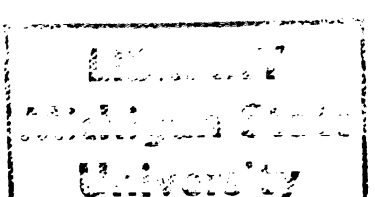

This is to certify that the

dissertation entitled

BAMBARA MEN AND WOMEN AND THE REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL LIFE IN SANA PROVINCE, MALI

presented by

Maria Luise Grosz-Ngaté

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

the Ph.D. degree in Anthropology

William Derman
Major professor

Date 2-14-86

BAMBARA MEN AND WOMEN AND THE REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL LIFE IN SANA PROVINCE, MALI

By

Maria Luise Grosz-Ngaté

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1986

ABSTRACT

BAMBARA MEN AND WOMEN AND THE REPRODUCTION OF SOCIAL LIFE
IN SANA PROVINCE, MALI

By

Maria Luise Grosz-Ngaté

This study focuses on the province of Sana, also known as the arrondissement de Sansanding, in the Segu region of Mali. It is based on intensive research in one Bambara community of the province, complemented by visits to neighboring communities, and on archival research in the national archives of Mali and Senegal. The entire study spanned a period of 18 months from January 1981 to July 1982.

The dissertation provides an interpretation of contemporary Sana Bambara society, its underlying dynamics, and its historical development. 'Practice' or 'human agency', as elaborated by Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu, is central to the analysis and links structure and process. In line with this approach, close attention is paid to the use of time and space as integral components of communication and social action.

The dissertation begins with a discussion of the ethnographic construction of the Bambara which then provides a context for the specific experience of Bambara men and women in Sana province. Beginning with settlement in the 16th century, the development of Sana Bambara society is traced through the colonial conquest in 1890-92. Sana's links with the world economic system and, consequently, conditions of reproduction were altered during the colonial period without resulting in a capitalist transformation. The analysis of productive activity at the level of the household, the individual, and the community as observed in 1981/82 remains crucial to the reproduction of social relations as well as to the construction of ethnic and gender identity. While productive activity

has not crystallized into a bounded economic sphere, the reproduction of the productive cycle has come to depend on commodity production. Not having become involved in the production of cash crops and with opportunities for obtaining cash locally limited, Bambara men migrate to the urban centers of Mali and Ivory Coast during the dry season. This form of involvement in commodity production alters the nature of relationships between elders and juniors, between men and women, and between households. The contradictions which emerge are both reflected and mediated in the marriage process. Hence, the final chapter deals with marriage and its relationship to commodification and social reproduction.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the outcome of an endeavor that has both an intellectual and a personal history. My interest in Mali grew out of my studies of West African history and anthropology. It was directed to the Bambara cultivators of that nation by John Van Dusen Lewis' dissertation on the role of descent groups in Bambara peasant production and particularly by a short chapter on the conceptualization of work. I had the good fortune of being able to study the Bambara language at Michigan State University with the aid of a Department of Education fellowship administered by the African Studies Center. Dissertation grants from Fulbright-Hays and the National Science Foundation provided the necessary funds to pursue my proposed study of the ideational system of work and its relationship to productive roles, viewed in historical perspective.

I arrived in Mali in January of 1981 for a 17-months stay. My administrative sponsor was the Institut des Sciences Humaines. Mr. Klena Sanogo, its director, approved of my project and applied for research clearance from the Ministry of Education on my behalf. In Mr. Seydou Camara, researcher at the Institute, he appointed a counterpart who maintained an interest in my research throughout the duration of my stay and who offered advice and help long after his official duty of assisting me in the selection of a village had ended.

Although I knew from the start that I wanted to work in the Segu region, the actual research site remained to be selected. The region de Segu, the fourth of Mali's seven administrative regions, covers an area of approximately 63 000 square km which extend from the Mauritanean border in the north to the Burkina Faso border in the east. Its ecology is marked by the Sudanese and the Sahelian climatic zones with rainfall ranging from about 1000 mm in the south to about

300 mm in the north. It is traversed by the Niger and Bani rivers. The economy of the region is based on agriculture, herding, and fishing. Of the various populations in the region Bozo and Somono dominate fishing, Fulani and Moor herding, and Bambara, Bobo, and Minyanka agriculture. Segu is the largest urban center with an estimated population of more than 60 000 in 1981 out of a total of close to one million for the region.

Before setting out from Bamako Seydou Camara urged me to define one area which we might visit in order to select a community that could serve as a basis for research. After considering several possibilities I chose the arrondissement de Sansanding, located north of the Niger River. Richard Roberts had already completed a study of Sansanding Marka trader-cultivators and their place in the precolonial economy of the Middle Niger. I hoped to use this knowledge as a point of reference for examining the way Bambara communities of the area were linked into the trade networks of the Middle Niger Valley and for exploring how production and social organization changed in relation to the rise and fall of Sansanding as a commercial entrepot.

Once in Sansanding, locally known as Sinsanni, inquiries revealed Kuabugu as one of the eldest Bambara villages of Sana, the term used by residents to identify the area. Located some 12 km from Sinsanni and 62 km from Segu, Kuabugu is not connected to Sinsanni by public transportation. Neither are the other villages in the area. Villagers make the journey to Sinsanni on foot, by donkey cart, bicycle, or possibly by motor bike. To go to Segu, one must either find a vehicle at Sinsanni, most readily available on market day, or wait by the road for a vehicle coming from Ke-Macina or Tenenku to the east.

On the initial trip to Kuabugu I presented my project to the elders and to representatives of the women; my wish to come to live in the village was granted. The chef d'arrondissement had told me that Kuabugu had a population of about 400 but my own census later showed a population of only about 230. Several neighboring Bambara villages were of similar size while others had from 400 to

500 or even 800 inhabitants and some hamlets had a population of less than 100.

When I arrived in Kuabugu with my belongings I was given the house of a young man who was away on migration. Villagers decided to take turns in providing my food. Initially it was brought to my house but after a couple of weeks I asked to join the household responsible for my meal. From that point on I was called at meal time as any other member of the household. Beginning with the village headman and following a rotation based on the seniority of the household head, I ate in every household for two days. This arrangement not only spread the burden among the households, it also maintained the dignity of all by not marking anyone as unable to provide. As a result I "belonged" to all households rather than to a single host household. During the agricultural season I went to the fields with the women of the household that was providing my food on a given day. Because the village headman took responsibility for my well-being I received his surname of Kulubali, a fortuitous coincidence because Kulubali was the most prevalent clan name in the village.

Intensive research in Kuabugu was complemented by visits to the other villages of the area. Despite my prior knowledge of the Bambara language I soon realized that it was inadequate for a thoroughgoing study of the ideational system of work. I therefore gave greater attention to the organization of work and to the history of the area. My discussions with household heads in Kuabugu and neighboring villages were facilitated by Mamadi Kouyate, a relatively recent resident of neighboring Sibila. Hawa Guindo came from Segu to assist me in the village during the second part of the research period. She shared my house and was treated as both my "daughter" and my companion. Our endeavor would have been fruitless without the cooperation of the villagers. They supported my effort to gain an understanding of and document their experience without feeling compelled to respond to all of my questions. My thanks to them became tangible when I was able to obtain funds through the American Embassy Self-Help Program to dig two wells and fence an area for a communal garden just prior to my departure.

For our farewell celebration they more than matched the goats I had purchased by slaughtering an ox.

In addition to the primary data collection I visited Sana men on labor migration in Segu and Bamako. I also perused relevant archival documents in the Archives Nationales du Mali at Kuluba (Bamako) and, during June-July 1982, in the Archives Nationales du Senegal in Dakar.

The dissertation is divided into seven chapters followed by a conclusion. Chapter one introduces the ethnographic literature on the Bambara as the construction of an Other. It traces the developing discourse about the Bambara against the background of politico-historical developments. This reveals three phases which correspond to different periods in the encounter between Bambara and Europeans. Chapter two reviews anthropological approaches to the analysis of non-capitalist societies and outlines a conceptual framework for apprehending Sana Bambara experience. Chapter three examines the historical conditions under which Sana Bambara society was constituted and reproduced. Beginning with settlement in about the 16th century it traces the development of Sana up to the colonial conquest in 1890-92. Chapter four focuses on the colonial period and the gradual integration of Sana into the commodity nexus. It examines French intervention in local agriculture, the commodification of labor, and the circulation of commodities. Chapter five analyses social relations at the level of the community as experienced during the time of fieldwork in 1981-82. It shows that productive activity is central to the process of social reproduction but that it has not emerged as a separate 'economic' sphere. Chapter six discusses the involvement of men and women in commodity production and consumption. Since the possibilities for generating cash locally are limited, labor migration to urban centers in Mali and in the Ivory Coast has become the primary means of earning cash income. Labor migration, confined primarily to young men, has altered the nature of relationships between elders and juniors and between men and women. Chapter seven focuses on marriage and its place in social reproduction. The examination

of matrimonial strategies, bridewealth prestations, marriage goods, and the wedding ceremony itself, brings out changes in the way marriages are constituted and in the composition of bridewealth. These changes are interpreted in light of the province's particular insertion into the commodity nexus. Finally, the conclusion discusses the place of Sana Bambara peasants in the world capitalist economy and the analytical issues this continues to pose.

My debts do not end with the people and funding agencies already mentioned. In Mali I also enjoyed the hospitality and sisterly support of Carol Carp, then American Friends Service representative in Bamako, and of Elaine Gardner, a British volunteer, working with a women's cooperative in Segu. Charles Cecil, Cultural Attache at the American Embassy in Bamako, provided help with technical matters and graciously invited me to his home on more than one occasion to meet Malian guests of honor.

My family and friends in Europe as well as my friends and colleagues in the U.S. have shown unfailing support throughout a seemingly endless undertaking. To them all I say "thank you".

I owe a special debt to Professors William Derman, Harry Raulet, and David Robinson for the help and guidance they provided as members of my doctoral committee. They encouraged me with their interest and their faith in my ability to see the project through. Professor Raulet's generously shared insights into recent social science theory contributed immensely to the development of my analytical approach.

The Office of Women in Development, Michigan State University, supported me with a grant when I first returned from the field.

Last, but not least, my thanks also to Jonathan Ngate, who knows why.

Notes

The Malian franc fell steadily in relation to the US Dollar during my stay in Mali. In January 1981 the exchange rate was 430MF per US dollar and reached 620MF by May-June 1982. The sums quoted in the text can be converted at the average of 550MF to the dollar to give a general idea of equivalency.

The spelling of Bambara terms reflects the alphabet established by D.N.A.F.L.A., the Malian authority on the orthography of national languages. I have used this alphabet for personal and place names as well even though their accepted spelling is still based on the French alphabet for the most part. When providing Bambara expressions I have given the version current in Sana rather than in Bamako; for example: janba rather than janfa, a ka shua rather than a ka fisa, jaki rather than jalaki, etc..

I have retained the European appellation 'Bambara' when referring to the people who are the focus of this study instead of replacing it with Bamanan(w), the term Bambara speakers use for themselves. 'Bambara' does not have a pejorative connotation. I take the use of 'Bambara' to be analogous to the use of 'French' or 'German' (rather than francais/francaise or Deutsche/Deutscher) when speaking English. 'Bambara' is also commonly used by Malians when they are speaking French.

Any translations from the French within the text of the dissertation are my own.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE BAMBARA

This chapter reviews the ethnographic literature on the Bambara from the perspective of the sociology of knowledge. Rather than considering the literature as a body of knowledge which mirrors Bambara reality, it will be approached as a construction which was made possible by specific historical circumstances. The task will be to trace the developing discourse about the Bambara and to outline the socio-historical conditions of its production and reproduction. This should reveal the relationships which obtained between Bambara and Europeans as well as the changing context of these relationships.

The ethnographic literature under consideration will be shown to have passed through three phases which correspond to different periods in the encounter between Bambara and Europeans. The first phase covers the precolonial period when Europeans' knowledge depended on hearsay and on encounters with Bambara slaves and refugees; this was gradually amplified by explorers' travel accounts. Precolonial voyagers recorded general impressions of people and their environment. Their observations were governed by an evolutionary paradigm in which Europe occupied the highest stage. The second phase covers the early colonial period up to the 1930s. Evolutionism still predominated but more detailed studies were produced by administrators and missionaries; these studies usually included a sketch of the physical, mental and moral characteristics of the population in question. Professional ethnographers came on the scene only during the third phase which continues to the present. The first and most illustrious of these was Marcel Griaule who, along with his collaborators, established a distinct tradition in French ethnography based on fieldwork among Dogon and Bambara. Those who followed Griaule and his collaborators do not constitute a single tradition and have used various explanatory frameworks in their attempts at

elucidating Bambara society and culture. With one exception they have all been Euro-Americans, i.e. outsiders to Bambara society. This aspect, in fact, provides continuity between the three phases: knowledge of the Bambara was generated and disseminated by and for a Euro-American audience in European languages.

