region for many years. The advent of the armed conflict also contribute to and amplify the situation of low production, food crisis and environmental degradation, due to the combined effects of high level of insecurity which also contribute to the out-migration of the Casamance people (Foucher, 2009; Marut, 2005; 2010; Evans (2005); Drame, 2005. The next chapters will explore these relationships further, in order to provide a more systematic interpretation of the change process underway in the Casamance region.

## CHAPTER 4

### AN OVERVIEW OF STATE ACTIVISM IN THE CASAMANCE: HEGEMONY AND DEMISE

#### 4.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

The research question addressed in this chapter investigates the historical conditions of the deployment and demise of the planned development interventions in the Casamance.

Issues related to the roles of government in agricultural development, the economic and political objectives which underlie them, and the consequences on local people have been largely discussed in the academic literature. Neo-Marxist authors like Bernstein et al. (2009) associated State-led interventions -which took place from the colonial period to the post-independence era- with the objective of commoditisation of the peasant production systems in Africa. The process was intimately linked to the mode of access to production resources in general, and to inputs in particular. In general, access to input/output markets was facilitated through State institutions, with the help of cooperatives and other marketing agencies. These state institutions represented the major vehicles of State-led interventions: they were created to manage the production of both export and food crops.

They were responsible for cooperatives development and export crop marketing, land use, planning, conservation regulations, and rudimentary macro-economic planning. In some instances the colonial powers set up some large farming schemes for the exploitation of specific cash crops, for example of large-scale groundnut production in the Sedhiou region of the Casamance (Co-Trung, 1996). The same institutions and policy instruments were maintained by independent African States, in order to operate as key agencies for the delivery of rural development agenda. However, they were often refashioned as proactive agencies of vertical integration along their respective commodity chains, providing everything from inputs, credit and extension services, to marketing, as well as storage and distribution of food staples. (Bernstein et al, 2009).

These issues are intimately linked to the debate about structure and agency and the relationship of mutual determination that they engendered. Long (2001) provided a thorough critique of structuralist approaches which presume that powerful external forces encapsulate the lives of the peasantry and other weak social categories, as they become hegemonic. Both modernisation and political economy convey the notions that development and change emanate principally from outside, via interventions by the state or international bodies. Accordingly they posit that “external “forces encapsulate the lives of people, reduce their autonomy and in the end undermine endogenous forms of cooperation and solidarity. In addition these processes lead to increased socio-economic differentiations and the subsumption of traditional societies to the law of capitalism (Long (2001).

These analyses tend to situate the role of the State as one that subjects local peasantries to wider forces of markets and other macro structures and institutions. This conception has been criticised by actor oriented scholars who made the case for the need to *de-construct* “planned intervention”. For example, Long (2001) notes that most of policy analysis is embedded on a rather mechanical representation of the relations between policy design, implementation and outcome. This theory generally implies a linear

relationship between the different components of the policy process, which is perceived as a step by step process that involves formulation, implementation, and evaluation.

Long (2001) explains that this type of representation does not do justice to more complex processes through which the actors involved re-interpret and transform the policy intent and content during the actual implementation phase. It is therefore not possible to follow a straight linear relationship between the policy intent and its actual outcomes.

Based on these views the actor oriented approach embraces a more dynamic approach to understanding social change, which stresses the interplay and mutual determination of “internal” and “external” factors and relationships. This calls for an analysis of the relationship between the ‘local’ and the ‘global’. An actor-oriented perspective aims to elucidate the precise set of interlocking relationships, between actors ‘projects’, and social practices that penetrate various social, symbolic and geographic spaces; rather than seeing the ‘local’ as shaped by the ‘global’ or the ‘global’ as an aggregation of the local (Long, 2001). This approach which calls for a greater acknowledgment of local dynamics, include the development strategies and activities undertaken by rural people themselves as an organised and effective response to the challenges they face. This includes their efforts to revise, structure or modify ways in which they relate to other groups, either internal or external to their localities.

The rest of chapter 4 analyses the rationale, objectives and configurations of planned interventions by the central government in the Casamance region. It seeks to understand the actors and institutions involved, the types of interactions that they entertain with local people, and the extent to which these interventions were successful in achieving their set objectives. But, as suggested by Long (2001), a greater emphasis will be put on the interventions as well as on the interactions that they produce among various participants, as opposed to simply looking at the interventions in isolation. These interactions will be analysed and assessed taking into account the broader structural context which inform the perceptions and choices of the actors involved. These guidelines will inform the analysis of the State interventionism in Senegal and in the Casamance region. The analytical focus of this chapter is on assessing the conditions which led to the development of independent FOs in Senegal. The analysis will pay attention to the patterns of interactions between central government activities and local people’s responses.

#### **4.2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON PLANNED INTERVENTIONS IN SENEGAL**

This section is structured around the following components:

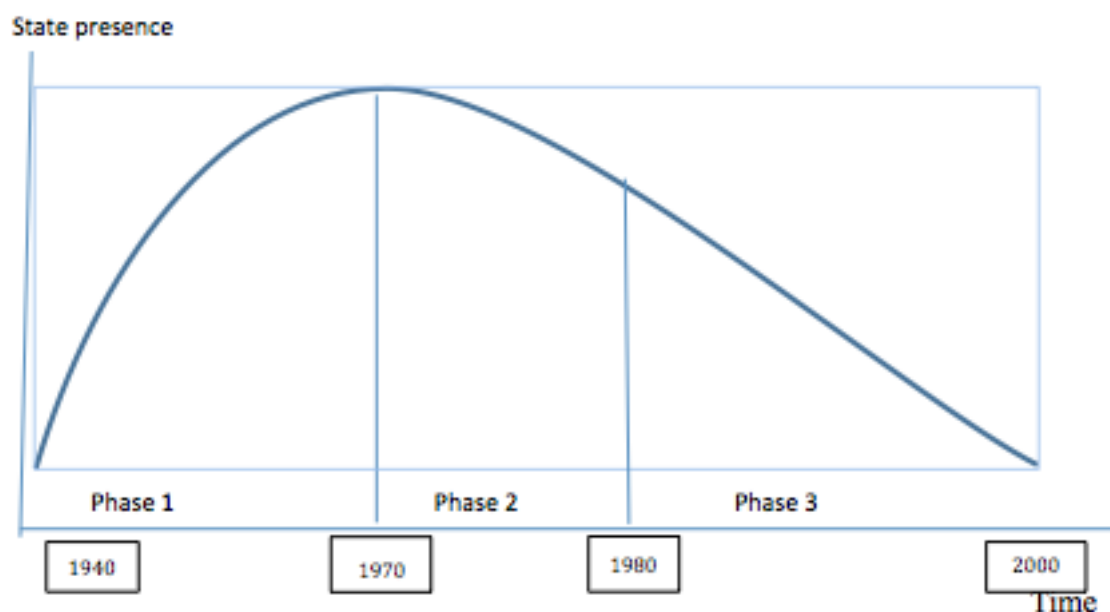
- A review of the evolutions and changes in the role of the State in the management of rural development policies and programmes in Senegal and in the Casamance. This is done through an analysis of key milestones of the State interventions in the Casamance region; the periodisation of their historical deployments and subsequent retreats in the region.
- These arguments will be illustrated and strengthened with a case study related to a State-managed agricultural mechanisation programme aimed at enhancing the adoption of improved technologies by the Casamance peasantry.

The chain of events described in chapter 3 range from the historic events of the mid-1940s, when the colonial powers completed the ‘pacification’ of the Casamance region,

the creation of the historic MFDC during the late 1940s, the launch of major land reforms and agricultural programmes by the Independent Senegalese State during 1960 and 1970, and the break out of the armed rebellion by the MFDC during the 1980s. A close examination of the sequencing of these historic events which took place in the Casamance region would link them to some broad patterns which fall into three major phases:

1. An era of hegemony of state agencies (both the Colonial and the post-independence Senegalese State) which was informed by pacification of the Casamance region, the valorisation of its natural resources and the agenda of Nation Building. This era can be situated from the mid 1940's until the beginning of 1980s.
2. An era of state withdrawal, which also coincided with the era of structural adjustment imposed by the Bretton Woods institutions and which also coincided with the emergence of some local development dynamics, from the mid-1970s (see chapter 5).
3. A third phase which can be described as an open ended process, typical of an unfinished development trajectory.

The general configuration of the historic events and their patterns of development are outlined in figure 4.1 below:



*Figure 4.1: Historical configuration of state intervention in the Casamance region*

Source: Original material developed for this thesis

For each of these phases a particular configuration of agricultural programmes was introduced. The type of relations that these planned activities had with local people and the dynamics which resulted from these activities is analysed below.

#### 4.2.1. Timeline and Key milestones of the State Hegemony in the Casamance rural development landscape

Our analysis of the State interventions in the Casamance will cover a historic period stemming from the colonial era until the mid-1990s. As discussed in Chapter 3, State interventions in the Casamance date back to the Colonial era during which the Southern region of Senegal was successively conquered by the Portuguese, the British and the French colonial powers (Klaas de Jonge et al., 1978; Roche, 1985; van der Klei, 1988; Faye, 2006, Diop, 2010). The features of the colonial era were continued by the post-independence State as argued by several authors (Co-Trung, 1996, Linares, 2005; Marut, 2005, Drame, 2005; Faye, 2006; and Diop 2010, among others). The key milestones of an era of State hegemony are highlighted in Figure 4.2 below:

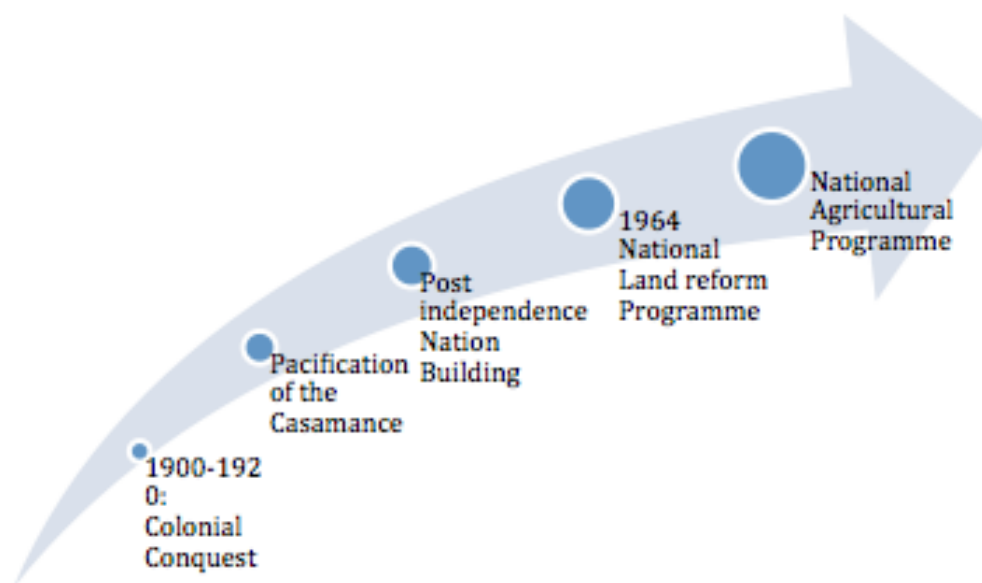


Figure 4.2: Key milestones of an era of State Hegemony: 1940s - 1980s

As indicated in figure 4.2, the State played a significant role in shaping the features of agriculture. Both the former colonial powers and the independent State undertook some crucial interventions in the rural areas to fast track the country's development, irrespective of the political and ideological orientation of the day. The State interventions in the Casamance were an integral part of the country's quadrennial development plans, and are typified by sectorial and regional allocation of public resources, land reform programs (see chapter 3), agricultural equipment, and rural development projects, mainly funded by foreign donors and farming systems research programs initiated during the 1960s through to the 1980s, among others. The key interventions conducted in this regard include:

- The creation of organisational structures such as the "*Sociétés Indigènes de Prévoyance*" for promoting the production of cash crops in the colonies. These structures were created to facilitate the promotion of export crops such as groundnuts to France (Amin, 1971; 1974; de Jonge et al, 1979; Toure, 2005). This corresponds to Phase 1 in Figure 4.2.
- The promotion of land reform policies and programmes aimed at establishing public or private ownership of land; these reforms considerably altered the traditional tenure systems. The development of a State controlled cooperative movement which

became the main vehicle of promotion of export crops- through the introduction of mechanical farm equipment and modern inputs (More details are provided below in section 4.3.2). This process was also facilitated through various rural development projects initiated by donors, governments, NGOs and FOs.

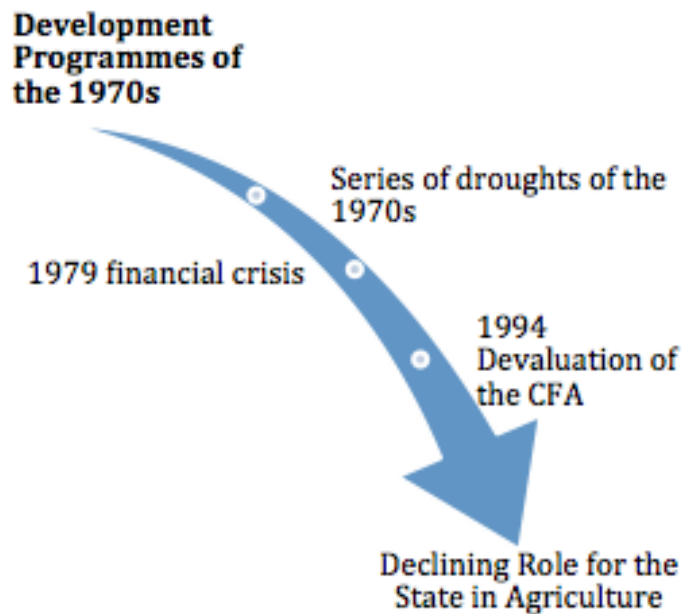
- The development of action-research programmes aimed at adapting and promoting new technological packages, more suited to the conditions of smallholders in the Casamance region.
- The creation of marketing and inputs distribution schemes in the context of rural development projects, aimed at facilitating adoption of new production packages.
- The launching of rural development programmes, (such as SOMIVAC and PIDAC in the Casamance) as the main vehicle for modernising the rural economy.

The post-independence national development plans of the country were built on the imperative of transforming the agricultural sector. The goal was to promote the exports of agricultural commodities; and to support the expansion of a nationally based agro-industry- which enable the generation of employment in the urban centres (see chapter 3). To that end, farmers needed to be organised and trained for the production of cash crops; a whole state controlled system was set up in order to ensure increased production and increased productivity through the development and use of new and highly productive varieties. The financing, transportation, and commercialisation of the export crops were also managed by parastatals which were specifically set up for that purpose.

These phases of heavy State involvement are illustrated in section 4.2.3 below. However, these heavy State involvement interventionist policies of the early independence years were followed by the adoption of more liberal policies, based on free market-led mechanisms in the 1980s. These changes provided the space for local development dynamics epitomised by the rise of a farmer organisation movement analysed below in section 4.3.

#### **4.2.2. The Demise of the Hegemonic State in the Casamance**

The change of policy was justified by both the prevailing economic crisis experienced by the State and the conditionalities imposed by the multilateral donors. The State experienced a fiscal crisis during the 1980s, following a world recession and a series of “external shocks” to African economies. After more than a decade of protracted economic crisis, the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were accepted by beleaguered African governments (Bryceson, 1993; 1997). In the case of Senegal, the State withdrawal represented one in a series of policy and environmental changes since independence. The key milestones of this evolution are described in Figure 4.3:



*Figure 4.3: The demise of planned interventions in Senegal: Some key Milestones*

The changes included a set of reforms initiated by the government with the support of the World Bank and IMF, as part of the post-structural adjustment era. The reforms resulted in the liberalisation of the rural economy with a profound revision of the role traditionally played by the State in the economy and in the progressive privatisation of the essential functions of production, processing and commercialisation. Key reforms included:

- The adoption of the “New Agricultural Policy (NPA)” in 1984. This policy essentially reduced the State’s intervention in the agriculture sector and stopped all subsidies which previously applied to the sector—from agricultural inputs to farm equipment programmes. It opened the way to the dismantling of regional development agencies. This reform has also been rationalised as a transfer of the State’s responsibilities to farmers, and to the private sector. This phase of the structural adjustment process also marked the creation of new structures designed to boost the rural economy. These included the National Agricultural Credit Agency (CNCA), and the promotion of new business oriented economic structures called economic interest groups (GIE)
- The adoption of the Agricultural Sector Adjustment Programme (PASA) in 1995. PASA sought to promote a dynamic agri-business sector, to put the Senegalese rural economy on a roadmap of trade liberalisation, and to privatise agricultural production and processing activities.

These policies ushered in the phase during which the Senegalese State relied on its ability to influence the course of agricultural development through market mechanisms and institutional incentives. For example, the NPA reforms were complemented by the design of an ambitious programme, based on plans to boost local production to achieve a self-sufficiency rate of 75% by 2000. This plan was built around the hypothesis that developing and disseminating appropriate technological packages would result in major productivity gains. In accordance with these developmental options, during the 1990s the Senegalese Government adopted an ambitious Agricultural Sector Investment Programme (PISA). The objectives of this programme included: ensuring agricultural

growth and food security; improving the livelihood opportunities and income base of small-scale farmers; and preserving the country's natural resources (Faye 2007; Cissokho, 2009).

Following the state disengagement from the agricultural sector, smallholder farmers were unable to find suitable farming equipment, inputs and technical advice needed to sustain their entrepreneurial modes of production and reproduction. The situation was exacerbated by a series of droughts in the Sahel region that lasted almost 20 years and which, combined with the prevailing modes of production, contributed to a significant degradation of natural resources and to the gradual erosion of the production base (Posner et al, 1982). These developments led to a chain of reactions which culminated in the serious food crisis experienced in the region during the 1980s and the 1990s. Thus the global and net effect of these strategies was an increased level of poverty and increased marginalisation of smallholder farmers in the region (See chapter 6).

This situation also led to a significant out-migration of the Casamance youth who moved to the country's capital city and metropolitan cities, in search of alternative employment and livelihood opportunities (Klaas de Jong et al. 1979; Linares, 2003; Marut, 2005). The prospects of getting gainful employment in the cities did not materialise for many young migrants and the situation got even worse during the structural adjustment eras of the 1990s. The impact of the era of successive engagement and disengagement in rural development activities of the Casamance are illustrated in the following case studies.

#### **4.2.3. The Agricultural Equipment Programme and the Development of Animal Traction in the Lower Casamance Region**

The agricultural equipment programme emphasised the introduction and promotion of the animal traction technologies, based on their potential for improving the productivity under the then prevailing climatic conditions of low rainfall and shorter rainy seasons. Under these conditions, using draught animals allowed farmers to carry out their cultural practices on time, which allowed the crops to mature within the prevailing rainfall pattern. The improved productivity of labour also allowed for the extension of areas cultivated (Fall, 1985).

The following case is based on the results of a diagnostic study conducted by the Senegalese national research institute as part of its mandate to identify and develop technologies adapted to the changing needs of farmers (Fall, 1990). The initial diagnostic studies conducted by the FSR team in the Lower Casamance included a detailed inventory of farm implements available in rural households operating in the region. This included all types of equipment in 10 villages, totalling 420 farm households (Fall, 1990). The case illustrates the ways in which the State's involvement in rural development activities manifested on the ground, and how it has evolved and receded over time.

##### ***4.2.3.1. Historical progression of the mechanisation programme***

Animal traction technology was introduced to region in the 1960s. At this time, animal traction had become popular in the Peanut Basin in the northern part of Senegal, where a much lighter technology better suited to the ecology of the region, prevailed. It was based on donkey traction and the use of the Sine hoe seeder. The agricultural policy instituted during the mid-1960s progressively shifted the animal traction technology along a north-south axis.

The inventory conducted by the ISRA FSR team showed that only 36% of farm households owned draught animal equipment at the time of the survey. The study also distinguishes three major historical periods in the introduction of certain types of farm implements in the Lower Casamance (Fall, 1985). These historical periods also represent significant milestones corresponding to major shifts in the country's agricultural policies. Table 4.1 presents the evolution of animal traction equipment during these specific time spans.

Equipment:	UCF ploughs	Arara BBG	Super Eco	Sine hoe	Carts
Periods	%	%	%	%	%
1963–1971	8	14	7	8	7
1972–1979	65	66	53	8	82
1980–1985	27	20	40	84	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100

*Table 4.1: Introduction of animal traction technology in the Lower Casamance region:*

Source: Fall, 1985

The results in Table 4.1 reflect different evolution of diffusion of the animal traction technology in the Casamance region. The key features of each major period are:

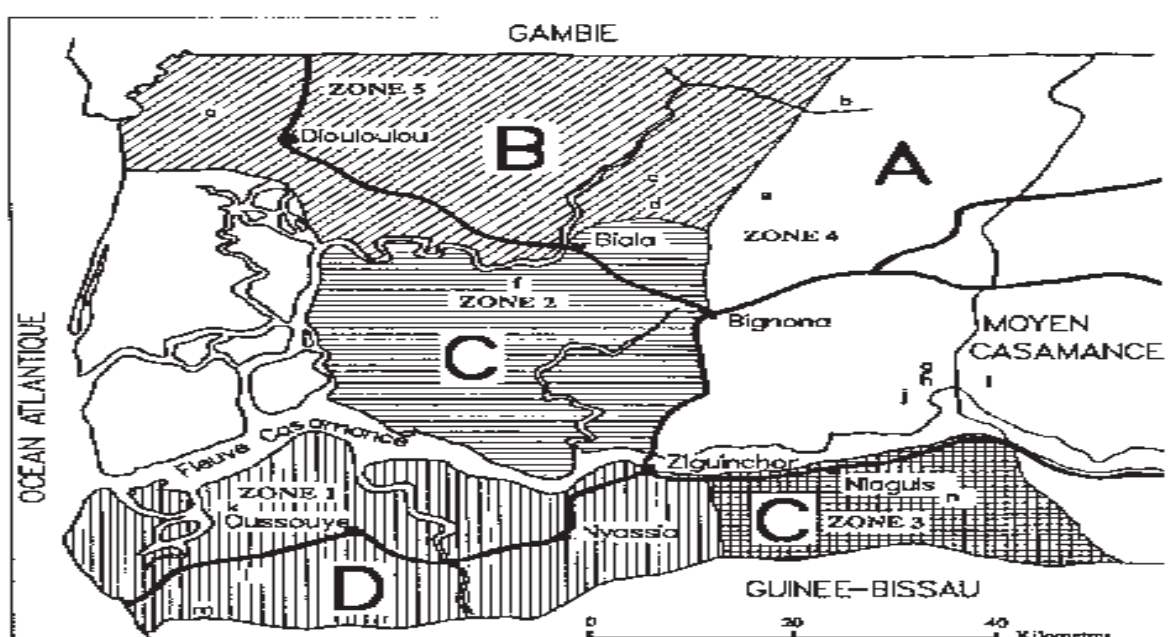
- First Period, 1963–1971: The equipment acquired during this first period essentially comprised land preparation implements acquired through ONCAD—the national parastatal in charge of the implementation of rural development policies in Senegal at that time. During this first period, the land preparation equipment such as the Arara BBG (used to make ridges) and the UCF ploughs (used for flat land preparation) are the most common in the Casamance. On the other hand the super Eco seeder and carts were also acquired by the Casamance households in similar proportions.
- Second Period, 1972–1979: During the second period, ONCAD remained the main supplier of farms inputs and equipment for most farmers in the Casamance. During this period the land preparation equipment (UCF plough and BBG) were also more prevalent followed by the super eco seeder. However the cart used for the transportation of people and goods became the most popular piece of equipment among the Casamance farmers; 82% of the carts inventoried were acquired during this period. In 1979, as the country experienced a financial crisis, the national agricultural programme was stopped, and ONCAD was dismantled.
- Third Period, 1980–1985: During this period, the provision of agricultural input credit was through a special credit scheme set up by the Integrated Rural Development Programme (PIDAC), with financial and technical assistance from USAID (Ndiame, 1986). The programme provided farmers with medium-term credit to buy farm equipment. During this period the rate of acquisition of seeders remained constant, while the equipment for weeding started to gain in importance. However the rate of adoption of carts went down.

This review revealed a very slow evolution in the level of equipment acquired recorded in the region. The transition from the initial acquisition of land preparation equipment to those needed for weeding was very slow in general: Only 7% of the households followed this evolution in their attempt to overcome the constraints related to following the cultural calendar: speedy execution of seeding operations, weed development and low availability of family labour. These challenges seem to be inherent in the prevailing strategy of increasing the area in the uplands fields, perceived by farmers as the best way

to increase production. However, many households acquired new equipment during the course of the three periods: a new mouldboard plough for 7% of households; a new ridger for 13%; and a new cart for 6% of the households.

#### 4.2.3.2. Geographic Distribution of the Mechanisation Programme

The analysis of the geographic distribution of this equipment allowed the FSR team to delineate four distinct geographic clusters, based on the type and level of equipment available. Once the level of penetration of the animal traction technology into the different geographies was accounted for, the initial zoning of the Lower Casamance region changed considerably. Map 4.1 provides an illustration of the geographic distribution of the animal traction devices in the Lower Casamance and the ways it correlates with the initial zoning established by the ISRA FSR team (Posner et al. 1982).



Map 4.1.: Characteristics of the Lower Casamance zones, taking into account household equipment availability.

Source: Fall, 2005.

The characteristics of the different zones are outlined below (Fall, 1985):

- Zone A: This area is characterised by a Mandinka-type production system, and farm implements are used in almost 85% of the area cultivated; 66% of all households own farm equipment. In this area the households generally acquired a complete set of farm implements. However, there were still different levels of mechanisation in this zone, where 17% of all households do not own any equipment.
- Zone B is located in the North-West of Lower Casamance and it coincides with zone 5 of ISRA zoning. The production systems correspond to the Diola type: animal traction technology is only used in the upland fields. A total of 26% of all household have the equipment.
- Zone C: This zone combines agro-ecosystems 2 and 3 of ISRA zoning, and represents an area with high potential for animal traction. The land available for cultivation

was still important for peasants in this area, and farmers had shown interest in this technology. Several households in zone 2 had adopted animal traction during the 1970s. However, farmers had to sell their animals during the drought to meet food requirements. A few types of equipment are still available in the households, but the use of the technology remains low.

- Zone D: This zone is situated in the south-western part of Lower Casamance; it corresponds to zone 1 of ISRA zoning. The cropping system is of the Diola type and animal traction is limited to the villages founded by the Wolof farmers who migrated from the north and south-eastern parts of the country. These villages are few and scattered throughout this production zone (which includes the villages of Loudia Wolof, Diakène, and Kaguitt). Irrigated rice represents at least 40% of all the area cultivated. The priority for this area is the intensification of rice production, using appropriate animal traction.

It follows from the findings above that despite the importance of structural factors such as agricultural policies and rural development projects implemented by the State, local people still retain the capacity to select, combine, adapt and integrate their agricultural equipment plans, based on their own conditions and their livelihood strategies. The specific patterns of distribution of agricultural equipment, the types of equipment used and the timing of their introduction reflect specific dynamics inherent in the local cropping systems. The implications of differential acquisition of farm implements by the sub-region will be further analysed in chapter 5.

#### **4.3. LOCAL DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES IN SENEGAL: A HISTORICAL CONTEXTUALISATION**

The historical overview of the development of an autonomous farmer movement in Senegal will be linked to key features of the policy and institutional landscape in Senegal. The discussion will pay attention to the historic processes which inform the development of the Senegalese farmer movement and the extent to which its activities affected the livelihood options of rural people in the Casamance region.

Several sources have described the development of the farmer movement in Senegal as having occurred in four major phases, which culminated with the creation of the National Council for Consultation and Rural Cooperation (CNCR) (Bingen, 2002; Ba, 2004). This is illustrated in Figure 4.4.

## Dynamics of local development

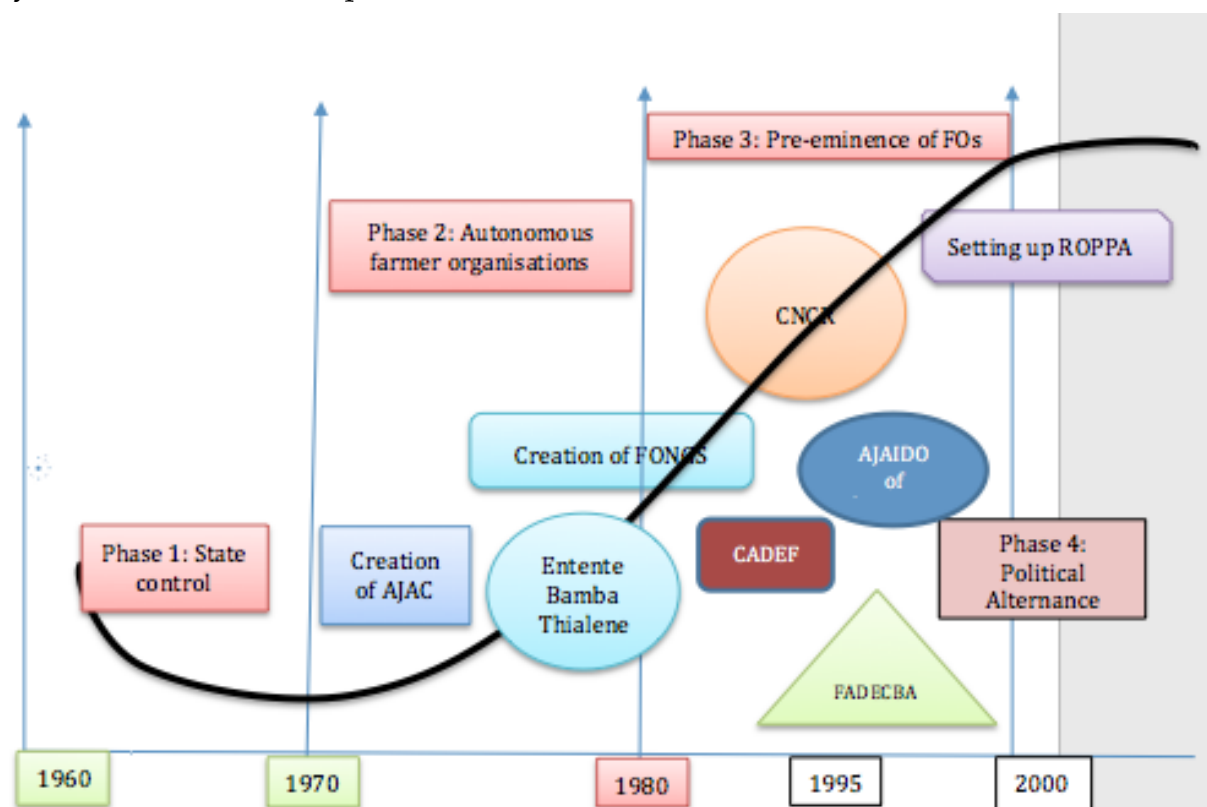


Figure 4.4: Historical overview of local development dynamics in Senegal

Source: Original material developed for this thesis

This era capitalised on the institutional development that took place during the colonial period, when the then '*Sociétés Indigènes de Prévoyance*' were created, as early as in 1910, to facilitate the export of crops such as groundnuts to France (Toure, 2004). After the country's independence the government pursued the same policy of organising and restructuring rural society for development-related goals and programmes.

### ***Phase 1: The 1960–1970 era: When FOs were created and managed by the state***

The newly independent government started to create cooperatives, as a way of structuring the rural sector from the local village level to the national level. Initially, the development of cooperatives was an essential component of the self-managed socialist orientation promoted by the first government of Senegal, under the leadership Mamadou Dia, to achieve the goals of community development (Dia, 1988). The cooperative movement was meant to empower rural producers to get organised and to take full control of their own development (Mercoiret et al. 1990). Apart from ensuring access to input/output markets and delivery of goods, the cooperative played the more political role of 'awakening the rural people', through education, sensitisation, and self-management, following the principles of rural enlightenment or '*animation rurale*' (Dia, 1988). The political objective of the government during this period was to promote the emancipation of rural producers and protect them from the abuses of traditional traders and foreign moneylenders, and to help nationals take charge of the groundnut sub-sector. The Constitution of the newly independent Senegal also provided for a favourable socio-political environment for the development of farmers movement, since

the principles of democratic pluralism are recognised and protected by the country's Constitution.

However, following the political changes which took place in 1962, and which led to the arrest and imprisonment of Dia, this initial orientation was lost. While the cooperatives were in principle meant to promote the entire rural sector, in practice they became known for the development of the groundnut sub-sector, by taking charge of all operations ranging from input distribution to the marketing of the product. From that time, the cooperatives were reduced to mere mechanisms for distributing inputs and farm equipment, and for recovering agricultural loans provided to farmers. The new objectives of the cooperatives were thus re-oriented and refocused to promote and support 'modernisation' of the sector (Section 4.23. above). This modernisation agenda was pursued through the mechanisation of production processes, the distribution of inputs, the introduction of improved varieties and fertilisers, and the distribution of emergency food parcels during the hunger season.

### ***Phase 2: The 1970–1980 era: The development of endogenous FOs***

Several organisations emerged following the series of droughts during the 1970s. They emanated from attempts by villagers to cope with the consequences of the droughts. An important feature of these farmer groups, constituted in village associations (such as ASESCAW,<sup>3</sup> AJAC,<sup>4</sup> Bamba Thialene<sup>5</sup>) is that they were created outside the official state extension and structuring system. This gave them a common feature and identity as grassroots organisations, initiated and managed by farmers and their representatives. According to De Janvry (2003) several factors contributed to their development:

- The '*malaise paysan*' or peasants' disaffection with official development operations materialised in peasants' withdrawal from the state-run cooperative structures, their rejection of the productivist and top-down extension systems implemented in the regional development projects, and their disapproval of the extroverted rural development policies initiated by the state and centred on the development of export crops. Marut (2005) sees this '*malaise paysan*' as the root cause of the conflict in the Casamance region. Details of this issue are provided in Chapter 7.
- The out-migration of the rural youth to the cities, following the drought and the crisis of local production and livelihood systems. De Jonge et al. (1979), Linares (2003, 2005) and Dramé (2005) analyse the different migratory processes which took place in the Casamance and the ways in which they affected the different strategies implemented at the local level.
  - \* Van der Klei (1978) explains that the migration of the Diola youth is linked to historical processes of engagement with European merchants during the colonial era; the neglect of rice production finds its roots in the colonial administration which brought about changes in the economic system which has profound implications in the configuration of the local production systems.
  - \* Linares (2003) studied the dynamics of migration among the villages and explores variations along gender and generational lines. She was able to show that whilst the movement of people from the countryside to the city has had a negative effect

---

<sup>3</sup> Association Socio-économique, Sportive et Culturelle pour l'Agriculture du Waalo.

<sup>4</sup> Association des Jeunes Agriculteurs de la Casamance.

<sup>5</sup> Association Paysanne pour le Développement de Bamba Thialene du Sénégal Oriental.

on local food production, turnaround migration' mitigates to some extent the impact of the rural exodus on rural communities.

- After a few years spent in cities or abroad, without promising prospects of finding salaried employment, the rural youth went back to their villages with new ideas, and with the resolution to take greater liberty with respect to the elders, in order to initiate more radical changes in the management of rural affairs.
- The arrival of international NGOs in the wake of the 1970–1972 series of droughts provided rural people with significant financial and technical resources. In some instances, they also helped bring about international attention to the severity of the rural crisis, and to the political dimensions of the food crisis taking place throughout sub-Saharan Africa.

These grassroots peasant groups invested in organisational development by conducting village facilitation processes aimed at creating locally controlled, transparent and democratic structures. They vowed to elect credible rural leadership and, despite the challenging situations they generally faced, also aspired to develop self-financing activities to preserve their autonomy (Cissokho, 2009; Ndiame and Ndiaye, 2002). The process of their development is illustrated with the story of FONGS and CNCR discussed in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.3 below.

### ***Phase 3: The 1984–1995 era: Prominence of FOs***

This phase coincided with the end of the developmental state because of budgetary constraints and donor-imposed conditions that compelled the state to discontinue its agricultural subsidy programme and to change its agricultural policy towards liberalisation and a laissez-faire attitude centred on market mechanisms. The structural adjustment programmes contracted with the World Bank at this time led to the state's withdrawal from its active and direct role in agriculture, as officially instituted in the New Agricultural Policy adopted in 1984. During this period the role of FOs became more prominent, as they were expected to fill the gap left by the state and become significant agents of economic entrepreneurship, social and capital development (De Janvry, 2003).

### ***Phase 4: The era of political change- from a socialist to a more liberal regime in 2000***

During this phase the Senegalese farmer movement was confronted with the advent of a more liberal regime in Senegal, which forced the movement to define new forms of expression for its political and economic agenda of a more farmer-centred development scenario. It was at this time that FOs started investing in an inclusive agribusiness model to develop and manage win-win partnerships with other market players in the agricultural value chain (Faye, 2007); Cissokho, 2008a).

The next section provides an illustration of how the (FOs) developed and evolved in Senegal and the extent to which they have been able to promote local development processes in the Senegalese rural landscape, including in the Casamance.

## **4.4. MANIFESTATION OF LOCAL DEVELOPMENT DYNAMICS**

The events highlighted in Figure 4.4 represent significant landmarks for the development of a new space where the content and format of rural development discourses and

practices would change significantly. This development, which materialised at different geographic scales, is epitomised by the stories the Federation of Non-Governmental Organisations of Senegal (FONGS) and CNCR in Senegal. These stories embody the multiple dimensions of locally driven development scenarios. The case studies emphasise the historical context of the emergence of FOs, the actors behind the movement, the types of engagements with local and external actors, and the extent to which farmer activism succeeded in bringing about the promises associated with 'peasant ways'.

#### **4.4.1. Creation of FONGS and Organisational structures**

Nine leaders of FOs created FONGS in 1976 in order to build an autonomous farmer movement based on the principles of solidarity, the appreciation of peasants' identity and the defence of their profession as farmers (Faye, 2007; Cissokho, 2009). FONGS presented an institutional arrangement, with ramifications from national to local level.

At national level, FONGS was directed by a General Assembly comprising all member organisations who had paid their membership fees in full. The General Assembly met every three years in an ordinary session. This session elected a governing body called the '*Conseil d'Administration*' for a three-year mandate. The '*Conseil d'Administration*' was in charge of the organisation's orientation and the implementation of decisions made by the General Assembly. The Conseil elected a '*Bureau Executif*' comprising 19 members for a term of three years. The '*Bureau Executif*' was responsible for the coordination, control and execution of decisions made by the General Assembly and the '*Conseil d'Administration*'. For its daily activities, FONGS relied on the two components of its leadership structures: the 'political' leaders of the farmer movement, who held key decision-making positions, and the 'technical' staff, comprising university graduates and other highly educated personnel, who acted as consultants and brought to the movement the technical expertise and recognition that the elected leaders did not have.

A strategic re-positioning phase took place when the membership of the Federation increased from 9 to 14. The organisation had some difficulties in controlling its growth, and this resulted in a confusion of roles and functions between the national structure and its grassroots membership. In response to the situation, FONGS created a Regional Coordination office in each of the country's 10 regions. When the organisation's constitution was revised in June 2001, the organisational structure of the Regional Coordination office reproduced almost exactly that of the Central Executive office.

A general assembly of the region's associations, called the Regional Council of the Association, was set up. Its role was to plan the organisation's political orientations and strategies at the regional level. Members of this regional structure of FOs met once a year. Under the control of the Regional Council, the Regional Coordination office supervised the running of regional technical and financial programmes. Technical units dealing with production, marketing, rural financing, women, development, and training issues were created and managed within this Office. The basic units, on which the Regional Coordination offices rested, consisted of member associations operating in the region, and they coincided with federal structures comprising village associations. Member associations were often made up of large federations which, in some instances, had accumulated more than one decade of experience in rural development. This was the case of federations such as the '*Association des Jeunes Agriculteurs de la Casamance*' (AJAC), and the Federation of Peasant Associations for the Community Development of Balantacounda (FADECBA)<sup>6</sup> in Kolda.

<sup>6</sup>The experience of FADECBA will be analysed in more detail in Chapter 6.

As part of its second reorientation during the 1985–1990 period, FONGS initiated a four-year programme intended to refocus the federation's priorities and strategies on economic issues. This reorientation was made after a whole period during which the emphasis of FONGS's interventions was on developing human resources. This was primarily done through a programme which developed peasants' skills and competencies through exchanging experiences and practical training (PEFA). Whilst the results of PEFA were well appreciated by members, many felt it needed to be more supportive of productive activities. Such support would help bridge the gaps between the federation's activism and members' economic needs (Ndiame et al., 2002).

FONGS's economic intervention strategy was then developed around three major thrusts: savings and credit programmes; the promotion of family-based farming; and value addition through the processing and commercialisation of agricultural products. The development of savings and credit groups resulted from a decision taken by peasants to distance themselves from the rural development banks – officially charged with the financing rural activities. The operating procedures of the official financial institutions were highly contested by villagers, in particular because of the collaterals, the required down payments on loans, and the levels of interest rates charged. For villagers, savings and credit groups appeared to be more flexible and more readily accessible. They made it possible for small and relatively poor producers to access financial resources based on terms and conditions which were more adapted to the villagers' management style and their scale of operation

Over the years, and learning from the experience of its members FONGS made a significant strategic shift post-1991. The organisation moved away from a position where it sought to directly replace official agricultural services by carrying out various programmes on the ground, to focusing on gathering a diversity of competences and actors around specific intervention programmes. With this strategy of *faire-faire*, which entails outsourcing complex tasks and activities to more qualified agents, FONGS considerably reduced constraints due to its own lack of technical capability. The organisation realised that it was unnecessary to have all the competences required to help the family farms. Rather, it discovered new roles which required other capacities, including the capacity to diagnose challenges, formulate programmes to address them and negotiate funding. New capabilities were also needed to implement and evaluate these programmes to ensure they met the needs of the family farms (Cissokho, 2009).

#### **4.4.2. Engagement patterns with other development actors**

The story of FONGS, as recounted by its members (Cissokho, 2008a, 2008b, 2009), highlights the institutional transformation entailed in reclaiming a distinct peasant identity. It also provides an overview of the key challenges that needed to be overcome:

- Separating itself from the NGO movement, which was considered to be a gatekeeper, pretending to represent and to speak in the name of the peasantry
- Revisiting the relationships and the accountability mechanisms with donor organisations
- Building an effective and legitimate peasant movement, able to represent the voice and the needs of all types of FOs operating in the different agriculture sectors, from local to national level;

- Facilitating members' access to resources and to development opportunities;
- Taking on, and engaging in the policy debate, and articulating the vision and aspirations of the peasantry whose fate depended on the final configuration of rural development policies and programmes.

The ultimate objective for FONGS was to trigger new processes in the formulation of agricultural development policies, which would recognise the central role of the family farm, the key roles that FOs would have to play in its promotion, and in facilitating the access of family members to public resources.

The initial network of FOs was later extended to 20 FOs, structured around different sub-sectors in order to constitute a national platform which would represent the views and preoccupations of different segments of rural society, irrespective of the formal organisational scheme of the participating organisations. This setup enabled the FOs to gain more visibility and to gather the resources and the legitimacy needed to engage with the state, donors and other NGOs. The process led to the creation of a national coalition of FOs, the CNCR, which came to be the embodiment of the struggle for farmer-led development in Senegal. This multi-stakeholder cooperation framework was intended to influence the rural development policies in Senegal and in the region<sup>7</sup>.

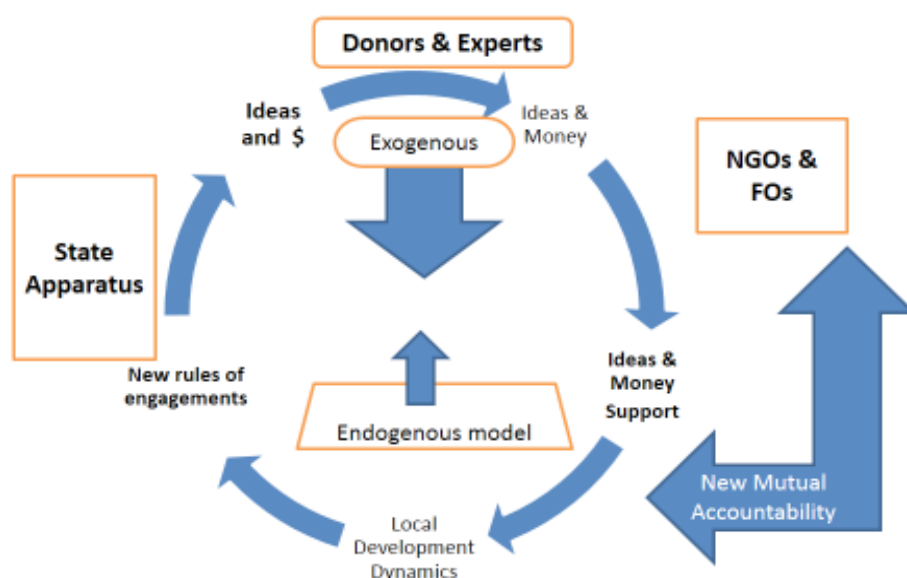


Figure 4.5: Promoting new patterns of relations in development processes

Source: Original material developed for this thesis

The rural transformation project championed by FONGS and CNCR entailed a political dimension. In essence, FONGS was expressing the dream of rural people to have access to better livelihood prospects in their village territories, without losing their rural identities (Bingen, 2002). FONGS considered that such a project could only be realised through a reversal of public policies. Official policies in their eyes were centred on the interests of

<sup>7</sup>CNCR later contributed to the creation of the West Africa-wide network of ROPPA (Organisations Paysannes et des Producteurs de l'Afrique de l'Ouest) and PAFO (Platform of African Farmer Organisations).

city dwellers and were essentially the product of a centralised and top-down decision-making process. It was therefore necessary to reverse this perspective, by initiating the policies from the bottom up, starting from the aspirations and needs of the majority of people still living in the rural areas.

These challenges informed and determined the areas of intervention prioritised by FONGS, which centred on promoting and supporting family farms as the basis of rural development policies and programmes in Senegal. FONGS undertook the initial groundwork of articulating and popularising the issue of family farming and the fate of the smallholder peasants who constitute the majority of the country's population. Nonetheless, the peasantry as a social category and a conduit to rural development was ignored and neglected in the policy debates and resource allocations. FONGS vowed to make this issue the core of its fight for the protection and the recognition of the peasantry in the country's development.

#### **4.4.3. CNCR and the genesis of farmer political activism in Senegal**

The creation of a national coalition of FOs, named CNCR, is the embodiment of this struggle for farmer-led development in Senegal. It was the culmination of a long maturation process, outlined above. It was also symptomatic of the emergence of a 'new' category of rural actors who sought to promote more favourable agricultural policies for Senegalese peasants.

Faye (2007) recalled the conditions and the challenges which led to the creation of CNCR. Intense discussions and deliberations on the future of the peasantry and the family farm in Senegal were organised by FONGS. The historical context for the creation of CNCR relates back to the agricultural crisis of the 1970s which culminated in the structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s and 1990s. These evolutions had created doubts about the capacity of the family farms to meet the productivity and competition challenges associated with the new era of liberalisation. The same sentiments and attitudes were further reinforced with the advent of the liberal regime in the wake of the political transition which took place in 2000, when the Senegalese state prioritised a rural development option centred on rural entrepreneurship and agribusiness development.

CNCR was established as an independent entity in March 1993. It positioned itself as the only national association able to speak for all the country's agricultural federations and associations, and to lobby government and donor agencies on their behalf. Initially constituted of seven federations and farmer unions representing the main sectors of rural development (agriculture, fishing, breeding and horticulture), CNCR gradually opened its membership after its first Congress. It subsequently brought together 19 nationally and regionally organised federations, associations or unions. These represented the agricultural, livestock and fisheries sectors, including two organisations which federated several women's associations and some NGOs.

The following objectives were pursued by CNCR:

- To encourage dialogue about major rural development issues as a means of promoting a unified farmer and rural movement in Senegal;
- To represent rural society's values and identities (*'l'identité paysanne'*) and farmers interests in policy making;
- To contribute to the sustainable development of family farming.

In terms of representation and decision-making structures, the CNCR Congress convened all its membership every four years to define policy guidelines consistent with these objectives. A 56-member board met twice a year to oversee the implementation of Congress decisions, which were carried out through the office of a General Secretary. CNCR members and representatives from other rural organisations were also encouraged to meet in Regional Councils for Rural Dialogue and Cooperation (Bingen, 2002). The organisation also relied on its advocacy role as an interest group, and its high-level government contacts to facilitate access to public services and programmes by its member associations.

The performance of CNCR in the representation of its members is illustrated by the following examples (Bingen, 2002):

- In 1994/1995, CNCR helped the National Federation of Economic Interest Groups in Horticulture (FNGIE/H) to negotiate a government loan from a counterpart food-aid fund that allowed the federation to import seed potatoes for distribution to its members on credit. Similarly, CNCR helped the same federation to negotiate a development project with OXFAM-Belgium.
- CNCR contacts with the government and within the donor community were also useful in arranging short-term study trips to Europe for representatives of the National Federation of Women's Groups (FNGP) so that they could participate in national, African and world conferences on women's issues.
- The support provided to the National Federation of Artisanal Fisheries Groups (FENAGIE) illustrates the significant role that CNCR played in helping its member associations influence government policy. In addition to establishing a credit and savings programme for women in this fisheries sub-sector, CNCR assisted FENAGIE to become more active in formulating the government's fisheries policy. As a result of the FENAGIE involvement, the government allocated special funding for artisanal fisheries. Equally important, and based on its national policy success, FENAGIE worked closely with a Dutch NGO, Novib, to increase the quota from artisanal fisheries at the expense of that from industrial fisheries, in import quotas set by the European Union (Ndame and Ndiaye, 2002).

The three cases illustrate how the experience, familiarity and involvement of CNCR leadership in government policy circles contributed to its members' achieving their service goals. Furthermore, and building on the recognition of its mandates by public authorities, CNCR was able to take part in negotiations with the state on the measures required to boost the country's agricultural production. It was successful in promoting policy measures such as:

- A reduction of taxes on farm equipment and production inputs to reduce the production costs of agricultural products;
- A reduction of the interest rate on agricultural credit from 12.5% to 7% per year, and a reduction of the required down payment (the personal capital contribution) on loans from 13% to 10%;
- A five-year moratorium on debt for farmers confronted with reimbursement problems after the bad seasons of 1993 to 1995;
- A programme of phosphate distribution to farmers throughout the country to improve the fertility of their fields;

- The creation of an action research structure charged with reinforcing synergy between researchers, rural organisations and extension services.

CNCR also managed to build multiform partnerships with many agricultural public research and extension services. These collaborative relationships were further extended into the formulation and implementation of national programmes such as the Structural Adjustment Programme on Agricultural Producers' Organisations (PSAOP) and the Special Programme on Food Security (PSSA). To implement these programmes, CNCR contributed to the creation of an Association for Local Development Organisations (ASPRODEP) in 1996, jointly created with the National Association of Rural Communities Presidents. ASPRODEP was designed as a means to channel donor agency funding directly to economic activities that supported family agriculture. The association received and managed the World Bank's small-scale rural project funds, which were aimed at providing improved production credit and marketing opportunities to rural (family) producers and their organisations.

#### **4.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The key questions investigated in this chapter were: 1. what were the historical conditions for the deployment and demise of the planned development interventions in the Casamance; 2. what relationships exist between State activism and demise, on the one hand, and the development and decline of local development dynamics on the other hand.

The analysis conducted in Chapter 4 showed that State interventions in the Casamance followed a cyclical pattern of deployment: eras of heavy state involvement, alternated with eras of withdrawals and relative "laissez-faire" attitude. However, there was a significant level of continuity and consistencies between the two eras, as the post-independence State generally continued the type of rural institutions and agricultural programmes pursued during the colonial era.

In summary, state interventions were intended to trigger the burgeoning of an entrepreneurial style of farming system, characterised by market-led production and reproduction systems. The state-administered agricultural programmes enabled significant sections of rural people to access animal traction equipment and complementary inputs through agricultural credit. This led to a widespread adoption of labour-saving and scale-enlarging technologies which facilitated significant development of the male dominated cash-cropping activity, with groundnuts especially as a source of rural livelihoods in the region.

Nonetheless, this production system was intimately linked to the state's continued involvement in production and marketing activities. Moreover, access to agricultural equipment remained relatively limited and unevenly distributed across the Casamance region. Very few farmers received the full set of equipment required for the entire production cycle, from land preparation to seeding, weeding, harvesting and transport. This lack of complete sets of equipment created additional challenges of cropping systems, due to the non-availability of weeding equipment.

In addition, several technical and institutional factors hampered the effectiveness and the sustainability of this model in Senegal and, specific to this study, in the Casamance region. The introduction of structural adjustment reforms in the 1980s brought about some significant changes in the institutional architecture of agricultural production in

Senegal, but the advent of neoliberal-inspired policies of state withdrawal from direct management of the agriculture sector, and the lack of provision of agricultural inputs and equipment, threatened the continuation of the state-promoted production systems. The retreat of the State from direct implementation of rural development programmes provided the space for the development of a farmer organisation movement in Senegal.

The review of the historical conditions of emergence of FOs in Senegal confirmed the fact that State Hegemony and locally driven development dynamics are related both historically and conceptually. The historical connection between the two phenomena stems from the fact that there have always been some levels of local initiative and success, even in phases of strong and active involvement. There are some clear patterns of either positive or negative relationship depending on the specific historical circumstances. In some instances, a strong local dynamism may appear at a time of strong State involvement, whereas in other circumstances the activation of local initiatives seem to pick up when the State retreats from the public scenery.

The history of FONGS reveals the deliberate construction of an alternative discourse on rurality and modernity that stipulated new patterns of relationship between rural people, the state, and other development partners. In this scenario, the issue of the 'family farm' appeared more like a renewed discourse of self; an interpretation grid for the current situation, and a guideline for future development, more centred on the affirmation of cultural heritage, a critical assessment of past activities and the renegotiation of a scenario of progress based on mutually beneficial relationships. To that extent, the story of FONGS follows a similar organising process to that of Bamba Thialene, examined earlier.

Figure 4.6 below highlights the key principles behind the construction of the coalition. They rely on critical competencies and processes which lay at the core of this institutional construction, and enabled the protagonists to develop key competencies to:

- Analyse the current challenges and opportunities faced by the Senegalese peasants;
- Articulate a vision of a successful transformation of the family farm;
- Build the necessary alliances both inside and outside the farmer movement;
- Act on identified challenges and opportunities;
- Analyse, assess and self-correct.

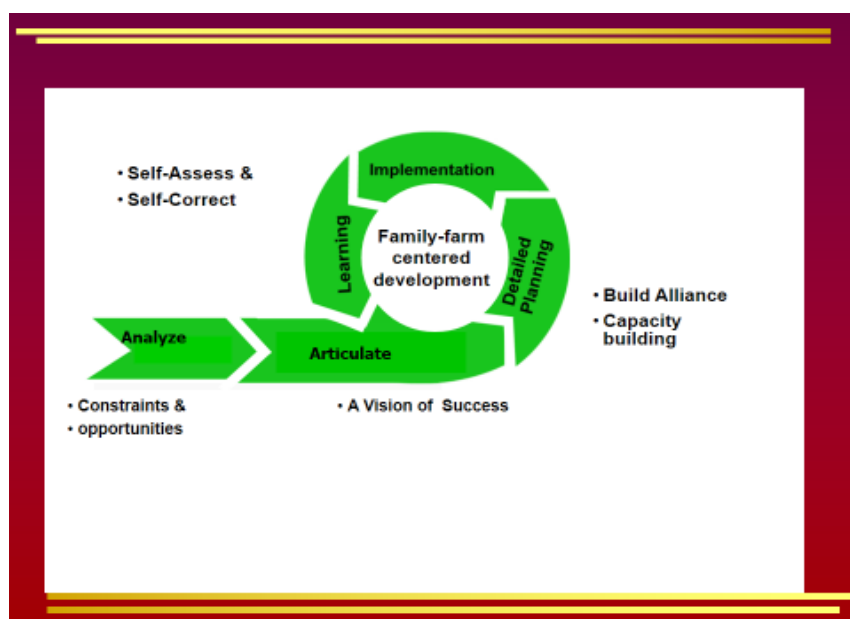


Figure 4.6: Building a coalition for the defence of the family farm

Source: Adapted from Ndiame (2008b)

The process of building such a large coalition was seen as a key condition for FOs to successfully engage with the state and other players. This entailed the incorporation of a wide gamut of FOs that had been created and controlled by the state, rather than emanating from a genuine dynamics of local development. Their inclusion in the process, however, was considered as a crucial condition for success. The process entailed experimentation with new organisational forms and mechanisms, often new to the villagers and often challenging their traditional beliefs and customary systems. It also involved venturing into new economic spaces in order to explore possible money-making opportunities, developing new leadership, technical and managerial capabilities and devising the educational systems required in order to deal with outside partners – all of this with the crucial condition of founding these systems on their own values and their own vision of success.

In addition, the successes of these efforts depended on the ability of FOs to build networks and to forge alliances with NGOs, and segments of state apparatus and other civil society organisations. This entailed the difficult process of constructing relationships with segments of society that did not necessarily share the same vision or interests, as well as resisting vertical patterns of power, driven by the domination of politicians, extension agents, traders and sometime representatives of donor organisations. However, the successful management of these conflictive relationships resulted in gaining some recognition, from the state and other protagonists of legitimacy, for FOs in the development space. This is a crucial condition for accessing public resources in a competitive system where access to public resources is linked to the institutional recognition of the actor, and the acknowledgment of its discourse and its role in the development arena.

In that respect, the Senegalese farmer movement, through the actions of organisations such as FONGS and CNCR, succeeded in articulating a coherent discourse on the challenges and opportunities of the rural sector; they also succeeded in positioning the family farm as the central framing concept which should inform discussions and interventions in

rural development. This institutional acknowledgement won the FOs access to public resources, based on their participation in the design, implementation and evaluation of national policies and programmes related to agriculture and rural development. The obvious and central question is then the extent to which this farmer activism, embodied in a new discourse on the family farm and modernity, actually materialised in appropriate ways of dealing with rural people, and responding to their challenges and opportunities. Did this new discourse create new opportunities for rural people to develop more successful livelihood options, based on locally controlled development processes? To what extent did these new development dynamics materialise in the Casamance region? These questions and others will be at the heart of the next chapters.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **LOCAL PEOPLE'S RESPONSES AND ADAPTATION TO A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT IN THE CASAMANCE REGION**

#### **5.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES**

The main purpose of my inquiry in this chapter is to understand how the external factors and processes embodied in planned development interventions (analysed in chapter 4) translated into tangible value propositions which altered the survival and livelihood options and opportunities of smallholder farmers in the region.

As shown in Chapters 3 and 4, the Casamance peasantry operated under a very dynamic and turbulent environment, from the colonial era through the early independence years, until the late 2000s. The evolution of local production systems have been informed and influenced by complex sets of natural, policy and institutional factors mainly driven by processes of commoditization (Brycesson, 1993; 1997); Bernstein, et al (2009), van der Ploeg (2008). The dominant political economy narrative of the processes is predicated on the gradual redundancy or disappearance of the peasantry which is seen as unable to sustain the competition with more entrepreneurial form of agriculture for critical productive resources such as labour, capital and land. While these different processes are expected to result in significant reduction in the production levels of farmers, they correspond to different forms of an agrarian crisis, ranging from de-peasantization, to de-agrarianization and deactivation.

De-peasantization entails the loss or disappearance of the peasantry. This occurs through a variety of processes that impede the access of peasant farmers to the means to reproduce their peasants' way of life. Bernstein et al., (2001) analysed the processes of transformation linked to the development of capitalist modes which transform large areas of rural Africa into labour reserves. De-agrarianization, on the other hand implies a further diversification of livelihood sources of the peasantry. This phenomenon is linked to changes induced by structural adjustments policies which resulted in the elimination of producers' inputs and transport subsidies, leaving only large-scale farmers buying inputs in bulk and selling in bulk able to overcome the high costs of transport (Brycesson, 1997), thus making the agriculture production systems of the majority of peasant farmers increasingly unviable vis-à-vis domestic markets. This explains why they will opt out of agriculture and seek other means of livelihood in other sectors, leading to a gradual disappearance of the peasantry as a social and political category (Brycesson, 1997). Finally, deactivation implies that levels of agricultural production are actively contained or even reduced, due to the fact that the resources needed and used for agriculture are released (i.e. converted into financial capital and invested in other economic sectors. Equally the necessary labour may flow, permanently or temporarily out of agriculture. Van der Ploeg (2008) noted that cases of deliberate deactivation associated with entrepreneurial farming when price levels decrease so much that profitability becomes illusory, opting out and re-orienting invested capital elsewhere becomes evident expression of entrepreneurial behaviour.

Several sources consulted as part of this study illustrate the type of socio-political, institutional and environmental changes that took place in the region, and the extent to which these affected the production levels and the livelihood prospects of the Casamance

peasantries. The people of the Casamance have thus developed over time a different income generating strategy in which rice is produced exclusively for self-consumption while groundnuts is produced for the market (de Jonge, 1978).

In the current system the return on rice production being too low to warrant a specialisation on this crop an increase of the purchase price of rice would appear reasonable. An alternative development strategy would entail initiatives in the production agricultural and non-agricultural product other than rice and groundnuts.

The approach taken in this thesis is to develop an understanding of the situation in the Casamance region, including the armed rebellion, in light of the interactions between externally driven factors and local people's responses to changes in their livelihood environment. The analytical focus of the chapter is therefore, the responses of local people at the household and village levels.<sup>8</sup> My main hypothesis which runs throughout this chapter is that despite the impact of external factors on local livelihood opportunities, one should not underestimate the agency of local people, and their capacity to shape the course of events affecting them. The objective of this chapter is therefore to provide a general overview of the different ways in which the Casamance peasantry responded to the most significant changes that took place in the Casamance local production systems.

The following research questions are addressed in this chapter:

- How did the Casamance people perceive, respond to and contribute to shaping the outcomes of planned development interventions in the region?
- What has been the adaptation strategies deployed by local people to changes in their environment;

To what extent did smallholder farmers provide some innovative answers to the ongoing crisis?

The analyses of the changes experienced by smallholder farmers in the region are informed by the literature related to development taking place in the region. They also rely on case studies conducted in selected villages, as part of the CADEF action research project which was implemented in Fogny District of Lower Casamance during the 1980s. The studies provide a description of the general situation of the village, followed by a review of the village institutions, with a special emphasis on traditional land tenure systems and the ways they have evolved over time. This analysis is complemented by the analysis of more recent data collected by FONGS (CNCR 2014) on how the adaptation strategies of farmers evolved during the 1980s and the 1990s, and the implications of these strategies on the long term survival of family farms in Senegal and in the Casamance. The recent study conducted by ISRA/BAME (2010) on the economic and social profiles of smallholder farmers in the Casamance also provided useful references for the analysis of the adaptation and modernisation strategies of smallholder farmers.

---

<sup>8</sup>The materialisation of the change processes at higher levels of aggregation (farmer organisations, the Casamance region as a whole, and its relations with the rest of the country) will be examined in Chapters 7 and 8.

## **5.2. A CASE STUDY OF FARMERS ADAPTATION STRATEGIES TO CHANGES IN THEIR ENVIRONMENT**

### **5.2.1. Social context and change dynamics at the local level: Case study of Bougoutoub**

Bougoutoub is located in the Sindian district (*arrondissement*) which corresponds to the historic boundaries of the traditional Fogny region. The district covers a total area of 1,486 km<sup>2</sup> and has a total of 42,500 inhabitants, located in 42 villages.<sup>9</sup> It comprises forests (43%), upland cultivation areas (35%) and lowlands (12%) and is divided into four '*communautés rurales*' (rural communities): Sindian, Suelle, Oulampane and Djibidjone. In the context of Senegal's policy of devolution and decentralisation, the '*communauté rurale*' represents the closest administrative unit, which has autonomous decision-making powers, imparted to locally elected counsellors. This entity is in charge of important local development matters, including land management, education, sports and recreational activities and so on.

The village of Bougoutoub is located in the Oulampane rural community administrative sub-division, with 11,154 inhabitants in 1981, but with a very low population density of 19 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>. The demographic data on the village itself are difficult to come by, given the complexity of the administrative organisation. Estimates range from 700 inhabitants for the administrative Bougoutoub, to 1,100 inhabitants for the broader Bougoutoub. The village presents complex features – the different social and organisational entities and the village's spatial configurations are inherited from its past, and do not coincide with the modern administrative set up (Posner et al. 1982). It consists of six major neighbourhoods or *kalols*, which comprise distinct geographical and social units: Katadie, Banny, Bahanga, Kahenga, Sounay and Tembelock. Banny is an administrative entity attached to Bougoutoub, but it has its own village chief. Kahenga is administratively attached to the Mergoune village where it pays its taxes, while Tembelock is attached to Diango village. This situation of administrative multi-polarity seems to present the advantage of preserving the respective authorities of Banny and Katadie, without altering the capacity of Bougoutoub to collectively mobilise the six traditional *kalols* for common development endeavours.

The inhabitants of Bougoutoub belong to the category of Diola strongly influenced by the Mandinka culture (Posner et al., 1982; 1991). This influence manifests notably through specific socio-economic features such as the gathering of households within large concession habitats, where several smaller family units reside. These include a clear division of labour on production activities between men and women according to the land morphology: rice production, taking place mainly in the lowlands, is conducted solely by women; and upland crops are produced solely by men. These socio-economic traits make Bougoutoub an integral part of an agro-ecosystem defined by the ISRA zoning of the Lower Casamance region (Fall, 1990; Posner et al. 1982).

### **5.2.2. Social structures and land tenure systems**

The review of prevailing land tenure systems in the Casamance is informed by the questions raised by authors such as Klaas de Jonge et al., (1978) on the potentially disruptive effects of the Government's agrarian reform program on the traditional tenure

---

<sup>9</sup> These data are based on the population census undertaken in 1988/1989.

arrangements. As it was discussed in chapter 2, Klaas de Jonge et al, 1979 questioned the elements of the country's agrarian reform which endowed the Rural Council, with the responsibility of managing the allocation of land and other productive resources to potential users, based on their ability to ensure the valorisation of these resources. The concerns relate to the erection of new institutions for land allocation which would jeopardise the ability of the Diola households to dispose of enough lands and resources in order to feed their families. The section below analyses how these issues are dealt with at the local village level.

The results of the survey conducted by Mercoiret and Berthomet (1987) revealed that the lower and upper lands and the forests were occupied and appropriated by the first families who settled in the different neighbourhoods (*kalols*) over time. All families have inherited lowlands from their grandfathers. When the ancestors settled in the village, they occupied a lot of land; they anticipated that their children would have many children and large families. The upland fields belonging to families are demarcated with dikes and other landmarks known by villagers. It is this family-owned capital which is transmitted from fathers to sons, across generations (*ibid*). Villagers also clarified the conditions under which foreigners were allocated land. This was mainly done on a temporary loan basis: the foreigner is generally hosted by a local family who is generally willing to allocate land to them on a temporary basis. Some precautionary measures are taken by the host family to avoid possible disputes with foreigners who are borrowing land (*ibid*).

In practice though, the traditional tenure management systems coexist with modern law. Modern legislation (the National Domain Law, or '*Loi sur le Domaine National*', instituted in 1964) and the national reform on territorial management resulted in the creation of rural community management structures – the '*communautés rurales*'. These structures were assigned the legal responsibility of allocating land to users, and that of managing land-tenure issues. However, and from the point of view of villagers, this reform has done little to change the situation on the ground as documented by Mercoiret et al (1990).

### ***A. Management of land at family level***

The extended family's (*eluup*) lands are distributed between the different *fanks*. The head of the household (*fank*) is responsible for overseeing and managing the extended family's landholding. The family's lowland holdings are generally managed by the head of the *fank* who, in turn, allocates them to the married men of the family. The repartition of lowlands is based on the number of wives of the male members entitled to the land. For a head of *fank* with three sons, if the first one has three wives, he is allocated with enough lowland plots for three wives to work; if the second son has two wives, he receives lowland plots for the work of two wives; the unmarried son will work with his older brother until he gets married at which point he will be allocated his own land. As long as the spouse of a married man has not moved to his house, no lowland plot is allocated to him. Women in the family do not take part in the distribution, as they are expected to move to their husband's home (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1987).

When the father dies, the older son takes over the responsibility of managing the *fank's* lowland holdings and he is expected to manage them in the same way as his father did. Some evolutions in this tenure regime have been accounted for in the Banny neighbourhood. However, in some instances the family land is divided among the heirs, contributing to its continued fragmentation (*ibid*). The results of the survey conducted by Mercoiret et al. (1990) reveal that villagers have introduced some variations in the

modalities of repartition of lands to family members. In some cases, temporary allocation preserves the ownership of the holding at *fank* level; in other instances, there seem to be a more permanent distribution of land to family members.

Moreover, the discussions with the heads of *fanks* indicate that changes are starting to take place with respect to the emancipation process of newly married family members. Before, when a newly married man wanted to establish his own household, he was given some fields in the upper lands and plots in the lower lands, and the harvest of the season was divided up. Nowadays, the harvest is not shared; some land is allocated to the newly married family member, and he stays in the house until he gets his first harvest. Family members also have the option of clearing family land for the purpose of annual cultivation. Women do not have ownership rights on their family landholdings. A woman receives lowland plots to exploit from her husband; sometimes women cultivate groundnut fields in the upper land using paid male labour to cultivate it.

There seem to be some differences in the ways in which the different *fanks* deal with the sub-division of land to family members, and especially to the unmarried ones. The general rule seems to be the preservation of the extended family holding, but changes are appearing in some neighbourhoods, where family landholding is being divided up and given to the children, once their father dies.

### ***B. Collective management mechanisms for uplands***

Within Bougoutoub, the management of upper lands is performed at the *kalol* level. This collective decision making is instituted to regulate the coexistence of farming activities with cattle-raising in the village. Before the rainy season, the heads of *fanks* meet to decide how to allocate all the upper land cultivation in the same area, to avoid the destruction of crops by animals. If one does not have a field in the area identified, one can borrow a piece of land in the designated area for upper land cultivation for that particular growing season. This collective decision-making and management system functions well since the different *kalols* admit that they have enough land. They can therefore afford to follow the annual displacement of the location of upland crops, according to collective decision.

It is clear from this discussion that very elaborate, complex and differentiated tenure regimes are implemented with regard to the different types of land resource available in the village. To a large extent, the decision making is situated within the extended family (*fank*) and takes into consideration the particular circumstances of the families involved. The operation of this complex land management system at the family *kalol* and village levels requires close synchronisation between different institutions operating at these respective levels.

## **5.3. FARMERS PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGES IN THEIR PRODUCTION SYSTEMS**

### **5.3.1. An overview of livelihood conditions in Bougoutoub**

#### ***5.3.1.1. The process of partial commoditization of the production systems***

Historically, four major periods are distinguishable in the evolution of the agrarian systems in Bougoutoub: before the independence of Senegal, the first decade of independence, the drought period (starting in the early 1970s), and the birth of CADEF

in 1983/1984. Each phase has brought about significant changes and development, the effects of which have contributed to the current outlook for rural livelihoods in the Casamance. The precolonial era was characterised by unequal ownership of land by the *kalols*, based on three major factors. These were the fact that the family was part of the founding members of the *kalol*; whether the *fank* coincided with the head of the *eluup*; and whether the members of the *fank* were considered as original settlers or as foreigners who were accommodated later in the village. The patterns of unequal land distribution have been accentuated by the subsequent sub-division of family landholdings as practised among the heirs of the first settlers, and by the more recent arrivals of new settlers in the area. The traditional land-tenure and management regimes were shaped by three major events:

- The penetration of Islam in the Casamance and the influence of the Mandinka culture: these developments led to a new distribution of labour based on gender and the type of crop grown (Fall, 1988a). Women specialised in rice production, using the *fanting* hoe – a much lighter, hand-operated tool, more adapted to the feminine morphology than the traditional *kadjando* tool, used by men (who are usually physically stronger). Upland fields and crop production was reserved for men, who therefore no longer farmed in the lowlands. The introduction of the *fanting* hoe implied that the only land preparation techniques that women could perform was that relating to flat land, which also typically implied direct seeding of the rice plot, as opposed to transplanting.
- The introduction of groundnut cultivation in the local production systems took place during the last decades of colonial rule. Farmers associated the changes in their production systems with the introduction and development of groundnut production. This factor led to increased commoditisation, manifesting mainly as an increasing reliance on purchased inputs and equipment in order to produce commodities.
- The post-independence era was marked by a range of changes in the country's agricultural policies. The next section examines how villagers perceived, analysed and reacted to the different changes which took place in their agrarian systems.
- The perceptions of farmers of the changes in their production systems were structured around two major epochs, distinguished by local people on the basis of the amount of rainfall which prevailed at the time. The period described as 'before the drought' is remembered by the elderly as a time when the region had abundant rainfall which guaranteed a good harvest. Because of the relative abundance of rainfall, transplanted rice production, practised in polders, was extremely important in the villagers' cropping system. However, this production system coexisted with upland crops and this provided for an important diversity in the cropping system. Villagers used to cultivate rice, millet, groundnuts, maize, beans and sorghum. Rice was cultivated by women and this is still the case. The local production systems included the traditional deep-water transplanted rice: farmers would prepare the nurseries in June/July; in July they would plough the lowlands using the *fanting*, and they would transplant the rice in August. This type of rice production yielded very good harvests (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1987).

According to the villagers, changes in the production environment gradually led to changes in their production systems. Although the villagers could not remember the

exact dates when these changes occurred, they were able to identify the combination of factors that had led to the resulting present situation:

- The introduction of groundnut production in colonial times to pay for taxes
- The introduction of farm implements which allowed for the enlargement of upland fields and
- The reduction in the fertility of lowlands.

Groundnut production evolved from a minor position in the local production systems when it was introduced by the colonial powers for tax collection purposes, to become a dominant crop thanks to the introduction of animal traction technology. These changes in local production systems are undeniably related to policy and programme changes which affected the rural economy during the post-independence era. The agricultural development programmes initiated after the country's independence allowed farmers to acquire farm implements and agricultural inputs. This facilitated the introduction of mechanised farm implements, draught animal technologies and the use of chemical fertilisers promoted by the state's development and extension agencies.

However, the mechanisation of upland crop production, with high priority given to groundnut cultivation, was not accompanied by the introduction of more intensive production techniques, taking into account the nature of the local soil and the required fertility management. In addition, the type of equipment and the cultural techniques introduced were not adequate for the region, as they were designed for the northern and drier Peanut Basin region of Senegal. Therefore, the introduction of agricultural equipment mainly enabled farmers to extend the areas cultivated in the uplands. Then, at the beginning of the 1980s, the agricultural equipment programme was suspended, an event that coincided with the gradual deterioration of the whole economic infrastructure, the suspension of rural credit schemes, a reduction in the price of groundnuts and the reduction of collection points for this commodity. These developments, combined with the increased commoditisation of villagers' labour process and the adverse climatic changes, contributed to deteriorating conditions for rural producers in the Casamance.

The series of droughts experienced since the mid-1960s and the early 1970s, had major consequences on the villagers' production systems, and on their livelihood opportunities. While most farmers still considered the series of droughts as an important change factor in their production and livelihood systems, deeper change processes occurred during these years. The coincidence between the series of droughts during the 1970s with externally induced technological changes which could not be sustained and therefore exacerbated the extreme fragility of the prevailing resource management systems, which led to the destruction of the traditional agrarian systems of the Casamance region.

#### ***5.3.1.2. A general state of chronic deficit***

Mercoiret et al (1990) describe the livelihood outlook of the inhabitants of the Bougoutoub village. Their study highlights the difficult food account of villagers, as well as the negative consequences of the food crisis on the environment. According to the villagers interviewed, in 20 years their food account changed from a globally balanced situation, with surpluses in certain years, to the situation of a chronic food deficit. This long-term trend of food deficit can be illustrated by the results obtained during the 1987/1988 growing season, covered by the survey and presented in Table 5.1.

The theoretical food deficit, determined by comparing available food production with food needs, was established for 12 *fanks* on which there were reliable data. The results presented in Table 6.1 show that most of the *fanks* did not produce enough cereals (rice and maize, millet and sorghum) to cover the food requirements of their families. When measured per dependable *fank* member, the food deficit per capita varied from a low of 2.5 kg to a high of 156 kg per year. Seven *fanks* out of 12 had a food deficit greater than 90 kg per capita.

<i>Fank</i>	Number of dependents	Food needs in kg <sup>(a)</sup>	Quantity of cereals produced in the <i>fank</i> (kg)	Seed reserves (kg)	Quantity of food available (kg)	Food account <sup>(c)</sup>	Deficit/person
BDG <sup>(b)</sup>	26	4,550	Rice: 1,000	50			
			Sorghum: 200	5	1,420	-3,130	-120
			Maize: 300	25			
SG	10	1,750	Rice: 210	25	185	-1,565	-156.5
AB	8	1,400	Rice: 700	35	665	-735	-91
IG (1)	14	2,450	Maize: 240				
			Rice: 700		1,150	-1,300	-93
			Sorghum: 240				
AGLC	4	700	Sorghum: 200	10			
			Maize: 150	15	325	-375	-94
AG	8	1,400	Rice: 940	35	905	-395	-49
SBG	10	1,750	Rice: 875				
			Sorghum: 920	50	1,725	-25	-2.5
IG (2)	11	1,925	Rice: 385	15	370	-1,555	-139
LG	11	1,925	Rice: 350	30			
			Sorghum: 160	10	570	-1,215	-110
			Maize: 120	20			
MG	12	2,100	Rice: 840	60			
			Sorghum: 240	10	1,010	-1,090	-90
SD	7	1,225	Rice: 210	30			
			Sorghum: 15	5	680	-565	-78
			Maize: 540	30			
LB	24	4,200	Maize: 960	50			
			Rice: 300	25	2,370	-1,830	-76
			Sorghum: 1,200	15			

Table 5.1: Estimates of household food accounts

Source: Mercoiret et al. (1990)

Legend: (a) The household food requirement was established on the basis of 175 kg of cereal per person, per year. (b) For the sake of anonymity, only the initials of the household heads have been provided. <sup>(c)</sup>

The food account represent the balance between the food available and the quantity of food needed by the household.

This result is not surprising, since most farmers interviewed indicated that they had been net buyers of food for at least 18 years. Since 1981, the food deficit has affected all the *fanks*, including those who have been able to generate a surplus in the past.

When the rains were good and harvests plentiful, farmers recall that the food requirements for the *fanks* were met by lowland rice, supplemented by upland cereal production comprising millet, sorghum and maize. The decline in rice yield exacerbated the food deficit, which became chronic even though each *fank* dealt with the situation in a different way. With the lack of rain, and the intrusion of sand and salt in the rice fields, there was a degradation of the rice production environment. Hence food sufficiency was no longer guaranteed because rice production had been compromised by drought and upland cereals were infested with parasites, reducing production. For the villagers of Bougoutoub, the consequences of these negative changes were serious, since this degradation seemed to compromise their long-term livelihood base. Villagers associated the lack of rain with the poorer vegetation, drought and bush fires, which in turn contributed to the gradual disappearance of local species of flora and fauna that had previously helped to sustain them.

Accordingly, farmers interviewed in Bougoutoub had been seeking to restore their food balance in multiple ways including the sale of groundnut, the collection and sale of domestic animals, gathering and selling wild fruits from the forests and remittance from the villagers who out-migrated. Villagers also tried to diversify into horticulture production but experienced difficulties (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1987). Villagers' accounts of the change process that took place in their environment provide a global picture of a downward spiral into an environmental crisis leading to a deeper food and agrarian crisis. Beside those natural factors which limited local production, the overall performance of smallholder farmers was affected by changes they themselves made in their production systems. With these results in mind the next section explores the general outlook of the production systems in the Casamance.

#### **5.4. AN OVERVIEW OF CHANGES IN RICE PRODUCTION SYSTEMS**

In reaction to difficult production circumstances, rural people operating in Bougoutoub village made significant changes to their production systems. The next section outlines the chain of events which links the breakdown in rice production systems to the modifications that rural producers brought about in their labour process.

##### **5.4.1. The collapse of local rice production systems**

Smallholder farmers in the Lower Casamance operate in diverse and heterogeneous production systems partly determined by the prevailing natural and climatic conditions. However, farmers also contribute to this heterogeneity due to the large and diverse set of cultural practices informed by their unique circumstances, and their production and livelihood objectives. The FSR team of ISRA has explored this diversity through the use of the concept of 'technical itineraries'. These are defined as the combinations of different tools and production techniques that farmers can use to perform their cultural practices (Ndiamé, 1990). The FSR team's analysis of technical itineraries was based on agronomic and socio-economic monitoring, and survey data which were collected over three growing seasons, from 1982 to 1985. The key cultural practices considered were the land preparation technique, the fertilisation mode applied to each field, the type

of seeding, the variety used, and the weeding technique. The results of the analysis of technical itineraries identified on rice fields are described in Table 5.2. It provides an overview of the combinations of production techniques used in upland rice production by farmers operating in the Lower Casamance during the 1980s.