Etymology of Bambara/Bamanan

Just how the appellation "Bambara" originated is unknown but it appears to have been widely used throughout Senegambia by Europeans and Africans long before the colonial period (Faidherbe, 1859; Delafosse, 1912). "Bambara" refer to themselves as Bamananw (sing.Bamanan), a term whose etymology breaks down to ban-maa-na, that is, 'refusing' (ban with the suffix na) 'a master' (maa); Delafosse (1912) and Monteil (1924) linked this refusal of a master to a legend which suggests that the Bambara left their country of origin to escape their Mande conquerors. Refusal of a master has also been tied to non-acceptance of Islam and adherence to indigenous religion in the face of Muslim proselytization (e.g. Lewis, 1978). These etymologies suggest that Bamanan, much as 'Bambara', was a global term for people who might have defined their identity in various other ways (e.g. membership in a kin group or other social unit). Delafosse (1912) acknowledged this when he said:

> it is absolutely certain that, for the Muslims of the Sudan in general and the Niger bend in particular, the word 'Bambara' denotes not a specific people nor a specific tribe, but all Sudanese who live in the midst or alongside Muslims and who remained loyal to their indigenous religion (p. 126).

Another global interpretion of Bamanan mentioned by the above authors and others (e.g. Bazin, 1906) derives the appellation from bama, 'crocodile', therefore simply meaning 'people of the crocodile', that is, people whose totem was the crocodile. Regardless of derivation, with the emergence of the Segu and Kaarta states Bamanan became linked with the ruling dynasties and the dominant population of these states.

The First Phase

The first travel accounts on Senegambia were published in France in 1728 and in Britain beginning in 1736 (Curtin, 1964). They related the experiences of merchants and voyagers and their encounters with coastal and riverine Africans. Information on the Senegambian interior was based only on hearsay since European trading posts were confined to the Coast and to the navigable portions of the Senegal and Gambia rivers. The Interior had nevertheless captured the European imagination ever since the appearance of Leo Africanus' "Description of Africa" in Venice in 1550 and its rapid translation into French and Latin. This work referred to kingdoms and centers of trade with wealthy inhabitants in the interior of West Africa (J.-L. L'Africain, 1956). The development of a body of travel literature on Senegambia during the 18th century and the increasing competition between European traders provided an impetus for the gathering of first-hand knowledge of the Interior.

In support of an argument for a fortified trading station on the Island of Caignou on the upper Senegal, Labat (1728) noted that Mande merchants used this area as a resting place for their slaves on their way to the Gambia from Timbuktu, "Bambaracana", and other 'countries' to the East and Southeast. He went on to point out that trade with the Mande would provide the Company (Compagnie Roiale du Sénégal & Côtes d'Afriques)

> only with Bambara negroes; but one could say that these captives are the best men for work from all of Africa. They are robust, of a sweet nature, they don't lack spirit; and since it seems that nature has made servitude their lot the work linked with it does not cause them any pain whatever. They love their masters, obey, and never flee, revolt or despair like those who come from the mine area and some other places (p. 85).

A similar sentiment was echoed by Durand (1807), following his Senegambian travels of 1785-86 when he stated that 'Bambara, who constituted the majority of slaves purchased at Galam,' were "strong, robust, docile and good workers (p. 359)."

In short, Europeans first registered "Bambara" as slaves whose notable qualities were docility and the ability to labor. According to Curtin (1975) "Bambara" entered the slave trade for the first time in the 1680s, a time which coincided with the rise of the Segu Bambara state. The term "Bambara" came to be applied to a variety of people: members of the dominant population of the emerging Segu and Kaarta kingdoms, slaves captured by warriors from these kingdoms, slave soldiers serving in Senegal; it could also be used as a general designation for Mande speaking peoples and even for any person from east of the rivers (Curtin, 1975).

European explorations of the interior were initiated by Michel Adanson in 1749 who learned Wolof and spent five years collecting botanical and ethnographic information in Senegambia. His objective was "to see and to learn" rather than to seek material gain through trade (Adanson, 1759). He belonged to a new category of "enlightened" travellers who set out specifically to pursue scholarly interests in a systematic way (Curtin, 1964). An outgrowth of such interests was the "Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa" founded in 1788 by the Englishman Sir Joseph Banks (Curtin, 1964). It was this association which sponsored Mungo Park, the first European to traverse the Western Sudan as far as Segu and Sinsanni.

The emerging scholarly interest in West Africa coincided with a developing governmental involvement in the area and attempts to expand the European trade diaspora inland. Already in 1758 a shift from company control to royal government control had taken place in the French trading enclaves and the same happened with respect to the British factories in 1764. Rivalry between the two powers entered into the decision to send Mungo Park on an expedition to the Niger (Curtin, 1975).[1]

Mungo Park was a Scotsman who had studied medicine in London. Hired as a surgeon by the East India Company, he went on a trip to Sumatra during which he had occasion to pursue his interests in botany and natural history. At the time of his return the African Association was preparing to send another exploratory

mission to the Niger since the first had failed when its leader, Major Houghton, died in Eastern Senegambia. Park learned about the mission through his acquaintance with Sir Joseph Banks, offered his services and was engaged (Thomson, 1890). Park sailed for the Gambia in May 1795 and travelled up the Gambia river to the British factory at Pisania. He spent several months there learning the Mande language and gathering information about the areas he intended to traverse. Park left Pisania in December 1795 and returned to the banks of the Gambia in June 1797 with a slave caravan from Bamako (Anonymous, 1883). After Park's return to England an abstract of his travels, complete with geographical illustrations, was immediately prepared for subscribers of the African Association; Park himself prepared an account of his travels which was published in the spring of 1799 (Thomson, 1890). In it (Anonymous, 1883) he described the agricultural villages and commercial centers through which he passed and related the many misfortunes which befell him. His general reflections toward the end of his account provide a summary of economic activities and of the customs he observed. In his overview, much as throughout the description, Park did not attempt to typecast people. He did, however, view the undeveloped state of agriculture and the technologically simple material culture as expressions of the savage state of the population, a condition which, he thought, could only be remedied through European instruction. Even more lamentable, from his perspective, was the 'pagan' blindness which prevailed and to which the only alternative was Islam, "a system of bigotry and fanaticism which, without enlightening the mind, often debases the heart (p. 164)." This statement evinced an attitude which was to be echoed in later years. Park's book was rapidly translated and disseminated in Europe. It raised new speculations about the wealth of the African interior.

In 1803 Park was commissioned by the Colonial Office to lead a second expedition to the Niger. This is significant in as much as it marked the beginning of government funding for exploratory voyages. Park himself outlined the goals of the journey for the Colonial Office emphasizing not only the increase in geographical knowledge to be gained but also its benefit for British commercial

expansion. The developing sciences of the second half of the 18th century and the early 19th century made no pretenses to 'science for the sake of science' but always emphasized the practical applicability of their findings. Park set out from England in January 1805 but, in contrast with his earlier voyage, travelled with several companions, four carpenters, and a party of 34 soldiers. Only a handful of people were left by the time he reached the Niger at Bamako, the others had succumbed to disease one by one. Park paid tribute to Monson Jara, then in power at Segu, and continued down the Niger. His journal and his last letters were transmitted from Sinsanni to the Gambia by his guide but nothing further was heard from him. His guide later verified that Park had travelled through the Niger bend but was killed near Bussa in contemporary Nigeria.

After the Napoleonic Wars the European merchants in Senegambia were joined by government officials; in the French colonies a formal relationship existed between the merchants and government representatives in the form of chambres de commerce. Britain had "illegalized" its slave trade in 1808 and tried to stop other slave-trading nations as well so that there was a growing pressure to engage in "legitimate commerce" (Curtin, 1975). In the publication of his Travels in Africa Silvester Golberry (1808) not only related his travels in Senegambia between 1785 and 1787 but called for an aggressive expansion of commerce and active government involvement as well as the creation of a society similar to the British African Association to facilitate discoveries of the African interior. In December 1821 the Geographical Society was founded in Paris to promote voyages of discovery, publish maps and travellogues, and systematically encourage an interest in geography (McKay, 1943).

It was a prize offerred by the Paris Geographical Society which spurred on a poor adventurer to pursue his ambition of reaching Timbuktu. René Caillié had read Mungo Park's account and had travelled in Senegambia before obtaining some funds from the Governor of Saint-Louis to live with the Brakna Moors in order to learn the rudiments of the Islamic faith and a smattering of Arabic in preparation for an expedition to the interior. Upon his return to Saint-Louis his request for

government funding was rejected and he made his way to Sierra Leone. There he heard about the prize offered to the first European traveller to reach Timbuktu. In 1826 he set out for the Rio Nunez where he joined a merchant caravan for the interior, disguised as an Arab. He reached Timbuctoo, traversed the Sahara, and arrived at Tangiers in 1828. The account of his voyage was quickly published and translated into English. Caillié made observations on geography, agriculture, commerce, and customs of the people he encountered. He considered the Bambara to be a 'nation' but suggested that

> The Bambaras of this part of Africa ... are poor and wretched. They do not trade beyond their own country. Not having joined the standard of the Prophet, they cannot travel but at the risk of being captured and made slaves. They are generally indolent. Their soil ... is ill cultivated, and their villages are disgustingly dirty. Their food is very bad; ... I observed weaving in some of their villages; but they make little cloth, scarcely enough to clothe themselves, for they go almost naked .... These people are governed by a multitude of petty independent chiefs, who often go to war with each other. In short, they are in a savage state, compared with the nations which follow the religion of the Prophet. They have no idea of the dignity of man ... (pp.322/3).

Caillié's perception of the Bambara has to be seen in light of his association and, for the purpose of his voyage, identification with Muslims. In short, his assessment probably mirrors the attitude of his Muslim hosts. Caillié explicitly ranked the Bambara at the bottom of an evolutionary scale and contrasted them with peoples who had become Muslims. The latter were generally thought to have reached a higher stage of development but were also often accused of being more corrupt and treacherous.

Whereas the potential for change is only implicit in Caillié's account, it becomes the very basis for the mission of the next traveller into Bambara country, Anne Raffenel. Raffenel successfully applied to the Ministere de la Marine to be granted funds for an exploratory trip beginning in Senegal and ending in Egypt. He proposed to bring back data on physical and human geography and on the agricultural and commercial potential but above all saw himself as a "pioneer in the regeneration of Africa" (Raffenel, 1856). In the preface to the publication of his two-volume work the editor quotes Raffenel concerning the mission he has charted for France. France's mission in Africa is one of civilisation: to lift Africans

out of their barbaric state, their state of moral depravity, into which they have lapsed as a result of slavery. Given the identification of Bambara with slaves, this would make them prime candidates for civilization. Raffenel's appeal is to national pride, Christian charity, and to sentiments of economic gain. The means of civilisation would be religous proselytization and commercial and industrial penetration. He uses a biological metaphor to illustrate his vision: Africa is a body whose heart is suffering and must be regenerated through the life blood of France entering the continent by way of its rivers.

Raffenel rejected Caillié's disguise for his 1847 trip and insisted on travelling with full material support to show the benefits of French civilization and to prove that a large expedition was feasible. Although he was prevented from travelling beyond Kaarta, he expressed surprise over the 'friendliness and hospitality' he encountered but drew a distinction between ordinary Bambara and Bambara chiefs. Rather than the ferocity he expected he found that these people 'are really very cowardly and placid', concluding that their reputation must be a result of their practice to go on razzias in groups. Raffenel here alludes to the reputation Bambara had gained in eastern Senegambia when the Massassi dynasty of Kaarta controlled the area, extracted tribute from Bundu and Bambuk, and frequently raided and pillaged villages (Robinson, 1985). Raffenel also questioned the depiction of the Bambara as able workers, suggesting that 'their industrial abilities have been exaggerated'.

In 1854 Louis Faidherbe became Governor of Senegal. He was a man who had participated in the conquest of Algeria and who viewed military domination as a basis for commercial activity. He therefore acted to consolidate control over areas already occupied by France and tried to extend domination through the construction of new forts (Kanya-Forstner, 1969). In an article in the Revue Maritime et Coloniale he suggested that

> To secure the considerable trade of the Soudan and especially the cotton (long silky Georgia) which, according to travellers, is found there in abundance and dirt cheap, it is necessary to take possession of the Upper Niger by establishing a line of posts which would link it to Senegal between Medine and Bamakou (in Mage 1872, p. 1).