Cultural practices on upland rice							
	Land preparation	Basic fertiliser	Type of seeding	Weeding	Cover fertiliser	Crop variety	ISRA zone
1	Ridge/ <i>kadjando</i>	No	Transplanting	No	No	Local	2 & 5
2	Ridge/ <i>kadjando</i>	No	In line	No	No	Local	2 & 5
3	Flat/ <i>fanting</i>	No	In line	Yes	Urea	Local	3 & 5
4	Flat/ <i>fanting</i>	No	Broadcasting	Partial	Urea	Local	2 & 5
5	Ridge/ <i>kadjando</i>	No	Broadcasting	No	No	Improved	2 & 5
6	Flat/ <i>fanting</i>	Wastes	Broadcasting	No	NPK	Improved	2 & 5

Table 5. 2: A review of farmers' cultural practices on upland rice

Source: Ndiame (1990)

- The information in Table 5.2 indicates that farmers used several technical itineraries in rice production, as defined by the different combinations of production techniques and the tools used. In terms of land preparation, different tools and techniques were used. The traditional *kadjando* hand hoe was used to make ridges. This is the dominant and traditional land preparation method used by the Diola. It is still widely practised in zones 2 and 5 of the ISRA zoning. The flat-land preparation technique is traditionally performed by women, using the hand-held *fanting* tool, which is commonly used in the Mandinka-dominated areas of the Casamance.
- The picture was more homogenous for fertiliser use. The farmers in the region used virtually no fertiliser during the land preparation phase, except for the application of domestic wastes, practised in two sub-regions. The key features of these technical itineraries are analysed in the next sections

#### 5.4.1.1. The changes in soil fertility management

The villagers interviewed during the 1988/1989 season were able to make the link between the downward spirals in their production systems and critical factors such as the declining soil fertility in their fields. This situation was clearly linked to the decline in traditional fertility management practices such as letting their fields lie fallow for long periods, putting certain pieces of land under a regime of '*parcage*'<sup>10</sup> and obviously applying limited quantities of chemical fertiliser when it was accessible to villagers. The villagers rationalise their limited use of the latter option by asserting that an increased utilisation of chemical fertilisers on upland cereals could lead to the harvest of a lot of biomass, which does not translate into greater levels of production.

The decline in the fertility level of lowland plots was even more serious, especially because the traditional fertility management techniques had been abandoned and, as previously mentioned for the upper land fields, the chemical fertilisers promoted by the extension services were either too expensive or culturally not allowed in the lowlands.

<sup>10</sup> '*Parcage*' is a fertilisation practice consisting of keeping the cattle in a field, to harvest manure that would help improve the fertility of the field.

As was the case with the upper lands, the decline in the fertility of rice fields was also associated with the fact that the traditional practice of carrying domestic waste from the households was being abandoned for a host of reasons, including the long distance to be travelled and the uptake of new norms of hygiene, especially by the younger and more educated segments of the rural society who belong to the traditional self-help groups (*ekafays*) and are more and more reluctant to carry compost and domestic wastes to the rice cultivation areas, unless they are paid sums of money that most villagers cannot afford. The chemical fertilisers introduced by the extension agents were not very popular either because of their high monetary cost, but also because of the risks associated with the drought. This set of factors provide a clear picture of the challenges created by the increased incorporation of local production systems into market and price-related systems (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1987).

Over the years, the farmers have made some significant changes in their traditional production systems, with the blessing of research and extension systems operating in the region. These changes relate notably to the varieties, land preparation and planting methods used by farmers. They are described below.

#### ***5.4.1.2. The changes in rice varieties and in the production techniques used***

As indicated in the census of upland rice production techniques, farmers used their own traditional rice cultivars in all the production zones, except for two areas where improved varieties were recorded. The performance of these improved varieties under conditions of incomplete adoption of the technological package recommended by research and extension officers was discussed with the Bougoutoub farmers.

From the point of view of the peasants, the decisive factor in the choice of a new variety seemed to be the search for short-cycle, early-maturing varieties, suited to the prevailing rainfall pattern. In general, the farmers interviewed recognised the advantages of early maturation, associated with the new varieties. However, the villagers were fully aware of the extra requirements associated with the use of 'modern varieties' recommended by the extension agents. These requirements were part of a package combining the use of complementary inputs without which the 'improved' variety would not perform well. However, the lack of a systematic and effective fertility management system at the individual *fank* and at the neighbourhood levels compromised the use of the technological package comprising improved varieties and other complementary inputs.

One of the most significant changes that took place in the rice production system was the women's move from transplanting to direct seeding, which had typically prevailed in upland rice cultivation. The women interviewed recognised the advantage of direct seeding in the context of the prevailing rainfall patterns. The new technique enabled a speedy execution of the planting operation, which was crucial given the short duration of the rainy season. But they were also aware of the many inconveniences associated with this option: this technique requires more work in terms of weed control, compared to transplanting of rice (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1987; Mercoiret et al. 1990).

In practice, farmers combined transplanting with direct seeding, depending on the climatic conditions and their field circumstances. If transplanting continued to dominate in the deep lowland plots, women alternated the two techniques, depending on the water regime of their different rice plots. They decided which technique to use on the basis of circumstances, and tended to use the transplanting method when the rainy

season looked promising or when they had access to an *ekafay* that was willing to help with the planting operation (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1987).

It follows from this analysis that the Casamance female farmers were able to adopt the cultural technique which was best suited to the conditions in their plots, and to their own circumstances. Farmers could move back and forth from one technique to the other, but the overall trend was a generalised degradation of their production environment. In fact, two major factors contributed to the reduction of rice production: many rice fields had not been brought into production, and the yields obtained in the cultivated fields were very low. The survey conducted by Ndiame and Coulibaly (1988) indicated that 9 out of 12 *fanks* did not cultivate all their lowland fields during that season and cultivated only a total of 48 rice fields and left 24 fields idle. The reasons invoked range from lack of sufficient labour, too many weeds, sand intrusion, and iron toxicity of the plots, to lack of sufficient water. Three *fanks* had not cultivated rice in upper land fields that had been recently cleared. The yield obtained in the rice field was often low. The 1988 experiments recorded respectively 480 kg/ha for the upland rice, 780 kg/ha for water table assisted rice and 1,300 kg/ha for aquatic rice fields.

Compared to transplanted rice cultivation in the lowlands, the shift from transplanting to direct seeding in the upper land corresponded to a decline in technical efficiency. Firstly, as Van der Ploeg (1991) explained in the context of Guinea-Bissau, whilst a *bolanha* is a rice polder on which irrigation is crucial, a *lugar* represents a kind of ecological opposite; it consists of a patch of cleared bush which is worked individually and abandoned a few years later. Furthermore, since no transplanting is done in the *lugares*, and control over all kinds of relevant factors is reduced when compared with the *bolonha*, the *lugares* require more seeds to realise a comparable harvest. The seeds–harvest ratio in *lugares* is far lower than that of *bolonhas*.

Even though the individual testimonies of rural producers from the Casamance region need to be analysed in the context of the broader labour process used by different farm households, their views on the evolution of their production systems gives an overall impression of a distressing dynamic. The performance of peasant agriculture is regressing because the traditional modes of production and reproduction of farm labour are challenged by adverse environmental, economic and institutional factors. As was the case in Guinea-Bissau, using groundnuts to pay taxes and to complement food shortages brought about a new organising principle centred on maximising monetary income per male household head. The same principle filtered down into the organisation of rice production, causing a far-reaching restructuring of the labour process (Van der Ploeg, 1991). The next section explores the ways in which farmers have tried to adjust their cultural practices to the new situation.

#### **5.4.2. The upland crops cultural practices**

An analysis of the technical itineraries used in the production of groundnuts and maize in the Casamance region was conducted by Ndiame and Coulibaly (1988). The next section summarises the major results of the survey.

##### ***5.4.2.1. Technical itineraries (cultural practices) used in groundnut production***

Table 5.3 provides an overview of the various production techniques identified for groundnut production in the whole region. The technical itineraries used by farmers

for groundnut production displayed a slightly different outlook, compared to other crops. The land preparation techniques and tools encompassed the use of the *kadjando* to make ridges in some areas. This technique is predominantly used in Diola-dominated production systems (zones 1 and 5 of ISRA zoning); the same technique was also prevalent in zones 3, 4 and 5 even if different tools were used in zones 4 and 5.

The more traditional tool, the *donkoton*, was used in zone 3 and the more ‘advanced’ draft animal implements tended to dominate in zones 4 and 5. In zone 4 no-till techniques were used, probably because of the adverse climatic conditions. In their attempt to adjust to the shorter rainy seasons and lower levels of rainfall experienced in the region, farmers tended to skip land preparation operations and move directly to their seeding operations, with the objective of allowing their varieties to complete their maturation cycle.

	Land preparation	Basic fertiliser	Type of seeding	Weeding	Cover fertiliser	Crop variety	ISRA Zone
1	Ridge/ <i>kadjando</i>	Yes	Manual	Manual	No	Local	1 & 5
2	Ridge/animal traction	No	Manual	Manual	No	Improved	4 & 5
3	Ridge/ <i>donkoton</i> , <i>couboudour</i>	No	Manual	Manual	No	Improved	3
4	Flat/UCF <sup>11</sup> plough	No	Manual	Manual	No	Improved	4
5	Flat/UCF plough	Yes	Super Eco	Sine hoe	No	Improved	4
6	Flat/UCF plough	No	Super Eco	Manual	No	Improved	4
7	No land preparation	No	Manual	Manual	No	Improved	4

Table 5.3: An analysis of Groundnut cultural practices in the Casamance

Source: Ndiame and Coulibaly (1988)

The seeding operations were essentially done manually in all the agro-ecosystems, except for zone 4, where the animal draft powered seeding tool (Super Eco) was available. This pattern was also consistent with the incomplete equipment of the *fanks* in the region. However, in most of the production zones, farmers tended to use ‘improved’ crop varieties which were probably sourced from the extension agency operating in the region.

#### 5.4.2.2. Maize Cultural practices in the Casamance

The production techniques identified for maize production are presented in Table 5.4. The dominant feature of these production techniques was the incomplete level at which the farm operations were mechanised. Besides land preparation (which was usually done using draught animals), all seeding and weeding operations were done manually in almost all the areas surveyed by the ISRA FSR team. However, in most areas farmers used fertilisers and improved varieties in their maize fields.

<sup>11</sup>UCF: Union Charrues France

	Land preparation	Basic fertiliser	Type of seeding	Weeding	Cover fertiliser	Crop variety	ISRA Zone
1	Ridge/Gambian	No	Manual	Manual, incomplete	No	Improved	5
2	Ridge/ <i>kadjando</i>	No	Manual	Manual complete	No	Improved	1 & 2
3	Ridge/UCF	Yes	Manual		No	Improved	3 & 4
4	Ridge/ <i>kadjando</i>	Yes	Manual	Manual complete	Yes	Improved	3 & 5
5	Flat/UCF	No	Manual	Manual complete	No	Improved	3 & 4
6	Flat/UCF	No	Manual	Manual complete	Yes	Improved	3 & 4
7	Flat/UCF	Yes	Manual	Manual, incomplete	Yes	Improved	3 & 4
8	Flat/UCF	Yes	Manual	Manual complete	Yes	Improved	3 & 4
9	Flat/UCF	Yes	Manual	Manual, incomplete	Yes	Improved	3 & 4

Table 5.4: An analysis of Maize cultural practices in the Casamance

Source: Ndiame and Coulibaly (1988)

For most farmers in the Casamance, maize is a strategic crop in terms of its contribution to the household food requirements just after the hunger season, which starts in August / September. Special attention to the maize field was made easier and more convenient for farmers because the fields were situated in the immediate vicinity of the homesteads, in plots where the household's animals were kept before the growing season. As a result, the 'household fields' were the most intensively cultivated pieces of land throughout the Casamance region.

#### 5.4.3. The place of groundnut in Farmers adaptation strategies to challenging circumstances:

In line with changes made in their production systems, some smallholder farmers readjusted their production and livelihood strategies. These processes were largely facilitated by the dominance of groundnut as a cash crop which provided the incomes necessary to purchase other commodities. This was reflected in the priority assigned to groundnut in local people's production and reproduction strategies. The types of transformation that were effected during this phase are outlined below.

##### 5.4.3.1. Sale of groundnut production compensate for the food deficit

The results of the survey conducted in Bougoutoub by Mercoiret and Berthomet (1987) revealed that the major coping strategy used by most farmers centred on the production and the commercialisation of groundnut. Farmers had to use the income generated by the sales of their groundnut to buy rice. All the heads of *fanks* interviewed admitted that they bought rice every year and some of them also bought sorghum for family consumption. This was especially so because the *fank's* own production allowed them to cover the food requirements of their families for only a few weeks or months. All the *fanks* interviewed declared that the head of the *fank* bought rice with the income generated from groundnut, after the rice produced by women was finished. Accordingly, all

farmers gave the highest priority to groundnut production because of the uncertainties associated with both lowland rice production and with the upper-land cereals.

The quantitative data collected by Mercoiret and Berthomet (1987) from eighteen *fanks* during the 1987/1988 season shows the extent to which the income obtained from groundnut contributed to the different households' food security. In Table 5.5 the total value of groundnut sales has been converted into rice-equivalent, based on the prevailing relative price of the two commodities. The results of this analysis showed that apart from one *fank* (labelled S.B.G.) which presented a positive food account, all other *fanks* had to sell groundnuts to make up for a food deficit. For four out of the eight *fanks* considered, the total groundnut sales were insufficient to cover their household food requirements. This option was not even available to them because they had other monetary expenses such as paying taxes, buying clothes and cover health-related expenses.

When there was a food deficit, the *fanks* reacted in different ways: they reduced their direct consumption of food, (by skipping breakfast, reducing the amount eaten, and/or eliminating another major meal.) Other strategies include: using incomes generated from other activities such as horticulture, forest hunting and gathering, the sale of art work and de-capitalising by selling their animals. Three *fanks* out of the 12 mentioned that they had had to sell some animals during the preceding season. Rural out-migration constituted another important option as it resulted in two outcomes; firstly, it reduced the number of dependent people, and secondly, provided funds from remittances sent by migrants to support their families.

<i>Fanks</i>	Number of members	Food account kg	Groundnut sales CFA F	Equivalent in rice kg	Net food account <sup>12</sup> kg
B.D.G. <sup>(a)</sup>	26	3,130	202,500	1,450	-1,680
A.B.	8	-735	60,750	435	-300
A.G. (1)	4	-375	121,500	865	490
A.G. (2)	8	-595	148,500	1,060	+465
S.B.G.	10	-25	216,100	1,540	+1,515
I.G.	11	-1,535	67,500	480	-1,050
M.G.	12	-1,090	202,500	1,450	360
S.D.	7	-545	27,000	190	-355

Table 5. 5: Contribution of revenue from groundnuts in the *fank* food account

Source: Mercoiret et al. (1990)

Legend: (a) For the sake of anonymity, only the initials of the household heads have been provided.

#### 5.4.3.2. The enlargement of groundnut fields

All the *fanks* studied had produced groundnut during the 1988/1989 season, and about two thirds of them had grown it as a sole crop while the rest of the *fanks* had grown groundnut in association with sorghum. All the *fanks* mentioned that they had increased the area under groundnut, either by clearing new lands in the forest or by reducing the

<sup>12</sup>The net food account is calculated as the balance between the total food requirements of the household and total availability of food made of the household own production food purchased with the revenues of groundnuts

length of the fallow period in their fields. Eight *fanks* left their land fallow for only a year after each growing season devoted to groundnut. Two *fanks* produced groundnut in the same field for two consecutive years.

There were no measurements of groundnut fields during the survey, but the estimations made from the quantities of seeds sown revealed that the field sizes were often large, ranging from 1 to 9 hectares. The only limiting factors in the expansion of the size of fields were the lack of land (for those who had a limited endowment), a lack of equipment and often the lack of seeds. This phenomenon was confirmed by the interviews with villagers. Farmers interviewed confirmed that the upland crops had been expanded to cope with the challenges associated with the changes in their production environment. This expansion concerned mainly groundnuts, which are less sensitive to pest problems than the other cereals, which are regularly devastated. Groundnuts have gradually become the major cash crop in the region (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1987; Drame, 2005).

#### **5.4.3.3. *Modification of the cropping calendar to prioritise groundnut production***

Most farmers started their cropping calendar with ploughing and planting groundnuts, and only three *fanks* started their operations with the cereals grown near the homesteads while one *fank* conducted the ploughing and seeding of the household plots with the groundnut operations simultaneously. Ploughing groundnut fields was mainly done using animal traction and mechanised equipment. *Fanks* that did not own equipment either hired or borrowed from their neighbours. Seeding groundnuts was also mostly done mechanically, but all the weeding was done manually. Farmers interviewed in the survey confirmed that during the drought, groundnut cultivation was given high priority because this crop is less vulnerable to pest infestation. Fruits were also harvested and commercialised in order to contribute to the household's consumption needs (Mercoiret and Berthomet, 1987).

Drought thus led to a new set of priorities in the local cropping systems. In the allocation of available resources, the needs of groundnut and other cash crop production were prioritised. The enlargement of areas cultivated in the upland fields triggered an increased demand for farm implements and labour. This was because farmers said their cropping calendars were being delayed. Other adaptation changes were implemented in the production techniques used both in the lowland and in the upland fields. In addition, farmers modified their production mix. According to villagers, some crops have disappeared or are in the process of doing so, including: aquatic rice which has disappeared for lack of water; millet which is disappearing because of pest infestation. Some crops are in regression (this is the case for upland rice which suffers particularly from the ravages of pests and diseases). Maize production is also challenged by pest infestation; cassava, palm oil and fruit trees are constrained by the lack of water. However, the production of certain crops is increasing for example, low land rice, which benefits from the influence of the water table, and sorghum. In addition newer forms of cultivation are being undertaken including family and individual fruit trees orchards and horticultural production. These phenomena reflect an increasing commoditisation of peasants' production and reproduction processes in the region.

#### **5.4.4. Major constraints and challenges faced by the “*fanks*”:**

The review of cultural practices maintained by the *fanks* revealed major challenges in their production systems. The challenges related mainly to labour availability, the

difficulty of accessing factors of production (inputs and farm implements), and to issues associated with the collective management of the uplands. These challenges are examined in the following sections.

#### **5.4.4.1. Labour shortages**

Labour availability in the *fanks* varied from one *fank* to another. In the sample of eighteen *fanks* considered for the survey by Ndiame and Coulibaly (1988), the total number of workers varied from 2 to 17. 5 *fanks* had fewer than 5 workers; 8 *fanks* had between 6 and 9 active workers; and 5 *fanks* had more than ten workers. The single most important factor for labour availability in the *fank* was related to out-migration.

Several authors have examined the relations between planned interventions and the outmigration of Diola youth in particular (van der Klei, 1978; de Jong et al., 1979; Linares, 2003; Lambert 1999; van der Klei (1978) provides an account of the ways changes in the commodity of trade affected the Diola household production and reproduction systems. The migration of the Diola youth is linked to historical process of engagement with European merchants during the colonial era. Based on the results of their studies conducted in 4 villages selected on the basis of the degree of integration into the national economy, de Jong et al., (1978) reported varying rates of out-migration in the target villages: 16% in Oussouye; 27% in Diattock; 25% Barka Bounao/Pakao and 12% in Brikama. The study confirmed that a late return of young unmarried boys and girls from their seasonal migration resulted in a reduction of 14% in the number of plots transplanted.

The phenomenon was widespread in Bougoutoub, where all *fanks* had at least one member who had out-migrated. Although it was difficult to get systematic and reliable data on the phenomenon, all farmers interviewed mentioned rural out-migration as a common and recurrent phenomenon which affected all social categories and could take place at any time as soon as there was an opportunity for it. In one *fank*, where a detailed account of out-migration was possible, the phenomenon had led to a considerable reduction in the labour force. This *fank* had four active members (aged 26, 30, 57 and 60 years) and seven absent *fank* members aged between 19 and 27 years (Ndiame and Coulibaly, 1988).

The migrants tended to move to many destinations in the country itself (Bignona, Dakar, Kaolack and Ziguinchor for most people), but others left the country for Banjul in The Gambia, or for European countries. The duration of the migration depended on the prevailing conditions in their host country. The importance and seasonality of out-migration, along with the uncertainty of finding employment in the destination city led to an absenteeism of various durations which affected the cultural operations of the *fank*. For example, in Bougoutoub some lowland plots had been abandoned by women for lack of sufficient and active labour. The fields already cultivated were not properly maintained, because seasonal migrants who were present during ploughing and seeding (leading to the cultivation of larger fields), had left by the time weeding and harvesting took place. However, as mentioned earlier, the *ekafay* are often used when there is a lack of family labour.

Linares (2003) studied the dynamics of migration among the villages and explored variations along gender and generational lines. She was able to show that whilst the movement of people from the countryside to the city has had a negative effect on local food production, turnaround migration' mitigates to some extent the impact of the rural

exodus on rural communities, because young unmarried girls and boys who return to the village during the rainy season help their parents with agricultural work.

The author also highlighted some key features of the phenomenon and its differential impact in the various sub-regions. A survey of historical migratory patterns in the Casamance provides references to seasonal travels undertaken to earn cash dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The author explains that the phenomenon was linked to the trade of rubber and palm oil sold at better prices in The Gambia, from where the products were exported to Europe (Linares, 2003). She argues that rural-to-urban migration occurred everywhere in the Lower Casamance but the exodus began at different times in the different localities: it started earlier in the Kadiamoutaye, situated in the northern part of the region. It is, however, a more recent phenomenon in the Kalounaye and the Kassa regions).

Her analysis also highlighted some regional variations and seasonal dimensions. The patterns of the migratory process entail some significant variations in return rates among regions and gender groups. For example, in the village of Jipalom, situated in the northern Kadiamoutaye sub-region, the isolation of the village may be triggering a stronger desire to migrate. As a result, migration has become part of growing up, as expected as attending school or working in rice fields (Linares, 2003). The bulk of the turnaround migration is conducted by unmarried men and women, and at least one-third of the labour force is absent during the dry season. Whilst some young girls come back during the rainy season to help with productive activities, for some reason the young men are reluctant to go back to their villages during the growing season.

In the village of Fatiya, situated in the Kalounayes region, the migration process is also important, but different migratory patterns prevail across age groups and gender. The development projects based on the production of vegetable gardens introduced in the village helped to keep adult and married women occupied during the dry season (Linares, 2003). As is the case in Jipalom, girls have a higher rate of return than boys (58% versus 16%). However, because of the compensatory effect of the use of animal traction technology, a higher rate of cultivation of the fields was recorded in this village (Linares, 2003).

Finally, Sambujat village is situated in the Kassa sub-region, which is nominally dominated by Catholics and by local people who have remained faithful to their traditional religion and spirit shrines. Its inhabitants are labour intensive wet-rice producers. The profile of young people migrating from this village is not significantly different from that of other villages. However, the village has set up several mechanisms that encourage the youth to return. These include the institution of recreational activities, including dance and story-telling functions and social events which make life in the village more entertaining for youth. However, even in this village, the long-term trend is that fewer young people are returning, with a reduction of returnees to 6% from 10% (Linares, 2003). Because of the labour intensive nature of the dominant production system, the magnitude of youth out-migration raises questions about the prospects for the long-term future of rice growing in the village.

In conclusion, Linares (2003) highlighted some of the regional variations and seasonal dimensions of the turnaround migration in the Casamance region. The phenomenon entailed significant variations in return rates among regions and gender groups. Moreover, and because of the differences in the production and livelihood systems in the Lower Casamance, the impact of the rural exodus varied profoundly in various sub-

regions:

- Migration was a catastrophe in Kadiamoutaye: as a villager from Jipalom quoted by Linares puts it: 'Dakar has ruined this land; when it gets rough, the young women take flight to Dakar' (Linares, 2003).
- Migration is less serious in the Kalounaye because of the compensating effect of the use of animal traction.
- In Essadadu, where more than 50% of boys and girls return, the effect was less disastrous until recently when since the protection dyke for the rice-producing area broke down, thus requiring a greater need for labour and man-power..

Because of the high costs associated with the gradual loss of the youth's contribution to productive and social activities, Linares (2003) pointed to the need for lucrative village-based activities which would encourage youth to go back home. Despite the challenges, the author identified some potentially positive effects of migration: the sub-regions within which the migration process takes place comprise single women who through marriage play an important unifying role between different Diola sub-communities. Married women move to other villages and communities carrying with them, their own culture, conventions and livelihood strategies, and play key roles in the facilitation of inter-village communication and in the sharing of attitudes and activities (Linares, 2003). Moreover, the exposure to other economic realities by former migrants may trigger changes in their economic behaviour, which could translate into former migrants' putting more focus on tradable goods and services in their productive and livelihood activities. In addition, family labour shortages associated with the out-migration of productive family members may open up some potential associated with labour intensive industrialisation, which would open up better prospects for increased agricultural productivity.

#### ***5.4.4.2. Recent Patterns of labour use and household Investments strategies***

The studies conducted in the 2000s (FONGS, 2013; BAME/ISRA, 2010) provide some insights on the configurations of local production during that period. The long term monitoring of 122 households reveal the prevalence of diversified cropping systems in the Casamance region. The households studied in the Casamance cultivated a range of crops, ranging from the groundnut, to millet and sorghum, different types of rice production systems, sweet potatoes, cassava. Other crops grown in the regions of Kolda and Ziguinchor included fruit trees (mangoes, cashew trees, etc.) and cotton especially in the Kolda region. Thus the cropping patterns of the Casamance households remain quite diversified, despite the continued dominance of groundnut in local production systems.

The large diversity of crops grown by the Casamance households notwithstanding, the production systems remain relatively artisanal as the very little purchased inputs is used for the cultivation of most of the crops as illustrated in Table 5.6 below.

Type of crops	Blended fertiliser for cereals	Blended fertiliser for Cotton	Organic fertiliser	Herbicides	Insecticide/ fungicide	Seeds	Urea	Other Inputs (not defined)	Total
Groundnuts	6	1	0	5	0	37	2		51
Horticulture (aubergine/ tomatoes/water melon/papaya/ chillies/sweet potatoes/ Bananas/ Mango	3	-	4	-	-	-	1		8
Cotton	2	24	1	15	15	18	2	11	88
Fonio	-	-	-	-	-	4	-		4
Maize	7	2	-	5	1	21	2	1	39
Millet / Sorghum	20	-	1	5	-	36	-		62
cowpeas	-	-	-	-	-	8	-		8
Transplanted rice	2	-	-	-	-	8	7		17
Direct seeded rice	7	-	-	3	-	22	4	1	37
Total	47	27	6	33	16	154	18	13	314

Table: 5.6. Number of plots which received purchased Inputs by crop in the Kolda and Ziguinchor regions.

Source: computed from the survey conducted by ISRA BAME in 2010.

It follows from Table 5.6 that most farmers only selectively apply inputs to priority crops in the two regions of Kolda and Ziguinchor during the two years covered by the survey. Farmers surveyed for 2 years in the two regions predominantly applied purchased inputs on 5 main crops: groundnut, cotton, maize; millet/sorghum and rice (transplanted and directly seeded). The priority given to these crops match their significance with respect to the household objectives in terms of food security and income.

A similar pattern of differentiated allocation of scarce resources to crops is also apparent in the utilisation of the hired labour. The use of hired labour is a clear confirmation of the relative shortage of family labour during the rainy season. The analysis of the data collected by BAME/ISRA for the 2008 and 2009 campaign reveal that almost half of all the households surveyed by ISRA used hired labour in 2008 and 2009. The hired labour was mainly used on the same crops: groundnut, millet/sorghum, maize, rice and to a lesser extent, cotton.

Another significant feature of smallholder farming activities in the Casamance relates to the engagement of the household labour in non-farm agricultural activities. The results of the BAME/ ISRA survey in the Casamance provide a detailed picture of the extent to which rural households engage in multiple activities.

It follows from Figure 5.1 that a majority (59.8%) of household labour is channelled into non-farm activities. The most popular non-farm activities were: commerce, construction, artisanal activities. The relative importance of each activity varied per region with the

predominance of commercial activities in the region of Ziguinchor, while construction, commerce and commercial activities dominate in the Kolda region. In 2008, 60% male 32.8% of females and 4.4% of male, female and youth channelled their labour into non-farm. The breakdown of the most common non-farm activity by gender is as follows: male labour in commerce and crafts; female labour in commerce and processing. Infant household labour was mainly used in the broader category of agriculture activities such as those related to forestry.

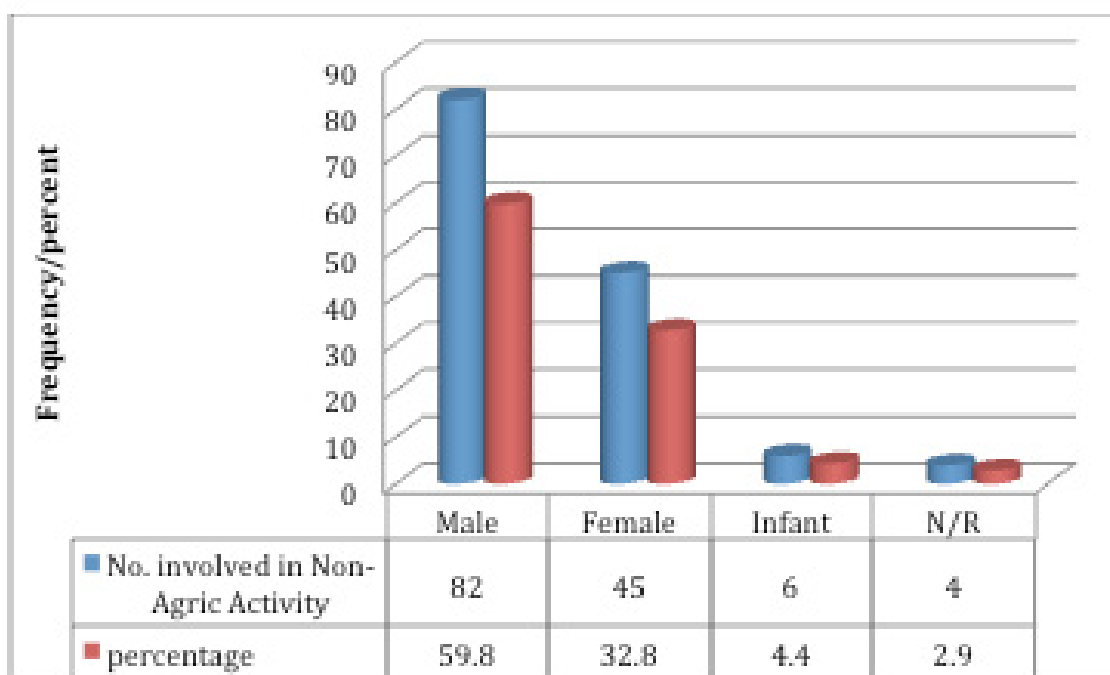


Figure 5.1: Number involved in Non-Farm activities by gender (in 2008)

Source: computed from the survey conducted by ISRA BAME in 2010.

N/R: correspond to the number of households who did not respond to the question

In terms of revenues realised from off- activities, the highest revenue realised was FCFA 32,000,000<sup>13</sup> per year from commerce (trade activities). It is also observed that majority of household labour channelled to commerce (trade) earn between FCFA 100,000 to FCFA 400,000<sup>14</sup> per year (BAME/ISRA, 2010).

It follows from these results that the different members of the household managed to diversify their activities beyond the agricultural sector and to earn some income from a range of other activities. In both regions of the Ziguinchor and Kolda women engaged mostly on trading, processing of agricultural and the exploitation of forest products; the younger members of the households engaged mainly in forestry while men undertook a wider range of activities, including the construction, commerce, and artisanal activities.

<sup>13</sup>This corresponds to US \$64000 at the exchange rate of 1 US \$ equals CFA 500)

<sup>14</sup>This corresponds to a spread of US \$200 to \$ 800.

## 5.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The analyses conducted in this chapter focussed on the ways in which the livelihood prospects and strategies of smallholder farmers have been affected by some of the environmental, policy, institutional and technical changes that took place in the Casamance region. The trajectories of the local production systems are analysed, focusing on the effects of commercialisation on the current outlook for smallholder farming. It further analyses the adaptation strategies deployed by local people and explores the extent to which these provided some innovative answers to the ongoing crisis. It focuses on the ways the peasantry both accommodated and resisted changes in their environment during the era of planned interventions, and the extent to which the types of responses to their challenges may have either exacerbated or eliminated those challenges.

A summary of the main strategies used by smallholder farmers and their implications is provided below.

### 5.5.1. Trajectory of self-commoditization and marginalization

As argued earlier in Chapters 3 and 4, the Senegalese state administered an agricultural equipment programme that enabled a significant section of the rural populace to access animal traction equipment and complementary inputs through agricultural credit. The interventions allowed considerable development in agricultural production, especially for cash crops such as groundnut. This section reviews key results related to the ways in which rural people of the Casamance region dealt with the adverse evolutions resulting from the Senegalese government's agricultural policies.

The case of Bougoutoub, which has been extensively reviewed in this chapter, has shown the varied ways in which smallholder farmers responded to sets of policy and environmental constraints that they faced in the Casamance. In response to multiple state interventions and to changes in their climatic and policy and production environments, the Casamance peasants made significant changes in their production and livelihood systems. There was a massive response from the Casamance peasantry to the new set of incentives and constraints associated with planned interventions, and in just a few years, the total production groundnuts in the region increased drastically (Drame, 2005). The technical and social evolutions which followed state interventions are epitomised by the adoption of scale-enlarging technologies and the increased reliance on revenues from groundnut production for the provision of the household livelihood.

Essentially, these adaptation strategies correspond to a first set of farmer responses centred on the greater commoditisation of labour and other resources, primarily informed by reactions to adverse climatic changes. They included the following behaviour:

- The extension of groundnut cultivation areas, greatly facilitated by the availability of farm implements, inputs and marketing facilities, and the existence of a support infrastructure for this commodity;
- An acceleration of historical processes of out-migration of youth and unmarried adults in search of alternative sources of employment, outside of farming;
- The progressive neglect and the subsequent regression of food crop production and family-based farming in the region;
- The de-capitalisation of the family assets to buy food.

These responses reflect the results of commoditised production and reproduction systems, which led to increasing poverty and to the marginalisation of smallholder farmers. Ultimately, the adaptation strategies described above were mostly used by smallholders to deal with the regressive trajectory of their production and livelihood systems. Behaviour such as a reduction in family food consumption and the sale of the family livestock were also symptomatic of this regressive trajectory. With the ecological crisis caused by a series of droughts was exacerbated by the economic crisis of the 1990s, leading to a serious food crisis, many households started to de-capitalise by selling their animals and their equipment to meet their consumption requirements. As households started to go hungry, finding it difficult survive on their own production, youth and women migrated to other cities and even foreign countries, searching for better livelihood opportunities outside agriculture.

These evolutions had profound consequences on traditional production and reproduction systems, which relied on processes of cooperation between the family, the neighbourhood systems and the village institutions. The commoditisation process introduced the logic of competition for monetary gains controlled by the head of the household, at the expense of other members of the extended family, especially women and youth. The gradual predominance of the entrepreneurial logic stemmed from the control that the household heads and older men had over groundnut production, and its associated linkage to elaborate technical-institutional systems, which guaranteed their access to loans for inputs, equipment, and to marketing outlets and facilities.

This evolution was accompanied by the gradual neglect of rice production by men. In the predominantly cash-crop dependent reproduction systems, the production of this major staple food (the source of the household's food security) was delegated to women. As local production became insufficient to cover families' consumption needs, most households resorted more and more to the revenues provided by groundnut production to buy food. This logic of commoditisation was further reinforced by the deteriorating economic and ecological conditions which compelled the households to devote more land and labour to groundnut production to meet their consumption and survival requirements.

In essence, the first set of responses that the Casamance farmers brought to changes in the production environment (described in section 5.4.4) contributed to making them part of, and active agents in a downward spiral of scale enlargement in their farming activities. This was essentially done through the development of groundnut production. The emphasis on groundnut production accentuated the breakdown in the complex and synergetic relationships between cash crops and food crops, between crops and livestock in the household production systems. It also compromised the complementary roles of different segments of the household. These dynamics contributed to a further degradation of regional agriculture and its resource base. Hence, the dominant entrepreneurial mode of farming introduced and promoted by the colonial government and the independent state alike, put the peasantry on a trajectory of dependency and marginalization.

### **5.5.2. Scenario of hope and progress**

In fact, and alongside the predominant logic of entrepreneurial farming driven by the quasi-monopoly of the older men on groundnut production and its associated technical-institutional apparatus, there were significant lines of defence in the form of the strategies used by the more marginalised segments of the rural society: youth and women. These

represented several fronts of resistance to the logic of commoditisation reflected in the more recent outlooks of the production systems:

- Women continued their traditional engagement in rice production, despite their meagre human and material resources, and the critical shortage of labour for major rice production operations, such as land preparation, transplanting, weeding and harvesting. They continued to rely on the traditional *ekafay* to conduct critical operations, and incorporated new elements, such as improved varieties and different production techniques that helped them adapt to hostile and changing production environments. They diversified their production activities into vegetable gardens and the collection and commercialisation of wild fruits for additional income to pay their expenses and meet other financial obligations within the household.
- Additional initiatives were undertaken by youth groups to cope with their difficult conditions. They 'voted with their feet' by migrating to cities, in anticipation of better livelihoods. Some of the migrants sent money back to their families; these remittances helped their households to face difficult conditions. When their living conditions became tougher in their place of emigration, many rural youth came back to their villages either regularly, or on a more permanent basis.
- The youth also initiated or invested in village associations to secure employment and to gain direct access to state and donor resources. They also extended their investments in village institutions such as youth clubs and contributed to the development of economic infrastructure in their villages, such as anti-salt dams, water retention schemes and village shops. In some cases, they managed to create the conditions for continued operation of the entrepreneurial mode of farming, by facilitating access to inputs, equipment and markets.

To a large extent, women and youth tangibly displayed the resilience which is characteristic of the peasant mode of farming.<sup>15</sup> They managed to effectively articulate the principles of survival, resilience, a search for greater autonomy, local cooperation toward a common goal, and the improvement of villagers' production base and environment. The diversity of these responses across regions, within a specific geography and over time, represent significant testimonies of the existence of local development dynamics. These processes were mainly carried out through the traditional institutions, although at the height of the rural development crises in the 1970s and the 1990s, the village associations became the key agents and promoters of local development efforts.

In this context, the Casamance farmers were able to provide a second set of responses to the changing environment, centred on the reactivation of local development dynamics associated with the principles of a self-help mind-set, and pluriactivity. The manifestations of these peasant-centred development dynamics have been highlighted in a recent study conducted by ISRA/ BAME and by FONGS, based on its long term support to family farms in many regions of Senegal, including the Casamance region (CNCR, 2014). The study provides some useful insights on the key factors that inform the development of peasants' responses to their development challenges. The results of these studies highlighted in this chapter indicate that despite the challenges that they are faced with the family farms patterned their livelihood activities in a multi-functional way which allowed them to take advantage of the synergetic relations between their different activities. This was further strengthened by the continuous diversification of cropping systems, as the local peasantry was able to counter the decline in some crops with the development of a wider range of crops and activities. Maintaining a wide range

of gainful activities (in farming, livestock and non-farm sectors) thus represents a major form of resistance, despite the hegemonic position of groundnut cultivation in the local production system.

Furthermore, the long-term study carried out by FONGS highlights the need for new governance and management systems at the family-farm and at the farmer-association levels, in order to develop the full set of responses needed for the family farms to overcome their production and livelihood challenges. Women and youth were given the opportunity to participate in discussions to determine the production and reproduction objectives of their family.

The personal development objectives of women and youth were gradually taken into account in the production and investment decisions of the family (CNCR, 2014). Similar management and governance systems were also needed at the farmer-organisation and the local-government levels to enable the local people to embark on locally initiated and controlled development processes. These different elements needed to be combined and articulated over time through a process of trial, error and learning in order to effectively contribute to the long-term performance of the family farm. The major question which remains to be answered is the extent to which these local dynamics would enable the emergence of peasant-centred development options in the Casamance. These issues are dealt with in the next chapter.

---

<sup>15</sup>Such logic is illustrated in Chapter 6 of this thesis through the examples of farmer organisations affiliated with FONGS, AJAC, Entente de Diouloulou, AJAEDO, and FADECBA.

## CHAPTER 6

# MANIFESTATION OF FARMERS ACTIVISM IN THE CASAMANCE REGION

### 6.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Chapter 5 highlighted the ways in which the Casamance family farms dealt with the challenging circumstances in the natural and policy environment leading to a social, environmental and a food crisis. Over the years the family farms have attempted to restructure their production and livelihood systems to adapt to and accommodate hostile evolutions and develop coping mechanisms to the looming agrarian crises. Over the years and across the region the Casamance peasantry embraced a range of strategies combining a degree of self-commoditisation driven by the development of groundnut production, to varying degrees of peasant ways of farming centred on the careful balancing between commodity and non-commodity relations. These extreme options have also been mixed and combined to a large degree, depending on the specific historical circumstances as the Casamance peasantries tried to address challenges of reduced production, hunger and poverty typical of the agrarian crisis.

These dynamics of adaptation and transformation at the village and farm household levels were taking place in a dynamic context of policy and institutional changes, with the active support of FOs. As it was discussed in Chapter 4, the government policy evolved from and a hands-on/ interventionist mode to a more liberal one during which the State retreated from direct involvement in production and commercialisation activities. Hence from the years 2000s and onward, the liberalisation of the agriculture sector reinforced the exposure of rural producers to the mechanisms of international markets of agricultural commodities, particularly since the state's interventions, in terms of protecting local markets and providing direct support to the smallholder producers, were constrained by the international and regional free trade agreements, and conditionalities from donor organisations.