Eugene Mage, a naval officer, took up this suggestion and proposed an exploratory trip to the Niger during which he also hoped to assess the mystery of the Soudan. The proposal was accepted and Faidherbe appointed Mage to lead a mission to Segu, which had been conquered by Futanke forces under the leadership of the Muslim cleric Al Haj Umar Tal. Mage was to negotiate with Al Haj Umar over trading concessions between Medine and Bamako. Accompanied by a French medical doctor and ten Senegambians, Mage left Saint Louis in October of 1863. Upon his arrival in Segu at the end of February 1864 he was held in semi-captivity by Amadu, son of Al Haj Umar, for more than two years. His account relates not only his journey but also provides a great deal of information on the Umarian court at Segu and on political conditions in the area. Some of this information was gained through direct observation, some through interviews with Umarian disciples. If Mage had any biases against Islam prior to his journey, these biases were reinforced by his experience in captivity and led him to call for the destruction of Islam. Mage's attitude toward the local population is not expressly articulated and comes through only in incidental comments. His most succinct comment on the Bambara came in connection with the house some people constructed for him:

> These Bambara worked with a disorder that struck me; they yelled, they argued. Noone guided the work; they built, then undid what they had built, and despite their ardor the house took a long time to construct. This was indeed a picture of their life and of that of negroes in general: disorder in all its manifestations (p. 51).

What characterized the state of savagery for Mage was not merely technological backwardness but also a lack of discipline and authority. In this, the Bambara were only a specific example of African society in general. His remedy, with the goal of transforming the population and spreading civilization, was commercial penetration and the establishment of colonial centers.

When Mage finally returned to Saint-Louis Faidherbe had left the colony and his trip did not generate any immediate expansion. However, by the end of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) sentiment for overseas expansion began to grow in France, promoted in particular by the Geographical Societies as a way of

regaining national glory (Kanya-Forstner, 1969). While the Paris Society had grown only slowly until 1860, its membership doubled between 1870-73 and new societies were established in various provincial cities. By 1873 the Society increasingly emphasized "national honor, scientific interests, and commercial prosperity ... to justify its programme" and developed closer links with industry and commerce which led to the establishment of a Society of Commercial Geography in 1876 (McKay, 1943). Moreover, many Society members were men of industry, commerce, and government (McKay, 1943).

It was an amateur geographer and traveller who set out for Segu in 1878, supported by private and public funds. Paul Soleillet's leitmotif was another version of Raffenel's mission civilisatrice. Rather than emphasizing the "regeneration of Africa," he proposed that "the future of France is in Africa", a future of commercial prosperity through peaceful penetration and monopolisation of trade. His observations more than confirmed the potential of the Soudan. Having watched festivities connected with agriculture in a Bambara village, he concluded:

> This custom shows that agriculture is honored here. In fact, I am in the midst of these Bambara populations whom General Faidherbe has so fortuitously compared with our Auvergnats. They do not at all consider labor of the soil as dishonoring; the men do it, something that does not happen among Tukulor nor among most other Blacks. Also, agriculture is flourishing here (p. 167).

The only fault Soleillet found with the Bambara was that they were not very commercially oriented, so that "if it were not for the Moors, the Soninkes and the Malinkes - who are, in a way, the Jews of this part of Africa - they would be without any relationship to the rest of the world (p. 168)." Commerce, however, could be developed since agricultural products were varied and the inhabitants were "a strong and energetic race which honors work (p. 168)." Though using the term 'race', Soleillet was quick to point out that Blacks were not inferior to Europeans from the point of view of heredity but were merely behind in education and had to be compared to the 13th century Gauls. This statement expresses most forcefully the temporal distance which evolutionary frameworks introduced into the relationship between people who lived at the same time (Fabian, 1983). The spatial distance between Europe and Africa was thus

compounded by a temporal distance and provided a rationale for domination.

Europeans had formed an image of "the Bambara" long before they penetrated into the areas inhabited by them. This image was defined by the slave trade and the role Bambara played in it: they were both slaves and enslavers. As slaves they were considered docile laborers, a view which predominated at least until the rise of the Kaarta state during the second half of the 18th century when they also gained a reputation as fierce warriors. By the time Park completed his first trip to the Niger the age of "enlightened travel" had virtually come to an end. Instead of pursuing broad interests in the natural sciences (as Adanson, for example), the voyages of those who followed had more narrowly defined goals. The explorers of the 19th century, especially beginning with Raffenel, saw themselves as representatives of civilisation with specific rights and duties (Leclerc, 1972). They all relied on Senegambian interpreters to mediate communication with people of the interior. During the 19th century the number of institutions which supported "scientific" explorations and disseminated their results gradually increased. Although explorers generally did not find the wealth associated with the Western Sudan in the European mind, they cast their descriptions in terms of the potential the area held for France. Its population too had potential for progress, and non-Islamised, agricultural peoples like the Bambara more so than Muslims (who frequently were also traders), since they were consistently ranked lower on the evolutionary scale. After 1850 the image of the docile Bambara slave gave way to that of the peasant.

The Second Phase

Cohen (1974) has argued that the expansionist sentiment of the late 1870s was merely the culmination of imperialist interests which had been articulated over a long period of time in travel accounts and commercial documents. The traveller to follow Soleillet, Joseph Gallieni, commanded a government mission to Segu in 1879 with the express purpose of concluding a treaty with Amadu and establishing a French presence at Bamako. With his expedition the relations of autonomy-dependence between European traveller and local population shifted in

favor of Europeans, a shift that was facilitated by the accumulated 'knowledge' about the Sudanese Other. Since the Bambara populations were known to have resisted conversion to Islam as well as Futanke rule, the French considered them 'natural allies' who only needed to be convinced that the French were on their side. Suspicious of French intentions, Beledugu Bambara ambushed Gallieni and his party at Jo on the way to Bamako. Gallieni and those who continued were then held as virtual prisoners of Amadu at Nango, near Segu. Upon returning to Senegal, Gallieni advocated the destruction of Amadu's empire:

> The animist rebels were to be given material support and incited to attack the fortress at Kunjan, while the Sultan's brothers in Kaarta were to be encouraged to defy his authority. The French themselves should dismember Futa, occupy Beledugu, build forts at Niagassola and Bamako, place a gunboat on the Niger and send it to Segu with a Resident ... (Kanya-Forstner 1969, p. 81).

Gallieni's account not only upholds the dichotomy - Europe : Civilisation :: Soudan : Savagery - of earlier travellers, it also shows undisguised racist sentiments. He can thus note that "the people of Kita are not beautiful; they have somewhat Simian traits (p. 157)." Some of his assessments contradict each other as, for example, when he states categorically that local 'negroes' (negres), as those of other parts of Africa, are lazy but then goes on to say:

> The Bambara are the cultivators par excellence in these regions. During the rainy season and the harvests they are rarely idle, and everything indicates that the arrival of our traders and merchants on the Niger could, by assuring a good price for their products, slowly transform this population which is currently savage and in rags (p. 384).

For Gallieni subsistence production is synonymous with laziness and change has to be induced by a "superior race". The Soudan represents a vast potential for French commerce. Given the material deprivation - people have virtually no clothes, guns are inferior and old, etc. - the introduction of European goods would incite people to want them and they would be compelled to go to work. Gallieni's view of commerce as the key to progress had already been expressed at the turn of the century by Joseph Marie De Gérando, a member of the Société des Observateurs de l'Homme. The rationale for promoting trade was scientific: since savages were still at an earlier stage of European society, trade would

stimulate new 'needs' and 'desires' in them, and these would gradually bring about evolutionary progress (Stocking, 1968).

In 1883 a French military force under Borgnis-Desbordes established a fort at Bamako and in April 1890 colonel Archinard took control of Segu. Following conquest, observations on the indigenous populations became an integral part of the system of control. The new ethnographers were local administrators, missionaries, and administrator-ethnographers. Administrators at the level of the cercle included evaluations of the populations under their jurisdiction in their political reports and frequently pieced together historical developments for the period preceding conquest. The initiatives taken by certain administrators to increase their knowledge of the people they governed paved the way for anthropological field research in France (Leclerc, 1972). François Clozel, who was lieutenant-governor of Haut-Sénégal-Niger from 1908 to 1915 and governor general of French West Africa from 1915 to 1917, asked for detailed studies of Sudanese juridical systems and observations on their application. Based on a questionnaire he himself had designed, these studies were to form a basis for a coutumier général ("indigenous law"), systematized and without ambiguity, to be used by 'indigenous tribunals' in civil cases. However, "indigenous law" would only be applied when it did not contravene French "humanitarian principles". Out of this project grew the five-volume work Haut-Sénégal-Niger, published in 1912. Maurice Delafosse was responsible for three of the volumes: one on 'the country, the peoples, the languages', another on the 'history' and the third one on the 'civilisations' of the area; the remaining two volumes on 'economic geography' were authored by Jaques Meniaud. In the preface to the first volume Delafosse pointed out that he had used cercle monographs and the coutumiers established in 1909 but, given their unevenness, he had complemented them with secondary sources and investigations of his own wherever possible. He followed up these volumes with other books and taught at the Ecole Nationale des Langues orientales; he became co-founder of the Institut d'Ethnologie in Paris in 1924 and director of the Revue éthnographique (Leclerc, 1972). Although he adhered to the model of evolutionary stages, he was willing to give 'civilisation' a wider meaning that would

not reserve it for European society alone.

Charles Monteil, a 'commandant de cercle' at Jenne for a time, authored a Monographie de Djenne in 1903 and Les Bambaras du Ségou et du Kaarta in 1924. The latter was published under the auspices of the "Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques" founded by Clozel. Already in his preface to Haut-Sénégal-Niger, Clozel had provided a rationale for furthering historical studies in the Soudan: "In contrast with most of the African colonies whose past, as virgin as their forests, is limited to the history of the efforts of European explorers, the Soudan has a history (p.3)" [of its own]. He cited medieval commerce, Moroccan conquest, etc. as evidence. Monteil's Les Bambaras... records the origin and history of Segu and Kaarta as told by two bards whom he had brought to Jenne for the purpose; this is followed by chapters on social structure and customs. Monteil's goal was to add to the existing knowledge of these state structures and to elucidate the common basis in custom all Bambara shared despite their lack of homogeneity as a group. He goes on to point out very perceptively that the application of European terms and characteristics to indigenous institutions which appear similar often distorts their features, but he concluded that they nevertheless need not be rejected out of hand. Finally, if any further justification for his study were needed, it would lie in the fact that "the Black" is still dominated by his past even though "the indigenous soul" has been loosened from its moorings "under our blows" and is moving in new directions.

The third administrator whose name is linked with Bambara ethnography is Louis Tauxier. After writing three works on the Mossi/Gurunsi populations, he published La Religion Bambara (1927) and L'Histoire Bambara (1942), synthetic works which draw on earlier publications complemented with data he collected. As an administrator in Niafunke in the North during 1913 he systematically questioned his gardes cercles of Segovian origin. Less well known administrators (e.g. Le Barbier, 1906) also wrote monographs and articles which appeared in journals, such as the Revue Coloniale or the Revue d'Ethnographie.

A standard part of all these materials is a profile of the Bambara including physical type, mental and moral characteristics. This feature recalls 18th century observations of 'Bambara' slaves. The image that emerges is that of an individual with a rather robust build, matched by stubbornness, slow thought processes, difficulty in expressing himself and in assimilating new information. Though very patient and fatalistic, le Bambara (it is always the generic individual) is vengeful if his patience is stressed to the limit. When speaking he does not look at his interlocutor, digresses infinitely, and swallows half of his words so that he can barely be understood. In general, the Bambara represent the primitive Sudanese type, along with the Bobo, the Senufo, and the Samo. By the same token, these populations are also the best and most energetic cultivators of the region, making them "the people most eminently qualified to supply a labor force without initiative but easily guideable, something very necessary for the development of a new country (Delafosse, p. 348)." Tauxier (1927) adds to this that the Bambara make solid and disciplined soldiers, as long as they are well-trained and given orders. Such conclusions leave no doubt concerning the functional nature of population typing. As will be shown in chapter IV, French colonial administrators determined early on that they would have to rely primarily on peasant production in exploiting the Soudan and also recruited an African fighting force.

Aside from colonial administrators, missionaries also compiled information on the Bambara during these early years. As Mudimbe (1984) has noted, missionaries have historically either preceded or followed a European flag and their intervention has been closely tied to cultural propaganda, nationalism, and commercial penetration. The first missionaries in the Soudan established a station at Kita in 1888 and at Segu and Timbuktu in 1895 (Harding, 1972). The first comprehensive Bambara-French dictionary was compiled by Mgr. Bazin (1906), complete with a general introduction about the Bambara and a section on Bambara grammar. Several years later appeared the monograph of Joseph Henry (1910) who had been a White Father at Segu. It was intended to facilitate the work of other missionaries as well as that of merchants, colonial officials, and others. Father Henry was more explicitly eurocentric in his commentary than any of the other

authors and was criticized by Delafosse (1911) because of it; he, like Gallieni, equated subsistence production with laziness. Henry disagreed with those who had lauded the Bambara as industrious cultivators:

> To crouch under a leafy tree and pass the day there in long chats or a half-sleep is his dream and constitutes his happiness. Lazy, even slothful, he believes to have accomplished all there is if he has something in his granary to feed himself and his family. The head tax and especially the 'fetish cult' force him to shake off his torpor; but he has it all calculated, he works to obtain what he needs and then stops (p. 10).

Furthermore, the intrusiveness inherent in the encounter between those in quest of knowledge and their interlocutors is evident in some of his other comments which suggest that information concerning religious practices is often best obtained by surprising participants in a ceremony, thus confronting them with one's presence and forcing them to divulge knowledge which would otherwise not be revealed to outsiders.

The discourse of the early decades of colonial rule established "the Bambara" as a subject with a specific and primordial nature. Though some of the authors were well aware of the geographical dispersion and varied historical experience of the people who referred to themselves as Bamananw, they nevertheless felt confident in defining them. Once defined, they could be fitted into taxonomies and compared with others. Delafosse (1912) pointed to the problematic nature of the criteria used as a basis for classification but nevertheless set up a system with 'race' at the top and 'peuple', or ethnic group, at the bottom. 'Race' applied to Whites and Blacks respectively (though it is not evident if he believed in the equality of races or, like Gallieni, in the superiority of Whites) and 'peuple' referred to a group characterized by common language, history, and origin. Within this framework the Bambara were a 'peuple' alongside the Kagoro, Khassonke, Malinke, and Fulanke who together constituted the 'Mande du Centre' (the 'central Mande'); these, in turn, could be grouped with the southern and northern Mande into the Mande 'family'. Such classification reified groups and appropriated them for European science.

The proliferation of knowledge about the Bambara, despite a certain sensitivity displayed by some authors, was made possible by the colonial situation and was intended to facilitate government and development (mise en valeur) of the colony. In contrast with precolonial travellers who were dependent on their indigenous hosts and companions, colonial authors were backed by the power of the state and could extract information if necessary. Whereas precolonial travellogues were accounts of individual experiences, with the personal nature of commentary a given, the information generated during the second phase was cast in a more objective language which effaced the individual observer. The cumulative knowledge of both periods was committed to writing in the language of the colonizer and could therefore be stored and retrieved in ways not possible with oral traditions. Since the colonized had no access to or control over this body of material it reinforced the shift in the balance of forces between Bambara and Europeans.

The Third Phase

In comparison with its counterparts in Great Britain and the United States, French ethnology developed relatively late as an autonomous discipline. It was not until the 1930s that trained researchers began to engage in field research in any systematic manner (Balandier, 1959). By then, the territory had literally been made safe for them, so that they could pursue their science without having to maintain security and order (Copans, 1974).

Marcel Griaule, a student of Mauss, was one of the early professional ethnographers. He became the first to hold a chair in ethnology at the Sorbonne and dominated the African ethnology of the time. He led an expedition that traversed Africa from Dakar to Djibouti between 1931-33 collecting artifacts but also conducting interviews and participating in ceremonies (Leiris, 1934). Griaule became fascinated with the Dogon of the Soudan during this trip and returned numerous times over a 15-year period. He developed an approach which aimed at elucidating indigenous thought processes and constructed the philosophical systems underlying social reality through the interpretation of myth and symbolism;

social reality emerged as the concrete manifestation of metaphysical principles (Copans, 1974). Within this framework social relations and contradictions, including the colonial situation, could be ignored or exploited.

In a penetrating essay Clifford (1983) has probed the dynamics underlying Griaule's ethnography. He has shown that despite the use of various techniques, Griaule's work is characterized by an "aggressive posture not unlike the judicial process of 'interrogation' (p. 137)." Griaule did not try to hide this fact and was acutely aware of the power differential in the encounter but also of the struggle for control. For him,

> every informant's self-presentation (along with that of the ethnographer) was a dramatization, a putting forward of certain truths and a holding back of others. In penetrating these conscious and unconscious disguises, the fieldworker had to exploit whatever advantages, whatever sources of power, whatever knowledge not based on interlocution he or she could acquire (Clifford, p. 132).

If Griaule succeeded in elaborating a complex system of Dogon knowledge and in presenting African traditions as worthy of respect, he also set himself up as a spokesperson for Africans. In the early 1950s he suggested that

> Ethnographic understanding is critical in a changing colonial context: it permits one to 'select those moral values which are of merit and should be preserved,' to 'decide what institutions and what systems of thought should be preserved and propagated in Black Africa'....Tradition must be well understood so that change can be properly guided. 'It is a question of taking what's theirs that is rich, and transposing it into our own situation, or into the situation we wish to make for them...Clifford, p. 151).

The preceding glimpse of Griaule and his work has a two-fold purpose: 1)to throw light on Bambara ethnography by Griaule collaborators and students; and 2)to bring into focus the problematics of ethnography in a colonial and neo-colonial context. Few ethnographers today would take as openly aggressive a stance (or admit to one) as Griaule but the assymetrical power relationship remains and the knowledge generated in the ethnographic encounter continues to be largely under the control of the outsider. Clifford has summarized the predicament of the post-colonial researcher very well:

> Some authorizing fiction of 'authentic encounter,' in Geertz's phrase, seems a prerequisite for intensive research. But initiatory claims to speak as a knowledgeable insider revealing essential cultural truths

> are no longer credible. Fieldwork cannot appear primarily as a cumulative process of gathering 'experience,' or of cultural 'learning' by an autonomous subject. It must rather be seen as a historically contingent, unruly, dialogical encounter involving, to some degree, both conflict and collaboration in the production of texts. Ethnographers seem to be condemned to strive for true encounter, while simultaneously recognizing the political, ethical, and personal cross-purposes that undermine any transmission of intercultural knowledge. Poised between Griaule's enactment and Leiris' refusal of this ironic predicament, and working at the now-blurred boundaries of ethnographic liberalism, fieldworkers struggle to improvise new modes of authority (pp. 152/3).

As alluded to in the quote by Clifford, Leiris, a member of the Dakar-Djibouti expedition, rejected the ambivalent position of ethnographer in a colonial situation and did not return to Africa to do research. But other collaborator-students of Griaule carried out research among the Bambara in the Griaule tradition. The investigative style of these researchers is not apparent in their writings but the focus, like that of Griaule, continued to be cosmogony and cosmology. Germaine Dieterlen, who also participated in fieldwork on the Dogon, published her Essai sur la religion Bambara in 1951. In it she presented the metaphysical system underlying Bambara social life, and declared that any apparent contradictions or inconsistencies were due to lacunae in the investigation rather than to any problems in the system itself. In addition to this monograph, she wrote various articles dealing with different aspects of Bambara myth and symbolism. Solange de Ganay, another member of the Griaule team, is known only through her articles on religious symbolism. Both women worked with a wide range of informants from a number of towns in Bamako and Segu cercles. This dispersed effort of data collection, as opposed to research in a single locale a la Griaule, and perhaps a more low-key approach of the researchers may account for the fact that the Bambara never attained Dogon fame with a European audience. Moreover, Bambara villages do not stir the Western imagination with its admiration for technological accomplishments the way Dogon cliff dwellings do. It is ironic, as Clifford (1983) has well pointed out, that Sanga - the focal point of Griaule's excursions - has become one of the foremost tourist attractions in Mali. Bambara culture, on the other hand, has not become a commodity. A beautifully photographed volume on Mali sold to tourists on Bamako streets in 1981/82 did not feature any aspect of

Bambara social and material life.

The third person to engage in extensive studies of Bambara culture was Griaule's student Dominique Zahan. In charge of the immigration section of the Office du Niger from 1948 to 1958 he was concerned with difficulties posed by the colonisation of irrigated lands and collected ethnographic information during his spare time. His major effort has been concentrated on explicating the religious ideas which constitute the foundation of the different secret societies. Zahan (1960) has identified six societies - n'domo, komo, nama, kono, tyiwara (sic), and kore - which are nominally independent of each other, but which, in his view, represent a hierarchically linked system of knowledge. Initiation into each society progressively renders a man's knowledge of creation, of man, and of the universe more complete. It is literally a "man's" knowledge because women are excluded from these societies. In his 1960 volume on the ndomo and the kore - the first and the final 'stage' in the attainment of knowledge respectively - Zahan promised similar in-depth monographs on the other societies, but only one has appeared since then on the ciwara (Antilopes du Soleil, 1980). It is unclear if technical problems prevented the publication of the other monographs or if Zahan has decided to withhold this esoteric knowledge for ethical reasons. In a turn away from the esoteric, he focused on the spoken word in everyday life in La dialectique du verbe chez les bambara (1963). Although this work is not a definitive study, it is nevertheless of import because it shows the significance of 'the word' (la parole) and its converse, silence, as elements of Bambara personhood and social life. Without ever referring to ethnographies of the early colonial period, Zahan's monograph negates their characterisations which stress the Bambara lack of communicative skills.

The development of Bambara ethnography as a colonial phenomenon meant that researchers were French and that they wrote in French. Viviana Paques, a researcher at the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, prepared a synthesis of extant knowledge on the Bambara for the monograph series of the International African Institute of London (1954) but this was also published in

French. In its coverage of all aspects of life, the monograph reflects the traditions of its sponsor rather than those of French ethnography. The work of the Griaule school has never been translated into English though Zahan did author a brief monograph on Bambara religion in English in 1974.

Research carried out since Malian independence shows a diversification of focus and theoretical orientation. The investigations of Rene Luneau, the only anthropologist to conduct research during the 1960s, in Beleko (departement Joïla) culminated in a doctorat d'etat (1974) on Bambara marriage. Luneau examines marriage as a social institution and, in contrast with his predecessors, places his study in geographical and historical perspective. Michèle Felloux, a social psychologist, presented a doctorat de IIIe cycle (n.d.) on "The social development of the Bambara child in the traditional milieu," based on fieldwork carried out in 1972. She never defines 'traditional milieu', but one may assume that she means a setting where at least the majority of people have not converted to Islam. Since her research village was located within 40 km of Bamako and produced vegetables for the Bamako market, 'traditional' could hardly be taken to refer to noninvolvement in the commodity nexus. Jean Bazin, a historian, has tried to elucidate the structure and dynamic of the Segu Bambara state. He examined the relationship between "commerce and predation" (1972) which involved Marka and Bambara respectively. This led him to explore the formation of ethnic identity rather than taking ethnicity as a given. In another study (1974) Bazin focused on the various meanings of 'slave' in the Segu State and showed how slaves were produced, distributed, and exchanged.

Beginning in the 1970s French domination of research was supplanted by an increasing American involvement. This was due to a combination of factors which are related in varying ways to the emergence of American hegemony after World War II. Along with the shift in the national origin of researchers went a change in investigative technique. Instead of repeated short periods of research American ethnographers conducted their studies during extended stays of a year or more. This difference in duration of stay reflects the emphasis in Anglo-Saxon

anthropology on experiencing an entire annual cycle and on becoming immersed in indigenous culture. It is not within the scope of this essay to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these different approaches to research though they do deserve careful examination for the way in which they affect the encounter between a researcher and his/her interlocutors.

The first American anthropology dissertation on the Bambara is based on research carried out under the auspices of USAID. As a result of the drought conditions which culminated in the 1972 crisis the West, and the United States in particular, have become more heavily involved in attempts to transform socio-economic conditions in the region. One aspect of this transformation is the attempt to improve, both qualitatively and quantitatively, Mali's livestock in order to generate foreign exchange through the sale of meat to West African coastal countries and, possibly, to Europe. Hence the parameters of John Van Dusen Lewis' research were defined by the need to develop range management schemes; his task was to collect baseline data to aid in the establishment of such schemes. Lewis was located in an area north of the Bani river, at the edge of the Dukoloma forest reserve, where herd-owning Bambara peasants were to be integrated to a range management and related credit system. Supported by extensive quantitative data Lewis (1978) examined the functioning of the local economy through a study of the role of kinship in providing and controlling much-needed labor. He attributes the peasants' ability to prevent the dispersal of laborers to an ideology which emphasizes the collectivity over the individual. Instrumental in this is the ci ke ton (the cultivation association of the village youth) which cross-cuts kin ties.