The rapid development of FOs during the early phases of liberalisation policies in Senegal in the 1990s, is an indication of the state's willingness to transfer some of the responsibilities of social protection, income distribution and investment in development activities to private operators (Dramé, 2005). However, the central government also took bold measures to strengthen the position of industrial farmers who were close allies of the newly elected government officials in the early 2000s. This category of rich farmers invested in the agriculture sector by accessing public resources provided through the rural development fund in response to the call for private investment in agriculture which was encouraged to provide support to the new focus on agribusiness development (Dramé, 2005).

Dramé (2005) argued that Casamance FOs adopted new economic strategies during the liberalisation era in Senegal. These materialised in the pursuit of more lucrative positions in the new value chains, mainly by improving their market position through bulk buying and bulk selling, and investing in value addition. In this context, new forms of FOs emerged in the Casamance region during the 1980s and 1990s, as a new crop of farmer leaders, who operated as 'development intermediaries' or '*courtiers du développement*', sought to bring about new business opportunities to the region.

It is therefore pertinent to investigate whether the new types of organising practices which emerged in the Casamance during the 1990s meet the requirements of the emancipator processes associated with the new peasantries as described by Van der Ploeg (2008, 2010), or whether they reflect the more specific social and economic emancipatory project of the local elite. In this latter scenario, the development of new organisations would be interpreted as an institutional innovation which is spearheaded by educated rural youth trying to chart a new course of action in development, more in line with their own aspirations for a brighter future, as implied by Englebert (2005). This chapter investigates the extent to which FOs operating in the Casamance region managed these tensions.

The central issue addressed in this chapter is then to understand the extent to which this new discourse on the family farm, actually materialised in different ways of dealing with rural people and helping to address their challenges and opportunities in the Casamance. This issue will be pursued in this chapter through an assessment of the extent to which the farmer organisation activism developed in the Casamance, as a unique value proposition in terms of providing effective support to family farms. In order to explore and analyse these issues, this chapter provides an illustration of the ways in which FOs operating in the Casamance evolved over a period of 20 years, between the 1980s and the early 2000s.

The analysis of change dynamics in FOs operating in the Casamance region relies primarily on the review of recent literature and on the results of a rapid survey conducted with selected FOs in October and November 2013 (Ndong and Ndiame, 2013). The objective of this survey was to better understand how traditional FOs, whose experiences are related in this thesis, evolved during the period 1990–2010 in response to the many political and policy changes which took place during this era. The study includes interviews with the leadership of ASPRODEP as well as targeted surveys of selected FOs, including some organisations whose activities had previously been analysed during the mid-2000s.<sup>16</sup> The following FOs were included in this review: AJAX Kolda, AJAC Colufifa, Entente de Diouloulou, AJAC de Ziguinchor, AJAIDO and FADECBA. However, this chapter will deal with the findings related to only three: AJAC-Ziguinchor, Entente Diouloulou from the Ziguinchor region (northwest) and ASPRODEP, which is a national FO led programme operating in many regions of the country.

The period under consideration is characterised by a relative rarefaction of donor funding, compared to the 1970–1980 decade when more resources were invested in the development and activities of FOs. This also an era of armed conflict in the Casamance which impacted on the extent to which the FOs were able to address challenges of an agrarian crisis in the region. A related objective of this survey was to better understand how the orientations taken by national FOs such as FONGS, CNCR or ASPRODEP actually materialised on the ground into peasant-centred development options and opportunities.

The working hypotheses which underline the research conducted in 2013 as part of the preparation of this chapter is as follow: The experience of FOs in Casamance reflect the attempts by segments of the younger and more educated population of the region

---

<sup>16</sup>This survey was conducted between 25 November and 15 December 2013, with the help of Mr El Hadj Ndong, a consultant and long-term Advisor of the Senegalese farmers' organisations. Mr Ndong was also involved in the support programmes that were targeted at farmers' organisations in the Casamance region. The checklist used for the survey is attached in the annexures of this thesis.

to develop new livelihood systems to address their own emancipation challenges in a changing environment. A detailed analysis of farmers' organisational practices will therefore provide unique insights on the ways in which different livelihood strategies adapt, interact and create unique development circumstances for the rural people in Casamance. This idea was pursued and explored with the different cases studies in this chapter.

The next section illustrates the ways in which FOs operating in the Casamance evolved over a period of 20 years, between the 1980s and the early 2000s. This discussion sets the stage for a systematic review of the types of investment undertaken by the FOs and their implications for the long-term development of the whole Casamance region. It will pay attention to the ways in which the FOs tried to facilitate the transformation strategies of different categories of family farm.

## **6.2. CASE STUDY OF A FARMER ORGANISATION: FADECBA**

The analytical focus of this case study is on the profile of the leadership of FADECBA, the nature of its relationship with rural villagers and the nature of its economic and social project. The analysis provides answers to the following questions:

- Who are the actors behind the local development dynamics?
- To what extent are the local development activities of FOs related to local needs and opportunities?
- In what different ways do these local dynamics relate to peasant society?

The case begins with an analysis of the historical context during which the organisation emerged in the Balantacounda, situated in the Middle Casamance region. This is followed by a review of the type of social relations that FADECBA managed to build with different segments of rural society and what these entailed in terms of economic and social development options and trajectories.

### **6.2.1. The foundations of a local coalition**

#### **6.2.1.1. Background:**

FADECBA was created in 1987 in Diattacounda district, an administrative sub-division of the Sedhiou region. The organisation operated in Balantacounda, an area populated mostly by the Balantes, one of the minority ethnic groups in Casamance (Diouf, 1998). The leadership of the organisation vowed to promote a community development agenda for the region centred on objectives such as food self-sufficiency, provision of credit to its members, support for women and youth groups to improve their livelihood conditions, protection of the environment, and promotion of the Balante culture. FADECBA was created during a period of drought, which also coincided with the dismantling of the government's major integrated rural development agencies, such as the Sedhiou Rice Development Programme (PRS) and ONCAD, the national agricultural inputs and equipment programme. The period was thus characterised by hardships for rural people, who had depended heavily on these development agencies for their farming and livelihood opportunities. Under these conditions, FADECBA set out to combat hunger, rural out-migration and illiteracy. It was also the organisation's ambition to take over

---

<sup>17</sup>Only the initials of the leader are mentioned here for the purpose of anonymity.

activities related to the provision of credit for inputs and for extension services from PRS and ONCAD. The creation and expansion of FADECBA in Balantacounda was therefore centred on three categories of actor:

- The relatives and family members of the leader, K.D.,<sup>17</sup> provided the funding for the first activities of FADECBA. They were supposed to be in charge of popularising and anchoring the association in their respective villages and throughout the Balantacounda district.
- The youth, who were generally educated and therefore candidates for out-migration to cities, foresaw in FADECBA an opportunity for lucrative employment.
- The local leaders, who were influential in the region and acted as opinion leaders, were enrolled by the founding leader of the association to facilitate the organisation's operations in the Balantacounda.

For the youth who were ready to out-migrate, FADECBA represented an employment agency. Most of the educated people in the villages who were enrolled as village facilitators started receiving stipends, even though these were irregular. Each FADECBA staff member had at least seven years of formal education. This education was seen by the leadership of the association as a prerequisite for the facilitation of a local development process at the village level and an important characteristic of the personnel who were to take over the work of the former rural development agents. Most of these village facilitators had previously left the villages in search of employment opportunities in the cities; they decided to respond positively to their leader's call to come back to the land and to help develop their region.

During the evaluation of a partnership between FADECBA and the Local Organisation Support Programme (LOSP), all the village facilitators who had been trained in planning and facilitation techniques responded with a very positive appreciation of the institutional support programme. The facilitators felt that they had gained a greater capacity to understand and explain the development prospects in their villages, and that their role as local facilitators was well appreciated by the community. They also felt that their villages were better informed about development prospects as a result of their involvement as village facilitators. These views were consistent with the project's endorsement of the philosophy of a community-driven development programme.

In practice though, the internal dynamics between village managers and local facilitators were not without problems. Fights were mainly triggered by rivalry and competition for the favour of the leadership (Toure, 1993). Another type of conflict materialised during the information and sensitisation campaign phase of the FADECBA-LOSP programme, between the head of the village groupings (unions), and the facilitators operating at the executive level. These questions were clearly embarrassing for the leadership of FADECBA and they pointed to the important principle of subsidiarity, which allocates greater responsibility for local initiatives to the grass-roots level.

#### ***6.2.1.2. Facilitating villagers' access to resources in the Kouniara village***

The FADECBA interventions are built on the provision of services to villagers through the village associations. Two participatory diagnostic sessions were carried out respectively by LOSP and by the West Africa Rural Foundation (WARF), in two of FADECBA's project sites. These diagnostic sessions took place in Kouniara in 1991 and in Djibanar in 1994. The two cases illustrate the contrasting realities of FOs interventions at the local level.

Kouniara is a village of 450 inhabitants located in a valley where the principal problem was food insecurity (PRAAP, 1991). As previously described, the gradual reduction of rainfall over decades led to the intrusion of salty waters in the rice-growing lots in the lowlands. This led to a reduction in soil fertility and the destruction of some of the rice fields in the lowland and in the upland areas which ultimately meant that the farmers were unable to grow enough food to feed their families for a full year. During the diagnostic session, the team sought to examine the degree of social differentiation prevailing in the village. The socio-economic classification of village households, based on the wealth-ranking exercise and the extent to which different categories of villages were coping with the situation, revealed four categories of villagers based on the informants own criteria:

- The 'millionaire' corresponded to a category of villagers who had substantial means, which allowed them to undertake commercial activities in addition to farming. They owned large herds of cattle and orchards, and had other sources of revenue which allowed them to accumulate a 'fortune' in the eyes of their fellow villagers. According to the survey, five families out of 52 belonged to this category, of which two were members of FADECBA.
- The 'self-sufficient' were classified as villagers who had few production problems, because they had succeeded in diversifying their agricultural activities. However, they had just enough food to meet their own consumption needs, and therefore could not help other needy villagers. Thirteen families out of 52 belonged to this category and five of them were members of FADECBA.
- 'People with problems' were those who, according to villagers, 'did not have a chance'. They had large families, were generally in debt and they did not receive any remittances from relatives and family members who had migrated. They were obliged to provide paid labour to the wealthier categories of the village. Just under half (25) of the households out of the 52 in the village belonged to this category; eight of them were members of FADECBA.
- The 'poor and miserable' corresponded to old people living alone, the 'lazy ones', the 'people who did not have a family', and the immigrants who had fled Guinea-Bissau during its war of independence. A total of nine families out of the 52 belonged in this category and none of them was a member of FADECBA.

This classification mirrors the typology that was recently developed by FONGS (2013) for the Casamance region. In the mind and words of the local villagers, these different categories of farmer pursue different types of adaptation and transformation strategies among which only one is clearly successful and embodies the key features of a peasant way of farming. This classification implies a pattern of accumulation and transformation centred on the principles of pluriactivity, integrating crop and livestock production.

The analysis of the survey conducted with villagers revealed that the membership of FADECBA came from all social categories, including the poorest. Members of the 'millionaire' category had much influence on the population, given their high status and their social position in the village. The villagers who were the most interested in joining the village association belonged to the 'people with problems' category. However, members of this category were not good candidates for agricultural credit, given their poor economic standing. Lastly, the association was unable to solve the problem of the marginalisation of categories such as the 'poor and miserable' since they could not afford the association's services.

However, over the years, there was friction with villagers, mainly around the issue of debt repayments, since (as shown in Chapter 5) the low profitability of the fertiliser used added to the difficult economic position of certain members, making it difficult for them to repay their loans. To recover its funds, FADECBA was obliged to take tough measures against the defaulters, such as reporting them to the police or even seizing equipment. In the eyes of the villagers, the association acted as policemen who would punish the defaulters.

For many villagers, faced with real difficulties in honouring their commitments, FADECBA appeared like an external structure whose modes of operation were similar to those of an NGO or a government service agency. Through this process of getting tougher and applying a set of sanctions to recover the debts, the association started to lose its appeal as a native organisation. Many villagers started to question the organisation's claim of rootedness, its credibility and its legitimacy within the rural communities it had vowed to promote.

The case of Kouniara showed that FADECBA tried to respond to members' needs, by providing access to agricultural credit and improvements in the productivity of their fields. However, in doing so FADECBA had put itself in the position of a typical service delivery structure. It focussed too much on taking over the traditional role of development agencies. Such a position put the federation in a difficult management position. The farmer federation's situation was exacerbated by the fact that some of its NGO partners made the rapid achievement of financial autonomy a condition for their institutional support. In an effort to comply with this, the association, which was not yet deeply rooted in its membership base, immediately began to launch a set of businesses and income-generating activities. It is possible that this entrepreneurial attitude may have contributed to villagers' confusion and false perceptions about FADECBA. In fact, this situation revealed the tension which the nascent organisation was facing, as it was caught between the need to reconcile the requirements for a rigorous management of its programmes (as agreed upon with its own funders), with the need to be responsive to the needs and requests of the villagers it was trying to support.

When FADECBA had the opportunity to reflect on its experience, the organisation tried to respond to these tensions in a practical and innovative way. In response to the diversification needs of the wealthier villagers and the specific issues of the 'people with problems', FADECBA opted for a more decentralised credit system. Such an option allowed villagers to develop smaller, self-managed income-generating projects, which could be implemented at individual or family level. This option was seen to be more appropriate than the centrally managed group project. However, this decentralised approach required the federation to embark on a locally driven consultation and planning process, involving members at the village level. The second example provided below, reviews an intervention that took place a few years later in Djibanar.

### ***6.2.2. Building access to shared resources: The case of Djibanar***

The Djibanar case study deals with an initiative which encompassed several villages dealing with the complex issues of decentralisation and local governance. The process of decentralisation is as old as the country's independence history. The 'rural communities' were created by a law referenced as Law 60-15 of 13 January 1960.<sup>18</sup> These entities are led and administered by locally elected rural counsellors, charged with the management of

---

<sup>18</sup>Senegal became independent the same year.

the rural land base. The counsellors were elected during local elections, on lists presented by the competing political parties. The rural council held the power and legal capacity to manage the land, from the provisions of the Law 64-46, referred to as the National Domain Law. The subsequent territorial reform which took place in 1972 (Law 72-02), and its application decrees, completed the legal organisation of the rural communities (Hesseling, 1984; de Jonge et al, 1978).

The rural council thus became the central authority around which the Senegalese state intended to organise the local management of natural resources, and the engineering of rural development activities by locally elected officials. However, cooperation between FOs and the rural council did not materialise, since each of these entities tended to operate in their own space, while ignoring the other. To many villagers, the rural council appeared more like a political institution. As a result, the FOs tended to mistrust the institution, mainly because the organisation's legitimacy appeared to rest on a distant state and on a political process the FOs were uncomfortable with. The FOs, which positioned themselves as representatives of village associations, were seen as members of a more inclusive rural 'civil society'.

Other distinguishing features between the two institutions included the fact that the rural council operated with public resources, primarily collected from rural taxes or from funds provided by foreign donors. Furthermore, their mandate was limited to a geographic territory (rural community) which did not coincide with the operational areas of FOs. The interventions of the rural councils were more limited – to one, or a few villages. Lastly, the rural communities were not set up at the same time in all the regions of Senegal. The country's most remote regions, – Saint-Louis, Ziguinchor, Kolda and Tambacounda – were the last to form rural councils. For this reason, the acceptance and the institutional recognition of the rural council were less solidly anchored in the local development scenery in these regions, compared to other areas where they had been operating for a longer period of time.

#### **6.2.2.1. FADECBA's attempts to rebuild villagers' resource base**

In the case of the Djibanar valley (FRAO, 1994) FADECBA and other FOs intervened in a challenging context. Both the geographical scale of the operation (a river basin occupied by 10 villages) and the objectives pursued (the restructuring and the management of shared production spaces), represented significant challenges in terms of the capacity of local actors to design and operate effective mechanisms of local governance over shared resources.

The valley comprise vast depressions where the local systems of production maintained their balance during times of good rainfall (before 1970). Such a balance rested on the double-harvest rice cultivation practised by the women and facilitated by the diversity of ecological spaces suited for rice cultivation (depressions, mangroves, lower slopes and uplands). The availability of household food also depended on other food crops, such as millet and sorghum, and the commercial crops (groundnut) grown in the uplands by the men. However, with the reduction in the amount of rainfall, and the gradual salt intrusion and the acidification of the rice fields, women growers could only obtain one harvest of rice, in a smaller production space. This negative evolution resulted in food deficits and in low levels of self-sufficiency at the household level over the years. A double strategy was subsequently implemented by the production units in their attempt to compensate for the production imbalances.

Firstly, they acted to develop fruit-bearing fields in the uplands (fruit and cashew nut gardens), to get cash which could be used to buy cereals during the hunger season. However, this strategy was not successful for two reasons: firstly, there was a lack of information on markets and the commercialisation circuits. This problem was exacerbated by the remoteness of the production areas, and the lack of adequate road and storage infrastructure, which made it difficult to effectively market the products. The second constraint related to the producer organisations' limited capacity to operate in new and complex sub-sectors and commodity value chains.

Secondly, villagers tried to build hydraulic dams to secure their rice cultivation in the lowlands. The objective was to restore the conditions to the prior situation, when they realised double harvests in one year. NGOs and development projects had previously invested in developing hydraulic water retention and anti-salt dams in the region. However, these interventions had limited impact because of problems related to proper technical supervision and follow-up, maintenance of the hydraulic devices, and the lack of consultation among the various users of the infrastructure. Similarly, FADECBA tried to build an anti-salt dam which would allow for the recovery of salinised land. This attempt did not succeed because of a lack of coordination between their activities and those initiated by the Integrated Rural Development Project of Middle Casamance (PRIMOCA), a rural development agency funded by Italian bilateral cooperation and operating in the district. For example, the agency built a small bridge-dam, not far from the location where FADECBA was building a salt-control facility thus nullifying FADECBA's efforts in the area.

Moreover, FADECBA's Djibanar activities were also hampered by a lack of connection with the traditional organisations and village associations. At most, FADECBA was able to mobilise a few members in some villages. FADECBA worked mainly with individuals in each village and managed to establish bonds with only a few village authorities and local government representatives (Ndiamé, 2002). Moreover, and despite the significance of these interventions, FADECBA did not address the fundamental causes of the production and livelihood crisis in the Casamance. A few years down the line, conditions changed with the launch of the FOs support programme championed by the West Africa Rural Foundation (WARF), an NGO dedicated to supporting FOs. FADECBA was able to take advantage of this intervention to initiate local development dynamics of a totally different kind. The next section provides a summary of this multi-village development process initiated by FADECBA in Djibanar.

#### ***6.2.2.2. Facilitating a multi-village consultation and mobilisation framework***

In 1994, a participative diagnosis was carried out with support from WARF. The local actors involved in this process recognised that global management of the land and water resources in the whole valley was needed to deal with the problem of salt intrusion in the lowlands and to rehabilitate the traditional production systems. Consequently, it was essential to overcome the lack of an organising framework that would enable effective implementation of a rehabilitation programme of this magnitude. Accordingly, FADECBA decided to consult with other local actors such as AJAC and the '*Maisons Familiales Rurales*'. These discussions culminated in the establishment of a Dialogue Committee of the Balantacounda Producers (CBCP), a consultation and cooperation forum of rural organisations operating in the Balantacounda district. CBCP was constituted on the basis of a general assembly of 10 member associations. The general

assembly elected an executive office, which defined an intervention programme at the district level scale. A summary of its intervention programme is provided in Box 6.1 below.

CBCP started its operations with a sensitisation activity targeted at the various villages affected by problems in the Djibanar valley. The information campaign highlighted the benefits of the programme in terms of its potential to restore local production systems, the participation required from villagers, and the need to set up a local management committee (CVG) in each village. CBCP recruited a private water technician to conduct water and soil studies needed to manage the infrastructure. The construction of two anti-salt dams and the repair of four water facilities operating in the valley allowed the rehabilitation of the rice fields. A Memorandum of Understanding was later signed with the regional office of ISRA to conduct agronomic tests to determine which rice varieties would be suited to the different water regimes in the valley.

However, the most important aspect of the CBCP action lay in the dynamics of dialogue and cooperation instituted among the villages sharing the resources of the valley. A water management model for the whole watershed was developed with the help of the water technician. The model was presented to and discussed with representatives of the various user groups from the 10 villages. Following those deliberations the management model was accepted by all the 10 villages. This helped regulate the periods when valves were opened and closed in the various dams in order to maintain the level of water needed by all the different users.

The rural council was also involved in the redistribution of the reclaimed lands, in consultation with the village chiefs. This operation was conducted under the auspices of CBCP and the CVGs, in ways which sought to prevent conflicts of interest between participating villages. Under the new circumstances created by the collective management scheme of the whole river basin, the official National Domain Law prevailed over the traditional tenure regimes, which appeared to become inoperative or potentially conflictive in the new context.

*Box 6.1: The CBCP and Djibanar valley rehabilitation programme*

Source: Ndiame (2002)

The results obtained by the CBCP showed that under certain conditions, villagers sharing a common resource base could set up cooperation mechanisms which allowed them to build their resource base, and reconfigure the rural land occupation and usage patterns. The important prerequisite for effectively operating such a cooperation scheme was to resolutely focus on the major priorities of producers, and to build a decentralised and legitimate framework for consultation and dialogue on issues of common interest to the villagers. This mechanism allowed the different villages to overcome the subjectivisms and mistrust associated with prior interventions, by effectively sharing the benefits and the credit associated with a collective endeavour. This case also typifies how villagers were able to jump-start a local development process which did not necessarily put the officially instituted rural council at the forefront of the activities. On the contrary, villagers were able to draw on the rural council's legitimacy and its competencies when appropriate. In the same way, the resources of other actors (private operator and agricultural researchers) were mobilised and brought into a synergetic framework, in support of the local producers' development agenda.

The story of FADECBA very well illustrates the difficult learning process that the Casamance peasant farmers had to go through, as they tried to construct more sustainable

production and livelihood systems. The context of the interventions described earlier is characterised by a gradual erosion of the production base at the disposal of rural households, which compelled them to build innovative responses to their hostile production environment. Added to those priorities was the need to diversify the production activities and resources at the disposal of the most marginalised members of the family: women and youth.

In summary, the experience of FADECBA epitomises the difficult process of facilitating the transformation and modernisation processes of farmers. Key milestones of the evolution entail an initial positioning as a substitute for the state in the creation of conditions favourable to entrepreneurial farming. These phenomena were fundamentally linked to the gradual erosion of the productive base of the local people. The farmer organisation needed to tackle this problem by promoting activities which would lead to the continuous development and improvement of the resource base, through which progress and prosperity unfolds in peasant agriculture. In other words, the construction of meaningful livelihood systems require not only new technologies and organisational activities but also the development of new normative frameworks and a significant revision of the management and governance systems which should determine the successful development of shared resources.

### **6.3. CHANGING ROLES OF FARMERS' ORGANISATIONS IN THE CASAMANCE**

The section also assesses whether the promises associated with the experience of this new crop of FOs actually accrued to the Casamance rural producers. The thrust of this analysis is to understand the extent to which these organisations related in similar or different ways to external actors and local people. The goal of the analysis is to better appreciate whether their activities contributed to the emergence of new and more promising local development dynamics which enabled improved livelihood prospects for the Casamance peasantry.

The analysis of change dynamics in FOs operating in the Casamance region is based on the results of a study conducted on selected FOs by Ndong and Ndiame (2013). For each of the FOs considered, the analysis focuses on understanding how changes in the wider context have informed their organisational development and their programmatic strategies and the way these changes have affected their ability to provide income-enhancing as well as social services to their members. The analysis also seeks to understand the roles that rural youth, women and traditional institutions played in these strategies. The next section summarises the key findings of the survey for the different AJAC Ziguinchor, Entente de Diouloulou and ASPRODEP FOs studied

#### **6.3.1. AJAC Ziguinchor**

##### **6.3.1.1. Background**

The organisation includes five unions with about 30 groups per union, on average. Its organs are a General Assembly, a Board of Directors of 21 members, including seven women, of whom one was the first Vice President. Its leaders are drawn from the first organisation created when AJAC combined both regions. These officials had a higher level of formal education; they were also more often than not, economically comfortable and were also the most engaged in the activities of the organisation. These early officials

were influential people in their community and had migrated to the major cities of the country and the region but had finally figured it was better to stay at home knowing there was the possibility of a better life. Training received before the separation between the two AJAC associations (Ziguinchor and Kolda) contributed to their greater awareness and sharpened citizenship skills, as well as the desire to develop their own areas.

The Executive Committee comprise seven members, including one woman, and since 1989/1990, there have been three elected presidents. The Board is expected to meet every four months and the Executive Committee every month. There is also a supervisory committee whose members are appointed by the General Assembly. As a result of financial difficulties encountered by the organisation, the meetings of the organs never took place as originally planned. There is an accounting system kept by an accountant who received in-depth training through an internship in Europe in the early years of the associative movement.

A clear vision for the organisation was not defined when it was created, but was linked to addressing the negative effects of the repeated droughts which spared no country in the Sahel after 1973, and triggered the development of a major self-help movements under the influence of international disaster aid organisations. There ensued a long period of opulence, given the high volume of funding that these organisations received through a great spirit of solidarity and mutual aid as specified in the constitutions and bylaws of many FOs which were created with the goal of improving the livelihood conditions of its members. During this era, FOs were able to acquire equipment, develop social infrastructure, undertake capacity-building activities, constitute larger federal organisations, and serve as the voice of the rural populace of Senegal at national and international levels.

### **6.3.1. 2. Funding sources and related activities**

**Table 6.1 summarises the partners and the funding secured by AJAC-Ziguinchor from the mid-1980s to early 2012. The table also shows the major activities that were implemented of the organisation's life.**

Year	Partner	Amount (CFA F)	Activities supported
1983–1986	AFDI	41,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Training of well diggers and artisans <input type="checkbox"/> Preparation of manual water pumps <input type="checkbox"/> Repairs to agricultural equipment <input type="checkbox"/> Dowsers' tool boxes
1983–1987	WFD	56,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Training of village facilitators <input type="checkbox"/> Processing of agricultural products <input type="checkbox"/> Storage of horticulture products
1984–1987	COE	57,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Capacity building and training for the farmer leaders <input type="checkbox"/> Purchase of vehicles and motorbikes for the village facilitators <input type="checkbox"/> Institutional support to the farmer organisation
1985–1988	Helvetas	30,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Cereal banks <input type="checkbox"/> Preparation of fences for the horticulture gardens

Year	Partner	Amount (CFA F)	Activities supported
1987–1988	OXFAM AMERIQUE	37,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Vegetable gardens <input type="checkbox"/> Wells and fencing materials
1989	SIXS	87,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Flexible institutional funding, allowing the farmer organisation to apply the 60/40 rule <sup>(a)</sup>
1990	FONGS	7,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Revolving fund for women's economic activities
1994–1998	Pain Pour Le Monde	300,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Institutional support to farmer unions <input type="checkbox"/> Support to horticulture and agroforestry activities <input type="checkbox"/> Training of village animators <input type="checkbox"/> Purchase of cows <input type="checkbox"/> Setting up village pharmacies <input type="checkbox"/> Support to animal health and livestock activities
2001–2004	Word Education USAID	5,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Rotating meetings of the General Assembly <input type="checkbox"/> Sensitisation, training and social dialogue campaigns <input type="checkbox"/> Education for peace targeted at school attendees <input type="checkbox"/> Messaging of communication campaigns centred on the value of tolerance and acceptance of social differences
2012	FONGS	7,000,000	<input type="checkbox"/> Support to horticultural activities conducted at the family level <input type="checkbox"/> Raising small ruminants <input type="checkbox"/> Retail trading <input type="checkbox"/> Reforestation activities <input type="checkbox"/> Subsidy Fund to family farms

*Table 6.1: Source of funding and main activities conducted by AJAC-Ziguinchor:*

Source: Ndong and Ndiame (2013)

Legend: (a) Sixty per cent of the funds could be used for investments, with the prospects of achieving a level of financial autonomy over time; while 40% of the fund would cover the operational costs of the organisation.

In summary, AJAC was able to secure significant amounts of funding from a diversified set of funders: CFA Francs 1, 083 billion were received by AJAC in support of its activities in the Ziguinchor area during the period ranging from 1984 to 2012. This funding enabled the association to implement projects and programmes in a wide range of activities, including institutional development, support to the economic activities of its members and for the promotion of peace in the Casamance region. The next section provides an overview of the major achievements of the FOs, as well as its current challenges and its future development outlook.

#### **6.3.1.3. Key Interventions Areas and results**

Based on the interviews conducted with the leadership and members of AJAC-Ziguinchor in November 2013, the organisation achieved a number of significant results during its development career:

- The investments in development initiatives and in capacity building resulted in a

real awakening to the concept of being a 'peasant' farmer for grass-roots members. They proudly identified themselves with the farming profession and display a high level of confidence in themselves. Training activities were conducted in different thematic areas for the different production sectors; these training activities were generally linked to action, and study tours were also organised, to give members greater exposure to possible development in their activities.

- AJAC provided technical training and services to support members' economic activities including: individual and collective orchards, petty trade activities, farming, tree planting, gardening and processing activities. More than 200 families received a combination of technical and financial support from AJAC. The groups were also trained in management and financial literacy, including the development of a domestic balance sheet, which enabled several women's groups to open their own saving accounts with local banks and to access loans for their economic and social activities. The association organised regular training and information sessions targeted at local people, on issues related to agricultural policy, leading to ownership of major changes concerning the rural world. The confidence restored through the activities of AJAC is now helping to strengthen the business relations being developed between banks, financing institutions and producers. Banks are now inviting farmers to take loans and the culture of using credit for business has now developed in the region. As a result, many economic operators and women-owned businesses have emerged in the localities covered by AJAC.
- AJAC has built good working relations with the decentralised state authorities, and it is regularly invited to share information about its economic activities in the different localities where it operates. Moreover, the state authorities make use of the services of many trained veterinary assistants from the locality during the annual sessions of livestock vaccination. There is an increasing level of participation of AJAC members in local governance bodies: six local government counsellors are members of AJAC from the Luckal rural community; in the case of the Ouonck rural community the head of the local government committee is a leader of the peasant movement. In the rural community of Djinaki, the president is also a member of AJAC-Ziguinchor. The members of the organisation have also acquired good competencies in the development of local development plans (LDPs) and annual investment plans (AIPs).
- AJAC invested a great deal in the peace process in Casamance through the creation of a collective of village chiefs in the acute conflict areas. Since then, village chiefs have come together and had discussions about ways of restoring peace to their localities. Meetings of the General Assembly are organised in different villages on a rotational basis and these activities are combined with recreational activities interwoven with messages of peace. A local band has been linked into this initiative and when they perform in the villages in the moonlight, members of the MFDC and the local population dance together until dawn.

Some of the tangible indicators of success for the organisation include the following:

- The creation of two cooperatives for the multiplication of millet, peanut, corn and rice seeds.
- In 2012, 60 ha of land was cultivated, producing 40 tonnes of peanuts.
- The production of maize seed started in 2009 with a total production of 2 tonnes; this production increased to 5 tonnes in 2012.

- The creation of a service delivery platform providing machinery services in the rice producing valley; the unit is equipped with two tillers and the service is paid for at a rate of CFA F8 per square metre.
- The creation of vegetable production nurseries sold to female producers: 75 family units are supplied by the nursery, which is located in an AJAC-Ziguinchor union.
- Support to groups for the sale of their products by linking them to the FIARA, an international fair which was set up by FONGS and CNCR.
- Creating an economic entity which provides building material services and products, and training in administrative and accounting management.

The provision of dowsing services by well-reputed members of the organisation

#### **6.3.1.4. Future development perspectives**

After this period of significant funding in favour of local FOs, came the hard times when most funding dried up. This situation compelled some organisations to change their modes of operation and methods of intervention, while adhering to the same principles and the governing spirit which had led to their initial creation. Thus in 2002, AJAC- Ziguinchor carried out adjustments to its statutes and its bylaws, to define a new vision and new strategic directions. The new vision formulated by the association reads: 'United farmers whose integrity and prosperity are based on the values of solidarity and mutual assistance'.

The new association defined five key strategic directions:

- Professionalisation of the agricultural operators and workers in their area of intervention;
- Capacity building of women, to prepare them for assuming greater political responsibility and to develop their economic power;
- Contributing to the achievement of lasting peace in Casamance;
- Supporting farmers in general and other local development stakeholders in the implementation of their activities;
- Support for peasant leaders to integrate bodies of local governance in the region.

This vision and its related strategic principles guide the activities of AJAC-Ziguinchor in its present-day activities and dealings with other development actors operating in the Casamance region.

### **6.3.2. The Entente Diouloulou**

#### **6.3.2.1. Background**

Entente Diouloulou is a legally registered organisation which was founded in 1984. It consists of 1,874 members – 50% men and 50% women. The *Entente de Diouloulou* has the following organs: a General Assembly and a Board of Directors of 14 people, including 6 women. The Board convenes two meetings a year, one in the early winter campaign, which is a preparatory meeting, and a second meeting later in the season in order to review and assess the progress made during the campaign. There is a simplified

accounting system and records are kept by a trained leader whose expertise is also used to update management tools available to families to monitor their production.

Before its formalisation as a village association, the Entente was simply a group of Kabyline village members who had received funding from a government business promotion agency, GOPEC, in order to set up a banana plantation. After several years of operations the group faced serious problems such as lack water for irrigation and the challenges associated with the marketing of a highly perishable product. The group decided to shift their activities into a major orchard of fruit trees of various species, but there were additional problems linked to the uncertainty created by the very active rebellion in this locality.

One of the leaders of Entente was arrested for his involvement in the Casamance crisis and he spent a long time in prison; this greatly affected his health and he passed away shortly after his release. The first leaders stayed in Dakar and returned when the group received funding for the banana project. One member, who travelled periodically to Dakar in order to sell palm oil, met Mr Mamadou Cissokho, the founder of the Bamba Thialene Entente in 1979; they built a relationship which developed and subsequently led to the creation of the *Entente de Diouloulou* and the 'Inter-entente' of which *Entente de Diouloulou* is a member.

#### **6.3.2.2. Funding sources and related activities**

Between 2010 and 2012, the Entente de Diouloulou mobilised CFA F30 million from a few donors, including FONGS and ASPRODEP, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the Senegalese Association of Peasant Seed Producers (ASPSP/New Field). The activities conducted revolved around rice production and marketing, tile-making, the purchase of inputs and horticulture production.

Year	Partner	Amount (CFA F)	Activities supported
2010	PROCAS	10,000,000	☐ Purchase of a moulding machine for the production of tiles
2011	FONGS	1,000,000	☐ Collection of rice from individual producers
			☐ Conditioning and labelling
2011–2012	ASPRODEP	12,000,000	☐ Purchase of inputs
			☐ Purchase of packaging materials; conditioning
2011–2012	ASPSP/ NEW FIELD	3,500,000	☐ Support for vegetable production: fencing of fields; well digging
			☐ Purchase of water pumps for irrigation
			☐ Purchase of seeds for horticulture production
			☐ Purchase of agricultural equipment
2012	FAO	3,500,000	☐ Purchase of fertiliser

Table 6.2: Source of funding and main activities conducted by Entente Diouloulou

Source: Ndong and Ndiame (2013)

#### **6.3.2.3. Key results**

An analysis of the survey conducted by Ndong and Ndiame (2013) revealed a number of positive outputs and achievements realised by the organisation including:

- A net increase in the production of rice seeds. This initiative started by 2 families in 1988 rapidly attracted others and currently there are 61 families producing rice seeds. Acreage planted to rice increased from 0.25 ha in 1998 to 60 and 85.2 ha in 2011 and 2012 respectively with an estimated production of 214.3 tonnes of seeds. The sale of a portion of the 2011 /2012 harvest season brought in a turnover of CFA F10 million. The seed capital of the village, which was lost during the Casamance crisis period, is being reconstituted.
- An increased responsibility given to women, who run the entire seed production activity, from the production process to the commercialisation of the product. They manage this on behalf of the whole family, which is the socio-economic unit that the farmer organisation works with.
- Regular family meetings keep the operation accountable. These meetings take place early in the growing season and after harvest, and the process has encouraged the development of a new culture of dialogue between members of the same family. This platform also allows for a more transparent management of resources belonging to the family, as priorities are set at the family meeting and a choice is made on the types of costs to be incurred and the amounts to be allocated to different expense categories (schooling, costs of drilling, payment of electricity, and the recurring expense portions are all defined).
- A reduction in the levels of out-migration by young boys and girls. They note that a good number of them have returned to their village and do not seek to go back to the city. This phenomenon is linked to the significant improvements in living conditions, as villagers who are members of the FOs are now able to afford houses built with concrete material and they are enjoying access to electricity and products such as television and satellite dishes.
- A noticeable increase in the village savings and credit fund, and its viability is being enhanced by the accounts being opened for family businesses that derive revenue from the sale of their rice seed production.
- Provision of transport services by private family businesses and the emergence of economic interest groups by women entrepreneurs who participate at the international agricultural fair (FIARA) in Dakar.
- Enhanced cooperation between the national credit Bank (CNCA) and *Entente de Diouloulou*, following the liquidation of a long standing debt incurred by the organisation

#### ***6.3.2.4. Some challenges and opportunities***

Despite these good results Entente Diouloulou is faced with some significant challenges:

- A low level of mechanisation of rice production activities which limits the development of the seed production that is dependent on increasing the amount of land under cultivation.
- A disruption of regular meetings sponsorships funded by local members' contributions. The meetings are currently viewed by some as being used to support the rebellion.

- Inability of Entente villages which are near the rebel cantonment areas to participate in the life of the association.

Despite these serious challenges, members of Entente Diouloulou consider that they have acquired a great deal of economic power, which is attested to by the size of their market share in the seed production business. The seeds that they produce are sold with great ease and the demand strongly exceeds supply. Their clientele is diverse, and includes:

- Individual rice farmers in the Casamance region and beyond;
- The governments of The Gambia and Guinea-Bissau procure their seed from the Entente through the Senegalese Ministry of Agriculture;
- Rural development projects operating in the Ziguinchor and Kolda regions (PADERCA);
- NGOs, (7A and FODDE) in the Kolda region; and
- The national extension agency ANCAR, operating in the Fatick, Kaolack and Vélingara regions;
- The World Food Programme (WFP) which through its 'work for food' programme; agreed to purchase the entire production of rice and vegetables. The contract for vegetable gardening was implemented in 2012/ 2013, and in 2012 WFP developed an area of 65 ha of land rice in support of the agreement.

#### **6.3.2.5. *Vision, mission and strategy***

The officials met during the interview conducted as part of the survey (Ndong and Ndiame, 2013) confirmed that the Entente Diouloulou has not changed its vision and its mission, which still conform to the ideals which were behind its creation in 1984. However, the operational strategies have changed in two major areas:

- Firstly the organisation decided to stop the use of the Economic Interest Group vehicle, for income generation activities because of repeated cases of mismanagement that members considered to be a stumbling block to their success. Furthermore, there were additional constraints related to the fiscal status of this legal entity, which made the members personally liable for the debts and losses incurred by their business. As a result tile-making activities and shops which were managed under the Economic Interest Group vehicle were reallocated to another department of the organisation which deals with the production of goods and services. The shops were sold to those who had managed them before, as their profitability was not significant, given the efforts made by managers and the costs they incurred for regular monitoring and periodic inventories.
- The organisation created two cooperatives, with one dealing specifically with rice-seed production as well as post-harvest activities and marketing, while the other, a multifunctional cooperative handles the marketing of tiles from the two manufacturing units and will also market the products of another operational activity of an economic nature still to be created.

The organisation also committed itself to contributing to the revival of rice production which plays such a significant role in the strategy of rural households. The need to develop the rice production activity, which is primarily a traditional activity, has been

a concern often expressed by the local people. The insecurity linked to the activities of the rebellion has caused the disappearance of rice seed; this was obviously a tragedy for members of the Diola ethnic group for whom rice farms and rice production play a significant role in their lives. For these reasons, Entente Diouloulou intends to make the revival of the rice sector a key element of its new strategy. The organisation plans to look for funding in order to restore the necessary conditions for production through the construction of retention and anti-salt dams and the acquisition of equipment for rice production and post-harvest operations.

### **6.3.3. The new economic turn provided by ASPRODEP<sup>19</sup>**

The initial phase of heavy involvement in the implementation of public programmes such as the PSSA, and PSAOP, enabled FOs to gain credibility with the government and donor agencies. As a result of their involvement in these programmes, the FOs became familiar with the funding procedures and the accountability requirements of donor organisations. However, the leadership of ASPRODEP and the FOs felt that this type of involvement in the implementation of national programmes initiated by the state and donor organisations had very little impact on the fundamental needs of FOs and the challenges faced by smallholder farmers. Although these programmes were enabling their access to public resources, the arrangement was reducing the FOs to the simple role of project implementer, which limited their autonomy as well as their prospects of building an economic power base for the smallholder farmers. A new orientation which would position the FOs in the economic space was needed, in order to acquire greater economic power.