Ethnographies of the third phase are complemented by the work of art historians who, up to the present, have all been American. The first of these was Patrick McNaughton (1977; 1979) who built on the studies of Zahan as well as on those of some of the colonial administrators by concentrating on Bambara blacksmiths and their role as sculptors of the komo secret society. While his emphasis, much like that of those who followed him, is necessarily on the artistic dimension of the phenomenon under consideration, it is not disembedded from its

socio-cultural context. James Brink (1980) and Mary Jo Arnoldi (1984) both focus on Bambara drama. The former analysed kotè-tlon comedy in the Beledugu while the latter examined sogo-tlon puppet theatre in Kirango-Markala. Although these forms of drama have a long history, both scholars indicate that they, like the society that created them, have not been static. Sarah Brett-Smith studied the symbolism of mud cloth and used it to trace Bambara migration. At the time of this writing her dissertation is not yet available.

Dramane Bagayoko, a Malian who has studied in Paris, has made the ci kè tòn the focus of his dissertation (3e cycle). Bagayoko works in the tradition of his mentor, Georges Balandier, who advocates a dynamic anthropology that takes account of historical realities and contradictions in social relations. This perspective guides Bagayoko in his examination of the structure and activities of the tònw in a cluster of villages in two different regions of Mali. He is able to show how the tònw are influenced by the specific historical and politico-economic experience of the respective areas and thus challenges the notion that the ci kè tòn constitutes an egalitarian force within the village and can provide a basis for socialist development.

Research carried out during the third phase shows that the Bambara continue to be a subject-object. In this respect, the professional ethnographer is but one in a series of 'explorers'. The ethnographies of this period have nevertheless revealed the richness and complexity of Bambara society and culture. The work of Bagayoko, Lewis, and Luneau, and that of British researchers with whom I have communicated brings out variations in space and time which are not captured by an essentialist view of "the Bambara". Essentialism, whether of the Griaule variety or its cruder colonial versions, has the effect of reifying the Bambara as an Other. Taking a stance against reification of "the Bambara" is not to deny the existence of a Bambara identity but rather to stress the fact that those who share this identity are not a cohesive unit marked by well-defined boundaries. Differences occur at both the regional and the village level, and contemporary social processes continue to shape Bambara socio-cultural configurations in multiple ways which do

not follow any singular direction.

Conclusion

The preceding outline of the ethnographic construction of the Bambara in its different phases has shown very clearly to what extent the production of knowledge is tied to historical-political context. The relationship between the quest for knowledge and the politics and economics of a given period was most evident for the first two phases considered here. It is less transparent for the third phase during which ethnology as a branch of knowledge came into its own. With the elevation of ethnography to an academic discipline its politico-economic underpinnings have become less easily discernable and the interplay between science and political economy has become more subtle. The process by which priorities for funding research are established, for example, is much more obscure today than it was in the 19th century. The choice among possible explanatory frameworks, too, obfuscates some of the underlying epistemological continuities.

In tracing the history of Bambara-European relations and how these have shaped the ethnographic image of the Bambara, this chapter has brought into focus the predicament of the contemporary ethnographer. A necessary response to it is the struggle for "new modes of authority," as Clifford (1983) has said. One aspect of this struggle involves the presentation of the ethnographic text itself. As a modest beginning, the use of "informants" in the chapters to follow has been eschewed in favor of "elder," "woman," etc. to restore the personal identity of my interlocutors. Beyond this, I have tried to find an analytical framework which avoids some of the reification inherent in more normative approaches and which grants the subject a certain autonomy without losing sight of the importance of social processes. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Notes

1 The early literature I perused did not indicate that the existence of Bambara state formations provided as much of an impetus for exploration as the myth of a fabulously wealthy interior which was linked to the mystique surrounding Timbuktu.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

How do we account for the contemporary form of Sana Bambara society and what are its underlying dynamics? These are the two fundamental questions which guide this analysis. They take on importance in view of the fact that present-day Sana is part of the capitalist world system, yet it is not dominated by capitalist relations of production. This conjuncture is not unique to Sana. Although the problem has not always been defined in these terms, it has already received considerable attention in the anthropological and development literature. The debate in anthropology has focused on the nature of these societies and on the conceptualization of their link with the capitalist sector. The different approaches to these issues have resulted in three major bodies of literature which will be reviewed below. Following this, I will outline the analytical framework to be used in trying to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this paragraph.

Substantivism Versus Formalism

Karl Polanyi, together with Conrad M. Arensberg and Harry W. Pearson, edited a volume entitled Trade and Market in the Early Empires (1957) in which they challenged the universal applicability of economic theory. Contributors to the volume did not criticize economic theory per se but simply held that it ought to be limited to "economies where price-making markets hold sway (Polanyi, p. XVIII)". This fuelled a debate in anthropology which continued throughout the 1960s. Supporters and students of Polanyi, the most vocal of whom was George Dalton, came to be known as "substantivists" while those who lined up on the other side of the issue were labelled "formalists".

The label "formalist" and "substantivist" derived from Polanyi's distinction between the "formal" and "substantive" meanings of 'economic'. He related the substantive meaning to the empirical fact that humans obtain their livelihood from nature in relationships of various types with fellow humans. The formal meaning, on the other hand, he saw as deriving from logic and referring

> to a definite situation of choice, namely, that between the different uses of means induced by an insufficiency of those means....The formal meaning implies a set of rules referring to choice between the alternative uses of insufficient means. [In contrast,] the substantive meaning implies neither choice nor insufficiency of means; man's livelihood may or may not involve the necessity of choice and, if choice there be, it need not be induced by the limiting effect of a 'scarcity' of the means;...(pp. 243/244).

For Polanyi, only the substantive meaning of 'economic' could serve as a basis for developing concepts which could be used in studying economies cross-culturally and historically.

Polanyi viewed the economy as an "instituted process"; "instituted" because embedded in economic and non-economic institutions which provide unity and stability and a "process" because an economy involves the movement of goods in production, distribution, and consumption. He further suggested that economies can be differentiated based on their pattern of integration which may be reciprocity, redistribution, exchange, or a combination of these.

Polanyi argued that in 'marketless' or 'premodern' societies the economy is embedded in social relations whereas in 'market societies' the economy takes on a separate existence.

> In a market economy the production and distribution of material goods in principle is carried on through a self-regulating system of price-making markets. It is governed by laws of its own, the so-called laws of supply and demand, and motivated by fear of hunger and hope of gain. Not blood-tie, legal compulsion, religious obligation, fealty or magic creates the sociological situations which make individuals partake in economic life but specifically economic institutions such as private enterprise and the wage system (p. 68).

Polanyi cautioned that similarities between economic activities in market and marketless societies should not be taken to imply similarities in function. He also made the important point that economic historians should not limit their focus to

markets or market antecedents so as to give the appearance of a unilineal evolution toward contemporary Western economy when "in fact other economies need not be miniatures or early specimens of our own, but may be sharply at variance with it, both as to individual motives and organisation (p. XVIII)."

Bohannan and Dalton (1962) developed a typology of African societies which was founded on a distinction between 'market place', a locale, and 'market principle', "the determination of prices by the forces of supply and demand regardless of the site of transactions (p. 1)". They identified three basic types: 1)societies without market places; 2)societies with market places but with the market principle operating only peripherally; and 3)societies in which the market principle prevails. Type 1 societies were characterized as having a "multi-centric economy", a term developed by Bohannan based on his work among the Tiv of Nigeria and signifying different transactional spheres (e.g. subsistence and prestige) which could be ranked hierarchically. Type 2 societies were thought to resemble type 1 societies in that they also had multi-centric economies but market involvement did not affect production decisions or resource allocation. Finally, type 3 societies were said to differ substantially from the other two because the market principle determines a wide range of activities. The spread of the market principle, they suggested, may be tied to the spread of "all purpose money" (European currency as opposed to "special purpose" or "primitive" money). For Bohannan and Dalton, the Western impact on African economies meant the expansion of the market principle without this, however, necessarily leading to the duplication of Western institutions and the domination of the market sector. They conceptualized change in terms of a)change in institutions and b)change in the organizing principles of economic life as a result of the spreading market principle. This perspective led them to accept Boeke (1953) and Furnivall's (1939) concept of the 'dual economy' but with the qualification that the 'traditional sector' need not be homogeneous and may consist of different transactional spheres.

Some anthropologists disagreed with the substantivists. Melville Herskovits, in his preface to Bohannan and Dalton's Markets in Africa saw the main difference between 'primitive' and industrial economies as one of scale rather than of qualitative difference. This allowed him to state that

> the economic characteristics of these modes of exchange may be distorted (my emphasis) by ritual demands or kinship regulations. Yet when the basis of our considerations shifts from the classification of form to analysis of function, both the rudimentary and the complex forms, no matter how dissimilar their dimensions, turn out to be no more than extremes of a continuum ... (pp. VII/VIII).

The function of any economy was, for formalists, "the allocation of scarce means to multiple objectives (Burling, 1962)", with the 'means' not confined to material objects. The focal point of the economy was the choice-making individual who tried to maximize whatever 'goods' (be they cattle, money, prestige, or power) were culturally significant. In an attempt to remove all objections against the universal applicability of the neo-classical framework of analysis Cancian (1966) postulated that the absence of maximisation as a norm in any given society did not imply its absence as a strategy.

By expanding their concepts to fit all situations, formalists undermined the utility of their approach. More importantly they, along with the substantivists, assumed the validity of formal analysis for 'advanced market systems' without questioning its epistemology; this despite the fact that economists themselves engaged in an ongoing debate over its validity (Kaplan, 1968). Polanyi and his followers rightly pointed to the difference in nature, rather than in scale, of non-capitalist economies but became preoccupied with the establishment of typologies. In their emphasis on transaction they failed to move beyond the analysis of surface phenomena, as was aptly pointed out by Berthoud (1974) in his critique of the notions of 'prestige goods' and 'multicentric economy'. The substantivist-formalist impasse clearly showed the difficulty of developing concepts for the study of societies whose organizational principles were radically different from those of Western capitalist societies.

Peasant Studies

Conceptual difficulties also emerge in approaches to the analysis of 'peasant' societies. Nash (1966) termed them "partly monetized economies" in contrast with 'primitive', "non-monetary economies" but often discussed them as one category. Dalton (1967) defined peasant economy as follows:

> What I shall mean by 'peasant' economy differs primarily in one respect: most people have come to depend on production for sale as their primary source of livelihood. Market exchange has become the dominant mode of transaction; commercial production has become more important than subsistence production. In peasant economies appreciable quantities of labour and land as well as produce are bought and sold; money prices and money incomes are familiar. However, with regard to technology, social organization and cultural practice, peasant economies more nearly resemble the primitive than the modern. Machine technology is seldom found and, on the whole, traditional social organization and culture are retained (p. 156).

If it does entail cultural change, then "elements of Western culture are grafted on (my emphasis) to indigenous practice (p. 156)." Dalton's definition suggests a degree of involvement in the commodity nexus that is reminiscent of farmers rather than of peasants. Moreover, it implies that commodification can take place independant of significant social and cultural changes; it posits a disjuncture between the economy on one hand and social organization - culture on the other. Such a stance subverts the postulate of the embeddedness of 'primitive' economy by disregarding its implications, but is understandable in light of the substantivist emphasis on 'spheres of exchange'. This is made explicit when Dalton states:

> Of the three sets of changes which comprise development - economic, technological, and cultural - only the economic has displaced indigenous practice to a significant extent in rural Africa: communities relying upon subsistence production have enlarged their commercial activities, but have not seriously begun to change otherwise... Primitive economies are changing into peasant economies, but frequently peasant communities fail to change into modern communities (p. 161).

Dalton's view paralleled that of other anthropologists who concentrated specifically on 'peasant studies', a focus of inquiry which emerged independently of the subfield of 'economic anthropology'. In tracing the development of "The Peasant Concept in Anthropology", Silverman (1979) has shown that peasant

studies grew out of an interest in the comparative study of human communities during the second quarter of this century. Initially, the focus was on the nature of villages rather than on the small-scale agriculturalists who lived in villages and the term 'peasant' was used casually rather than analytically. The emphasis was on these communities as a type without giving attention to the diversity among them. Not until the 1950s did 'peasant' become an analytic category through the studies of Robert Redfield and Eric Wolf.

As Silverman makes clear, Redfield's early interest in the 'folk', expressed in a focus on "the quality of life and the quality of human relations, as these are shaped in communities of different kinds and in different phases of the human career (p.54)," remained characteristic of his work on peasants. The key terms of his analyses, such as 'community', 'tradition', and 'way of life' were adopted even by his critics. This can be attributed to the compatibility of Redfield's work with a fundamental position in anthropology which views culture as holistic but does not assign priority to any of its component elements. Both 'tradition' and 'way of life' were taken to be synonymous with 'culture' without questioning any of the underlying assumptions. Among these were the notion that "patterns will be perpetuated unless some force acts to disrupt them, and therefore that it is the interruption rather than the 'traditional' which needs to be explained (p. 57)" and also the emphasis on '<u>way</u> of life', that is, on a particular quality of life (Silverman, 1979). Dalton's emphasis on the persistence of traditional social organisation recalls the Redfieldian stress on a distinct way of life.

An analysis of the communities in which peasants lived was crucial to Wolf's early work but Wolf, unlike Redfield, viewed communities as products of specific socio-historical processes. Over time, his interest in communities gave way to a focus on "relations between peasants and their larger matrix, between local settings and national-level (or wider) phenomena (Silverman, p.63)," in short, to an emphasis on the state and on power relations. This perspective challenges the notion of culture as a homogeneous whole, a tradition reproduced over time, and instead views it as patterns of behavior shaped historically and gives priority to

politico-economic aspects. Moreover,

> rather than presupposing commonalities of worldview, settlement form, and quality of social relations among peasants--and taking these as a priori criteria for determining which cases are to be considered 'peasant'--it makes the identification of such patterns the object of research. Its aim is thus to inquire into the diversity of peasant life under different conditions and different historical contingencies--a diversity that goes beyond 'traditional culture' and the 'small community way of life'(Silverman, p.65).

Following the English publication of A.V. Chayanov's The Theory of Peasant Economy (1966) and particularly Marshall Sahlins' (1972) use of that work in his elaboration of the "domestic mode of production" the family household received increasing attention in peasant studies. Chayanov and those who followed his approach (e.g. Kerblay, 1971; Durrenberger, 1984) consider peasant household production a specific type of economy with its own dynamics and laws of reproduction. Critics (e.g. Harrison, 1977; Ennew, Hirst, and Tribe, 1977) contend that peasants are involved in various types of social relations (i.e. they are not a homogeneous group) and can, therefore, not be said to constitute a specific mode of production. For them and other marxists 'mode of production' refers to a particular set of relations of production rather than to a losely defined form of production as, for example, Sahlins' "domestic mode". Ennew, Hirst, and Tribe (1977) extend their critique students of peasantries as diverse as Chayanov, Redfield, Firth, Dalton, and Wolf, and conclude that 'peasant' is generally a descriptive category rather than a theoretical entity. What, for them, gives unity to peasants at different points in time and space is "their relationship to capitalism--in the forms and effects of the process of capitalist penetration ... (p.319)." Hence peasants are created through the destruction of 'natural economy' (Bernstein, 1979) but the specifics of this process and the resulting social configurations are not self-evident and must be determined through analysis.

Dependency Theory and Marxist Approaches

The manner in which destruction of natural economy --or capitalist penetration-- should be conceptualized itself has been subject to debate. A.G. Frank (1967) was the first to propose that capitalist expansion beyond its

Euro-American heartland drains local resources without developing the forces of production and establishes a dependent relationship between the 'periphery' and the 'core'. Contemporary 'underdevelopment' of Third World nations is therefore not an original state but simply the other side of the 'development' of the core. Variants of Frank's thesis all share an emphasis on the determinacy of capitalism so that 'dependency theory' is generally ill-equipped to explain local structures.

Emmanuel Wallerstein's model of the world system, which he defines as "a unit with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems (p.390, 1974)," also places primary emphasis on capitalism. With the emergence of capitalism in 16th century Europe this world system has developed into a capitalist world economy with multiple polities --or nation states-- linked by market exchange. The 'core' areas of the system appropriate surplus-value from the 'peripheral' areas and "seek to reinforce the advantages of their producers and to legitimize their role in the interstate system by imposing their cultural dominance in the world (p.17, 1984)". An intermediate category of states contain a mixture of production processes which have characteristics of both and are therefore termed 'semiperiphery'. Although the spatial hierarchy of production processes is an essential feature of the capitalist world economy, the position of a given state within the hierarchy is not and may change over time. Process is thus located in the movement of units within the system rather than in the dynamics of local forms of production.

In contrast with dependency or world systems theory, mode of production analysis seeks to identify different modes of production and considers non-capitalist modes to have a shaping influence in their articulation with capitalism. While Marx' emphasis was on the capitalist mode of production, French anthropologists began to apply his framework in the analysis of 'primitive' , or 'precapitalist', societies during the 1960s. They agreed with the substantivists on the difference in nature of 'primitive' societies but focused on relations of production rather than on transactional modes. Claude Meillassoux' pioneering study (1964) of the Gouro of the Ivory Coast initiated a materialist reexamination

of what conventional anthropology termed 'tribal' societies. Rather than speaking of 'societies', these anthropologists used the term 'social formation' to denote a historically specific social totality which constituted the concrete expression of several modes of production with one of these being dominant. The issues which emerged and were debated in this body of work centered on the nature of the assymetrical relations between elders, juniors, and women respectively, the pertinence of Marxist concepts such as 'class' and 'exploitation', and the conceptualization of the infrastructure/superstructure dichotomy. Related studies attempted to theorize the place of slavery in African societies (e.g. Meillassoux, 1975) and the links between modes of production, above all between the precapitalist and capitalist modes (e.g. Rey, 1971 and 1973).

The work of the French Marxists has been discussed and evaluated in a number of critiques (Clammer, 1975; Foster-Carter, 1978; Kahn and Llobera, 1981; Thompson, 1978), thus eliminating the need to cover the same ground. The following remarks are therefore confined to a few issues which are directly relevant to this study. The question of how to conceptualise the infrastructure/superstructure resulted in an interminable debate which ultimately proved fruitless. The definition of levels and their relationship to each other leads to a mechanistic conception of the social totality whereby the structures become the bearers of action. 'Social formation' raises a similar question of levels and their manner of articulation as well as of transition from one to another. It has often been applied to a political entity, such as the nation-state during the contemporary period; this is problematic because an articulated unity of modes of production does not necessarily fall neatly within the boundaries of a nation-state. In applying the concepts derived from Marx' analysis of capitalism to the study of precapitalist societies, Marxist scholars have encountered the same problem as the formalists: they have had to redefine concepts in ways which makes their utility questionable, frequently leading to semantic battles over their original or intended meaning. Moreover, as Copans (1982) has pointed out, the application of these concepts "westernizes theoretical reflection" and disregards the political context in which Capital was produced. This also applies

to 'precapitalist modes of production' for which knowledge has, for the most part, not become available until their articulation with capitalism so that we can only reconstitute them by way of extrapolation. 'Articulation', as developed by P.P. Rey, requires identification of the modes with which capitalism articulates and a periodization of the different stages in the transition to capitalism; it is often difficult to determine when a given phase has been reached and to explain why precapitalist modes have been so resistant. Rey's model is useful in stressing that the manifestation of capitalism in Third World countries is not due to its altered laws of motion but rather to its combination with local modes.

All of the theoretical approaches discussed so far have been criticized for their androcentrism. French neo-marxism has been taken on directly by Marxist feminists (Edholm, Harris, and Young, 1977 and 1981; Molineux, 1977); economic anthropology and peasant studies, though not singled out, fall within the general critique of a male bias in anthropology. In defense of French neo-marxism it must be said that, given its emphasis on assymetrical relations and conflict, women were not ignored even if the interpretation of women's subordination may be contested. In non-marxist anthropology, on the other hand, theoretical frameworks were constructed from and for a male point of view.

Outline of a Framework for Analysis

The analytical framework to be outlined here falls within the category of Marxist approaches discussed above. Its specific features are an attempt to overcome some of the problems raised in the discussion. The questions posed at the beginning of the chapter --How do we account for the contemporary form of Sana Bambara society and what are its underlying dynamics?-- are questions about structure and process. In trying to answer them I have found the work of Anthony Giddens (1979; 1981; 1982; 1984) and Pierre Bourdieu (1976; 1977) particularly helpful. Both consider practice, or 'human agency', to be central to the production and reproduction of social life. Their approach eliminates the dualism 'individual-society' which underlies much social science thinking. I will outline some of its basic assumptions since they are integral to

the analysis of Sana Bambara society.

Giddens (1981) departs from the premise that "social life consists in regularised social practices" and points out that

> life is not experienced as 'structures', but as duree of day-to-day existence, in the context of conventions ordered above all on the level of practical consciousness (p.150).

In contrast with those who adopt a methodological individualist perspective on action, Giddens (1979) does not take the intentional character of human action to refer to

> an articulation of discrete and separate 'intentions', but [to] a continuous flow of intentionality in time; [nor should it] be treated as a set of conscious states that in some way 'accompany' action. Only in the reflexive act of attention are intentions consciously articulated: normally within discourse (p. 40).

Bourdieu would seem to concur with this in principle for he says that although action may be organised as strategies, these strategies do not necessarily presuppose strategic intent. He locates action in the 'habitus' which he defines as a "system of dispositions" produced by the structures of a particular social and material environment. Bourdieu and Giddens assume that social actors are knowledgeable about their social world and the way in which it is reproduced even if they are unable to articulate this body of knowledge. Giddens, therefore, distinguishes between 'discursive consciousness', knowledge which actors are able to express in discourse, and 'practical consciousness' which involves tacit knowledge.

Bourdieu' and Giddens' insistence on the knowledgeability of social actors does not imply that they see people as making the world just as they please. Actions may have unintended consequences and, in addition, people are not aware of all the forces that bear on their actions. This qualification of practice informed by knowledgeability is crucial to the conceptualisation of the relationship between social reproduction and transformation because it implies that the potential for change is inherent in all action. It differs from those approaches which identify change only with actual breaks in practices and institutions.

Social reproduction and transformation also relate to the differential application of rules and resources. In day-to-day interaction, people activate prerogatives or obligations connected with the social positions they occupy. They draw on rules and resources, but this does not mean that rules can be analysed in terms of their own content. Bourdieu emphasizes that the regularity of practices is not to be seen as the result of fixed rules. Rules exist only in connection with --and are reproduced through-- action. For Giddens, the social world is predictable, that is, it takes on its routine character, because of actors' knowledgeable application of rules and resources. At the same time, knowledgeable application of rules and resources is not synonymous with accepting them, or any of their aspects, as legitimate.

The utilisation of resources in interaction relates directly to structures of domination. Giddens distinguishes between two types of resources: authoritative and allocative. The former refer to capabilities involved in the command over persons, or what Bourdieu calls 'symbolic power', and the latter refer to command over aspects of the material environment (e.g. natural resources, tools, or finished products). Resources are drawn upon in the exercise of power at least at the level of practical consciousness but also, to a greater or lesser extent, at the level of discursive consciousness. People in different social positions and at different levels of society are connected by relations of autonomy-dependence as a result of their differential control of resources.

Different types of social systems are characterised by different structures of domination, that is, by different combinations of authoritative and allocative resources. These must be determined empirically, though Giddens suggests that until the emergence of capitalism, control of authoritative resources has generally predominated. At first glance, this position would seem to lead us back to the much criticized typology of bands - tribes chiefdoms - states, but this need not be so. Collier and Rosaldo's (1981) recent exploration, while posited as an ideal type, indicates a direction to pursue. By emphasizing that production relations are central in all social forms, Marxists have projected the characteristics of

capitalism onto all societies (Baudrillard, 1973). For Giddens, the control of allocative resources is of central importance only in capitalism. This is an issue which will be raised in the conclusion following the analysis of structure and process in Sana Bambara society.

There is another dimension of capitalism which distinguishes it from other forms of society, namely in the way space and time enter into practice; both become commodities. The commodification of time is particularly significant because it is the basis both for the expansion in the production of commodities and for the commodification of labor.

> Time as lived time, as the substance of the lived experience of duree of Being, becomes accompanied by the separated dimension of time as pure or 'formless duration'. With the expansion of capitalism, this is what time seems to come to be, just as money seems to be the universal standard of value of all things. Time as pure duration, as disconnected from the materiality of experience, comes to be perceived, in direct opposition to the actual state of things, as real, 'objective' time, because like money it is expressed in a universal and public mode. This universal and public mode, again like money, is nothing other than its own quantification as a standard measure standing at the axis of a host of transformation /mediation relations. The commodification of time, and its differentiation from further processes of the commodification of space, hold the key to the deepest transformations of day-to-day social life that are brought about by the emergence of capitalism (Giddens 1981, p. 131).