ASPRODEP initiated this orientation in 2008, under the leadership of the late Ndiogou Fall, one of the founding members of FONGS and CNCR. Mr Fall had just completed his tenure of 12 years as the President of ROPPA, the West African network of FOs. During his term as President of ROPPA, Mr Fall had spearheaded a process of engagement between West African FOs in their effort to create an Africa-wide network of FOs which would engage with African governments and with the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and popularise the vision of smallholder farmers for the development of a Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP). This engagement process led to the creation of a platform of African Farmers' Organisations (PAFO) and the creation of a Farmer Forum which convenes every two years, as part of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)'s Governing Council meetings.

Under the leadership of Mr Fall, ASPRODEP decided to embark on the promotion of lucrative business activities, with the objective of acquiring more economic powers for FOs and their members. Two specific niches were initially targeted by ASPRODEP: the production of seeds and the commercialisation of agricultural commodities. These activities would be anchored in a network of multifunctional small-scale family farms, affiliated to professionally run and managed cooperatives. The cooperatives, whose constitution and management systems would conform to the new legislation regulating cooperative activities in Francophone West Africa (OHADA), would operate as a platform for service delivery and market access to their affiliated producers.

---

<sup>19</sup> This section builds on the results of an interview conducted with Mr Ousmane Ndiaye, the National Director of ASPRODEP, on 16 November 2013 in Dakar, Senegal.

During the period of 2010 to 2013, a network of 40 cooperatives made up of 13,000 producers was operating in eight regions of Senegal. The network has developed a partnership with the Ministry of Agriculture for the provision of extension and other technical services; it has also secured the equivalent of CFA F700 million<sup>20</sup> in input loans from the CNCA. According to Mr Ndiaye, the current National Director of ASPRODEP, the programme has generated a total return of CFA F4 billion to the rural producers during this period.

Other types of partnership are being pursued with other economic operators. For example, ASPRODEP has facilitated a partnership between networks of farmer cooperatives with SEDAP, a privately-owned company specialising in the distribution of groundnut seeds. This is based on contractual relations between the company and the network of selected cooperatives, on the basis of specified quality standards and agreed upon quantities of seeds to be delivered, based on an established schedule.

A similar contract arrangement valued at CFA F3 billion has been secured with CIAT, an agro-industrial complex based in the city of Touba since 2007 (Sarr, 2013). The company, which is targeting local and national markets for vegetable oil and other derivatives of groundnuts, is procuring its raw products from the network of cooperatives affiliated with ASPRODEP. For the FOs, business relations such as the above entail the challenge of facilitating access to markets for their members produce while ensuring favourable prices for the higher quality of their produce. The contractual arrangement with CIAT therefore includes the shared objective of taking on these challenges by engaging in a partnership to co-create wealth. The objective was for the farmer organisation to deliver to CIAT 10,000 tonnes of groundnuts with an average yield of 70% after threshing, and a minimum level of impurity, inferior to 1%.

The implementation of this agreement used the following steps:

- A contract was signed between ASPRODEP and CIAT, with clearly spelt out objectives and terms regarding quantity, quality and price.
- ASPRODEP conducted an information campaign targeted at the FOs which resulted in the selection of 13 participants comprising nine cooperative and four farmer apex organisations.
- ASPRODEP signed a contract with the 13 FOs, specifying the terms and conditions of their participation in the deal.
- Specific conditions related to transport, delivery of the product and the payment modalities were agreed to.
- A credit facility of CFA F150 million was negotiated with CNCA, to enable effective implementation of the programme.
- A specific facility was set up to monitor the implementation of the programme and to facilitate communication with the FOs.

The following results were achieved:

- A total production of 3,512 tonnes of groundnuts was delivered to CIAT over a period of three months.

---

<sup>20</sup>This is equivalent to US\$1.4 million (at the rate of 1US\$=500 CFA F).

- The target quality level was achieved, since the rate of impurity was 0.7%, much lower than the 1% tolerance that was agreed upon.
- CIAT paid a total of CFAF 674 million, of which 92% went to the producers and 8% went to the other business operators involved in the transaction.
- The quantities were delivered in the town of Touba on time, as per the specifications in the contract.

However, ASPRODEP faced a number of challenges: firstly, the working capital at its disposal was relatively limited; this resulted in a slow start for the whole operation. Secondly, there was a shortage of some of the raw materials required for the packaging of the product, and there were also delays in accessing the subsidies provided by the state. Finally, the overall policy and competition environment was not very supportive of FOs.

Despite these challenges, the result of this experiment was positively assessed by the leadership of ASPRODEP; they concluded that it was possible for smallholder farmers to enter the business space profitably. However, this will require that they meet the quality standards and the specifications of their contractual agreements with SMEs and other value-chain operators. In order to meet these challenges, it is essential to build a strong partnership platform between the FOs operating on the ground, ASPRODEP and CIAT. The successful implementation of these partnership arrangements will require significant investments in market intelligence, transactions management and the governance of the value chains, as well as in the technical delivery of support services to smallholder farmers.

In 2013, ASPRODEP started negotiating with a network of bakers in order to procure orders from them for millet and maize, to be incorporated into the production of bread as a substitute for wheat, which is imported in huge quantities by Senegal. The vision of ASPRODEP is to pursue this drive to unlock value for smallholder farmers by engaging in more lucrative value chains, and by linking smallholder farmers to processes of value addition and distribution.

In this respect, the organisation intends to initiate a new project of processing and distributing locally produced rice. This would entail setting up rice-processing units in the rice-producing areas as well as setting up a distribution network made up of small shops which specialise in the sale of quality rice (whole grains and broken rice) that meets the standards of the imported rice which is currently widely consumed in the country. The organisation is planning to set up 250 shops across the 10 regions of Senegal. It remains to be seen how this new business orientation initiated by ASPRODEP will materialise on the ground in the Casamance region.

#### **6.3.4. Emerging lessons and trends in the operation of the Casamance farmers' organisations**

The case studies conducted in 2013 confirm the existence of certain common characteristics among the FOs interviewed, in terms of general positioning, vision and activities conducted. They continued to receive a substantial level of support from international NGOs and donor organisations in order to facilitate local development programmes. From the mid-1990s to the early 2000s, donors, especially international NGOs, invested significant amounts FOs in the Casamance.

The areas they targeted were institution building, technical training and general capacity building. In some cases this has resulted in building human capacity, setting up organisational infrastructure, acquiring equipment and strengthening the capacity of the FOs to provide a range of services to their members. This has enabled the emergence of a whole contingent of leaders, technicians and local managers. Some of the leaders and members of the FOs who benefitted from these interventions have been able to set themselves up as successful entrepreneurs and businessmen. With increased funding and institutional capacities these FOs were able to conduct a number of income-generating activities.

The cases outlined in this chapter exemplify new patterns of relations initiated by some FOs, beyond the traditional production activities of family farms. They show some interesting attempts by the FOs to link into value-addition functions through storage, processing, transport and marketing, along longer circuits and more complex value chains. In general there was a significant shift towards more market-led interventions during the early 2000s; during the visit conducted in the Casamance region many anecdotal stories were collected about local people who had managed to build successful businesses. In some instances, local leaders of FOs and even some previously disadvantaged groups, such as youth and women, have benefitted from the new business activities facilitated by FOs.

Nevertheless, in spite of the potentials associated with the work of these FOs with regards to the engagement of farmers in the new lucrative value chains being set up in the Casamance, our findings suggest that the actual impact of these interventions in the lives of rural people remained limited as confirmed by the recent survey by Ndong and Ndiame (2013)

The authors concluded that the lives and the livelihood strategies of many villagers hardly changed. In most of the FOs visited (AJAC-Kolda and AJAC-Ziguinchor) few members continue to feel the impact of their organisation's activities on their lives. It follows from this discussion that while the FOs in the Casamance were able to integrate an internationally recognised network, the same organisations were confronted with the difficult challenge of finding a balance and making a compromise between gainful economic activities and social inclusiveness and equity (Dramé, 2005).

#### **6.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

In this chapter we examined the ways in which the strategies of FOs operating in the Casamance evolved over a period of 20 years, between the 1980s and the early 2000s. The research questions addressed in this chapter were to assess the extent to which the FOs deployed their new discourse on the promotion of the family farm in their dealings with rural people in the Casamance. We also examined whether a new generation of FOs emerged in the Casamance during the 1990s and the 2000's following the advent of a more liberal regime in Senegal during these later years.

This concluding section highlights some of the key lessons which were derived from the review of the activities of FOs in the Casamance. The manifestation of farmers' collective actions in the Casamance region was analysed, with a specific focus on the significance of the role played by the younger and more educated crop of farmer leaders, and the extent to which their organisational practices were able to embody their search for new modernisation trajectories through cooperative mechanisms. It also summarises the insights gained on the different institutional arrangements used by FOs during the

1990–2000 period in order to enable improved livelihood and wealth creation in the region.

The evolution of FADECBA set the stage for the subsequent role of the FOs whose changing roles reflect this ongoing struggle to promote sustainable livelihood systems, throughout the early 2000s. The developmental context of the farmer associations was linked to the personal desire of the leadership to develop their localities and make a decent livelihood out of this process. The new generation of FOs initiated significant changes in their modes of structuring and in their operations. They adopted more formal modes of organisation to conform to the requirements of the state and those of their donors. The principle of parity in the representation of men and women in the leadership of the FOs reflects the modern orientation of the FOs during the 1990 to 2000 era. They also undertook some significant investments in infrastructure development and in building technical and organisational capacity, with the support of international NGO and donor organisations.

The history of the association (Entente de Diouloulou) is another testimony of the difficult struggle for greater autonomy. In 1998 the association planted 0.25 ha of seed rice. In 2011 this acreage was increased to 60 ha. And in 2012, the total area sown increased to 85.72 ha, with an estimated production of 214.3 tonnes of seeds. This income-generating activity conducted under the umbrella of the organisation represents a symbolic indicator and milestone in the search for greater autonomy and the objective to promote both food security and long-term development prospects for the family farms.

The association also promoted greater responsibility for women and youths, who were given leadership and management functions, in accordance with the need to redress social relations within the domestic unit and beyond. The facilitation of regular family consultation and management meetings conducted by the Entente is a tangible manifestation of the governance revolution introduced by FONGS – this simple innovation is the most obvious manifestation of peasant modernisation. The new decision-making process reflects new ways of thinking and new ways of representing the development trajectories of the family farms. As a result of these activities, the association recorded a significant reduction in the level of youth out-migration: this is consistent with the aim of improving their living conditions, instead of focusing only on the objective of achieving short-term positive financial returns on a specific venture.

These activities reflect the new creed of the FOs which were determined to take on the challenges of providing support for the transformation and modernisation of the family farms, a creed which was articulated by FONGS in 2014. The new set of FOs therefore made significant investments in the organisational development of their village associations. The local groups were also provided with management training and financial literacy, including the development of a domestic balance sheet, which enabled several women's groups to open their own saving accounts with local banks and to access loans for their economic and social activities. The village associations were also trained to introduce a simplified balance sheet system at the household and family farm level, to facilitate a more consultative management of the activities of the households. This set of investments in the technical and organisational capacities at village level, facilitated the diversification of economic activities by the rural people. In this context, the FOs also prioritised the establishment of collaboration frameworks with the Rural Council, and managed to secure some key positions in the local governance structures for their members.

However, some challenges linked to the persistence of unfavourable conditions remained. The FOs needed to acquire greater economic power on the basis of their own resources and the capacity to cooperate and build on their own resources. The development of rice production is a symbol of the process of regaining control in the development process. This entails setting up their own organising framework, based on lessons learned, and figuring out ways of strengthening their positions in the more pronounced market-driven economy inaugurated in Senegal after the year 2000.

This modernisation challenge is epitomised by the new economic turn taken by the type of partnerships initiated by ASPRODEP. These initiatives reflected the desire of the Senegalese FOs to move beyond getting involved in in the design and implementation of public policies and programmes. They now wanted to further develop the economic base of the FOs by getting more involved in the most lucrative segments of the agricultural value chains. The new network of FOs targeted the more lucrative areas of seed production and the commercialisation of agricultural commodities as their new business ventures. They relied on the capabilities of their extended network to develop partnerships with both public and private actors.

Through these processes, ASPRODEP was able to facilitate a partnership between networks of farmer cooperatives and SEDAP, a privately-owned company specialising in the distribution of groundnut seeds, and to unlock more value for its members in these lucrative sectors. A similar partnership was set up with an agro-industrial complex involved in the processing of agricultural commodities. The economic ventures targeted by ASPRODEP posed new governance and management challenges for the farmer organisation, since the peasant farmers were required to meet the quantity and quality requirements associated with grades, standards, technical and institutional requirements of this type of business arrangement.

The cases outlined in this chapter exemplify new patterns of relations initiated by some FOs, beyond the traditional production activities conducted by family farms. They show some interesting attempts by FOs to invest in value-addition operations and functions such as storage, processing, transport and marketing, along longer circuits and more complex value chains. These cases highlight significant manifestations of the germination of peasant-centred development processes: i) engaging with local governance structures in order to secure greater access to public resources; ii) gaining access to greater control of local productive resources; iii) engaging in lucrative local enterprise development; and iv) the value addition and commercialisation of agricultural produce.

Lessons learned from these trial-and-error processes informed the development of a set of responses which is more in line with the principles of peasant agriculture articulated by Van der Ploeg (2009):

- Pluriactivity - combining different types of activities;
- Re-grounding agriculture in nature;
- Building on local resources and capabilities;
- Redefining new patterns of relations within the family units, and with outside actors;
- Regaining control by local people of the development process.

Building on the FADECBA and other case studies analysed in the chapter, this concluding discussion outlines the complex nature of the challenges faced by FOs in the Casamance region, and the shortcomings of their interventions.

The chapter has emphasised some of the most promising prospects of building a peasant-like development scenario, associated with the interventions of FOs in the Casamance. In short, the experiences analysed in this chapter illustrate how smallholders could develop, through cooperation, the social and ecological capital needed to promote a more sustainable development scenario. This scenario was based on the development and improvement of locally controlled resources and the introduction of technological and institutional innovations, with the assistance of external agencies whose involvement was requested by the farmer organisation, and which nonetheless maintained leadership of the whole process.

The experiences of the Casamance FOs analysed in this chapter raised a question about the extent to which the collective action of farmers could lead the way to the development of greater capacity to bring about a peasant-like development. According to Van der Ploeg (2008), the successful articulation of such a paradigm entails a renegotiation of the terms and the content of the relationships between peasant farmers and the other development actors.

The experience of the Casamance FOs also exemplifies the capacity to drive innovation and wealth creation which is characteristic of peasant-like intervention. By combining new technical and organisational practices, farmers were able to raise the technical efficiency of their productive processes (Van der Ploeg, 2008). However, the capacity of the Casamance family farms to construct more sustainable livelihood systems is not yet fully developed and peasants are struggling to do so. The FOs still face challenges as they try to invest in the economic sector, and the real impact of this investment is still limited. As we have shown in this chapter, the challenges faced by the Casamance FOs triggered some significant attempts to find an acceptable compromise between gainful economic activities and the need for social inclusivity and equity (Dramé, 2005). Finding adequate and acceptable solutions to these tensions and contradictions is at the heart of peasant-centred development scenarios. The processes developed by the Casamance FOs were greatly facilitated by the funding and the technical assistance received from international NGOs and donor organisations in general.

The question that remains is: to what extent is it possible for FOs to reproduce and extend the dynamics embodied in this model into larger-scale initiatives? Finding practical answers to this question could be a prerequisite for overcoming the current agricultural and political crisis prevailing in the Casamance region. This may also determine the extent to which the agenda, strategies and programmes initiated by FOs such as FONGS and CNCR in order to support family-based farming, are successful in the long run.

## CHAPTER 7

# ANALYSING THE ROOT CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE ARMED CONFLICT IN THE CASAMANCE REGION

### 7.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Casamance region has witnessed an armed conflict between the Senegalese army and the rebels of MFDC for more than 30 years now. This conflict began at the beginning of the 1980s, and has resulted in heavy human casualties, economic stagnation and widespread poverty. Many analysts consider the unresolved conflict in the southern Casamance region as an important political challenge for Senegal (Fall, 2010). Paradoxically, the Casamance conflict is taking place in the southern part of one of the most stable West African countries

Senegalese ethnic harmony was tarnished by the emergence of the '*Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance*' (MFDC). The major demand of this organisation was the independence of Casamance, a southern province of Senegal (Faye, 2006). Fall (2010), notes that the Casamance conflict illustrates the ways in which the legitimacy and authority of the post-colonial African states are still being challenged by non-state actors who are claiming their right to self-determination.

The Casamance war has been one of the less bloody among the multitude of African conflicts. There have never been mass killings as in other civil wars (Marut, 2005). However, the Casamance conflict and the way in which it has unfolded has raised many questions of relevance for this thesis.

Gehrold and Neu (2010) sum up the issue as follows:

- Where do the roots of this conflict lie, and what makes it so difficult to resolve?
- Who are the players and what are their motives - today and in the past?
- What does this conflict mean for society and for the people living in the Casamance region?

Obviously these questions have been answered differently, according to the theoretical and ideological orientation of the authors. The essence of these discussions relate to different attention paid to structural variables as opposed to more complete acknowledgement of agencies of different categories of actors and the extent to which conflict of interest and class struggle can evolve into an armed conflict.

This analysis echoes the findings of Chauveau and Richards (2008) related to the conflictive situations in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone. They examined agrarian issues during the civil wars in Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone and analysed two different ways in which lineage society evolved during the colonial and postcolonial periods. Whilst in both conflicts the violence was carried out by the same social category, namely the disgruntled rural youth, the target of their anger was different, reflecting the differences in social structures and the underlying reproduction model prevailing in the two settings. In the case of the egalitarian lineage of the Gban society of Cote d'Ivoire, youth dissatisfaction was targeted at the reproduction strategies of the traditional system, which relied essentially on the expropriation of wealth from foreign immigrants, attracted by

a booming cash crop over a long period of time. The mechanisms of the extraction of surplus value were directly linked to the specific land tenancy arrangements linking the migrants with the autochthonous owners of land.

The anger and violence of the rural youth was therefore targeted at foreign settlers, who guaranteed the reproduction of the traditional system.

However, in the case of Sierra Leone, characterised by a more ranked lineage system, the reproduction of the system relied more on the underclass people of slave origins. The latter rebelled against their oppressed relations with their tutors, and engaged in warfare in order to destroy a system which did not offer them any prospect and hope for their survival and reproduction. In this particular case, the configuration of the war was not ethnically centred, as fighters from both camps belonged to the same ethnic group. The conflict was rather fuelled by class antagonism which erupted around the contestation of the dominant reproduction model of the traditional system.

The motivations of the fighters are related to these different trajectories of agrarian social change. In Côte d'Ivoire, youth militia fought to uphold a lineage-based social order, but in Sierra Leone a comparable group of young fighters sought to overturn it. Chauveau and Richard (2008) made three important conclusions which will inform my own approach to the Casamance conflict:

- Firstly, they found that in most instances the conflict resulted from a failure of the traditional governance system to accommodate the changing needs and requirements of certain segments of local society, especially the youth.
- Second, autochthony was a factor in one conflict, and class in another.
- Finally they concluded that approaches to post-war reconstruction based on undifferentiated notions of community should be resisted.

This analytical perspective is consistent with the central argument which runs throughout this thesis: namely that central government policies in terms of modernisation, nation-building and entrepreneurial development led to dysfunctional relations between different protagonists in the context of socio political and agrarian systems in the Casamance (chapters 3 and 4); The prolonged Casamance conflict is therefore interpreted as the culmination of these different conflicts of interests which resulted in a prolonged protracted conflict. The situation in the Casamance is thus characterised by a chronic food deficit due to the inability of the household in this region to grow enough food to feed itself, despite the enormous potentials of a region which was meant to be a breadbasket for the whole country.

This is typical of an agrarian crisis defined by van der Ploeg (2013) as a situation of a "serious disturbance of the relations between, on the one hand the way farming is organised and, on the other, ecology, society and /or the interests and prospects of those directly engaged in agricultural production". In such a situation, total production is constrained because of the active disengagement of critical resources (labour, land, waters, and capital) from the production process; they generally escalate in dysfunctional relations between impoverished rural people and the state; but also between different segments of the rural household. These conflicts of dysfunctional relations may escalate into a multi-layered governance and political crisis which eventually will lead to an armed rebellion such as the one experienced in the Casamance.

Informed by all above interpretations, the analysis of the Casamance conflict in this thesis is built on actor-oriented interpretation of armed conflicts, which emphasises the conflictive dynamics associated with the deployment of contradictory livelihood and emancipatory strategies by different actors involved at the local, national and internal levels. This compels us to recognise the variety of interests competing over land and other resources and to incorporate sound social analysis of such competing interests within national frameworks for social, economic and political reforms. In addition to the questions asked by Gehrold and Neu (2010), this chapter addresses the following research questions:

- What types of relationships exist between the policies and programmes implemented by the Government of Senegal in the Casamance (examined in chapter 4) and the advent of armed rebellion in the region?
- To what extent did changes in Government policies and programmes trigger some contradictory and conflicting responses from segments of the Casamance people?
- How did these conflicting dynamics associated with changes in state policies and the reactions they triggered manifest themselves in the relations between the Casamance people and other social categories involved in the Casamance question?
- To what extent did the armed conflict provide new opportunities for some members of the Casamance society to pursue differentiated livelihood and social emancipation strategies through the operations of FOs?

The next sections of this chapter will pay attention to interpretations of the conflict based on actor-oriented and post-modernist perspectives of the Casamance conflict which situate the conflicting dynamics in the Casamance region, within the complex and contradictory relationships between the State and the Casamance society (De Jong, 2005). The analysis focuses therefore on the profile of the actors involved, the nature of their engagements, the power dynamics that they entail; and the extent to which the protagonists deploy different types of resources at their disposal in order to pursue their own objectives.

## **7.2. AN ACTOR-ORIENTED APPROACH TO THE CASAMANCE CONFLICT**

### **7.2.1. The Key Protagonists of the Casamance Conflict**

Most analysts agree that whilst the Casamance conflict involves many players, there are two main protagonists in the conflict. The separatist movement called the 'Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance' (MFDC) and the Senegalese State, represented by the Government of Senegal. These two parties have been waging a long and multifaceted war - militarily, politically and ideologically. An overview of these different dimensions of the Casamance conflict follows in the review of the major players.

The MFDC:

The MFDC comprise a political organisation led by civilian leaders and a military wing (*Atika*). According to specialists, the MFDC is divided along geographic and ideological lines. *Atika* is currently organised around 3 different competing groups: the Baraka Mandioka group led by Salif Sadio who is an extremist; the Cassolol group under the command of César Atoute Badiate, and the Diakaye group under the leadership of

Kamugué Diatta. Only the Cassolol and Diakaye factions have been involved in the negotiations for the peace process which have been blocked since 2004, date of the last peace agreement signed between the MFDC and the Government of Senegal. After Sagna, one of the historical leader of the Southern front, met president Diouf, apparently undertaking fresh negotiations without consultations with the wider organisation, a radical wing of the MFDC moved to replace him with Sadio. Upon his return to the maquis, Sagna was arrested and killed by rebels under the leadership of Sadio (Humphreys and Mohamed, 2006).

Once fully engaged in conflict with government forces, the maquis did not remain a united force for long. During the 1990s a number of splinter groups were formed, and they constitute the main maquis factions today. The main historical division in the maquis has been between the '*Front Nord*' (Northern Front) and the '*Front Sud*' (Southern Front), named for their original areas of operation in Ziguinchor region, north and south of the Casamance River. This division which opposed the grouping around Abbé Diamacoune and his younger brother Bertrand against that around Sidy Badji, continued as a defining dynamic in the MFDC political wing and maquis until (and indeed beyond) Badji' s death from natural causes in May 2003.

The MFDC Diaspora, the external branch of the political wing in France, also suffered from internal divisions caused by leadership challenges within the movement. As a result of the ongoing dissensions, each Front split into several sub-groups, some are even unknown and uncontrollable. The MFDC diaspora is the mouthpiece of the MFDC to the international community. It does advocacy and mediation work for the rebel movement. It is also responsible for raising funds and other logistical support for the organisation.

#### The Senegalese State:

Since the beginning of the conflict, two governments have managed the Casamance conflict: the Government of Presidents Abdou Diouf and Abdoulaye Wade. The position of both presidents has been the same regarding the refusal to grant independence to Casamance. However, their conflict management style differed. Upon coming to power in 1981, Diouf was confronted with the sudden outburst of the rebellion and responded to it in a repressive way. When the military solution become inefficient, he tried negotiating with the MFDC, granted amnesty to MFDC members who were jailed after the 1982 and 1983 demonstrations in Ziguinchor.

After coming to power in February 2000, President Wade adopted a new strategy of 'direct' discussions with the armed wing of the MFDC and limited the role of neighbouring Guinea Bissau and The Gambia.

#### Other actors:

A number of other actors are significant in the conflict:

- The Catholic Church
- Neighbouring countries such as The Gambia and Guinea Bissau which were very much involved in the negotiations.
- The local population of the Casamance region, who often are the victims. They were either attacked by rebel forces or forced to flee for fear of being trapped in the fighting.
- Local Non-Governmental Organisations who aided the civilians, helping them in

integration, providing education and de-mining efforts.

- International Actors: the United Nations (UN) through its different agencies and programs such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), which provided assistance to refugees fleeing the conflict to neighbouring countries. The UN also provided various forms of developmental assistance in the areas of education, agriculture, reintegration and de-mining efforts.
- The Republic of France, as a prominent colonial master of the troubled region, has been playing a critical role. It played both mediation and developmental roles in the form of training Senegalese Security and Armed Forces. France is also home to MFDC in the Diasporas.

The next section focuses on the key situations of interface between the 3 major protagonists of the Casamance crisis: The Senegalese State, the MFDC and the Casamance people. The section will also pay attention to the ways in which the younger and educated segments of the Casamance society tried to provide some alternative answers to the Casamance agrarian and governance crisis through the activities of FOs in the region.

### **7.3. THE SENEGALESE STATE AND THE CASAMANCE REGION**

#### **7.3.1. Conflicting dynamics associated with the economic development policies applied by the State in the Casamance:**

##### ***7.3.1.1. Negative Impacts of the State Economic Development Models in the Casamance***

The planned development interventions conducted by the Central State (both colonial and post-independence) centred on the following key pillars: Land reform programs, specialisation on groundnut production, development of light industries, and changes in the agrarian reforms (Klaas de Jonge, et al, 1979; van der Klei, 1988 Linares, 2003; 2005; Marut, 2005, 2010; Drame, 2005).

Marut (2005) provides an analysis of the Casamance conflict in the broader national and international context that sheds light on the nature of the conflict. He argues that the social and identity-based movement challenging the evolution of the situation in the Casamance region finds its deep causes in the implementation of exogenous development models embraced by the Senegalese elite, including those originating from the Casamance region (Marut, 2005). These different policies had some significant impacts on the Casamance region and they affected the ways in which the production systems evolved over time.

Marut (2005) analysed the State policies implemented in the Casamance and the political and strategic considerations which informed them. Extroverted development models inherited from the Colonial period favoured the development of groundnut as an export crop at the expense of the staple crops traditionally grown in the region. The cultivation of Staple food such as rice was therefore neglected in favour of cheap imports (rice from America or Thailand; wheat from France).

These imports were paid for with earnings from the exports of groundnut, and the consequences of these policy choices include a structural budgetary deficits and imbalances in the foreign accounts. It is this extroverted model based on the world division of labour which translated into the deterioration of the terms of exchange, a debt crisis, and increased dependency on the West. These policy and economic choices obviously affected the Casamance region in significant ways, mainly through a process of gradual expansion of groundnut production at the detriment of rice production (de Jong et al, 1978; Dumont, 1972; Van Haeverbewke, 1970; Amin, 1971).

#### ***7.3.1.2. The Remedies applied by the States ended up exacerbating the political and agrarian crisis.***

The structural adjustment programmes imposed by the IMF followed a financial logic aimed at restoring economic and financial equilibrium, without taking into account the social and environmental impacts of those measures. A reduction of budget deficits through the reduction of public spending (which led to freezing jobs and discontinuing subsidy schemes for agriculture) and increases in state revenues through privatisation, resulted in increases in the level of unemployment and a consequent reduction of income for the majority of the Senegalese population. The restoration of external accounts was triggered by a reduction in levels of consumption, implying an increase in foreign exchanges and tourism (also facilitated by the devaluation of the CFA franc, imposed by France in 1994).

These phenomena affected the Casamance region in significant ways. The crisis affected and constrained the survival and income-generating strategies of youth and women, and upset the integrity of the household labour processes in the following ways:

- It affected the prospects of rural migration to Dakar and other major cities used by the Casamance youth as an option for the pursuit of work opportunities. The reduction in lucrative employment opportunities associated with the economic crisis meant that many of these youth returned to their villages deeply disappointed; they became '*les pèlerins déçus de l'État Senegalais*' (Foucher, 2002). The returns coincided with the worsening of the situation in the region linked to the series of droughts and the disengagement of the state from the rural sector.
- This period is also characterised by the massive influx of 'foreigners' attracted by the region's reputation for wealth. This reputation was linked to the state's own need for foreign currency and opportunities to take advantage of the region's potential in fisheries and tourism (Marut, 2005). Local access to these new ventures was generally limited because the operators brought their own personnel and products from Dakar. Local candidates were limited by their lack of capital and know-how.

The government encouraged the establishment of GIEs and donors also provided support to many local development projects, either through NGOs or through the locally elected entities, especially in the fisheries and vegetable production sub-sectors, but also in 'integral rural tourism' projects (Marut, 2005). However, most of these projects remained marginal and a feeling of exclusion continued to emerge among the Casamance youth. The new activities were controlled by foreigners who had the competencies and the resources required, and benefitted from the favours of the central administration which allocated them public licences for the exploitation of resources.

The tourist facilities set up along the beaches of the region deprived the local people of a significant component of their economic space, without proper compensation (not

even in terms of employment). The urban expansion in Ziguinchor rejected the local people at the periphery of the city. It was among these displaced people (including many teachers) that a rebellious movement that rapidly became radicalised developed. (Cormier-Salem, 1994).

This discussion sensitises us to the social and political dimensions of the conflict by highlighting the segments of the Diola society (youth and women), who felt most left-out of the prevailing adaptation systems and who therefore bought into the independentist agenda. The lack of job opportunities for the youth, economic neglect and the issue of land were also contributing factors to the causes and then the escalation of the crisis. As a result of scarce economic opportunities, a lack of education and an inability to secure a job, many young people were easily caught up – feeling economically neglected, they were easily vulnerable to actors advocating for autonomy and independence.

#### **7.4. MFDC AND THE CASAMANCE PEOPLE**

##### **7.4.1. The political and social context of emergence of MFDC**

According to Marut (2005), the Casamance crisis revealed the limitation of two institutional and ideological models of the elites: the nation-state and representative democracy.

The concept of the nation-state justifies the notion of a unique and indivisible Senegalese nation within the national territory for which the state is the legal and legitimate repository. This is exemplified by the right of any Senegalese citizen to settle in any part of the country, without being considered as an illegal immigrant. However, the Casamance space is not a virgin space, but has been largely appropriated and socialised, even if there was no written documentation of the endogenous tenure systems. More specifically, in the Diola country the land use and rights continue to be codified in traditional laws, which continue to regulate social relations. This was largely ignored by the Western-inspired laws called upon to allocate all untitled land, based on the so-called progressive principle of allocation of the land to those who work it.

For the Diola, the sentiment of belonging to the Senegalese nation was further dampened by the attitude of their countrymen from the north, who tended to assimilate the Senegalese model based on a dominant Islam and Wolof culture. This explains the condescending, aggressive and hateful epithets such as ‘the dogs of the Casamance’ sometimes used to describe the Diola. This mind set was deeply rooted in the precolonial past when animists from the forest were considered to be uncivilised and wild, as opposed to people who converted to Islam.

Following independence, northerners replaced the colonial administrators in key positions in the region. These developments triggered and fed a feeling of segregation among the residents of the Casamance region. They started to wonder if they were “*des Sénégalais à part entière ou bien des Sénégalais entièrement à part*”, meaning that they wondered whether or not they fully enjoyed the status of being Senegalese citizens. These attitudes contributed to the emergence of strong sentiments of identity and belonging, mixed with a xenophobic element which materialised in a tendency to reverse values: the ‘Senegalese’ type was associated with a number of negative character traits: arrogant, liar, and thief, whereas the Casamançais, typified by the Diola, were seen to possess more positive traits: hard-working, honest and open-minded. At the same time, some forms of spontaneous resistance started to emerge, and northerners were expelled

from the lands that were allocated to them, hotels were burned down, and some foreign fishing boats were immobilised (Marut, 2005).

The second ideological model being contested relates to representative democracy. While there is no universally accepted definition of 'democracy', equality and freedom have both been identified as important characteristics of this political concept since ancient times. These principles are reflected in the ideas that all citizens are equal before the law and have equal access to legislative processes. In the case of Senegal the models copied from France provided the foundations for a representative democracy based on set of legal institutions designed to ensure proper representation of the views of the people in the operation of national affairs. But in practice, the prevalence of clientelist management practices precludes local people from full participation in a representative democracy; as a result, social demands are largely ignored.

The deficit in political representation explains the ambivalence of a contesting movement that can use both the political opposition card, and the separatist card. What is at stake is not the political representation model itself, but rather, the interpretation. The legitimacy crisis of the state first targeted the ruling Socialist Party (PS) and benefitted the opposition party, '*Parti Démocratique du Senegal*' (PDS). In some instances, the PDS was seen to breed a separatist dynamic, whether consciously or not. The political contestation also led to violent conflicts grounded more in personal interests than in ideological differences. Through their anti-northerner discourse, some militants from the ruling PS in the Casamance region also brought ammunition and legitimacy to the separatist discourse that they were combating, albeit involuntarily.

According to Marut (2005), a single economic, social and political crisis gave rise to two strategies for the Casamançais: the first was a power access strategy in the political sphere, either through the ruling party or the opposition party. The second was to embark on a rebellion movement in order to create a new state which would enjoy the benefits of international sovereignty. Nonetheless, to the extent that both strategies crystallised in identity, there was continuity in both strategies, so that both could be embodied in the same person. Such ambivalence challenges the consistency of the largely held view about the archaic nature of the Casamance rebellion. The rebellion is part of a contemporary political rivalry for which the access to independence appears as only one option among others. As suggested by Tomas (2005), a common feature of identity affirmation is to reinterpret old materials in the light of the present-day situation. The proponents of the separatist movement tried to recuperate past symbols as conveyed by the name of the historic MFDC and the defunct '*Mouvement Autonome de la Casamance*' (MAC) which were seen as popular sources of national legitimacy, and to transplant them in a radically different context. Since the historic MFDC had no independentist agenda, the continuity between the two MFDCs suggested by the use of the same name had more symbolic than political significance.

#### **7.4.1. The MFDC: a medium of political expression for the local people**

This section examines the nature of the relationship between the armed rebellion and the Casamance people. In this context several narratives related to the nature of the link are reviewed and discussed. De Jong (1999) initially situated the widespread discontent with the Senegalese regime with its implementation of the 1964 '*Loi sur le Domaine national*', which led to both rural and urban land expropriations in Casamance. State penetration of local society has been a critical trigger of the conflict. (De Jong, 1999)

These views are corroborated by Faye (2006) who analysed the evolution of the strategy of MFDC based on the origins of its financial and political support. In the initial years of the movement (1980-1990), the MFDC capitalised upon the grievances of the local populations, and received support from them.

The MFDC articulates other grievances including:

- \* appropriation, by local authorities representing the central government, of the region's lands, at the expense of local populations;
- \* imposition of laws which do not take into account the customs and traditions of the region's populations;
- \* victimisation of Casamance ethnic groups through cultural contempt;
- \* disadvantage suffered by the region of Casamance in the area of investment;
- \* The absence, for several decades, of natives of Casamance from local government in the region.

This is the gist of the grievance argument summarised by Faye (2006), which emphasises the political representation of legitimate issues and challenges faced by the Casamance people. Hence, and despite a certain fatigue in popular support for the guerrillas which was noticed from 1992 onwards, De Jong (1999) argues that the MFDC was a political expression '*par le bas*' (Bayart, 1983 and 1986; Bayart et al., 1992 cited by De Jong, 1999). De Jong (1999) argues that 'However weak popular support for the separatist movement may be today, the MFDC initially expressed extensive local discontents with the central government'.

However, De Jong (1999) later questioned his own hypothesis that state-penetration has been an unambiguous reason for the revolt. This reversal was linked to his realisation that the MFDC has also accused the Senegalese state of being negligent in promoting the development of the Casamance region. This view is consistent with the findings by Gasser (2002) about the attitudes of the urban youth from Ziguinchor. In this regard he positioned two groups of young people from Ziguinchor, based on their position vis-à-vis the MFDC. He contrasted the views of a group which has no problem with the global referential of the country and global culture, with those of young people who share the discourse and narrative of MFDC. The latter group raised the recurrent issues of underdevelopment and the lack of employment opportunities as the main causes of the Casamance conflict.

The attractiveness of the MFDC to many segments of the Casamance society has been associated with the ideological work of the leadership of MFDC, and especially with the central role (of ideological thoughts) played by one Catholic Priest, Father Augustin Diamacoune Senghor in distilling a sense of uniqueness and 'otherness' vis-a-vis other people of Senegal. For many years, Father Diamacoune held conferences, wrote letters to the Senegalese authorities and distributed pamphlets. This phenomenon is considered as one of the triggers of the Casamance conflict. Secret meetings were held in the sacred groves of Casamance known as '*Le Bois Sacré*', where much of the rebellion has been tactically and spiritually prepared with the assistance and blessings of women. These events which led to the formal outbreak of the rebellion usually considered to be on the 26 of December 1982, when a large number of demonstrators marched in Ziguinchor, replacing Senegalese tricolour flags on public buildings with white flags.

Despite the heterogeneity of its membership, it seems that the insurgents nevertheless share some convictions that can be attributed to the ideological stand of MFDC's leader (Fall, 2010). Evans (2003) advanced a similar argument when he suggested that despite the disintegration of the *maquis* into factionalism and banditry, the commitment of many of its members to the cause of independence remains considerable (Evans, 2003).

De Jong (1999) offered a cultural interpretation of the dynamics of MFDC, to explain notably its relationship with its local constituency. His article showed that the MFDC is a political force profoundly rooted in local forms of religious organisations. The movement operated successively on a mode of prophecy (through the sacralisation of Aline Sioe Diatta) followed by a mode of operation based on secrecy. He provides more arguments on how these two modes of enactment operate in their relations with the local people; and the extent to which the adoption of religious and cultural approach of certain communities ended up by alienating the loyalty of Diola people from different cultural obedience

In this respect, the MFDC marked a sharp discontinuity with the Senegalese pattern of state-society mediation in which Muslim Sufi brotherhoods have played a key role in this mediation ever since French colonisation (De Jong, 1999). Since the Sufi brotherhoods were never rooted in the egalitarian Diola society and Sufi leaders never functioned as mediators towards the state. It has been argued that the making of the MFDC was a result of the absence of communication between a centralised patrimonial state and local, predominantly segmented social structures (Darbon, 1988; Friebe, 1996 cited by De Jong, 1999). However, the attitude of the MFDC vis-à-vis the Casamance people was going to change, based on the movement's strategy. The next section outlines the nature and direction of this evolution.

#### **7.4.2. Changing Strategy of the MFDC-vis-a-vis local people**

Faye (2006) provides an analysis of the evolution of MFDC's strategy based on the origins of its financial and political support. In the initial years of the movement (1980-1990), the MFDC capitalised upon the grievances of the local populations, and received support from them.

In the first half of the 1990s, it began to receive substantial support from neighbouring countries and in response came to rely less upon the support of local constituents. It escalated the violence not only against the state but also against local populations, which reinforced its growing dependence upon external patrons rather than popular support. In the later part of the 1990s, the government of Senegal worked to cut off both external and internal support to the MFDC, by improving its relations with the neighbouring countries and by practicing a politics of "charm" vis-à-vis the local populations. In response, the MFDC became engaged in the illegal exploitation of the natural resources. As the MFDC shifted from one support base to another, it then resorted to a strategy of war economy (Faye, 2006).

A war economy developed and has been evolving around timber, cashews and other tree crops, cannabis, livestock and bush meat. Timber is the largest and most visible commodity in the Casamance war economy. It is heavily exploited by combatants on both sides (Evans, 2003). Cannabis is another significant conflict product in the Casamance. However, its illicit nature makes it difficult to investigate. This is further complicated by the fact that cannabis along with cashew, is one of the main export crops of Casamance,

its cultivation there predating the rebellion (Evans, 2003). Maquis members from north of Casamance are said to exchange cannabis for arms in The Gambia (Evans, 2003).

This is the gist of the grievance and greed argument, which emphasise the political and economic motivation of the separatist war conducted by the MFDC in the Casamance region. The greed argument kicks in when one considers economic opportunism and the alienation of local people's rights from their lands and from the natural resources from which they draw their livelihood (Humphrey, 2002; Humphrey et al, 2003; Faye, 2006). This is also a shift in the orientation of the MFDC noted by Fall (2010). She emphasised the fact that the MFDC, having moved from independence claim to a greed agenda, favoured the circulation of money within the maquis, corruption of some of the factions, and a flourishing war economy based on cannabis cultivation and drug trafficking, arms and several other types of trafficking in goods along the borders with Guinea Bissau and The Gambia. According to Fall (2010) Such moves in the conflict constitute real stumbling blocks for the resolution of the conflict because of the interests of external actors in the conflict and MFDC factions relying more and more on the developing war economy to survive.

With these evolutions, the Casamance conflict has become transnational with the spread of the conflict to Guinea Bissau and The Gambia, coupled with the development of a buoyant trafficking in arms and ammunition between the MFDC and their supporters in both countries. Arms trafficking into and between conflict zones in the sub-region have been facilitated by corruption, porous borders and coastlines, which are inadequately policed because of states' limited resources (including their inability to pay their armed forces, as in Guinea Bissau)..

## **7.5. THE SENEGALESE STATE VS. THE MFDC: A POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BATTLEFIELD**

### **7.5.1. Contrasting conceptions of nationalism**

The issues of ethnicity and nationalism have been at the heart of the ideological battlefield between the Government of Senegal (GOS) and the MFDC. Tomas (2005) established a clear distinction between ethnicity, nationalism and tradition.

Ethnicity is defined as a positive feeling of belonging to a certain cultural group, based on setting up a distinction between 'us' and 'them'. The distinction is grounded in the different elements of a society's culture and encompasses categories such as politics, religion and symbolism.

Nationalism, on the other hand, is defined as a political proposition which needs to be analysed in the context of a nation state. It is a politicisation of ethnic identity and cultural content (Tomas, 2005). Nationalism is founded on the basis of 'imagined communities' – a vision of a political entity composed of ethnically diverse peoples who became united around common goals, based on shared social, political, spiritual and cultural values and references.

According to Tomas (2005) the faculty of building 'imagined communities' is shared by the two protagonists of the Casamance conflict:

- The state, which has the greatest capacity to generate symbolic violence, represents the ultimate generator of 'imagined communities'. According to De Jong (2005),

the founding father of modern Senegal imagined a precolonial Senegalese nation which resulted from historical and cultural exchanges, and materialised in the cultural unity of the country, anchored in the virtues of '*enracinement* and *ouverture*'.<sup>21</sup> This common historic heritage is therefore seen as the foundation of modern Senegalese society. In this context, the adversaries of the separatist movement convey an image of a Diola irredentism as a backward return to ancient ethnic demons which therefore represents a threat to nation building. These views are believed to feed into the derogative ways in which the Diola secession is being viewed by significant segments of Senegalese society (Marut, 2005; Tomas, 2005).

- The partisans of the independence movement, who have a lower capacity to evoke and create these imagined communities, position themselves as the 'spokespersons' and the legitimate 'representatives' of a given tradition that encompasses a whole region fighting for independence through their own action. The independentist movement has to create an imaginary community and a discourse in line with its political agenda, in order to present itself to the world. In this perspective, the leadership of the MFDC tried to speak in the name of the Diola tradition and this was especially true of the late Abbé Diamacoune Senghor who was for two decades the main intellectual producer of a nationalist and an identity-based discourse on the Casamance. Diamacoune used the radio and modern media to try and popularise certain elements of the Diola culture.

He showed some content and fundamental values of the Diola culture in an attempt to legitimise its traditional origins and to speak its symbolic language (Tomas, 2005). In his nationalist discourse, he tried to integrate an image of the Diola culture and certain elements of local tradition as a language of political contestation, which did not correspond to the reality of either. According to Tomas (2005) the version of the tradition transmitted by the Abbé about, for example, the life and role of Aline Sitoe Diatta<sup>22</sup>, did not conform to the reality. In fact, he was trying to popularise some content and fundamental values of the Diola culture in an attempt to legitimise its traditional origins and to use certain elements of the local tradition as a language of political contestation. However, while Diamacoune presented himself as the mouthpiece of the Diola tradition, no recognised authority of the traditional Diola religion publicly endorsed or legitimised the armed rebellion. It follows from this discussion that both nationalism and ethnicity have something in common: they express themselves through a number of labels (or *markers*).

Tradition, like language, religion and the way one dresses, represents labels of identity which generally assimilate the part with the whole. In other words, the 'tree' is taken to carry the properties of the 'forest'. However, far from being static and archaic, tradition, as defined by Tomas (2005), represents an explicit cultural form which is dynamic and is continuously transmitted and reinvented in a given society. Whilst it is difficult to distinguish between what is traditional and what is not, tradition may entail forms of innovation which, at the same time, give a form of continuity to the original properties (Tomas, 2005).

---

<sup>21</sup>The concept of *enracinement* refers to an ability to be rooted and anchored in one's culture. *Ouverture* refers to the ability to open up and intelligently borrow, from other cultures, positive features which would benefit the local society.

<sup>22</sup>Aline Sitoe Diatta is one of the most renowned heroines of the Casamance resistance against colonial rule. She was a traditional priest who lived during the post-World War II era and she is believed to have inspired social, cultural and political resistance to colonial domination.

Lambert (1998) describes the intellectual and ideological dimensions of this debate. The author distinguishes between the territorial and ethnic dimensions of the nationalist aspirations which emerged in postcolonial Africa. The postcolonial African authorities opted therefore for a territorial model of nationalism which implies that legitimate forms of political mobilisation should represent a plural constituency. This ideological stand compelled political groups to be established on the basis of an ethnically diverse, plural constituency (Lambert, 1998). Forms of political activism based on the interests of a single ethnic group were therefore considered illegitimate. It is on the basis of this ideological stance that the Senegalese government and those who opposed the MFDC secessionist movement adopted an ethnic interpretation of the MFDC rebellion as a Diola phenomenon.

This ethnic argument was used by the opponents of the MFDC to delegitimise its political aspirations and goals, claiming that the separatist movement represents just one of the many ethnic groups in the Casamance. Accordingly, the Casamance rebellion is interpreted in terms of specific cultural traits of the Diola people. Although the region largely comprise the ethnic Diola, Fulani, Balante and a smaller percentage of Mandinka and other ethnic groups, many analysts continue to present the MFDC rebellion as a Diola phenomenon.

The anti-MFDC discourse generally articulated by many analysts and in the popular press in Senegal was generally based on certain stereotypes of the Diola culture. These views posited the Diola group as victims of a self-imposed cultural marginalisation, victims of their own culture. In the face of a strong northern economic presence in the Casamance, atomised Diola villages were fighting to preserve their culture, and by implication their self-imposed exile, from change and from the world.

The partisans of the MFDC tried to distance themselves from ethnic and cultural perceptions of Casamance nationalism. Their views generally emphasise the political economy foundations of the armed conflict, based on the marginalisation and economic alienation of the indigenous people.

#### **7.5.2. The relationship between the contemporary crisis and local particularism**

The focus of this section is on how globalisation contributed to the advent of a local particularism in the Casamance region. The section highlights the role of other actors in the emergence of a social construction anchored in a globalised present (Marut (2005). The gist of Marut's argument is that the Diola and regional identities were contemporary constructs to which many actors contributed, including the integrative role of colonisation, the role of the Church; the roles played by external donors; and the opportunistic attitudes of some civil society organisations.

For example, the Catholic Church helped forge a Diola particularism through its role in education. This contribution is evident in the higher level of literacy registered in the Casamance, compared to the rest of the country. Marut (2005) explains how the Catholic Church proceeded to use African traditions in its penetration strategy. The strategy is an enculturation theology in the context of strong competition with Islam which implies a rediscovery of traditional religions as a means to better anchor and implant the Catholic religion in the region. He outlines the ethnocentric character of a discourse which was fed by exogenous materials and structures, and by foreign ideologies and models. For example, he noticed that the territorial limit of the historical Casamance reclaimed by

MFDC stretched from the Faleme to the Atlantic Ocean, and this coincides with an ecclesiastic map drawn by Rome for the implementation of the Catholic religion. There is also a contestation discourse that is largely situated in the theology of enculturation (Marut, 2005).

Marut (2005) also highlights the roles played by external donors and by NGOs in cultivating and reinforcing the particularism tendencies in the region. He argues that, with the aggravating factor of ethnicity, the legitimacy of a particularistic tendency could be reinforced by the way one is seen by outsiders. He shows how the ethnic particularism is associated with negative connotation. The Diola suffered from a pejorative image to which both Islam and Christianity contributed, by portraying them as animist people of the forest who needed to be converted to Islam or Christianity (Marut, 2005). The Casamançais found their cultural differences translated into ostracism from state management. This was also embedded in a strong regional sentiment built on a shared and strong feeling of animosity towards the northerners.

There was also no recourse to colonial law to establish its argument for their right to independence. In addition, the author underlines the fact that a dominant image of the Diola was largely constructed from exogenous elements which vacillated between the devil (unbeliever) and the 'noble savage'. This is illustrated by the use of foreign categories and materials to articulate the Diola particularism: even the term 'Diola' used to designate itself is a foreign category; no historic evidence is available on the existence of a Diola entity.

Local tradition and religion are mobilised as part of a quest for meaning and a political language in which ethnic particularism and religion are articulated as signs and symbols of the legitimacy and authenticity of a political and cultural struggle. The ideologists of the independence movement also gather materials that are, at least in part, relatively recent and exogenous to the group's culture and history. An increased sense of local identity among the inhabitants is paradoxically derived from modern processes related to education, emigration and tourism, and the discourse of the Catholic Church (Englebert, 2005).

However, the relationship between the Casamance particularism and globalisation is ambivalent. As Marut (2005) argued earlier, the local particularism is a manifestation of the rejection of the dominant model of insertion in the global and liberal economy. However, the crisis also provides the potential to contest the dominant models, because the crisis which generates the particularism also challenges the dominant model. The author acknowledges that the globalised character of local realities opens up possibilities to develop the local basis for another type of globalisation.

Marut (2005) ends his analysis of the Casamance rebellion with an interrogation of the extent to which a globally generated conflict could provide opportunities to renegotiate a different rapport between the local and the global, which could lead to the articulation of the locally driven development agenda.

In this respect, the liberal globalised world is the generator and the horizon of the identity mobilisations. In summary, the author posits particularism, as a means to access the state, but also to bypass the state in order to have more direct access to the resources of globalisation. In this context, two political responses are possible: either one pursues the route of the creation of a new state to take advantage of the resources and advantages associated with sovereignty; or the movement devises a strategy to better access the

current state (and its resources), which will preserve the particularisms (integration without assimilation), which then becomes a functional arm for differentiation, for greater access to resources.

These views are similar to Englebert (2005) concept of fusion of the elites. His analysis of separatist conflicts explores the factors affecting the compliance of marginal regions with national integration projects, and the reasons why some regional elites, outside the core 'fusion of elites', willingly partake in the state while others promote separate paths for their communities. He argued that in the case of the Casamance, the local leaders wanted access to sovereign state institutions to better establish their hegemony over local populations (Englebert, 2005). However, the local leaders have been systematically denied access to state structures and have been unable to act as intermediaries with foreign financial flows, making it more appealing for them to fight for their own sovereignty (Englebert, 2005).

The author argues that the recent behaviour of the MFDC elites seem to be consistent with the hypothesis formulated above Englebert (2005). When it became clear, after the French arbitration, that full independence would not be an option, their demands evolved towards local autonomy which would equally empower local elites with the instruments of sovereignty (Englebert, 2005). Other authors have also suggested that the Casamance conflict is more about association than separatism: in their view, the objective of the MFDC is to seek better integration with Senegal, rather than to withdraw from it. Humphreys and Mohamed (2003) have qualified the conflict as one of association, with separatism as a strategy of negotiation.

It follows from these arguments that the Casamance conflict represent a major conflict of integration between a region and the rest of country, based on the contestation of dominant state driven modernisation scenario which does not conform to the emancipation trajectories of certain segments of the Casamance society, namely the educated youth aspiring to the benefits of sovereignty. In this respect the conflict conform to the definitions of a governance and agrarian crisis as articulated in this thesis. However while significant, the actions of the MFDC do not represent the sole and unique response of the Casamance rural youth to the Casamance agrarian and governance crisis. Beside the protracted armed conflict which is characteristic of a grave political and agrarian crisis in the Casamance, local people have been able to pursue other development trajectories within the confines of the Senegalese State and have managed to build a significant apparatus of intermediation between the State, local people and donors organisations.

The agrarian interpretation of the conflict adopted in this thesis paid attention to different patterns of engagements and relations which prevailed under the different types of the organisation of agricultural systems and the extent to which they are compatible to the emancipatory objectives and trajectories of the local people. The next section analyse differentiated strategies to articulate the voice of the Casamance people vis-a-vis the State, donors and other segments of the Senegalese society thorough the activities of FOs.

## 7.6. LOCAL PEOPLE RESPONSES TO THE AGRARIAN CRISIS IN THE CASAMANCE

### 7.6.1. Building the institutional capabilities required to engage in local governance activities

As is was seen in the chapter 6, the approach used by FOs relied on using the resources provided by donor organisations in order to strengthen the organisational and human capacity of local people. During the first phase of their development FOs received funding during good times that enabled them to strengthen their capacities in various areas of expertise. In addition, FONGS which has been consistently investing in knowledge development as a basis for a sustainable development, making people able to lead organisations towards the goals and purposes that justify their creation.

FONGS had thus developed several training programmes for member organisations. Officials at the local level organisations were regularly trained in the following areas of organisational development: administrative and financial accounting management; formulation and management of development projects and programmes, and the conduct of participatory diagnosis sessions to determine priority areas of investment. In addition, both the leadership and members were provided with technical training to enable them to undertake a whole new spectrum of income generating activities such as beekeeping, arboriculture, grafting, composting, vegetable gardening, and animal health care. These basic training programmes were replicated several times and provided thousands of young women and men enhanced capacities that responded to their concerns, and addressed their priorities and learning needs. Figure 7.1 illustrates the major transformations entailed in this strategy:

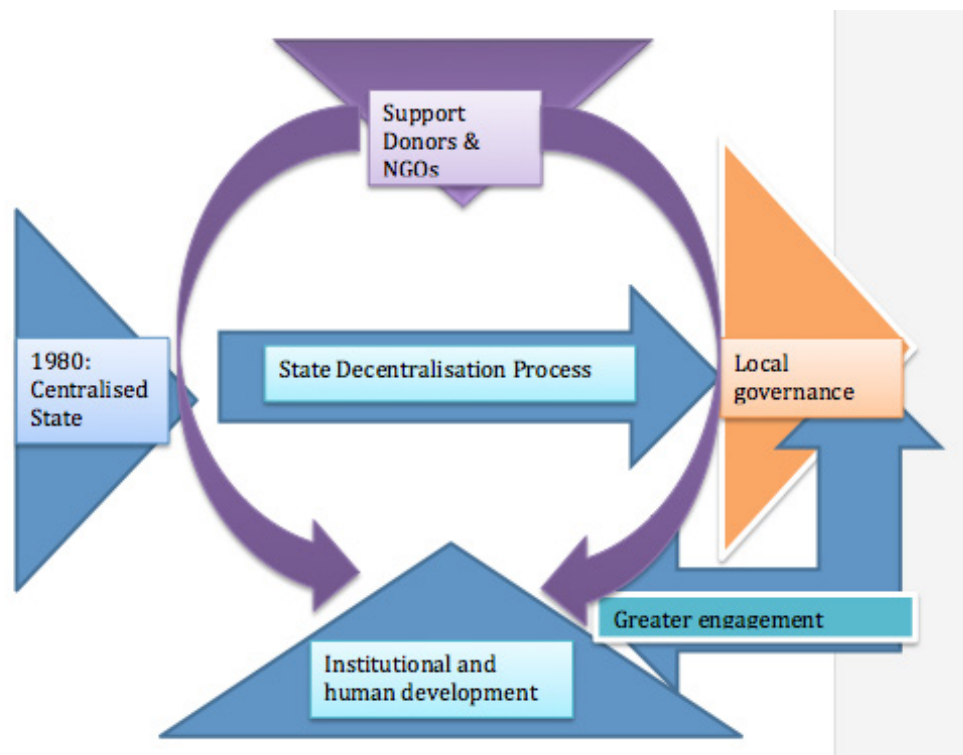


Figure 7.1: Farmers' organisations investing in local governance systems.

Source: original material developed for this thesis

As observed during the 2013 review of FOs reported earlier, many of the local leaders were elected into key positions in local governments. This created new opportunities for local people to get a better access to public resources. Furthermore, some members of these FOs successfully built on their improved profile and influence to build their personal businesses. Moreover access to funding for technical training, for working capital and for equipment purchase enabled many to undertake economic activities that led to an improvement in livelihood prospects. For example, young villagers were able to engage in projects and programmes initiated by the government and its development partners. Some local people were able to start, manage and grow their own businesses in the following areas: beekeeping, arboriculture, and processing, managing individual or family farms. Hence, the greater involvement in local government enabled some tangible improvements for some segments of the rural society. In addition the development strategies of the Casamance FOs were more patterned around an agribusiness development trajectory (Drame, 2005).

### **7.6.2. Investing in Agribusiness Activities**

The main areas of investments revolved around the production, value addition, and the commercialisation of agricultural products. In this context, the FOs facilitated their members' access to crucial resources, such as agricultural inputs, credit, technical training, extension and output markets. Another area of intervention of FOs related to the provision of credit and savings facilities to smallholder farmers. These activities generally fit the profile of FO trying to take over the role of government agencies and development projects in creating the conditions for the development of an entrepreneurial type of agriculture. In this context, FO also vowed to overcome the constraints associated with the institutional credit system and to promote the mobilisation of local savings (Drame, 2005).

This orientation is explained by recurrent complaints related to the non-availability of funding for the activities initiated by FOs and their members. This problem is exacerbated by the prevailing mistrust of many producers with respect to the institutional credit which justified the creation of informal systems of savings and credit systems by many FOs. An example of this type of funding scheme introduced by FOs is provided by the Integrated Credit and Saving Facility (CRECIS) of the *Fédération Pour Le Développement Communautaire du Balantacounda* (FADECBA).

FOs were also actively involved in the development of rural micro-enterprises to transform and process local products and to add value to them (Drame, 2005). Some significant examples of this type of economic venture include the creation of a processing plant for sesame oil by the Association of Young Farmers of Colufifa (AJAC COLUFIFA) in Faoune, a village situated in Middle Casamance. The author provided some production indicators of this business venture and the extent to which it affected the production of this crop in the region. While the production of sesame was relatively low during the 1990s (3,000 tons of sesame were produced in Ziguinchor and Kolda in 2000), significant progress was achieved in 2001 when 6,000 hectares of land were devoted to sesame production in Bignona, Kolda and Sedhiou districts, yielding a total production of 4,000 tons.

In 1994 the integrated rural development agency for the Sedhiou department (PRIMOCA) set up a modern oil processor with a processing capacity of 100,000 tons. This development boosted the development of the sesame sub-sector in the Casamance. However, this positive development was significantly constrained by some private operators who

engaged in illegal competition which resulted in the total disorganisation of the sesame oil market in the region (Drame, 2005). Figure 7.2 summarises some of the key features of these development processes which took place during the last 20 years, from the 1990 to 2010. Other investments were made in the agribusiness sector and revolved around the promotion of selected agricultural commodities and value chains in the Casamance region, including the establishment of a cheese factory by the Federation of Rural Saving Associations for Agricultural development (FECAPS) a farmer organisation in the Sedhiou region, a blacksmith unit; and a veterinary pharmacy by CADEF, as well as the establishment of poultry and pork feeding units feed by the Association of young farmers and Livestock producers of the Oussouye Department (AJAEDO).

As we have seen in the case of ASPRODEP, more recent versions of this type of activities revolved around the production of groundnuts seeds, and the commercialisation of agricultural produce. This model is based on the ability of FOs to establish and manage a set of win-win relationships with other value chain operators. It entailed agreeing on a quantity of products to be delivered at certain time, while meeting some specified levels of quality.

While the rewards of these arrangements can be quite substantial for the farmers who are able to successfully participate in them, they entailed a number of transactions and management costs which can represent significant barriers for many smallholder farmers. Firstly, the farmers needed to understand the business needs of other value chain operators, which require a significant amount of transactions costs. Secondly, it was necessary to agree on the terms of the transaction and to formalise them through a formal contract which specifies the roles, responsibilities and obligations of each party. ASPRODEP was able to play an aggregation role and absorb the different types of costs associated with the venture. Moreover, a significant investment was needed in terms of communication targeted at participating cooperatives and FOs to make sure that they understand their own responsibilities in the deal and meet their contractual obligations. ASPRODEP was also able to facilitate their access to finance and to the technical support from the relevant government institutions.

In short, the involvement of smallholder farmers in agribusiness activities compelled the FOs to play a significant role in terms of aggregating the needs, voice and products of the rural people. The key function of this aggregation function is to overcome the structural challenge faced by small and isolated farmers, who would have to cover unbearable transactions costs in engaging in structured market operations which are ruled by stringent rules and requirements in terms of quantity, quality and timeliness of delivery.

The FOs have therefore to overcome these challenges by bulk-buying and bulk-selling, and thereby reduce the markets risks. This approach is expected to improve the market positioning of smallholder farmers, even in the fickle and volatile markets of today. The example of ASPRODEP confirms that the prospects for smallholder farmers to gainfully participate in these markets are real, as long as they can meet the stringent requirements. This in turn implies that they have some significant management and governance capacities.

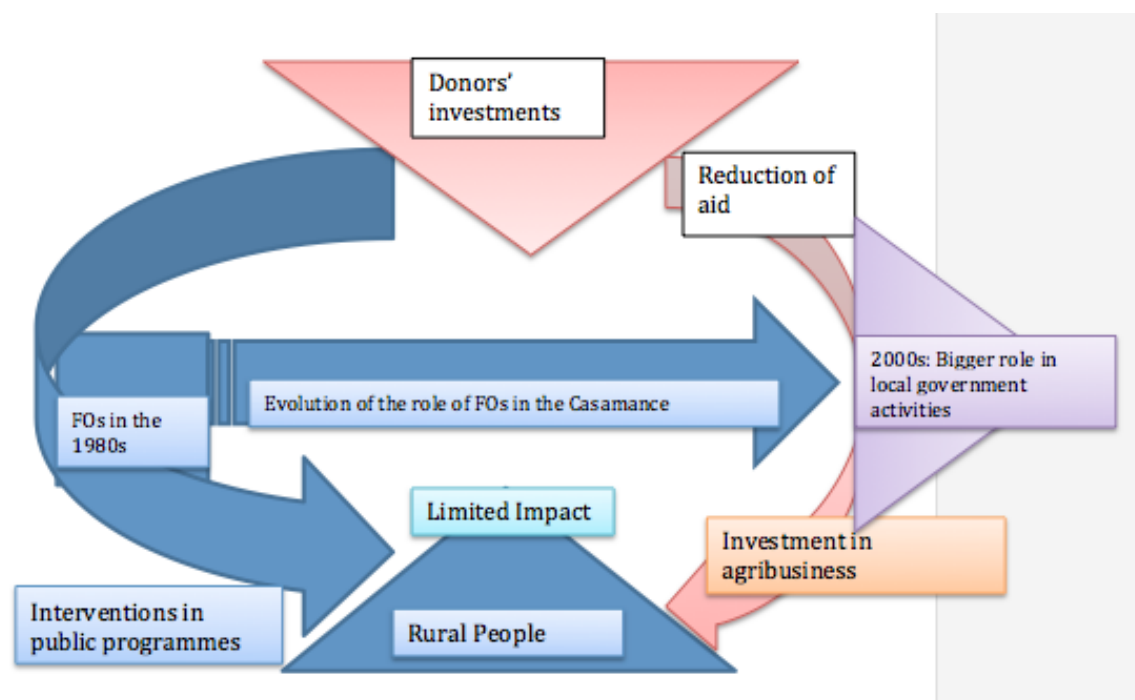


Figure 7.2. Development landscape of FO in the Casamance

Source: Original material developed for this thesis

### 7.6.3. The progressive Articulation of a Peasant-like scenario through the development of shared Resource Base

As we saw in Chapter 6, the leadership of the FOs was able to build a coalition with other social categories such as village elders, local elites and village facilitators, to build and manage their organisation apparatus. Key to this complex coalition building was the ability to use the intervention process to accommodate the specific needs and strategies of each party. In general, some villagers were more able than others to take advantage of the initiatives developed by the FOs to reinforce pre-existing village traditions and institutions. In so doing, they were able to create and sustain a real dynamism at the local level.

However, and despite the significance of their interventions in the context of a major economic and agricultural crisis, farmer associations like FADECBA did not initially address the fundamental causes of the production and livelihood crisis in the Casamance. In fact, these interventions were actually patterned according to the logic and the premises of the entrepreneurial farming. They sought to take over the roles traditionally played by the State and by NGOs, by creating the conditions for an entrepreneurial mode of farming. As a consequence, these interventions failed to deal with the pattern of dependency and exploitative relationships between the family farm and its wider environment. More specifically, the first sets of interventions did not meet a fundamental condition of peasant agriculture, namely the continuous development and improvement of the resource base, through which progress and prosperity unfolds in the peasant agriculture.

A few years down the line, FADECBA managed to secure the necessary institutional resources to successfully tackle a crucial challenge which was hampering local production systems, namely the loss of productive land for rice cultivation due to intrusion of salty water and sand in the lowlands devoted to rice cultivation. The context

of this intervention is one of a significant political reform, aimed at decentralising the management of local development processes, and that of production resources. In a context where the stake was the control and allocation of land and water resources, FADECBA strove to find space to articulate a peasant-like development approach. In fact, it managed to convene, consult and involve several villages sharing the resources of the Djibanar Valley in a process of reclaiming and redistributing the land and water resources needed to boost the local production systems.

The significance of this operation stems from the fact that it represented a locally-led initiative, to mobilise villagers around a common challenge of reclaiming the rice fields from salt intrusion. The intervention relied mostly on labour and local resources provided by the concerned villages. It entailed a lot of consultation around the ideal management of the retention and anti-salt dams to be built; the redistribution of land to villagers; and facilitation of access to rice fields located in different situation of water regime. This was followed by the introduction of improved and high yielding varieties, adapted to the new ecological conditions created by the erection of the dam.

The Djibanar example presented the advantage of avoiding the dispersion of local initiatives, and restoring the credibility of local organisations, by creating synergy between their activities and those of rural families. This was a significant evolution in the pattern of intervention of FADECBA which became more focused on villagers' access to a more secured and productive resource base. The Djibanar intervention also displayed new patterns of mobilisation of villagers as the basis of new collaboration mechanisms with other development actors to develop the productive resource base. It exemplifies a successful attempt to acquire more autonomy by mobilising and expanding the resource base controlled by smallholder farmers.

## **7.7. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

This chapter examined the Casamance conflict in the context of the complex relationship between the policies and programmes deployed by the Senegalese Government in the region (or the lack of it) and the responses that certain segments of the Casamance society brought to them. It provided an overview of different narratives of how the Casamance conflict was analysed, taking into account the contradictory relationships between the State and the Casamance society (Tomas, 2005; Faye, 2006, Marut, 2010). In accordance with the underlying principles of an actor-oriented approach, the analysis focuses therefore on the profile of the actors involved, the nature of their engagements, the power dynamics that they entail; and the extent to which the protagonists deploy different types of resources at their disposal in order to pursue their own objectives.

The Government of Senegal made policy choices which implied that staple foods, such as rice from the Casamance, were neglected in favour of cheap imports (rice from America or Thailand and wheat from France) paid for with the proceeds of groundnut exports. The structural adjustment programmes imposed by the IMF followed a financial logic aimed at restoring economic and financial equilibrium, without taking into account the social and environmental impacts of those measures. A reduction of budget deficits through the reduction of public spending (which led to freezing jobs and discontinuing subsidy schemes for agriculture) and increases in state revenues through privatisation, resulted in increases in the level of unemployment and a consequent reduction of income for the majority of the Senegalese population.

In summary, the economic and financial crisis of the national development model affected and constrained the survival and accumulation strategies of youth and women, thus affecting the integrity of household labour processes. In this context, the Casamance conflict is interpreted as the manifestation of a crisis rooted in the modern state's implementation of imported development models as shown by the policy choices made by the Senegalese government.

These phenomena affected the Casamance region in significant ways. The crisis affected and constrained the survival and income-generating strategies of youth and women, and upset the integrity of the household labour processes. This period is also characterised by the massive influx of 'foreigners' attracted by the region's reputation for wealth. It affected the prospects of rural migration to Dakar and other major cities used by the Casamance youth as an option for the pursuit of work opportunities. The reduction in lucrative employment opportunities associated with the economic crisis meant that many of these youth returned to their villages deeply disappointed.

This analysis thus allows for a better comprehension of the strong affirmation of an identity particularism (Marut, 2005). The MFDC initially expressed extensive local discontents with the central government. The movement capitalised on the widespread discontent with the Senegalese regime on its implementation of the 1964 '*Loi sur le Domaine national*', which led to both rural and urban land expropriations in Casamance. State penetration of local society has been a critical trigger of the conflict (De Jong, 1999). In this particular context, the political representation of legitimate issues and challenges faced by the Casamance people.

The attractiveness of the MFDC to the Casamance people is associated with the ideological position of the leadership of the MFDC. In this context, local tradition and religion are mobilised as part of a quest for meaning and a political language in which ethnic particularism and religion are articulated as signs and symbols of the legitimacy and authenticity of a political and cultural struggle. However, the attitude of the MFDC vis-à-vis the Casamance evolved strategically. It escalated the violence not only against the state but also against local populations, which reinforced its growing dependence upon external patrons rather than popular support.

The analysis of the experience of FOs illustrated the many ways in which rural people tried to reconstruct their lives and livelihood systems in the midst of economic, environmental and political crisis experienced by the Casamance region from the 1980s until the present days. The case of FADECBA raised a question about the extent to which the collective actions of farmers could lead the way to the development of greater capacity to bring about a peasant-like development.

According to Ploeg (2008), the successful articulation of such a paradigm entails a renegotiation of the terms and the content of the relationships between peasant farmers and the other development actors. In short, this experience illustrates how smallholders could develop, through cooperation, the social and ecological capital needed to promote a more sustainable development scenario. This scenario was based on the development and improvement of locally controlled resources, the introduction of technological and institutional innovations, with the assistance of external agencies whose involvement was requested by the FOs which maintained the leadership of the whole process.

## Ecosystem of local development dynamics

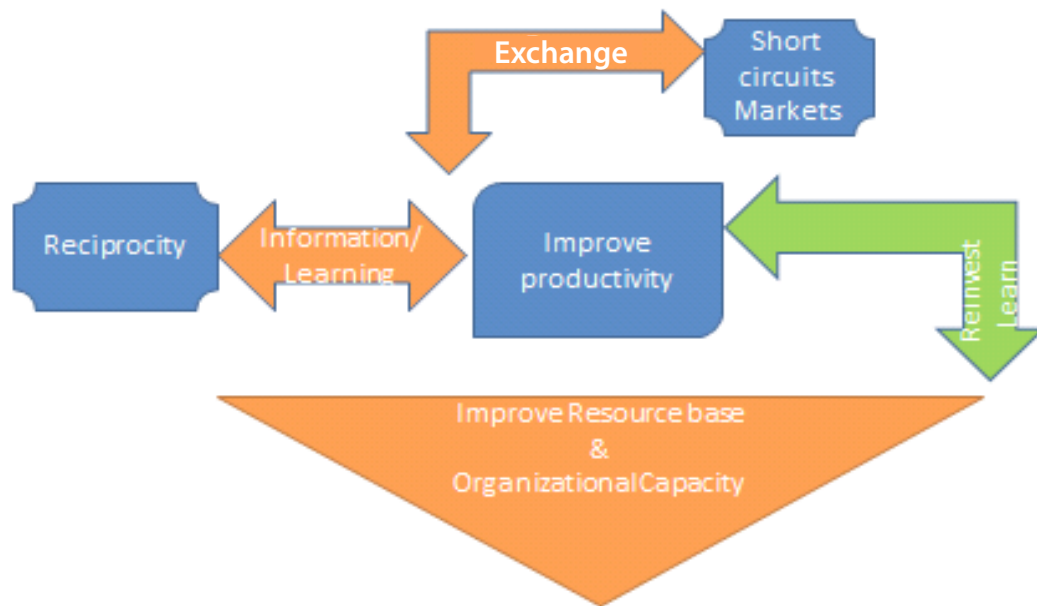


Figure 7.3: Building an ecosystem of local development dynamics

Source: Original material developed for this thesis

This experience also exemplifies a novel characteristic of peasant-driven interventions. This is centred on increased productive capacities driven by the combination of new technical and organisational practices, which enabled farmers to improve the efficiency of the production process (Ploeg, 2008). The importance of this approach also stems from the fact that the gains made in this areas cannot be taken for granted as they need to be nurtured and sustained through an ongoing process of development of the appropriate governance systems capable of maintaining the capabilities of FOs, and their ability to facilitate local people access to tangible benefits in an accountable manner. In fact the recent follow up survey conducted in the Casamance region revealed that the surveyed FOs went through some serious governance crisis which led to the departure of original leadership team in 1999. The crisis was partly linked to the intensification of the rebellious activities of the MFDC in the Balantacounda. The increased insecurity in the region triggered the migration of many FADCEBA members to the neighbouring countries of The Gambia and Guinea Bissau. These events also led to losses and disappearance of some assets belonging to FADECBA including cash and motorcycles (Ndong et al. 2013).

However, and despite the aggravating factors constituted by the rebellion, it seems that some of problems emanated from some dysfunctionalities in the FOs. For instance, the activities of CRECIS presented as an alternative to predominant financing schemes in the region had triggered a lot of interest from the local people. However the new leadership of FADECBA imputed the closure of the programme in 1999 to a number of factors, including the lack of competence in the management of the decentralised credit schemes, the high rate of defaults in the reimbursement of loans and the subsequent lack of sanctions towards the defaulters.

In this perspective, the intensification of the armed rebellion is seen as just an excuse used in order to mask a wider internal deficiencies and dysfunctionalities. This simple example illustrates a fundamental conclusion of this chapter that during the period of 1990-2000 period FOs operating in the Casamance region were able to initiate some important economic ventures and facilitate access of smallholder farmers to some tangible benefits.

The search for lasting peace would therefore lie on attempts to recreate opportunities for reconciling the national and regional development and modern projects with the emancipatory aspirations and trajectories of different segments of the Casamance society in general, and the rural educated youth in particular. These perspectives are embodied in the attempts made by the Casamance FOs to rebuild the connections between the Casamance local people with national peace for security and development programmes funded by donors with the production and livelihood objectives of the rural people. Building on the lessons learned in conducting this study, it is my belief that finding practical answers to these questions could be a prerequisite to overcoming the current political and agrarian crisis in prevailing in the Casamance region

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **8.1. BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES**

This dissertation examines the relationships between changes in State policies and programmes in Senegal and the link to the armed conflict in the Casamance. The region is characterised today by a situation conflict, combined with a structural food deficit due to the inability of the households in this region to grow enough food for consumption needs despite its enormous potentials to be a breadbasket for the whole country. As discussed in chapter 1, this thesis addressed two research questions:

1. To what extent did planned development interventions which are embodied in the agricultural policies of the central government (both colonial and post-independence) driven by the push for a greater commercialisation and modernisation of the peasantries in the Casamance, and the different types of responses of the Casamance people, contribute to the current situation of poverty and prolong conflict in the region?
2. To what extent would various the initiatives undertaken by local rural people and the novel coping strategies driven by empowered farmers 'organisations fit into, and promote scenarios of peace and prosperity in the Casamance.

This chapter summarises the key arguments of this thesis and draws implications for further research and development initiatives in the Casamance region. It summarises the results, presents key conclusions and formulates recommendations for finding solutions to the conflict.

The Casamance conflict has received a lot attention in the academic literature since it started in the Southern region of Senegal more than 30 years ago. Many scholars who examined the issue, focused on the history, geography, political, economic, social and cultural different dimensions of the Casamance crisis (Lambert, 1998; Foucher, 2002); Evans (2005); Marut (2005, 2010); De Jong (2003); De Jong et al. (2005). These studies identified the deep causes of the situation and explored them in the context of the type of agricultural and economic system which developed in the region and which would explain the current situation of poverty, underdevelopment and conflict in the Casamance. These outcomes are linked to patterns of relations which emerged between the Senegalese State and the Casamance rural people and which resulted in the exploitation of the fruits of their labour.

This thesis is thus situated in the midst of the academic debate on the fate of the peasantry and the historical significance of the peasants' way of farming in the context of global capitalism (Berry, 1984; 1993; Buttel, 2001). This debate is notably crystallised in the different interpretations of the agrarian question formulated by authors of different ideological shades (Bernstein et al., 2009; Bernstein, 2010a; 2010b; McMichael, 2009; van der Ploeg (2008, 2010, and 2013).

Berry (1984) compared and contrasted the views of neoclassical economists with those of Marxist political economists whose interpretations on the current food and agrarian crisis in Africa point to the processes of commercialisation, political centralisation linked to capitalist development in Africa. Depending on their theoretical orientations

different authors provide an articulation of this agrarian question either in terms of articulation and integration or a more balance formulation which lends itself to a more dynamic characterisation of the dynamics between the development of capitalism and rural societies. The configurations of the agricultural systems are therefore understood in relation to the underlying dynamics of either de-peasantization, de-agrarianization and/or deactivation, associated capitalism development in Africa.

My approach to understanding the dynamics in the Casamance, as explained in chapters 1 and 2 of the thesis, is informed by the work of van der Ploeg (2008, 2010, 2013) which builds on, and merges with, actor-oriented theories of development pioneered by Long (1992; 2001) and other scholars of the Wageningen school (Mongo 1995, Arce and Long, 2000, Hebinck 2013). A key postulate of an actor-oriented approach to development is that it attributes agency to peasant farmers, along with the more powerful social actors (e.g. scientists, bureaucrats, extension agents). I also embraced Long's (2001) articulation of planned intervention as an arena where different actors interact, compete and cooperate, based on their own objectives.

In the context of the current debate about the nature of global agrarian development, an actor-oriented approach recognises that peasant farming co-exists next to entrepreneurial and capitalist forms of agriculture; they compete for key resources (e.g. land, capital, labour) and operate differently in the broader capitalist economy. However the three types of agriculture differ significantly in the way they are structured and the mechanisms on which their development is based in the context the modern capitalist economy (van der Ploeg, 2010; 2013a). The entrepreneurial and capitalist farms are grounded on commodities and are about getting money in order to acquire the resources which are transformed into products to be sold. This is in sharp contrast to peasant farms which use the available, self-owned and controlled, natural and social resources to obtain money.

This structural feature allows peasant farms to produce for the markets, without being completely dependent on these markets (Van der Ploeg, 2013a). The peasantry is thus able to strive for autonomy by relying on own resources, and enriching these to survive in a globalising economy (Woods, 2014). However, these key features of peasantry can be blocked under unfavourable socio-economic conditions which deprive the peasantries from the fruits of their labour leading to an agrarian crisis.

Following Van der Ploeg (2008, 2009, and 2010), I interpret an agrarian crisis as manifesting itself at three levels of dysfunctional relationships between: i) farming and nature; ii) farming and society and; iii) farming and livelihood prospects of those who live from it. An agrarian crisis is likely to emerge when farming is organised in such a way that the interests of peasants are hijacked by other segments of society. An agro-ecological crisis also takes place when agriculture becomes organised and develops through a systematic destruction of the ecosystem upon which it is based, or when it gradually contaminates the wider environment. Other dimensions of the crisis materialise when the relationship between farming and society is compromised.

The crisis may also be linked to conflictive intra-household dynamics, such as highly authoritarian relations between fathers and sons which may provoke the desertion of young men. It may also result from oppressive gender relations that cause mothers to advice their daughters 'to marry whomever as long as it is not a peasant' –which have led to considerable social desertification in many rural parts of the Mediterranean" (Ploeg, 2013).

The working hypothesis of this thesis is that the Casamance crisis is the ultimate outcome of dysfunctional relations between the central Senegalese government and the Casamance people. It derives from the fact that modernisation and commoditization policies were used over the years by the central government to stimulate and drive the modernisation of the smallholder agriculture, based on the scripts of an entrepreneurial farming centred on groundnut production. These processes triggered some significant footprints in local production systems and social relations, in terms of allocation of households' resources (especially labour, land and cash) to different usages; and the satisfaction of the needs of different segments of the family household.

Subsequent changes in the policy and natural environment contributed to upset the delicate balances between government policies and local people's adaptation strategies; they also affected the delicate compromises and balances developed at the household and village levels to accommodate the objectives of food security, income earning opportunities. Thus planned development interventions have accelerated the disarticulation of the traditional production systems and compromised the livelihood position and the emancipation trajectories of youths and women within the traditional domestic units, leading to an agrarian crisis.

However these social actors have the capacity to react to these changes in ways which support, resist, or oppose state interventions. The actors could also rework these interventions to accommodate their own practices, knowledge, and ideas, in ways which strengthen and bring greater value to these resources. This implies that the Casamance peasantries are capable of deploying some innovative answers to their production and reproduction challenges by gradually developing some peasant-like solutions to the reproduction and governance crisis that they are faced with. The gains achieved in this on-going battle will largely depend on the extent to which the Casamance peasantries are able to achieve more progress and prosperity by enlarging their resource base and their productivity, and by increasing their space for greater co-production.