It will be shown that space and time are not yet commodified in Sana; a fact that has implications for structures of domination, for the rhythms of productive activity, for the organisation of time-space paths in day-to-day life, and ultimately for the formation of social identity. Life is not yet penetrated by relations of absence to the same extent as in mature capitalist structures where advanced forms of telecommunication and writing make possible the bridging of time and space. In non-capitalist societies, including those where power is/was centralised, control does/did not penetrate people's day-to-day lives in the way it does under capitalism. Giddens ascribes this to the limited nature of time-space mediations which expand only with the emergence of money-capital and the commodification of labor. As long as time, space, and labor are not commodified awareness of time is bound up with 'tradition', "understood simply as how things were, are (and should be) done. .../...As time becomes

acknowledged as a distinguishable phenomenon in its own right, and as inherently quantifiable, it also of course becomes regarded as a source and an exploitable resource (Giddens 1981, p. 200)."

In Sana, interaction is still dominated by face-to-face encounters. This is important because of the way space becomes part of interaction through the use of body language and locale. Various aspects of context, including what has gone before and anticipated future events, enter into the communication of meaning in an encounter. In societies such as the one to be examined participants in a social encounter are also aware of --or establish-- each other's histories as members of a kin group, which itself is tied to a circumscribed space. According to Giddens, "...the reflexive monitoring of action includes the monitoring of the setting of interaction, and not just the behavior of the particular actors taken separately (1979, p.57)."

Giddens' notion of 'time-space edges' is useful in conceptualizing the formation of Sana Bambara society, its continuing relationships with other societies, and the contemporary links of the province with other sectors of the Malian nation-state and beyond. Contact between social systems whose organisation rests on different structural principles, along 'time-space edges', becomes integral to those societies. Such a conceptualization eliminates the debate over the external or internal origin of change as well as the dualism of a 'folk-urban' continuum or a 'traditional/modern' dichotomy. It also discourages comparisons between contemporary Third World nations, or sectors thereof, and European society during earlier centuries which were made by evolutionist thinkers (as exemplified by the early explorers discussed in the previous chapter) and which are still often made by development personnel today. Although phenomena or processes may appear similar, they have very different implications today and must be interpreted within the context of contemporary relationships.

This raises the final point, namely the need to situate events and processes in Sana in a broader context. Despite the objections already raised, I would like to retain the notion of a world system akin to Wallerstein's concept of a world

economy without subscribing to the linkages he posits or to the nature of historical process implied. All contemporary states, including those governed by a socialist ideology, are affected by capitalist processes of accumulation though the nature of linkages and the trends of these processes depend not only on capitalist laws of motion but also on state policies and on class struggles within states, including cultural resistance to penetration by the relations of absence inherent in commodification.

The theoretical concepts outlined above underlie the account which follows. For the contemporary period, transformations in the conceptualization and use of time–space and the commodification of labor will serve as foci of analysis.

CHAPTER III

SANA BAMBARA SOCIETY: FORMATION AND REPRODUCTION

Sana is a socio-historical space which its inhabitants demarcate somewhat loosely in opposition to Kala in the north, ba kɔ̀ ("behind the river") in the south, Masina[1] in the east, and Segu in the west. Bambara of this area refer to themselves as Sana denw ("children of Sana"), an appellation which implies shared common traditions. Anw fè Bamananw yan ("among us Bambara here") is a phrase often used to preface an explanatory statement about customs; it emphasizes the specificity of local traditions while at the same time distinguishing Bambara from other "social species" (si)[2] who inhabit Sana. Bambara constitute the majority population and define themselves in opposition to Bozo, Fulani, Marka, nyamakala (endogamous occupational groups), and foroba fulaw (descendants of the Segu kings' herders).

This chapter examines the historical conditions under which Sana Bambara society was constituted and reproduced. It covers a time span of several hundred years beginning some time in the 16th, and possibly the 15th century, until the colonial conquest in 1890-1892. The conquest by French military forces represents a significant break not because it spelled a radical transformation for Sana but rather because of the nature of the conquering power and the long-term implications of conquest. The precolonial era is divided into three major periods: Songhai/Arma, Segu Bambara, and Futanke. Each of these refers to a major power into whose orbit Sana fell without, however, being in the central zone of any of these. The periods of Songhai/Arma and Segu Bambara hegemony correspond with the settlement of Sana, i.e. the social and physical appropriation of a circumscribed space, and the emergence of traditions that define Sana Bambara society. Though this would constitute 'formation' of society in the restricted sense, it is not taken to mean that

formation and reproduction can be separated in time. Formation inevitably involves the reproduction of practices. Similarly, reproduction involves both re-creation and creation.

The extent to which social identity is bound up with space and time becomes evident when attempting to reconstruct the history of Sana villages. The village chief (dugutigi), as the descendant and head of the founding lineage, has the prerogative to recount village history. He may, in fact, not be the most knowledgeable person and may refer the questioner to other elders but respect demands that he be asked first. Because village history brings internal divisions out into the open, it is often difficult to discuss the past in villages where the headmanship has been usurped or where interlineage conflict is pronounced. Moreover, the dignity and social standing of villagers is closely linked with their past - Bambara, unlike Marka or Fulani, do not acknowledge slave descent publicly - so that there is often a reluctance to relate the history of another village. One elder with considerable knowledge about Sana history declined to divulge what he knew about the history of villages other than his own, stating that village history 'belongs' to each village; outsiders only discuss it in the event of conflict, i.e. if the need for mediation arises.

The emergence of Sana Bambara society must be pieced together from oral data obtained in discussions with Bambara elders and used in connection with secondary sources which are also based on oral history. Archival records dating back to the early colonial period do not include any surveys of Sana and attempts at historical reconstruction (e.g. Bellat, 1893) concentrate on Sinsanni and the activities of neighboring chiefs. Moreover, historical information contained in colonial documents is derived from interviews and oral traditions.

Songhai/Arma

The Songhai empire emerged in the Niger bend during the second half of the 15th century. It conquered Jenne under the leadership of Sonni Ali and used the city as a base to attack the Mali empire (Hunwick, 1976). Askia Muhammad,

Sonni Ali's successor, expanded the frontiers but without being able to gain control over the Mali heartland. While Mali declined, Songhai itself fell prey to the invading Moroccan army in 1591 (Levtzion, 1973). Members of the army intermarried with local women and their descendants came to be known as Arma. By 1632 already the Arma were no longer under Moroccan control though they were also unable to develop an effective system of administration in the area once subject to Songhai authority (Willis, 1976).

Jean Bazin (personal communication) suggests that the founding of Kuabugu may date back to the 16th, if not the 15th century. Beginning at this time Sana, and the area north of the Niger in general, was probably settled by successive waves of warriors and mercenary recruits from areas south of the Niger and Bani rivers who had been engaged to escort Marka trading caravans. Hence, the 'Bambara' of Sana, Kala, and Monimpe (to the east) may be people of varying origin who distinguished themselves from Muslims in their adherence to animism.

The early history of the area shades into a mythical past about which little is remembered. The prevailing image is that of an unpopulated fertile land with many shea trees and game aplenty. A member of the Kuabugu founding lineage suggested that Kwoke, the founder, along with his family and captives, came from Kaarta. Hence, the name of the village is a deformation of Kwokebugu, rather than of Kwabugu (kwa being a dialectal version of kòɡò, salt) as is sometimes put forth by outsiders. The original village was destroyed as a result of warfare and then rebuilt by the great-great grandfather of the current village chief. The Kaarta origin, however, seems to be at odds with the fact that a second branch of the founding lineage established a nearby settlement, which was known as Mpekolobugu. Mpekolobugu is still listed in colonial census records as a subunit of Kuabugu but is now the administrative entity of Jongo. Mpe is a Minyanka name, pointing to an origin south of the Bani river. A member of the Jongo chiefly family asserted that the ancestors had come from south of the River and installed themselves at Kuabugu. The contingent was large and included many hunters. Some members of the group moved on into Kala to establish

themselves there while some founded Mpekolobugu nearby. The only other villages which existed during this early period were Sanamadugu-Markala, Mandine, and Dli; Mandine is located approximately two km downstream from Sinsanni and Dli, located further inland, was destroyed prior to the colonial conquest and never rebuilt. These settlements are widely cited as being the first in the area. In speaking of relations between these villages, people say that they "responded to/answered each other" (u ye nyɔgɔn jaabi) and that they obtained fire from each other when the fire went out in one of the villages.

The traditions of the founding lineage of Sibila, a 'Marka' village only 2 km from Kuabugu, maintain that at the time of their settlement the area was unpopulated. The founders relocated to the heart of Sana from Sanamadugu, a village to the northwest at the border with Kala, from where they trace their line to Mande Balanzan. Oral history links the name Sanamadugu to the first massa (master/king) Mama, i.e. Sana - Mama Dugu, the "town of Mama of Sana". According to Monteil (1924, p.13) madugu means "place, residence of the king" and Sana refers to the territorial circumscription of the administrative seat. Since the chiefly lineage traces its origin to the Mande heartland, Sanamadugu may well have been established as an outpost of the Mali empire. With the claim that Sana 'belonged' to the massa of Sanamadugu the founders of Sibila, as his descendants, consider themselves the first occupants and, therefore, the stewards of the land.

This version of first settlement is contested by Bambara oral history. Elders from various Bambara villages confirm the assertion of Kuabugans that the establishment of Kuabugu is anterior to that of Sibila and that, in fact, Sibila was founded on the field of a Kuabugan (some suggest that it was the field of a slave) whose name was Sibila.[3] This would make the founding lineage of Kuabugu the rightful stewards of the land. According to one elder, Kuabugans used to manifest their precedence by symbolically cultivating the public place (feere) of Sibila each year whereupon the people of Sibila would ask to retain the land for another year. Sibila was then required to pay the konnyin nyɔ ("key millet") in

recognition of the fact that the land belonged to Kuabugu and to provide sacrificial animals for the annual fertility rites. This acknowledgement of anteriority may have changed over time since a younger household head merely relates that Kuabugans used to go to Sibila on the 10th day of each jominè kalo (i.e. the Bambara New Year) to manifest their claim by burning the refuse; each year the people of Sibila asked permission to stay.

The claims of both sides may not be without basis. No one disputes the antiquity of Sanamadugu and the relationship between Sibila and Sanamadugu, hence the anteriority of Sanamadugu; Kuabugu may have been settled before Sibila, thus being in a position to claim de facto anteriority as opposed to the de jure anteriority of Sibila through its link with Sanamadugu. This unresolved claim to first occupancy is also evidenced in archival sources, corroborated by oral data, which indicate that both Kuabugu and Sibila asserted the right to arbitrate a land case during the late colonial period on the basis of perceived anteriority.

Other Sana villages are not ranked with respect to time of emplacement. Sinsanni[4] traditions trace its foundation back to a Muslim cleric who obtained the right to settle from the Sibila massa some time after the dispersion from Wagadu (ancient Ghana) and a pilgrimage to Mecca. Sinsanni, Sibila, and Sanamadugu-Markala are all mentioned in the Tarikh Es-Sudan, written by Ben 'Amir Es-Sadi around 1650. In his capacity of government secretary for his native Timbuktu he travelled as far south as Sana and even maintained a household in Sibila. The three 'Marka' villages had a mosque at the time of his visit, hence at least a small Muslim congregation. Es-Sadi, for whom the 'Bambara' were 'pagan hordes', provides no details concerning the population of the province or the local way of life. However, he reports that during his return from Sibila to Jenne in February 1645, he learned that the Bambara of the area[5] rebelled against the chief[6] of Sana and destroyed Sibila.

The three Bambara villages of Kajona, Sungo, and Soalebugu also appear to have been founded before Sana was incorporated into the Segu Bambara state. Kajona traces its origin to Mpejona in Minyankala, though the circumstances of

migration have not been retained. Its founders asked Kuabugu for land and were shown the area of their current location because it had many sunsun trees (Diospyros mespiliformis); sunsun are said to have medicinal qualities beneficial for babies and the Kajona settlers included nursing women. Sungo was established near Sinsanni and eventually led to the creation of a new settlement when two blacksmith brothers relocated to their cultivation camp. This came to be known as Sooribugu from ka soori, to insert. Later Sooribugu was transformed to Soalebugu, as it is currently known. Soalebugu is still largely a blacksmith village, though the blacksmiths were eventually joined by some Bambara lineages, one of whom gained the chieftaincy.