The research questions and the hypotheses outlined above inform the methodology of my thesis. An examination of the patterns of engagements between the actors in order to gain some insights on the possible dynamics of the continuing conflict. Building on the concept of an agrarian crisis as defined by Van der Ploeg (2008) the analysis conducted in this thesis explores the extent to which the long-term configurations of relationships between external interventions and local responses have culminated in serious conflictive situations in the Casamance region. An actor oriented approach compels us to carefully examine the different ways in which the social, political and economic relations of production at the national, regional and household levels affect the level of performances associated with the production and reproduction processes.

At these different aggregation levels, the dysfunctional relations between the key protagonists of the Casamance crisis have been explored and analysed. I have also examined the socially sanctioned forms of ownership and control of production resources and the extent to which they are consistent with sustained levels of growth of production, and whether conflict of interests and lack of space will lead to diversion of productive resources to other alternative usage.

The next sections provide a summary of the major conclusions reached in the different chapters of this thesis. This followed by a discussion of the major recommendations pertaining to a successful resolution of the Casamance crisis.

## 8.2. SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

### 8.2.1. Overview of the development landscape in the Casamance

The study of the region's landscape conducted in Chapter 3 focussed on the review of the region's natural, cultural and economic landscape, and setting the stage for the analysis of the change processes that have taken place in the region over a long period. The chapter explored the extent to which the current key features of the Casamance region carry the hallmarks of historic processes of interventions of the State and non-state actors. This led to a detailed review of the key physical, socioeconomic and political features of the Casamance region, from the colonial era until the present day's developments which culminated in the protracted conflict opposing the Government of Senegal and the MFDC.

It follows from the review that the Casamance region represents one of the richest regions of Senegal. The Casamance region displays a significant degree of diversity in terms of its human settlement patterns and its production systems. These features have been clearly outlined by the work of the ISRA Farming Systems Research (FSR) team (Posner et al. 1982; Posner 1985). Their work, which maps differentiated production systems identified in the region and the ways in which they have evolved over time, reflects this level of diversity. Several studies conducted on the socio-economic features and outlook of the Casamance region (Posner, 1985; Posner et al. 1991; Linares, 2003, 2005; Dramé, 2005) highlight key trends which contributed to challenging livelihood conditions for rural people.

As it was discussed in chapter 3, the land reform programmes initiated during the colonial era introduced a number of innovations which made it easier for the Colonial government to control local people's holdings (Hesseling, (1984; 1985). When Senegal became independent in 1960, the colonial idea of land tenure and holding also played an important role in the "*Loi sur le Domaine National*", the Land Law which was adopted on 17 June 1964 (law 64-46 of 17 June, 1964) as a means of achieving both economic and social objectives. A major feature of this reform related to the creation of a new local institution called the *Communaute Rurale*. This new legal entity represented local institutions which had the legal and fiscal responsibility to manage publicly-owned land. These reforms raised some concerns with the weakest segments of the rural communities, by creating the risk that they might become the 'new type of migrants' and become the emigrated peasants who have been chased by the agrarian reform (de Jonge et al., 1979). In practice though, the implementation of the law faced many challenges- key of which was the conflict generated by the dual system of both the State and traditional authorities playing a role in land allocation.

In terms of development policies, the country maintained a policy of specialisation on groundnut and the development of an import substitution light industry funded by foreign donors. Such an orientation was maintained and reinforced in the country's successive quadrennial plans until the mid-1980. Thus, the nature of the quadrennial development plans further accentuated the concentration of resources in the Coastal areas of the country. During the 5th quadrennial plan (1977-1981) the government revisited its investment priorities to focus more on productive sectors. In that context, agricultural programmes, centred essentially on the implementation of regional development societies, with the most promising regions in terms of rice production prioritised to receive the bulk of Government's investments: 17 billion for SAED, in the Fleuve and

13 billion for SOMIVAC in the Casamance. However 78% of the projects' funding relied on foreign funding while national contribution to the national investments amounted only to 21% (de Jonge et al, 1978). In practice though, the international funding agencies did not collaborate directly with the national technical services as they preferred to fund independent interventions for a relatively short duration, under the leadership of European managers. Compounding the problem was the fact that the Senegalese government was not able to directly fund its own rural development policies. As a result, the local rural population was only involved in short term temporary projects which usually do not result in desired harmonious development and improved living conditions. These critiques echo Amin's argument that a development strategy based on a specialisation on groundnut and the development of an import substitution light industry funded by foreign donors have led the country to a dead end (Amin, 1971).

During the 1980-2000s period, the region went through numerous changes in its production systems, which got their momentum from the historical, ecological and political changes that took place during the preceding 60 years. The changes discussed in chapter 3 are outlined below:

- The series of droughts experienced by the region during the 1970s resulted in the reduction of up to 20% of the rainfall required for successful rice production in different zones. This situation brought many areas of the region close to the benchmark below which the cultivation system is in imminent danger (Linares, 2005). The environmental crisis jeopardised the balance between local production and local needs of the Casamance region- as rice production systems constitute the basis of families' food security, and the reproducibility of farmers' livelihood systems.
- The development experiences inherited from the colonial era started with peaceful trading arrangements between European trading companies, but later evolved into situations of political domination and economic valorisation "*mise en valeur*" of the resources of the Casamance (Roche 1985; Co-Trung, 1996). Subsequent institutional reforms and rural development programmes initiated by the post-independence Senegalese government were implemented through numerous state controlled parastatals, aid projects, regional development agencies and rural development programmes which focused on many complex and sometimes contradictory relations with the local people (Linares, 2005; Drame, 2005).
- The mushrooming of various sector-led private ventures which resulted in the extraction of commercial and tourism-related benefits- resembling a colonial type of exploitation (Marut, 2005).

These changes triggered multifaceted responses: collaboration, resistance, rejection as well as conflict- the most dramatic of which was the launch of an armed campaign for the independence of the Casamance region during the 1980s. The armed conflict, which has been ongoing for three decades, has resulted in major human casualties, both in numbers killed and displaced. The conflict has also altered livelihood conditions for the inhabitants of the Casamance region considerably, and compromised the rural development prospects of the region for many years. The conclusions of chapter 3 suggest strong linkages between the advent of the armed conflict in the Casamance and interventions which took place in the region during the colonial and the post-independence eras.

### 8.2.2. Patterns of Government's development Interventions in Senegal and the Casamance.

Chapter 4 analyses the rationale, objectives and configurations of planned interventions by the central government in the Casamance region. It seeks to understand the actors and institutions involved, the types of interactions that they entertain with local people, and the extent to which these interventions were successful in achieving their set objectives. But, as suggested by Long (2001), a greater emphasis will be put on the interventions as well as on the interactions that they produce among various participants, as opposed to simply looking at the interventions in isolation.

The analysis conducted in chapter 4 showed that State interventions in the Casamance followed a cyclical pattern of deployment, i.e. eras of heavy involvement of State institutions in the implementation of institutional reforms and rural development activities, alternated with eras of withdrawal and relative “laissez-faire” attitude. However, there was a significant level of continuity and consistency between the two eras, as the post-independence State generally continued the type of rural institutions and agricultural programmes pursued during the colonial era<sup>23</sup>. Chapter 4 focussed on the introduction of agricultural mechanisation programmes in the Casamance, as an illustration of the type of processes that planned development interventions entailed.

In summary, state interventions were intended to trigger the burgeoning of an entrepreneurial style farming system, characterised by market-led production and reproduction systems. However, several technical and institutional factors hampered the effectiveness and the sustainability of this model in Senegal and, specific to this study, in the Casamance region. The introduction of structural adjustment reforms in the 1980s brought about some significant changes in the institutional architecture of agricultural production in Senegal; in fact, the advent of neoliberal-inspired policies of state withdrawal from direct management of the agriculture sector, and the lack of provision of agricultural inputs and equipment, threatened the continuation of the state-promoted production systems.

The review of the historical conditions of emergence of FOs in Senegal confirmed the fact that State Hegemony and locally driven development dynamics are related both historically and conceptually. The historical connection between the two phenomena stems from the fact that there have always been some levels of local initiative and successes, even in phases of strong and active involvement. There are some clear patterns of either positive or negative relationship depending on the specific historical circumstances. In most instances, a strong presence of the state in the rural development affairs implied a smaller space for FOs, whereas in other circumstances the activation of local initiatives seem to pick up when the State retreats from the public scenery although in some rare cases, a strong local dynamism may appear even at a time of strong State involvement.

During the first phase of State hegemony, a number of rural institutions were controlled and managed by the State. Apart from the main role of ensuring delivering and providing access mechanisms to input/output markets, cooperatives played the more political role of ‘awakening the rural people’ through education, sensitisation, and self-management, following the principles of rural enlightening or ‘*animation rurale*’ (Dia, 1988). The relation between the State and FOs changed during the 1970s and 1980s,

---

<sup>23</sup>The ways in which these policy changes informed and influenced the behaviours and strategies of local people are discussed in the following sections.

when an autonomous farmer movement emerged outside the official state extension and structuring system. This phase coincided with the end of the developmental state because of budgetary constraints and donor-imposed conditions that compelled the state to discontinue its agricultural subsidy programme and to change its agricultural policy towards liberalisation and a laissez-faire attitude centred on market mechanisms. During this phase the Senegalese farmer movement was forced to define new forms of expression for its political and economic agenda of a more farmer-centred development scenario. It was at this time that FOs started investing in an inclusive agribusiness model to develop and manage win-win partnerships with other market players in the agricultural value chain (Faye, 2007; Cissokho, 2008a).

The history of FONGS reveals the deliberate construction of an alternative discourse on rurality and modernity that stipulated new patterns of relationship between rural people on the one hand, and the state and other development partners on the other. In this scenario, the issue of the 'family farm' appeared more like a renewed discourse of self, an interpretation grid for the current situation, and a guideline for future development which called for a development scenario more centred on the affirmation of cultural heritage, a critical assessment of past state driven development programmes, and the renegotiation of a scenario of progress based on mutually beneficial relationships. The obvious and central question is then the extent to which this farmer activism, embodied in a new discourse on the family farm and modernity, actually materialised in appropriate ways of dealing with rural people, and responding to their challenges and opportunities in the Casamance.

### **8.2.3. An overview of local people's dominant adaptation strategies to a changing environment**

The changes in the government policies described above triggered a set of differentiated responses from the Casamance rural people. A summary of the responses analysed in Chapters 5 is provided below, along with a discussion of their potentialities and challenges for the livelihood prospects of the local people (chapters 5, 6 and 7).

#### ***8.2.3.1. Trajectory of self-commoditization and marginality***

As argued earlier in Chapter 4, the Senegalese state administered an agricultural equipment programme that enabled a significant section of the rural populace to access animal traction equipment and complementary inputs through agricultural credit. The positive effects of the programme were short-lived, and were soon followed by significant challenges for the smallholder farmer.

The Bougoutoub case study in chapter 5 provides evidence to this. The new set of incentives provided by the state-managed agricultural programme allowed considerable development in agricultural production, especially for cash crops such as groundnut. In just a few years, the total production of groundnut in the region increased drastically (Drame, 2005). This was a result of the adoption of scale-enlarging technologies and the increased reliance on revenues from groundnut production for the provision of household livelihood. This led to the following:

- The extension of groundnut cultivation areas, greatly facilitated by the availability of farm implements, inputs and marketing facilities, and the existence of support infrastructure for this commodity;

- An acceleration of historical processes of out-migration of youth and unmarried adults in search of alternative sources of employment, outside of farming- as they were no longer needed, or were not satisfied with the returns to their labour ;
- The progressive neglect and the subsequent regression of food crop production and family-based farming in the region.

Essentially, these adaptation strategies represent the first set of farmer responses- which centred on greater commoditisation of labour and other resources. This dominant type of response by the Casamance peasantry to unfavourable changes in their production environment entails investing the family resources primarily in the production of the dominant cash crop in order to meet the food and other livelihood needs of the household. Declines in rice and food-crop production were compensated with an increase in groundnut production facilitated by the enlargement of the cultivated areas. This strategy resulted in an increased reliance on the purchase of food financed by the revenues generated from the sale of cash crops. However, the later onset of the drought and the government withdrawal of the agricultural equipment incentive programme -providing input, equipment, and markets-, landed many smallholder farmers with limited land holding in difficulty.

In the absence of chemical fertilisers, most households resorted to shifting cultivation by bringing back lands that were left fallow into production. The practice of shifting the area under cultivation from one season to another to compensate for the decline in the fertility of the land was largely favoured by the families who owned much land in the village. However, this mobile strategy required the household to have access to sufficient family labour and farm implements to be able to spread themselves over a wider geographic area. This implied that the more numerous categories of the 'average' and 'poor' families did not have the opportunity to develop these forms of mobility. Because they did not have sufficient space to redeploy their activities, these categories of villager were obliged to overuse their limited agricultural land, and they generally reduced the fallow period needed to regenerate the fertility of their fields, which led to a downward spiral of land degradation.

This first set of responses (forced entrepreneurship) was therefore mainly driven by one major cash crop, at the expense of the complex and synergetic relationships between different crops (cash and staple food), activities (crop and livestock) and social relations within the family farm (gender and inter-generational dynamics) as well as between the household and the larger community. This accelerated the gradual divorce between the different production activities of the household, and also precipitated a food insecurity and an environmental crisis. These evolutions had profound consequences for traditional production and reproduction systems, which relied on processes of cooperation between the family, the neighbourhood systems and the village institutions.

Many households started to de-capitalise by selling their animals and their equipment to meet their consumption requirements. As households started to go hungry, finding it difficult to survive on their own production, youth and women migrated to other cities and even foreign countries, searching for better livelihood opportunities outside agriculture. When the ecological crisis caused by a series of droughts was exacerbated by the economic crisis in the 1990s, they culminated into a serious food crisis in the Casamance, Figure 8.1 illustrates this situation of an agrarian crisis as it manifests itself at the household level.

## Planned interventions & Patterns of debts and dependency

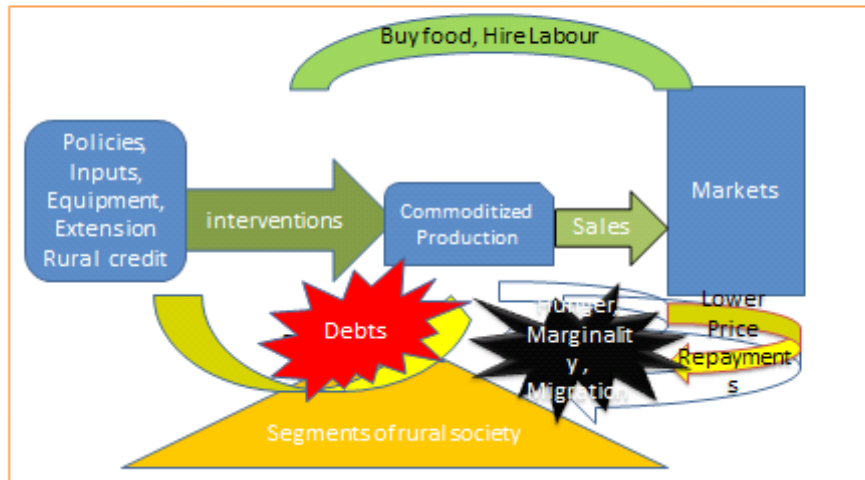


Figure 8.1: Depressive dynamics linked to processes of self-commoditisation

Source: Original material developed for this thesis

In essence, the first set of responses that the Casamance farmers brought to changes in the production environment (described in section 6.4.4) contributed to making them part of, and active agents in a downward spiral of scale enlargement in their farming activities. Hence, the dominant entrepreneurial mode of farming, introduced and promoted by the colonial government and the independent state alike, put the peasantry on a trajectory of dependency and marginalisation. Moreover, this situation clearly matches the definitions of an agrarian crisis, as defined by van der Ploeg (2013a; 2013b) in terms of dysfunctional relations between farming and society; between farming and nature; and finally between the form of agriculture and the livelihood of the people engaged in it.

### 8.2.3. 2. *Scenario of hope, resilience, innovation and progress*

The predominant logic of entrepreneurial farming driven by the quasi-monopoly of the older men on groundnut production and its associated technical-institutional apparatus, was confronted by significant lines of defence in the form of the strategies used by the more marginalised segments of the rural society: youth and women. These strategies which depict attempts to resist the logic of full commoditisation include:

- The continuation by women of their traditional engagement in rice production, despite their meagre human and material resources available to them, and the critical shortage of labour for major rice production operations, such as land preparation, transplanting, weeding and harvesting. They continued to rely on the traditional *ekafay* to conduct critical operations, and incorporated new elements, such as improved varieties and different production techniques that helped them adapt to hostile and changing production environments. They diversified their production activities into vegetable gardens and the collection and commercialisation of wild fruits for additional income to pay their expenses and meet other financial obligations within the household.
- Additional initiatives were undertaken by youth groups to cope with their difficult conditions. They 'voted with their feet' by migrating to cities, in anticipation of

better livelihoods, and some of the migrants sent money back to their families. These remittances helped their households to survive their difficult conditions. When their living conditions became tougher in their place of emigration, many rural youth came back to their villages either irregularly, or on a more permanent basis.

- The youths also initiated or invested in village associations to secure employment and to gain direct access to state and donor resources. They also extended their investments in village institutions such as youth clubs and contributed to the development of an economic infrastructure in their villages, such as anti-salt dams, water retention schemes and village shops. In some cases, they managed to create the conditions for continued operation of the entrepreneurial mode of farming, by facilitating villagers' access to inputs, equipment and markets.
- This was the case of organisations like FADECBA, which aimed to create rural employment for the youths, to facilitate access to loans for inputs and equipment for their members, and to champion the development of multi-village watershed management systems.
- Over the years some of these FOs were able, through a process of trial and error to gradually develop peasant-centred responses to the changes in their environment, based on greater reliance on their own indigenous institutions and the development of their resource base. These attributes are exemplified by the examples of FADECBA, AJAC, Entente de Diouloulou, and ASPRODEP analysed in chapter 6.

To a large extent, women and youths tangibly displayed the resilience which is characteristic of the peasant mode of farming<sup>24</sup>. They managed to effectively articulate the principles of survival, resilience, a search for greater autonomy, local cooperation toward a common goal, and the improvement of the village production base and environment. The diversity of these responses across regions, within a specific geography and over time, represent significant testimonies of the existence of local development dynamics. These processes were mainly carried out through the traditional institutions, although at the height of the rural development crises in the 1970s and the 1990s, the village associations became the key agents and promoters of local development efforts by joining well organised and formal FOs.

Over the years, the Casamance farmers have been able to provide a second set of responses to the agrarian crisis described above. These responses were built on the reactivation of local development dynamics associated with the principles of a self-driven mindset, and pluriactivity. The manifestations of these peasant-centred development dynamics have been highlighted in recent studies conducted by ISRA BAME (2010) and by FONGS (2014), based on long term monitoring of the operations and performances of 122 family farms in many regions of Senegal, including the Casamance. The analysis of the data generated by the study by ISRA provides some important insights on the key factors that inform the development of peasants' responses to their development challenges.

The family households studied in the Casamance cultivated many crops, ranging from the groundnuts, millet and sorghum, different types of rice production systems, sweet potatoes, and cassava. Other production systems identified in the regions of Kolda and Ziguinchor include fruit trees (mangoes, cashew trees, etc.) and cotton especially in the Kolda region. Thus the cropping patterns of the Casamance households remain quite

---

<sup>24</sup>Such logic is illustrated in Chapter 6 of the thesis through the examples of farmers' organisations affiliated with AJAC, Entente de Diouloulou, AJAEDO, and FADECBA.

diversified, despite the continued dominance of groundnuts in the local production systems. This was further enhanced by the continuous diversification of the production system, as family farms also engaged in a wide range of gainful activities (in farming, livestock and non-farm sectors) despite the hegemonic position of the groundnut sub-sector.

The most successful family farms managed to combine their agricultural activities (combining crop and livestock production) with non-farm-related ventures. They engaged in trade, construction work and, in some instance, earned salaries as they temporarily migrated to cities. These different elements are combined and articulated over time through a process of trial, error and learning to contribute, in varying degrees, to the long-term successful performance of the family farm. The activities and behaviour highlighted above reflect some of the tangible manifestations of local development dynamics as the Casamance peasantry responded to the harsh external conditions in the region: They patterned their livelihood activities in a multi-functional way, conducting the mutually reinforcing functions required to further develop their production and livelihood base.

### **8.3. INTERPRETATIONS OF THE ARMED CONFLICT IN THE CASAMANCE REGION THROUGH THE LENSES OF AN AGRARIAN CRISIS**

Chapter 7 examined the Casamance conflict in the context of the complex relationship between the policies and programmes deployed by the Senegalese Government in the region and their impacts on the Casamance society.

The analysis revealed the conflicting narratives of the interpretation of the conflict itself, the motivations of the fighters, the nature of their relationships with local people, and the significance of the actions of MFDC (Faye Diouf, 2006; Evans, 2005). For many analysts of structuralist orientation, the root causes of the crisis associated with the Casamance conflict are linked to the complex ways in which the region was colonised and exploited during the colonial era (Dykman, 2000; Evans (2000; 2003; 2005), (McGowan 2005; Faye, 2006; Fall, 2010; Gehrold and Inga, (2010)). However, other specialists such as Englebert (2005), Marut (2005) and Tomas (2005) questioned the mechanical linkage between the Casamance conflict and the affirmation of Diola culture.

They follow Lambert (1998) who argues that by locating the roots of the current movement in the violent history of the Casamance, attention is drawn away from questions about the relationship between the Casamance and Senegal. These authors subsequently provide an analysis of the complex relationships between the processes of globalisation, the development of regional and ethnic particularism, and subsequent conflictive dynamics which unfolded in the southern region of Senegal. The crisis affected and constrained the survival and income-generating strategies of youth and women, and upset the integrity of the household labour processes. These issues, along with that of land contributed to the escalation of the crisis as young people became vulnerable to the tactics of actors advocating for autonomy and independence.

My analysis of the Casamance conflict builds on widely accepted narratives which link the rebellion to the aspirations and actions of segments of the Casamance society who are trying to develop their own pathways to public resources and improved livelihood (Marut, 2005, De Jong, 2005; Englebert, 2005, Faye, 2006, Diop, 2010; Diedhiou 2011). In accordance with the underlying principles of an actor-oriented approach, the different narratives of the Casamance conflict were analysed, taking into account the contradictory

relationships between the State and the Casamance society (Tomas, 2005; Faye, 2006, Marut, 2010). The analysis focuses therefore on the profile of the actors involved, the nature of their engagements, the power dynamics they contended with, and the extent to which the protagonists deploy different types of resources at their disposal in order to pursue their own objectives. The analysis of the Casamance conflict in this thesis is therefore built on this alternative interpretation of armed conflicts, which emphasises the conflictive dynamics associated with the political and economic strategies and activities of local, national and international actors.

The chapter focused on the complex relations that the State entertained with the Casamance region and people. The analysis is informed by argument put forward by De Jong (1999) that state penetration of local society has been a critical trigger of the conflict. The source of the local discontent is located in the implementation of the 1964 *“Loi sur le Domaine national”*, which led to both rural and urban land expropriations in the Casamance region. The separatist movement initially expressed extensive local discontent with the central government’ to that extent, the movement has been a medium of political expression for the local people. However, upon the realisation that the MFDC had also accused the Senegalese state of being negligent in promoting the development of the Casamance region, De Jong (1999) questioned his own hypothesis that state-penetration has been an unambiguous reason for the revolt; he could no longer reconcile the idea of a fight against state intervention in the region, with the apparent call for more state interventions in the Casamance.

This apparent contradiction in the position of the MFDC vis-à-vis the role of the central government in the Casamance has been analysed through the lenses of the grievance and greed arguments, summarised by De Jong (1999). This is consistent with the grievance argument summarised by Faye Diouf (2006). He provides an analysis of the evolution of MFDC’s strategy based on the origins of its financial and political support. In the initial years of the movement (1980-1990), the MFDC capitalised on the grievances of the local populations, and received support from them. However, when in the first half of the 1990s, the MFDC began to receive substantial support from neighbouring countries it became less reliant on the support of local constituents, and this led to violent activities not only against the state but also against the local population. In the latter part of the 1990s, the government of Senegal worked to cut off both external and internal support to the MFDC, by improving its relations with the neighbouring countries and practicing politics of “charm” vis-à-vis the local populations. In response, the MFDC engaged in the illegal exploitation of the natural resources. As the MFDC shifted from one support base to another, it resorted to the strategy of the war economy (Evans, 2005; Faye, 2006).

This thesis shows that the crisis is a contemporary phenomenon which can be linked to the interplay between the activities and discourses of different actors who may pursue congruent or conflicting projects. In this context the main protagonists of the conflict, namely the MFDC, the Government of Senegal, the local civilian population of the region, and few other external and international actors (neighbouring countries, international NGO, the Catholic Church, etc.) are identified and their complex web of relations are reviewed to identify the roots causes and the contributing factors to the conflict.

As indicated in figure 8.2, the Casamance conflict can be historically situated with respect to specific configurations of the relations between external events and locally driven responses informed by the attempts of local people to pursue their own livelihood strategies. The factors which contributed to the culmination of the conflict during the 1980s can be traced back to critical events which spanned over the previous 40 years,

some of which have been highlighted in this thesis.

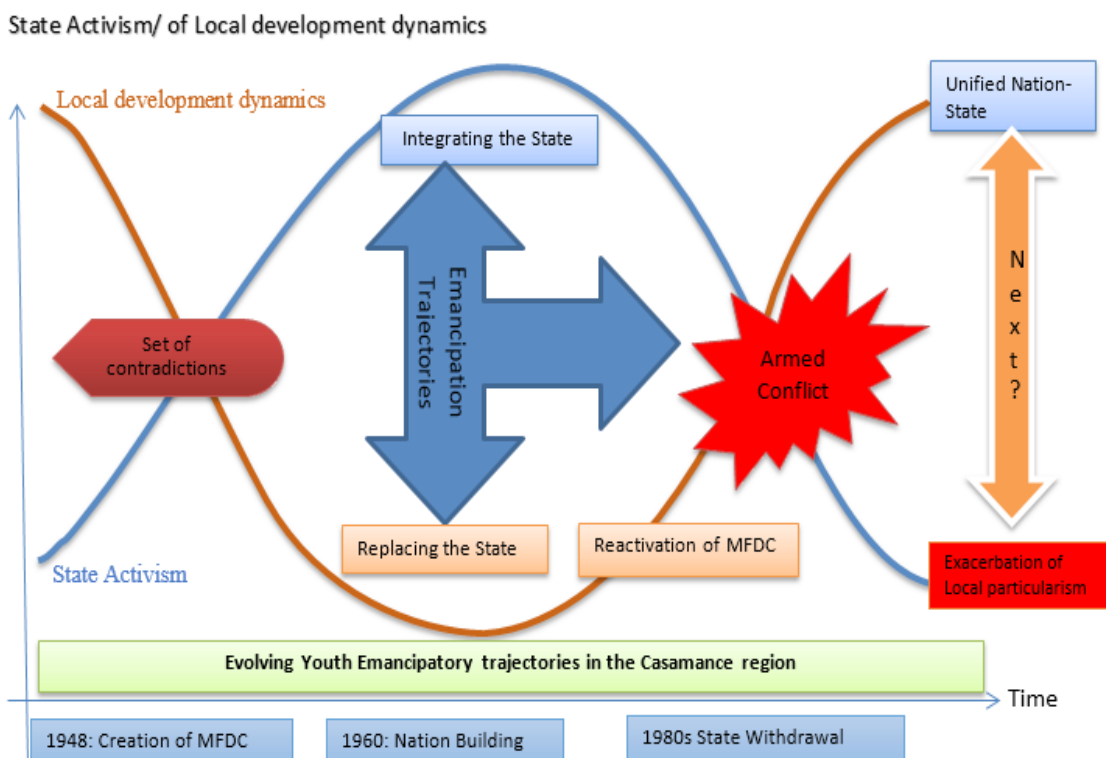


Figure 8.2: Historical Contextualisation of the Casamance Conflict

Source: Original material developed for this thesis

The resurgence of regional- and ethnic-based separatist pressures is interpreted as a strategic means used by young, educated, aspirant elites to lend some legitimacy to their economic, social and political claims. These views are reinforced by the findings of Englebert (2005), according to which the separatist phenomenon is linked to the strategies of local elites striving for access to the local benefits of sovereign statehood. The analysis therefore links the violence to attempts made by certain segments of local society to challenge current social, political and economic configurations and orders, in order to fight their way to resources controlled by the state.

The conflict had some significant consequences on the livelihood opportunities of the inhabitants of the Casamance region. As Evans (2005) indicated the conflict between MFDC and the Senegalese government forces resulted in difficulties for local people who depend on exploiting natural resources for their livelihood. The results of his survey showed that while the level of insecurity faced by local people could vary from one village to another or from one locality to another, it represented, in many instances, the cause of limited access of households to their production sites. However, Evans (2005) found that the limits to production are more general. Insecurity and the poor state of transport infrastructure also limit commercial activities at the local and regional levels. The author concludes that while it is difficult to isolate the impact of conflict from other factors which affect the livelihood of rural people: the issues related to production and commercialisation of the agriculture sector often reflect complex articulations between the effects of insecurity and economic isolation in the context of changing environmental

and economic contexts

It follows from these discussions that the Casamance conflict represents a major conflict of articulation between a region and the rest of country; it epitomises a violent contestation of the dominant state driven modernisation scenario which does not conform to the emancipation trajectories of the educated youth, aspiring to the benefits of sovereignty. In this respect the conflict conform to the definitions of a governance and agrarian crisis as articulated in this thesis. However while significant, the actions of the MFDC do not represent the sole and unique responses of the Casamance rural youth to the prevailing crisis. The agrarian interpretation of the conflict adopted in this thesis paid attention to and brought out different patterns of relations which prevailed under different agrarian structures and the extent to which they are compatible with the emancipatory objectives and trajectories of the local people. Building on the lessons learned in conducting this study, it is my belief that finding practical answers to the question of local people's access to decent resources and living condition could be a prerequisite to overcoming the current political and agrarian crisis in prevailing in the Casamance.

#### **8.4. EXPLORING SOME POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO THE CRISIS IN THE CASAMANCE**

##### **8.4.1 Resistance, autonomy and novelties**

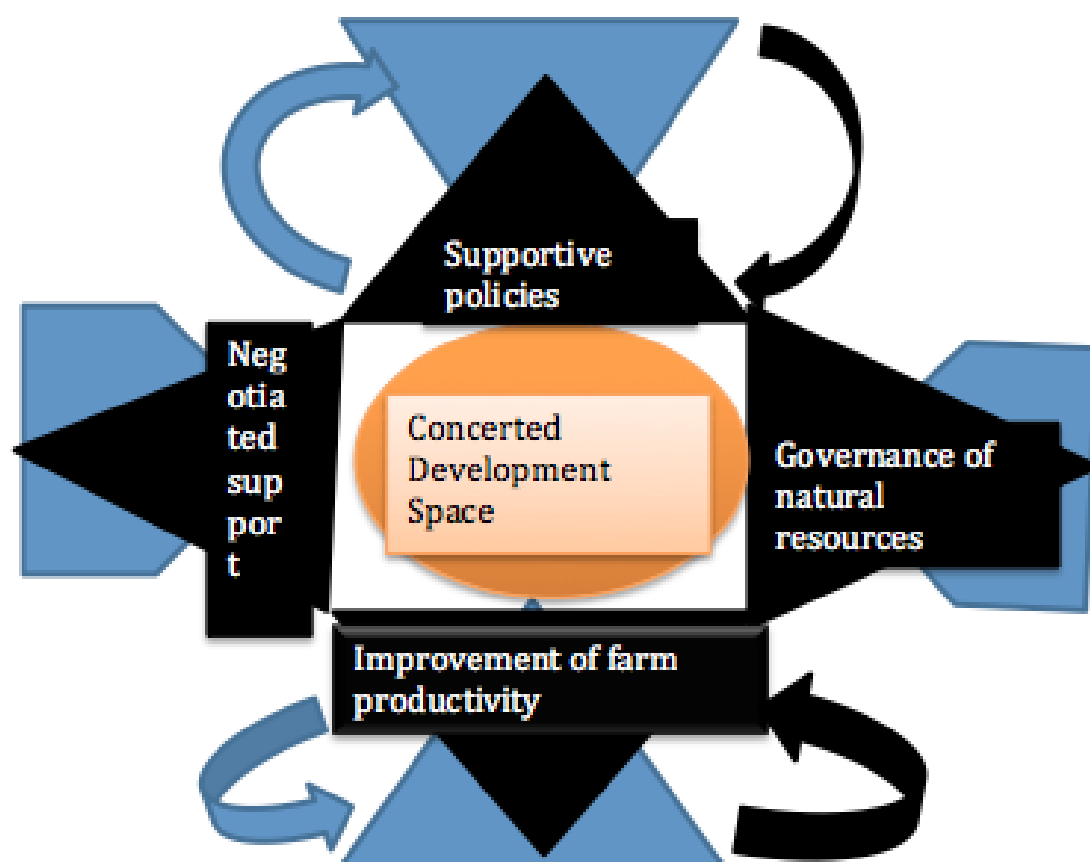
My final remarks will build on my theoretical starting point of an actor-oriented approach to explore the links which exist between 'peace', 'autonomy' and 'development' in the Casamance. We examine the extent to which more autonomy, associated with peasant-centred development, can lead to 'peace' and development in the southern region of Senegal. In the context of this thesis, the relations between autonomy (which does not mean autarky or independence) and development were closely associated with the capacity of local people to pursue opportunities to construct more viable livelihood and reproduction options and strategies.

Thus the issue of peace, as analysed in this thesis, goes beyond simply a lack of contradictions and conflict in order to embrace a full set of alignments between the objectives and livelihood and modernisation strategies of different protagonists. In the case of the Casamance the ongoing armed conflict was essentially analysed as the outcome of a governance crisis, epitomised by the lack of alignment between the objectives and activities of different actors and protagonists: the state, NGOs, FOs, and different members of the family farms. The current armed conflict in the Casamance region is therefore interpreted as a more radical form of struggle associated with these conflict of interest. The question, moving forward, is to explore how the current conflict could become an opportunity to design a regional development scenario based on the exploitation of the huge cultural/natural endowment of the region.

A successful resolution of the Casamance crisis will entail the advent of a governance revolution, which permits a re-alignment of the resources, activities and personal agendas of the different family members around a shared goal for transformation and progress. There is a need to systematically revisit the modes of representation, the power structure, the decision-making and reward distribution processes which underlie the operation of the most basic unit of production and reproduction (Calame, 2003). To be legitimate, the new governance systems should be robust enough to accommodate a culture of respect for local identities, while reinforcing a sense of Senegalese citizenship.

This transformation challenge requires not only new capabilities within the domestic unit, but also new patterns of relationships between the family farm and the rest of the community and other aggregation units. The construction of meaningful livelihood systems requires not only new technologies and organisational activities, but also the development of new normative frameworks and a significant revision of the management and governance systems which should determine the successful development of shared resources

The key requirements of a successful resolution of a governance crisis highlighted in figure 8.3 below. It highlights the underlying principles of more inclusive governance system and institutional arrangements which would enable a significant proportion of the rural population to feel empowered enough to pursue their livelihood options while maintaining their desired level of autonomy.



*Figure 8.3: A recommended pathway for a more farmer centred development in the Casamance*

Source: Original material developed for this thesis

Building on the lessons learned as part of this study, the approaches considered here are based on new principles of the valorisation of local resources, as well as the redefinition of the format and content of relationships with other development actors. This approach requires the revision of the relationships between local actors and the wider set of actors; it also implies a reconciliation of diverse strategies deployed by the different protagonists over different geographic boundaries. The changes in relationships required are also linked to some key challenges highlighted in the FONGS study referred to earlier (CNCR, 2014).

1. The sustainable improvement of the global productivity of family farms, taking into account the multidimensional nature of the family farm.

Success in this area was assessed on the basis of the family farm's capacity to feed itself from its own production and its capacity to sustainably increase its primary production by acting on four major levers of transformation: i) diversification of its primary production; ii) the adoption of more sustainable production techniques and processes; iii) effective access to markets; and iv) access to an appropriate financing scheme. A further dimension for the assessment of the family farm's performance included its ability to combine crop production with livestock and agroforestry activities in order to expand its productive and investment capabilities. The family farms were also expected to have greater control over their expenses and consumption patterns in order to avoid falling into debt (CNCR, 2014).

2. Better control of the production environment and natural resources by the family farms

Key success indicators in this area included the ability of peasants and their organisations to stay informed about policy options and to participate in consultations about the management of their production space and their ability to create a favourable environment for the integration of agriculture, livestock and forestry activities in the natural management schemes. In order to succeed, peasants and their organisations should develop attitudes and behaviours which are consistent with the sustainable management of natural resources and should be able to engage with and sensitise locally elected officials and the national authorities to the importance of land-tenure issues.

3. The construction of an economic environment that stimulates progress and improves the living and working conditions of rural people:

Supportive public policies and investments in rural infrastructure would lead to the development of regional economic hubs which have a positive impact on the economic promotion of the rural territory. The main objective of these public investments in infrastructure is to attract private sector investments in the Casamance. These measures would also facilitate a better integration of the contribution of migrants to the development of the region. Migrants' activities are in good synergy with decentralisation policies and the promotion of local development based on the valorisation of agriculture, livestock and forestry. Obviously the materialisation of these positive policy incentives presupposes the existence of mechanisms and consultation processes for the adoption of policies which are favourable to farmers.

4. To provide support to the promising initiatives of the Casamance farmers, rural entrepreneurs and local institutions:

To get out of the endemic social, economic and political crisis, the inhabitants of the region will have to develop their own pathways to improved incomes and livelihood through a better valorisation of the natural, cultural and economic resources available to them. This implies that the peasantry themselves are strengthened to bring about unique answers to the global challenges they are faced with. The issue, moving forward is to identify the modalities through which public interventions and the organising practices of smallholders can be realigned and synergised in order to bring about alternative development scenarios that will lead to greater levels of autonomy and progress for the Casamance peasants. Doing so will reflect the

specific context and circumstances of the people involved in the struggle for greater autonomy, informed by the lessons learned from other groups and regions.

This idea is closely linked with the theoretical concept of 'agency' on which this whole thesis is built. This actor-oriented perspective implies a full acknowledgement of the agency of local people and also implies accepting that the development trajectories to be observed on the ground would be plural, complex and locally driven. Therefore, there is really no blueprint as is generally assumed in most planned development approaches where the philosophy seems to be to identify a unique and effective technical, organisational and political solution that is applicable to diverse sets of situations. The search for a more nuanced approach, involving local autonomy and a self-driven mind-set, requires that we reverse the perspective on this issue: putting the Casamance peasantry and other local actors at the heart of the transformation and peace-building agenda in the Casamance

#### **8.4.2 Recommendations**

Building on the results of the studies conducted as part of the research for this thesis, we believe that finding adequate responses to the challenges of massive rural poverty and marginalisation will require that the main stakeholders of rural development in the Casamance work with the rural people in the region to develop acceptable solutions to their livelihood challenges. However, most peace building and rural reconstruction efforts supported by external donors tend to regard the conflicts as lethal and deadly risks. The direct consequences of conflictive events are therefore the suspension of activities and the shutting down of development projects. The safety of the project structures and that of their support staff takes precedence over that of local people; the motto seems to be:

*'As long as there will be no peace, there will be no development'* (Sadio et al., 2004).

Under these circumstances, the local people are faced with a total reduction of their opportunities in a context where they are most in need of support. Their logo, however, seems to be:

*'As long as there will be no development, there will be no peace'* (ibid).

The people living in the Casamance region continually develop strategies to improve and safeguard their existence. Their current objectives and ongoing strategies should form the basis of interventions to reinforce their development efforts. This orientation could be paraphrased as follows:

*'As long as there are women and men developing their own peace and development initiatives, there are reasons to accompany and to support them'.*

The approaches recommended for a successful resolution of the Casamance crisis are therefore based on new principles of the valorisation of local resources, as well as the redefinition of the format and content of relationships with other development actors.

These principles inform the final recommendations of this study which aim at creating the necessary conditions for the advent of a lasting peace linked to the capacity of the local people to rebuild a more decent livelihood for the inhabitants of the Casamance region:

### ***1. Restore lasting safety in the Casamance region.***

Besides the formal peace agreements, it will be necessary to re-create the conditions for cohabitation between different segments of the Casamance society. This would entail: i) encouraging the people who lived and fought in the bush to return to their homes, and to reintegrate themselves into a civil life that is socially and economically stable; ii) rehabilitating destroyed habitats: mine clearance of the important zones and a village rebuilding campaign would take priority; and iii) encouraging a new discourse and set of practices in the search for peace for the civilian population at all levels –national, regional and sub-regional.

### ***2. Support the promotion of local governance systems that encourage stronger participation of local people in the decisions affecting their livelihood and the economic outlook of their region.***

FONGS' long-term study highlighted the need for new governance and management systems at the family farm and at the FOs levels in order to realise a full set of effective responses needed for the family farms to overcome their production and livelihood challenge. The new systems should enable the different segments of the household to discuss their investment, in accordance with the dynamic balance between the need to feed the family, the desire to improve living conditions and the level of comfort on the farm, and the need to guarantee the long-term development of the household. Creating an open and transparent framework for making these decisions ultimately conditions the move from '*balouwoo*' to '*yélémo*' as Mamadou Cissokho (2009) puts it, in order to describe the change in level of ambition and performance associated with going beyond the mere survival of the household, to ensuring a successful transformation of the whole family unit. The family consultation and management framework and processes inaugurated by FONGS aimed at ultimately bringing about new attitudes and new modes of decision-making which are consistent with renewed forms of modernity.

### ***3. Improve the natural and physical resource bases to better develop the enormous economic and human potential of the Casamance region.***

The experiences analysed in this thesis demonstrate the importance of the strong linkages between the prevailing ecological, economic and social crisis in the Casamance region and the configuration of the agrarian relations among the people of the Casamance region. A successful resolution of the Casamance crisis should therefore be related to the development of tangible opportunities for local people to make non-violent claims to public resources, and to negotiate the advancement of their economic and social interests. This would be done by restoring the physical infrastructure, (i.e. the transport sector, the hydraulic and agricultural structures, the medical and school infrastructure, and the storage and processing facilities) which is currently an obstacle to improving the well-being of the people in the region.

## **8.5. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

The major hope of this thesis is that we can learn enough about the past development trajectories that have informed the current situation in the Casamance region to trigger other forms of development, more in line with local people's aspirations for self-determination. This will require new forms of local, national and regional governance,

and a new pact of modernity between the different protagonists operating in this embattled region.

The analysis of the prospective benefits and costs associated with both entrepreneurial forms and peasant forms of farming both in the North and in the global South (Ploeg, 2008; 2013) provided some interesting theoretical and practical pointers and references for possible developments in the Casamance region. These helped us grasp the underlying logic associated with different forms of agriculture in today's world, and the type of political, economic and technical choices they are associated with.

The focus of future research should therefore be on:

- The prospects for peasant forms of agriculture, in terms of reconciling the critical need to solve the serious political and agrarian crisis in the Casamance region: the issue is to explore ways to fulfil the economic and political aspirations of the rural people, while ensuring the sustainable development of their resources.
- The specification of the technical, social and political prerequisites for overcoming the hurdles to the successful promotion of a sustainable development scenario in the Casamance region. A clear understanding of these conditions would help in specifying the parameters for successful recovery of peasant ways of farming; as well as the mechanisms which should inform the move from the current struggles undertaken by the Casamance peasantry to acquire freedom from a hostile environment to build a more sustainable livelihood.
- Future research should also pay close attention to the specific factors which may eventually promote and/or limit or even block the materialisation of the promises associated with the advent of peasant-led agriculture in the Casamance region.

## REFERENCES

- Amnesty International (1997) 'Senegal: Dozens of civilians killed in Casamance in the last two months'. AFR/49/03/97
- Amnesty International (1998) 'Senegal: Climate of terror in Casamance'. February 1998, Index AI: AFR 49/01/98
- Amnesty International (1999) 'Senegal: Casamance civilians shelled by the Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de Casamance (MFDC)'. 30 June 1999. AI Index AFR 49/05/99
- Amin, S. (1971) « L'Afrique de l'Ouest bloquée ». Edition de Minuit, Paris 1971
- Amin S. (1974) Les migrations contemporaines en Afrique de l'Ouest» International African Institute, Oxford University Press et IDEP, 1974
- Arce A. and N. Long (eds.) (2000) *Anthropology, Development and Modernities: Exploring Discourses, Counter-discourses and Violence*. London: Routledge
- Ba C.O. (2004) : Le leadership paysan en Basse Casamance (Région du Sénégal). In M. Niang (Ed.) *Participation Paysanne et Développement Rural*. Dakar: CODESRIA
- Bayart, J.-F. (1983) 'La revanche des sociétés africaines', *Politique Africaine*, 11: 95-127.
- Bayart, J.-F. (1986) 'Civil Society in Africa'. In P. Chabal (ed.) *Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power*, pp. 109-125. Cambridge:
- Bernstein H. (2001) African peasantries: A theoretical framework. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 6 (4): 421–443
- Bernstein H. (2010a) *Class Dynamics of Agrarian Change*. Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing
- Bernstein H. (2010b) Introduction: some questions concerning the productive forces. In H.
- Bernstein H. and P. Woodhouse (2001) Telling environmental change like it is? Reflections on a study in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 1(2): 283–324
- Bernstein H. and T.J. Byres (2001) 'From peasant studies to agrarian change'. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 1(1): 1–56
- Bernstein H. V.I. Lenin and A.V. Chayanov. (2009). Looking back, looking forward. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36 (1): 55– 81
- Berry S. (1984) 'The food crisis and agrarian change in Africa: A review essay'. *African Studies Review* 27(2): 59–113
- Berry S. (1993). *No Condition is Permanent: The Social Dynamics of Agrarian Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press
- Biagui J-M. (2008a) *Pourquoi la Casamance n'est pas Indépendante: Une Introspection Prospective*. Dakar: Editions Clairafrique
- Biagui J-M. (2008b) *Mouvement pour le Fédéralisme et la Démocratie Constitutionnels: Un Parti Politique pour la Paix Définitive en Casamance, au Sénégal, et dans la Sous-*

Région. Dakar: Editions Clairafrique

Bierschenk, T. (1988) 'Development projects as arenas of negotiation for strategic groups: A case study from Benin', *Sociologia Ruralis* 28: 146-160.

Bierschenk, T. (2010) *States at work in West Africa: Sedimentation, fragmentation and normative double-binds*: Inst. für Ethnologie u. Afrikastudien, Johannes-Gutenberg-Univ. Mainz.

Bierschenk, T. and Olivier De Sardan, J. P. (1997) 'Local Powers and a Distant State in Rural Central African Republic'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 35: 441-468.

Bierschenk, T. and Olivier De Sardan, J. P. (2003) 'Powers in the Village: Rural Benin between Democratisation and Decentralisation', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 73: 145-173

Bingen J. (2002) 'Senegal: Summary case study, in FAO-ICA sub-regional'. Presentation at the Workshop on Farmer Empowerment, Nairobi, Kenya, 13–15 March 2002

Blundo G. (1992) 'Le conflit dans 'l'entente' : Coopération et compétition dans les associations paysannes de Kounghoul (Sénégal)'. Association Euro-Africaine pour l'Anthropologie du Changement Social et du Développement (APAD). Bulletin No. 4, December 1992

Booth, D. (1985) 'Marxism and Development Sociology: Interpreting the Impasse', *World Development* 13: 761-787.

Booth, D. (ed.) (1994) *Rethinking social development: theory, research and practice*, Harlow: Longman.

Bryceson D.F. (1980) Changes in peasant food production and food supply in relation to the historical development of commodity production and colonial Tanganyika. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 7(3): 281–311

Bryceson, D.F. (1993) "De-Agrarianization and Rural Employment generation In Sub-Saharan Africa: Process and Prospects" African Studies Centre, Leiden, The Netherlands

Bryceson D.F. (1997) De-agrarianization in sub-Saharan Africa: Acknowledging the inevitable. In D.F. Bryceson and V. Jamal (eds.) *Farewell to Farms: De-agrarianisation and Employment in Africa*. African Studies Centre, Research Series 1997/10

Buttel, F. (2001) "Some reflections on late Twentieth Century Agrarian Political economy" *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 41; No 2.

Calame P. (2003) *La Démocratie en Miette. Pour une Révolution de la Gouvernance*. Editions Charles Léopold Mayer. Paris: Descartes et Cie

Chauveau J-P. and P. Richards (2008) West African insurgencies in agrarian perspectives: Cote d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone compared. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 8(4): 515–552

Chayanov, A.V. (1966 [1925]), *The Theory of Peasant Economy* (D. Thorner et al., editors, Manchester University Press, Manchester

Cissokho M. (2008a) *Peut Etre, Inch Allah*. Bonneville and Dakar: GRAD/CNCR

Cissokho M. (2008b) *Nous Sommes Notre Remède*. Bonneville and Dakar: GRAD/ROPPA

Cissokho M. (2009) Dieu n'est pas un Paysan, Essai. Bonneville and Dakar : GRAD/Présence Africaine

CNCR (2014) Libérer le potentiel des exploitations familiales : Tenir compte des activités agro-sylvo-pastorales et halieutiques des exploitations familiales dans la croissance durable du Sénégal. Analyse paysannes et premières propositions sur la base du suivi de 1000 exploitations familiales. Document de Travail, Aout

Cormier-Salem, M. C. (1994) « Désarroi et révolte en terre de Casamance » ORSTOM Fonds Documentaire 39766.

Co-Trung- Diallo M. (1996) : 'La Compagnie Générale des oléagineux tropicaux en Casamance de 1948 à 1962 : Autopsie d'une opération de mise en valeur coloniale'. Editions Karthala 22-24, Boulevard Arago, 75013 Paris.

Daffe G. and A. Diagne (eds.) (2008) Le Sénégal Face aux Défis de la Pauvreté: Les Oublies de la Croissance. Paris and Dakar: Editions Karthala, CRES et CRESPO

Darbon D. (1988) L'Administration et le Paysan en Casamance. Essai d'Anthropologie Administrative. Paris: Pedone

De Janvry A. (2003) 'Organisations paysannes et développement rural au Sénégal: Impact analysis of programs to strengthen the capacities of Producer organisations in Africa'. Report submitted to the World Bank, September 2003

De Jong, F. (1998b) 'The Casamance Conflict in Senegal.' Unpublished paper for the research project The Causes of Conflict in the Third World, supervised by The Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael.

De Jong, F. (1998c) 'Playing with Politicians: Shifting Allegiances in Joola Politics', Working paper no.5 of the WOTRO research programme 'globalisation and the construction of communal identities.'

De Jong, F. (1999) 'Trajectories of a Mask Performance: The Case of the Senegalese Kumpo.', Cahiers d'Études africaines, 153: 49-71.

De Jong F. (2005). A joking nation: Conflict resolution in Senegal. Canadian Journal of African Studies 39(2): 389-413

De Jong, K. (1980) "Relations paysans-pecheurs, capitalisme, état: Une étude d'une lutte des classes en Casamance (Sud-Sénégal)". Working papers No 2/1980. African Studies Centre Leiden Netherlands

De Jong, K.; Jos van der Klei, Henk Meilink; Roeland Strom (1978): Project d'une recherche multidisciplinaire sur les facteurs socio-économiques favorisant la migration en Basse Casamance et sur ses conséquences pour les lieux d'origine» Afrika-Studiecentrum, Leiden 1978

Deveze J-C (1992) 'Les organisations rurales au cœur de la transformation des campagnes Africaines?' Association Euro-Africaine pour l'Anthropologie du Changement Social et du Développement (APAD). Bulletin No. 4, December, 1992.

Dia, M. 1981. "La Casamance, 20 Ans Après: Une Région Trahie." Ànde Sopi, no. 47, April 1981: 1 ; 3.

Dia M. (1988) Le Sénégal Trahi: Un Marche d'Esclaves. Paris: Selio

- Diedhiou P. (2011) *L'Identité Joola en Question: La Bataille Idéologique du MFDC pour l'Indépendance*. Paris: Editions Karthala
- Diouf M. (1998) *Sénégal: Les Ethnies et la Nation*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines
- Drame H. (2005) Organisations paysannes et dynamique de changement en milieu rural Casamançais (Sénégal). *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39(2): 253–281
- Dumont, R (1972) *Paysanneries aux abois*. Editions du Seuil, 1972
- Dykman, A. (2000) *"The reintegration of the Casamance Region into Senegalese Society"* *SAIS Studies on Senegal*, Johns Hopkins University
- Englebert P. (2005) Compliance and defiance to national integration in Barotseland and Casamance. *Africa Spectrum* 39 (1): 29–59
- Evans M. (2000) "Briefing: Senegal: Wade and the Casamance Dossier" *African Affairs*, Vol. 99, No. 397: 649-658. Published by: Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society.
- Evans M. (2003) "Ni paix ni guerre': the political economy of low-level conflict in the Casamance" Department of Geography King's College London Background research for HPG Report 13, February 2003. (Focuses on the 'war economy' established during the period of serious conflict (since 1990),-
- Evans M. (2005) Insecurity or isolation? Natural resources and livelihoods in Lower Casamance. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39(2): 282–312
- Fall A. (1985) Situation actuelle de l'environnement et l'utilisation du parc de matériels de culture attelée en Basse Casamance. (Enquêtes menées sur quatre villages du département de Bignona). Mémoire de confirmation. Département Systèmes, Institut Sénégalais de Recherches Agricoles (ISRA), Dakar, Sénégal. (Unpublished)
- Fall A. (1988a) Adoption et principales contraintes à la diffusion des matériels de traction animale en Basse Casamance. Centre de Recherche Agricole, Djibélor, Institut Sénégalais de Recherches Agricoles (ISRA), Dakar, Sénégal
- Fall A. (1988b) Caractéristiques du parc de matériels de traction animale de la Basse Casamance (document provisoire). Centre de Recherche Agricole, Djibélor, Institut Sénégalais de Recherches Agricoles (ISRA), Dakar, Sénégal
- Fall A. (1990) Adoption et principales contraintes à la diffusion des équipements de traction animale en Basse Casamance, Sénégal. In P. Starkey and A. Faye (Eds.) *Animal Traction for Agricultural Development*. Wageningen, NL: Technical Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation
- Fall, Aïssatou (2010) 'MONOGRAPH No. 7, Kofi Anan International Peace Keeping Training December 2010
- Faye J. (2007) 'Influencer les politiques publiques: L'expérience des organisations paysannes du Sénégal'. Dakar: Initiative Prospective Agricole et Rurale (IPAR).
- Faye W (2006) *The Casamance Separatism: From Independence Claim to Resource logic*. MSC Thesis: Post Graduate School, Monterey, California

FONGS (2013) Fédération des Organisations Non Gouvernementales du Sénégal / Action Paysanne (2013). Les Exploitations Familiales Investissent et se Modernisent: Comment les appuyer dans leurs transformations? Quels rôles pour les organisations paysannes? Quelles synergies avec l'action de l'Etat et des autres acteurs du développement? SYNTHÈSE D'ETAPE 2 novembre 2013 Draft

Foucher V. (2002) Les 'évolués', la migration, l'école: Pour une nouvelle interprétation de la naissance du nationalisme Casamançais. In M.C. Diop (ed.) *Le Sénégal Contemporain*. Paris: Karthala

Foucher, V. (2009): « « La guerre par d'autres moyens » ? La société civile dans le processus de paix en Casamance » in *Raisons politiques*, no 35, août 2009, p. 143-166. © 2009 Presses de Sciences Po.

FRAO (Fondation Rurale de l'Afrique de l'Ouest) (1994) Rapport de diagnostic participatif à Djibanar. FRAO Document de Travail, November, 1994

Gasser, G. (2002). «Manger ou s'en aller: que veulent les opposants armés casamançais?» In *Le Senegal contemporain*, edited by Momar-Coumba Diop, 459-98. Paris: Karthala.

Gehrold Stefan and Inga Neu (2010) "Caught between two fronts in search of lasting peace in the Casamance region. An analysis of the causes, players and consequences. KAS International Reports 10/2010

Hayami, Y. and V., Ruttan. (1985) *Agricultural Development: an international perspective*, Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hebinck, P. (2013) 'Post-apartheid land and agrarian reform policies and practices in South Africa: themes, processes and issues', in P. Hebinck and B. Cousins (Eds.) *In the Shadow of Policy: Everyday Practices in South Africa's Land and Agrarian Reform.*, Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Hebinck P. and J.D. van der Ploeg (1997) Dynamics of agricultural production. An analysis of micro-macro linkages. In H. de Haan and N. Long (eds.) *Images and Realities of Rural Life. Wageningen Perspectives on Rural Transformations*. Assen, NL: Van Gorcum

Hesseling, G. (1984) *Le droit foncier au Sénégal; rapport de recherche*, Lei den: Afrika-Studiecentrum.

Hesseling, G. (1985) *Histoire politique du Sénégal*, Paris: Karthala.

Humphreys, M. 2002. "Economics and Violent Conflict." Framework Paper, Harvard CPI Portal on Economics and Conflict. <http://www.preventconflict.org/>

Humphreys M. and H. ag Mohamed (2003) Senegal and Mali. Working Paper, Columbia University, January 2003. Accessed 4 January 2015, [http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/papers1/sen\\_mali.pdf](http://www.columbia.edu/~mh2245/papers1/sen_mali.pdf)

IFAD (International Fund for Agricultural Development) (2010) *Farmers speak Out: The Vision and Recommendations of African Farmers' Organisations for the Comprehensive Africa Development Programme*. Rome and Ouagadougou: IFAD and ROPPA

Bureau d'Analyses Macro-Economiques (BAME/ISRA (2010) "Méthodologie des enquêtes et de questionnaires de Suivi des Exploitations Agricoles Familiales au Sénégal. ISRA

- Lachenmann Gudrun (1993) « Civil Society and Social Movement in Africa: the case of peasant movement in Senegal » *The European Journal of Development Research*. Volume 5; No 2 December 1993:68-100. Published by Franck Cass, London
- Lambert M.C. (1998) Violence and the war of words: Ethnicity vs. nationalism in the Casamance. *Africa* 68(4): 585–602
- Lambert, M.C. (1999) "Have Jola Women Found a Way to Resist Patriarchy with Commodities? (Senegal, West Africa). *The University of North Carolina at Chapel H. PoLAR*: Vol. 22, No. 1.
- Lenin V.I. (1964). *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*. Moscow: Progress Publishers
- Lewis W.A. (1954) Economic development with unlimited supplies of labour. *Manchester School of Economics and Social Studies* 22 (2): 139–191
- Linares O.F. (2003) Going to city...and coming back? Turnaround migration among the Diola of Senegal. *Journal of the International African Institute* 73(1): 113–132
- Linares O.F. (2005) Jola agriculture at a crossroads. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39(2): 230–252
- Long N. (1977) *Introduction to the Sociology of Rural Development*. London: Tavistock Publications
- Long N. (1984) 'Creating space for change: A perspective on the sociology of development'. Inaugural lecture, The Agricultural University, Wageningen
- Long N. (1989a) *Encounters at the Interface: A Perspective on Social Discontinuities Rural Development*. Wageningen Studies in Sociology 27. Wageningen: The Agricultural University
- Long N. (1989b) Introduction: The raison d'être for studying rural development interface. In N. Long (ed.) *Encounters at the Interface: A Perspective on Social Discontinuities in Rural Development*. Wageningen Studies in Sociology 27. Wageningen: The Agricultural University
- Long N. (1992) 'From paradigm lost to paradigm regained? The case for an actor-oriented sociology of development' In N. Long and A. Long (eds.) *Battlefields of Knowledge: The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development*. London and New York: Routledge
- Long N. (1997) 'Agency and constraint, perceptions and practice: A theoretical position' In H. Haan and N. Long (eds.) *Images and Realities of Rural Life. Wageningen Perspectives on Rural Transformations*. Assen, NL: Van Gorcum
- Long N. (2001) *Development Sociology: Actor Perspectives*. London: Routledge
- Long N. (2004) Contesting policy ideas from below. In M. Boas and D. McNeill (eds.) *Global Institutions and Development: Framing the World?* London: Routledge
- Long N. and B. Roberts (1984) Peasant cooperation and capitalist expansion in central Peru. In N. Long and B. Roberts (eds.) *Peasant Cooperation and Capitalist Expansion in Central Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press
- Long N. and J.D. van der Ploeg (1988) New challenges in the sociology of rural development: A rejoinder to Peter Vandergeest. *Sociologia Ruralis* 28: 30–41

Long N. and J.D. van der Ploeg (1994) Heterogeneity, actors and structure: Towards a reconstruction of the concept of structure. In D. Booth (ed.) *Rethinking Social Development: Theory and Practice*. London: Longman

Long N. and M. Villareal (1992) 'The interweaving of knowledge and power in development interfaces'. Paper prepared for the ILED/IDS workshop 'Beyond "Farmer First": Rural People's Knowledge, Agricultural Research and Extension Practice Work'. Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, 27–29 October 1992

Marut J-P. (2005) Les racines mondiales du particularisme Casamançais. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39 (2): 313–337

Marut J-P. (2010) *Le Conflit de Casamance : Ce que Disent les Armes*. Paris: Editions Karthala

McGowan P.J. (2005) Coups and conflict in West Africa 1955–2004 (Part I: Theoretical perspectives). *Armed Forces and Society* 32(1): 5–23

McMichael, P. (2009a) "A Food regime Analysis of the World Food Crisis" in *Agric. Hum Values* (2009), 26: 281-295.

McMichael, P. (2009b) "A food regime: Genealogy" *Journal of Peasants Studies* 36 (1) 139-69.

Mercoiret M.R. and J. Berthomet (1987) *Étude des Stratégies Paysannes face à la Sécheresse dans la Zone de l'Association Inter villageoise CADEF*. Paris : DSA-CIRAD

Mercoiret M.R., J. Mercoiret and J. Berthomet (1990) *Étude des Stratégies Paysannes face à la Sécheresse dans la Zone de l'Association Inter villageoise CADEF*. Montpellier: DSA 1990/3

Meillassoux J.C. (1981) *Maidens, Meal and Money: Capitalism and the Domestic Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Minteh S.B. (2009) 'The crisis in Casamance, southern Senegal: A constructive conflict resolution approach'. *Senegambia News*. Accessed 5 April 5 2009.

Mongbo, R. (1995): 'The appropriation and dismembering of development intervention: Policy discourse and practice in the field of rural development in Benin, Wageningen: Wageningen Agricultural University. Unpublished PhD thesis.

<http://www.senegambianews.com/article/education/the-crisis-in-casamance.htm>

Ndiame F. (1986a) Aspects économiques de l'utilisation de la traction bovine et de sa promotion par le biais du crédit spécial du PIDAC pour le matériel agricole: Étude préliminaire dans la région de Ziguinchor. Mémoire de confirmation. Institut Sénégalais de Recherches Agricoles (ISRA), Dakar, Sénégal. (Unpublished)

Ndiame F. (1986b) Animal traction in Lower Casamance: Technical aspects and socio-economic implications. In P. Starkey and F. Ndiame (eds.) *Animal Power in Farming Systems*. The proceedings of the second West Africa Animal Traction Network's workshop held in Freetown, Sierra Leone, September 19–25 1986. Braunschweig/Wiesbaden: Friedr. Vieweg & Sohn

Ndiame F. (1987) Analyse critique du crédit spécial du PIDAC: Implications pour le crédit agricole en Basse Casamance. Note d'information. Département Systèmes, Institut

Sénégalais de Recherches Agricoles (ISRA), Dakar, Sénégal. (Unpublished)

Ndiame F. (1990) Technology development partnership: The ISRA/CADEF Research/Development Program in the Lower Casamance, Senegal. *African Rural and Urban Studies* 1(1): 73–90

Ndiame F. (2002) Facilitating participatory technological innovations: The case of Djibanar in Senegal. WARF Working Paper, April 2002

Ndiame F. (2008a) Empowering rural communities through wealth creation: The experience of the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in southern Africa. *Africa Growth Agenda* 5(4): 6–8

Ndiame F. (2008b) 'Building the capacity of rural communities in southern Africa: The W. Kellogg Foundation's zoom site process'. Unpublished working paper of the Kellogg Foundation, Africa Program, October 2008

Ndiame F. and D. Coulibaly (1988). Intérêt des variétés améliorées et résistantes dans la valorisation de la riziculture (plateau, nappe, aquatique) dans les villages du CADEF. Dakar: Institut Sénégalais de Recherches Agricoles (ISRA)

Ndiame F. and A. A. Ndiaye (2002) Itinerary of a national farmer organisation in Senegal: A case study on FONGS. WARF Working Paper, June 2002

Ndiame F., D. Coulibaly, A. Fall and M. Lo (1988) Diagnostic des contraintes et plans d'amélioration des exploitations agricoles en Basse Casamance: Cas de Suelle et de Boukitingo. Document de Travail élaboré dans le cadre du projet FAO-DSA-ISRA-SOMIVAC. Dakar : Institut Sénégalais de Recherches Agricoles (ISRA)

Ndong E. and F. Ndiame (2013) Étude sur l'évolution de quelques organisations paysannes au Sénégal : Changements contextuels et stratégies adaptations mise en œuvre sur la période 1980–2010. Results of an unpublished survey conducted in November 2013

Niang M. (2004) Participation Paysanne et Développement Rural au Sénégal. Dakar: CODESRIA

Olivier de Sardan J.P. (2006) *Anthropology and Development: Understanding Contemporary Social Change*. London: Zed Press

Pélissier P. (1966) *Les Paysans du Sénégal : Les Civilisations Agraires du Cayor à la Casamance*. Saint-Yrieix-La-Perche: Imprimerie Fabregue

Posner J.L. (1985) Contribution à la connaissance agronomique de la Basse Casamance (synthèse bibliographique). Working Paper No. 3, 1985. ISRA, Sénégal : Département Systèmes de Production et Transfert de Technologies

Posner J.L., Kamuanga M. and Sal S. (1982) Les systèmes de production en Basse Casamance et les stratégies paysannes face au déficit pluviométrique. Working Paper. ISRA, Sénégal: Département Systèmes de Production et Transfert de Technologies

Posner, J.L., M. Kamuanga and M. Lo (1991) Lowland cropping systems in the Lower Casamance of Senegal. MSU International Development Papers. Reprint N 30, 1991

PRAAP (1991) Rapport de diagnostic participatif à Kouniara. Document de Travail, PRAAP, Dakar, Sénégal

- Quinn, Charlotte A. (1971): 'A Nineteenth Century Fulbe State'. *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 12, No. 3 1971: 427-440. Cambridge University Press.
- Resch R.P. (1992) *Althusser and the Renewal of Marxist Social Theory*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press
- Rey P-P. (1975) 'The lineage mode of production. *Critique of Anthropology* '1(3): 27-79
- Rey P-P. (1979) 'Class contradiction in lineage societies. *Critique of Anthropology* 4(13/14): 41-60
- Richards P. (2001) Reviving the Green Revolution: a technographic approach. In P. Hebinck and G. Verschoor (Eds) *Resonances and Dissonances in Development: Actors, Network and Cultural Repertoires*. Assen, NL: Van Gorcum
- Roche C. (1971) Portraits de chefs Casamançais du XIXe siècle. *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer* 58(213) : 451-467
- Roche C. (1972) La mort de Jinaabo. *Notes Africaines* 134: 45-47
- Roche C. (1973) Ziguinchor et son passé. Document de Travail No. 189, Centre d'Études de Guinée Portugaise
- Roche C. (1985) *Histoire de la Casamance, Conquête et Résistance: 1850-1920*. Paris. Editions Karthala
- Ruttan W. and Y. Hayami (1998) Induced innovation model of agricultural development. In C. Eicher and J. Staatz (eds.) *International Agricultural Development*, 3rd edition. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Sadio I., L. Sonko and K. Schmidt (2004) 'État des lieux de la situation socio-économique de la Casamance'. Report of a baseline study conducted for the Support Project for Social and Economic Development for the Attainment of Peace in the Casamance (PROCAS)
- Sarr S. (2013) 'Note sur la constitution du capital-semences des espèces cultivées au Sénégal'. Unpublished working paper, ASPRODEP-AGEP
- Scott J. C. (1998) *Seeing Like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven Yales University Press
- Scott J. C. (2009) *The Art of Not Being Governed. An anarchistic history of upland South East Asia*. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Senghor, A. D. (1980) 'Le message de la reine Alinsiitowe'. Conférence tenue par l'abbé Augustin Diamacoune Senghor le samedi 23 Aout 1980 à la Chambre de Commerce de Dakar, organisée par le COCARZI'.
- Senghor, A. D. (1995) 'Casamance - pays du refus: Réponse à Monsieur Jacques Charpy.' Ziguinchor.
- Shanin T. (2009) "Chayanov's treble death and tenuous resurrection: an essay about Understanding, about roots of plausibility and about rural Russia" *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 36: 1, 83 — 101
- Schultz T.W. (1964) *Transforming Traditional Agriculture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

- Stam Valerie (2009) 'Women's agency and collective action: peace politics in the Casamance' *Canadian Journal of African Studies*: (2009), vol. 43, no. 2, p. 337-366
- Thomas L-V. (1959) *Les Diola: Essai d'Analyse Fonctionnelle sur une Population de Basse Casamance* (Tome 1 & 2). Macon: Imprimerie Protat Frères
- Tomas, J. (2006). The traditional authorities cross colonial borders: Opposing views on the roles of religious leaders of the Jola Huluf and Ajamat of the Lower Casamance (1886-1909). *Africa Studia*, No 9, 2006: 73-97 (in relation to European traders' settlement in the Casamance from the 16th century)-
- Tomas J. (2005) 'La parole de paix n'a jamais tort': La paix et la tradition dans le Royaume d'Oussouye. *Revue Canadienne d'Études Africaines* 39: 414-441
- Tsing A. (2000) The global situation. *Cultural Anthropology* 15(3): 327-360
- Toure E.N. (2004) Les organisations paysannes au Sénégal: De 1960 aux années 1990. In M. Niang (ed.) *Participation Paysanne et Développement Rural au Sénégal*. Dakar: CODESRIA
- Toure O.T. (1993) Appui du PRAAP à la FADECBA. FRAO Document de Travail, Décembre 1993
- Umans L. and A. Arce (2014) Fixing rural development cooperation? Not in situations involving blurring and fluidity. *Journal of Rural Studies* 34: 337-344
- USAID (2003) 'Audit of USAID/Senegal's Casamance Conflict Resolution Program 7-685-03-003-P May 30, 2003'. USAID Office of Inspector General
- USAID (2009) Final Report: Support to the Casamance Peace process, December 2009
- US Department of State (1998) Senegal Report on Human Rights Practices for 1997. US Department of State Archive. Accessed 15 December 2014, <http://2001-2009.state.gov>
- Van Haeverbeke, A: 'Rémunération du Travail et Commerce Extérieur, Louvain, 1970'
- Van der Klei, Jos van (1988) "Soil reclamation: a technical or a social-economic problem? Reclaiming the acid-sulphate soils in the tidal swamps of Basse Casamance, Senegal; Free University of Amsterdam, Holland
- Van der Ploeg J.D. (1990a) *Potato Production in the Peruvian Highland: Labour, Market and Agricultural Production*. Westview Special Studies in Agriculture, Science and Policy. Boulder, CO: Westview Press
- Van der Ploeg J.D. (1990b) *Labour, Markets and Agricultural Production*. Westview Special Studies in Agriculture, Science and Policy. Boulder, CO: Westview Press
- Van der Ploeg J.D. (1991) 'Autarky and technical change in rice production in Guinea Bissau: On the importance of commoditization and decommunitization as interrelated processes'. In M. Haswell and D. Hunt (eds.) *Rural Households in Emerging Societies: Technology and Change in sub-Saharan Africa*. Oxford and New York: Berg Publishers
- Van der Ploeg J.D. (2008) *The New Peasantries: Struggles for Autonomy and Sustainability in an Era of Empire and Globalisation*. London: Earthscan
- Van der Ploeg J.D. (2010) 'The peasantries of the twenty first century: The commoditisation debate revisited'. *Journal of Peasant Studies* 37(1): 1-30

Van der Ploeg J.D. (2013a) 'Conference paper for discussion at Food Sovereignty: A Critical Dialogue' International Conference September 14-15, 2013

Van der Ploeg J.D. (2013b) Peasants and the Art of Farming: A Chayanovian Manifesto. Agrarian Change & Peasant Studies. Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing

Van der Ploeg J.D. and A. Long (1994) Endogenous development: Practices and perspectives. In J.D. van der Ploeg and A. Long (eds.) Born from Within: Practice and Perspectives of Endogenous Rural Development. Assen, NL: Van Gorcum

Van der Ploeg J.D., A. Long and J. Banks (2002) Living Countryside: Rural Development in Europe. The State of Art. Doetinchem: Elsevier

Van Haeverbewke. 1970: A: 'Remuneration du Travail et Commerce Exterieur, Louvain, 1970'

Woods, M. (2014) 'Family farming in the global countryside', *Anthropological Notebooks* 20: 31-48.

## SUMMARY

This thesis analyses the relationships between i) planned development interventions which took place in the Casamance over the last 100 years; ii) the advent and co-existence of different forms of endogenous responses to state interventions, and iii) the conflictive outcomes which emanated from the interplay of i) and ii). The ultimate goal is to provide a critical and situated understanding of the 'Casamance crises'.

The thesis is anchored on an actor oriented conceptual framework. This approach positions the agency of different categories of actors and their ability to engage, accommodate, resist and co-determine the outcome of the development processes. The processes observed in the Casamance are interpreted as 'a structural feature of agrarian development', as "arenas where different actors interact, compete and cooperate, based on their own objectives' (Long, 2001). In light of this framework, the peasantry is seen to be able to strive for autonomy by relying on own resources to survive in an increasingly globalising economy. However, their potentials can be blocked by unfavourable socio-economic conditions, such as those that deprive them the fruits of their labour, thus leading to an agrarian crisis as defined by Van der Ploeg (2008). From this angle, the thesis explores the extent to which the long-term configurations of relationships between external interventions and local responses have accelerated the disarticulation of the traditional production systems, and contributed to compromising the livelihood position and the emancipation trajectories of youth and women within the traditional domestic units in the Casamance.

The methodology adopted described in chapter 2, thus focussed on unpacking interplay and mutual determination between 'internal' and 'external' factors and relationships. This entailed a historical contextualization of processes of planned state interventions and distancing from development activities in the Casamance over a long period of time. This is followed by a detailed analysis of the various consequent responses shown by different segments of the Casamance society at different historical junctures, in pursuit of a differentiated set of emancipatory trajectories. Data collection involved multiple times and locations, combining field observations, data collected through interviews and surveys and consulting research reports.

Chapter 3 reviews the key physical, socioeconomic and political features of the Casamance region, from the colonial era until the present day's developments which culminated in the protracted conflict opposing the Government of Senegal and the *Mouvement des Forces Democratiques de la Casamance* (MFDC). The land reform programmes initiated during the colonial era brought a number of provisions which made it easier for the Colonial government to control local people's holdings. When Senegal became independent in 1960, the colonial concept of land tenure also played an important role in the "*Loi sur le Domaine National*", considered as a means of achieving both economic and social objectives. In addition, the country maintained a policy of specialisation on groundnut and the development of an import- substitution industry funded by foreign donors. During the 1980-2000s, changes in government policy and the drought contributed to significant changes in the production systems. These changes triggered multifaceted responses: collaboration, resistance, rejection as well as conflict- the most dramatic of which was the launch of an armed campaign for the independence of the Casamance region during the 1980s.

Chapter 4 analyses the state-administered agricultural programmes and the consequent local people's responses which took place in the Casamance between the 1960s and

the 1980s. These typically revolved around land and agrarian reform programmes supplying agricultural equipment and technology, rural development projects and farming systems research. They enabled significant sections of rural people to access animal traction equipment and complementary inputs through agricultural credit. Later during the 1980s, the state withdrew from direct involvement in production and marketing activities as part of the structural adjustment programme. This chapter also showed that State hegemony and locally driven development dynamics are related both historically and conceptually: During the first phase of State hegemony, a number of rural institutions were controlled and managed by the State. During the 1970s and 1980s when the state withdrew, an autonomous farmer movement (FONGS) emerged outside the official state extension and structuring system- defining a new farmer-centered political and economic agenda.

Chapter 5 provides an in-depth analysis of the two types of responses that the Casamance peasantry brought to planned development interventions. First, the incentives provided through State policies for groundnuts production analysed in chapter 4 led to a widespread adoption of labour-saving and scale-enlarging technologies, which facilitated a significant increase in the male-dominated production of cash crops- groundnuts especially- as a source for rural livelihoods in the region. This however happened at the expense of food crops whose production was dominated by women and youth. It also accelerated the gradual disconnections between crop production, livestock management at the household and village levels. Moreover, subsequent changes in State policies, which was no longer providing favourable conditions for entrepreneurial farming, combined with the negative consequences of a long drought, led to devastating impacts on local production systems. This situation triggered a significant out-migration of the Casamance youth to the country's capital city and other metropolitan areas, in search of alternative employment and livelihood opportunities.

With the evolution of time, the Casamance farmers developed a second set of responses. As discussed in chapters 5 and 6, the rural youth and women explored new livelihood and emancipation opportunities- such as producing rice for family consumption and diversifying production activities to include seasonal cultivation of fruits and vegetables for sale. Many young people also embarked on seasonal out-migration to enable them to accumulate the resources necessary to start their own households.

Chapters 6 further analyzes the development and growth of FOs, and how they managed to use funding from donors to develop new technical and organisational capabilities to support the activities of the Casamance family farms. They succeeded in fulfilling the technical and advisory roles previously provided by state institutions, and facilitated rural people's access to agricultural finance. They were also able to integrate and play a bigger role in the activities of their local government-with a more emboldened voice and power to influence change. The Chapter also shows the development of other forms of private rural business development actors from the Casamance and other regions of Senegal- mainly premised on the participation of smallholder farmers in the agricultural value chain.

Chapter 7 analyses the Casamance crisis as a major conflict of articulation between a region and the rest of country; epitomising a violent contestation of a dominant state-driven modernisation scenario which does not conform to the emancipation trajectories of the educated youth, aspiring to the benefits of sovereignty. In this respect the conflict conforms to the definitions of a governance and agrarian crisis as articulated in this thesis. However while significant, the actions of the MFDC do not represent the sole and

unique responses of the Casamance rural youth to the prevailing crisis. The agrarian interpretation of the conflict adopted in this thesis enable us to illustrate other types of development dynamics associated with the interplay between planned interventions and local people responses. Building on the lessons learned in conducting this study, it appears that finding practical answers to the question of local people's access to decent resources and living conditions could be a prerequisite to overcoming the current political and agrarian crisis prevailing in the Casamance.

The concluding chapter 8 explores the links between 'peace', 'autonomy' and 'development' in the Casamance. I examine the extent to which more autonomy, associated with peasant-centred development, can lead to 'peace' and development in the southern region of Senegal. It links the successful resolution of the Casamance crisis to the advent of a governance revolution, which permits a re-alignment of the resources, activities and personal agendas of the different family members around a shared goal for transformation and progress. Building on the lessons learned as part of this study, the approaches considered here are based on new principles of the valorisation of local resources, as well as the redefinition of the format and content of relationships with other development actors. This approach requires the revision of the relationships between local actors and the wider set of actors; it also implies a reconciliation of diverse strategies deployed by the different protagonists over different geographic boundaries.

These principles inform the final recommendations of this study which aim at creating the necessary conditions for the advent of lasting peace linked to the capacity of the local people to rebuild a more viable livelihood for the inhabitants of the Casamance region.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the many people who helped, encouraged and supported me in the completion of this project.

I owe a lot to the inspiration and guidance of *Adja Mbaa Coucou*, a Mandinka woman peasant farmer and a 'resistant' who engaged in a life-long struggle to bring up her large family with dignity, prosperity and harmony. Part of her memorable legacy is a song that she composed for each of her 10 children, before she passed on in 2006:

*"Malang nin tillo, Malang nin tillo Hatabou...*

*...Allan man na Ahmet Fall baloula...<sup>25</sup>"*

She inspired me to persevere with the project, even in times of discouragement and personal challenge; she did not live long enough to see me through this important milestone of my personal and professional life.

I am indebted to family and friends who encouraged me to take this project to its completion: the late Oumar Ndao, Mamadou Cissokho, Mercy Karanja, Professors Nicholas Biekpe and Ola Smith, and last, but not least, my wife and partner Mora Tiwa, and our children whose constant encouragement and support played a significant part throughout this project.

I would like to express my appreciation to Professor Ian Douwe van der Ploeg and to my direct supervisor, Dr Paul Hebinck, for their support and their useful guidance. I also express a deep admiration for my Professor Norman Long (retired), and his wife Ann. My encounter with Professor Long and his students radically changed my thinking about development and its conceptualisation. This inspired me to undertake the intellectual journey recounted in this thesis.

My hope is that this piece of work will inspire the heart, mind and actions of the people of Senegal, so that a lasting peace, built on a self-driven mind-set, will be finally achieved in the Casamance region, and that the Casamance peasantry will start enjoying the fruits of a long and enduring struggle for greater freedom and prosperity.

Finally, I take full responsibility for the work and its shortcomings and limitations.

Besides being a piece of academic scholarship, this thesis is a testimony of my life-dedication and commitment to the successful transformation of African agriculture to restore the pride and dignity of Senegalese peasants, such as the late Mbaa Coucou, my mother, to whom this work is dedicated.

---

<sup>25</sup>Shine like the Sun, Shine like the Sun, Hatabou, and may Allah grant a long life to my Son Hamet Fall...

## **Funding**

The research described in this thesis was self-financed by the author. Financial support from Wageningen University for printing this thesis is gratefully acknowledged.

Printed by: Proefschriftmaken, De Limiet 24C - 4131 NR, Vianen, Netherlands

Cover design and photographs by: Fadel Ndiamé