In the process of the establishment of villages in Sana a previously undifferentiated space became regionalized and identified with the groups who claimed it. The meshing of time and space was most acute with respect to the first occupant, both of the province and of each village, and entered into the conduct of social relations between and within villages. Popular memory has not preserved how life in these early village communities was organised or how they related to each other. It is also unclear in what ways the 'Marka' of this period differed from the 'Bambara' and why these two groups maintained or came to develop separate traditions. Sanamadugu and Sibila were villages founded by chiefly lineages massa duguw but do not claim a Marka jè (i.e. Soninke) origin as does Sinsanni. Much like Sinsanni, they are nevertheless generally regarded as Marka villages and consider themselves as such. Islam could not have been a decisive factor in a developing Marka identity since the Sanamadugu-Sibila founding lineage had not converted during this period and did not do so until considerably later. Bazin (1972) considers suggestions that the Marka identification is linked to recent conversion to be post facto rationalization and notes that the development of a Marka identity in these and similar communities can no longer be traced.

Members of the 'Bambara' as well as the 'Marka' communities practiced horticulture, gathered, hunted, and occasionally fished in rivulets or standing

bodies of water. Bozo fishermen settled in villages along the river Niger, traded their fish against agricultural products, and ferried people across the River. Fulani herdsmen probably transhumed in the area. Given the long history of occupational specialization in Senegambia and its hinterland, it is likely that nyamakala became attached to the village communities early on. This meant that blacksmiths (numuw) manufactured and repaired agricultural and war implements while their women made pottery. Men of the woodworker caste (kule) men cut down large trees and used the wood to build boats for the fisherpeople; kule women mended calabashes. Leatherworkers (garankèw) tanned hides from which they made harnesses for horses and sandals.

Despite the paucity of oral data on this period, it is evident that Bambara traditions did not emerge in isolation. The relations which developed with members of other groups became integral to the structuration of Bambara society itself. During the 17th century Sana was not subject to domination by any outside power, although local cultivators may have entered into confrontations with bands of invaders or may themselves have taken up arms against others. Neither the tarikhs nor oral history give any indication why the 'Bambara' rebelled against the Sana massa in 1645 and how this altered their relationship with him.

Sana and the Segu Bambara State.

The development of a state dominated by Bambara dynasties contributed to the shaping of Sana Bambara society. In whatever way 'Bambara' defined themselves prior to the 18th century, the appellation took on a new meaning in the process of state formation. Although Sana was outside the central zone of the kingdom, 'Bambara' cultivators became subject to state authority and were drawn into predatory activities organised by the state. Three villages - currently the largest Bambara communities of Sana - were created under the auspices of the king (faama). Moreover, other social groups came to play distinct roles in relation to the state. Socio-spatial boundaries thus were redefined and social practice became recontextualized.

The origins of the Segu State are linked to Biton (Mamari) Kulubali and his age set. Already in the mid-17th century a Kulubali lineage from Markaduguba near Segu tried to expand its authority by force but was unable to sustain whatever conquests it may have made (Delafosse, 1912; Monteil, 1924). Biton, a descendant of this same lineage, became the 'founder' of the Segu Bambara State when he and his age mates established themselves as an independent unit. The social context of the events leading up to this separation requires further research. Extant traditions (e.g. Monteil, 1924; Roberts, 1978) agree that Biton, as leader (tòn tigi) of his youth association (kamalen tòn), came into conflict with Marka tòn members and with village elders. He was banned from his village as a result but was joined in exile by his agemates. They organized raids on surrounding communities and soon found their ranks increased by men who asked to join of their own accord or whose freedom they purchased (men who had committed crimes, fallen into debt bondage, etc.); these became "captives of the association" (tòn jònw). One Kulubali branch resisted Biton's authority, who arrogated to himself the powers of an absolute ruler (faama), and migrated westward into Kaarta where they established a ruling dynasty which came to be known as the Massassi Kulubali. Biton Kulubali and his tòn jònw extended their raids over an ever larger territory and were able to gain control from Nyamina to Jenne. Curtin (1975) has argued that the Segu Bambara State emerged because of the demand for slaves on the Atlantic Coast.

Delafosse (1912) and Monteil (1924) date the rise of Biton Kulubali to the years 1660-1670 and his death to 1710. They differ with respect to the sequence and chronology of his succession: Delafosse (1912) suggests that the Kulubali dynasty collapsed in 1740 and was followed by 10 years of power struggles between the tòn jònw; Monteil (1924) has the Kulubali replaced by 12 years of tòn jònw rule beginning in 1736 and followed by only two years of anarchy from 1748-1750. More recent researchers (e.g. Tauxier, 1942; Paques, 1954; Willis, 1976; Roberts, 1978) put the emergence of the Segu State under Biton at about 1712, Biton's death and the collapse of the dynasty in 1754/5, and the period of interregnum from about 1755 or 1757 to 1766. The latter

dates will be retained for the purpose of this study.

The potential for instability was inherent in the structure of the state. Although Delafosse (1912) asserts that Biton Kulubali divided the area under his control into 60 'states', each administered by tòn jònw, the economic foundation of the new state did not rest on tribute. Instead, prosperity was predicated on success in warfare: the taking of booty and of captives. Bazin (1974) has identified three types of predatory activities: 1)kèlè, an organised military campaign coordinated by the faama and the tòn jòn chief appointed to head the operation; 2)so boli, a raid by a party of professional warriors into a zone not subjected to Segu but undertaken with the king's agreement; and 3)jadò, one or more (but usually less than 10) individuals who raided clandestinely anywhere where booty could be obtained quickly. Since jadòw took place behind the king's back, so to speak, and could be directed against nearby villages, captives were generally sold as rapidly as possible. The booty taken in soboliw or kèlèw had to be turned over to the faama. After a successful expedition the king retained anywhere from 1/2 to 2/3 of the slaves taken and handed the remainder over to the leader of the tòn jònw who, in turn shared down. The tòn jònw tended to marry some of the women taken but otherwise sold most of their captives for goods of consumption such as salt, kola, tobacco, or cloth. The king disposed of his captives according to need at any given point in time: children were often inserted into his elite guard (sofaw) while adult slaves replenished the ranks of the tòn jònw; some captives were made to cultivate alongside the wives of tòn jònw, others became foroba fulaw who tended his herds, and yet others were given to the Somono who controlled river transport; the remainder were sold and the proceeds used to purchase luxury goods, weapons, and other necessities for the conduct of war (Bazin 1972, 1974). Given his dependence on the tòn jònw the king was vulnerable to intrigue; the very legitimation of his power was based on military success and the redistribution of wealth generated through predation. A diminution in the spoils of war was bound to lead to discontent. Roberts (1978) has suggested that the downfall of the Kulubali dynasty may have been facilitated by a dry cycle which prevailed in the Western Sudan from about

1740–1750 and which made military campaigns less lucrative ventures.

The man who emerged victorious from the years of anarchy in 1766 was Ngolo Jara, a slave who had been pawned to Biton Kulubali as a child (Monteil, 1924). He established a strong central authority, reconquered territories lost during the interregnum, and even expanded state boundaries. Rather than leaving administration up to the tòn jònw, he put each of his five sons in charge of one of the cantons of the central zone: Niankoro at Segu Koro, Mamuru at Segu Sikoro, Nji at Bambugu, Jokèlè at Kirango, and Monzon at Mpeba (Delafosse, 1912). Under Ngolo Jara, trade in the Middle Niger region expanded considerably. Sinsanni and Nyamina, together with secondary Marka towns, were the foci of exchange for the Segu kingdom. They also received special protection from the faama. Their traders supplied the warrior sector with goods and provided an outlet for the human 'commodities' produced by it. This division of labor between Marka and Bambara generated an ideology that justified the position of each within the state: Marka were peaceful traders motivated by a desire for wealth and comfort while Bambara were warriors for whom honor mattered more than anything and who kept their possessions to a minimum so as not to fear death in battle (Bazin, 1972). Although not all Marka were Muslims, they were identified with Islam whereas Bambara were identified with animism. Most Bambara faamaw had resident marabouts who were to ensure their power through magico-religious practices; at the same time, they jeopardized their position if they appeared too sympathetic to Islam (Bazin, 1972).

Aside from the Marka, another group benefitted from the consolidation of power under Ngolo and his successors. These were the Somono, people who originated from various ethnic groups and who gained progressive control of the River. In contrast with the Bozo, who speak a distinct language, the Somono speak Bambara. They paid a tax in cowries and fish to the faama and provided the state with transportation for people and goods. The king supplied them with slaves in return and gave them immunity from raiding (Roberts, 1981).

Similarly, a new category of herders, the foroba fulaw, emerged. The designation fula does not refer to a Fulani ethnic origin but rather to their occupation: they were slaves employed in herding the king's cattle. They came to speak Bambara but adopted some Fulani characteristics.

Sana Bambara make no clear distinction between the Kulubali and the Jara periods of the Segu State and generally refer only to 'the time of the Segu faama'. Delafosse (1912) contends that Biton Kulubali annexed Sana after having conquered the right bank all the way to Jenne but oral evidence indicates that Sana was never an integral part of the Kulubali state. Only the founding lineage of Gumakoro traces its settlement in Sana to the Kulubali reign. According to their tradition Wara Cèkoro, an army chief (kèlè massa) of Biton at Tio, was given 500 arrows and 500 guns (i.e. 1000 people) by the faama to cross the Niger and establish himself on the left bank. The newcomers displaced the cultivators already installed there and the latter moved to their cultivation camp which they called Gumabugu. The chiefly lineage of Gumabugu concurs that their move took place during the time of the Kulubali; in recounting their history they merely note that they relocated to Gumabugu from Gumakoro under pressure from the newcomers, but they do not cite any origin beyond Gumakoro. Roberts (1978) reports that Tio and Tayo, joined by Sinsanni, rebelled against Biton Kulubali around 1753. This would suggest that Wara Cèkoro remained loyal to Segu and did not make common cause with the rebels.

The succession of Gumakoro village chiefs makes such an early installation doubtful unless they all enjoyed exceptionally long periods of headship. An elder from another village suggested that Wara Cèkoro was an ally of Monzon, son of Ngolo Jara, and aided him in an expedition to the West; returning victorious, he received a slave contingent from the king with which he was asked to install himself on the other side of the River. This expedition to the West may have been Monzon's campaign against his brother Niankoro and the latter's Kaarta allies. Ngolo Jara had died in 1790 and, having been preceded in death by his eldest son Nji, Monzon was rightful heir to the kingship. His brothers, however,

contested the succession and a struggle for power ensued. Niankoro called on Dese Kulubali of Kaarta for help; Dese arrived at Nyamina in 1792 and destroyed the town. Monzon defeated his enemies, retook Nyamina, and continued on a successful campaign into Kaarta (Roberts, 1978). It is therefore possible that the resettlement of Gumakoro and the founding of Gumabugu occurred after the 1792 campaign rather than about 40 years earlier.

An installation of Wara Cèkoro at Gumakoro following Monzon's defeat of his brothers would also accord with the claim of the Guma founding lineage that their ancestors had the obligation to protect Sinsanni and Sibila. The founding lineage of Sibila occupied the position of deli massa, that is, they had magico-ritual powers: they sent blessings to Segu for the Bambara New Year (jomìnè) and acted as mediators in conflicts. Sinsanni had developed into a flourishing center of trade which was vital to the economy of the Segu State. In the 1780s Sidi Baba of Sokolo led an expedition of Fulani and Bambara from the North against Sinsanni; Roberts (1978) contends that the Segu garrison at Bambugu under Nji repelled Sidi Baba, and Nji was killed in this effort, but oral tradition credits a Sinsanni woman, Minata Cissè, with saving the town. Bazin (1972) further suggests that Sidi Baba ravaged Sana; Bambara oral history, on the other hand, links his name only with the destruction of Sanamadugu-Markala and the submission of Sungo.

In the process of consolidating state control, Monzon installed 12 tòn jòn villages. Three of these - Monimpebugu under Siriman, Sarala under Bela, and Kaban (later Pogo) under Nsan Kura - received the sabre (muru), authorising them to form an army and declare war independently of the king but with the understanding that they were to deliver a share of the booty. This accords with Kesteloot's (1978) suggestion that in order to administer his vast possessions, Monzon had to fall back on a kind of governor system. Two of the other nine villages settled under the orders of the faama were in Sana: Sanamadugu-Bamana, less than one km from Sanamadugu-Markala at the border between Sana and Kala, and Tin, to the southeast of Kuabugu toward the River. Both of these

villages trace the origin of their founders to the Bendugu. Settled in Sana they were to protect the Segu State against invading Fulani from the North and East. Their inhabitants cultivated a collective field (foroba) whose harvest was stored to be used as rations for the warriors in the event that they were called upon to participate in a military expedition. They sent periodic reports to Segu and Sanamadugu also kept a nearby cattle park of the faama under surveillance.

The remaining Bambara villages (hòròn duguw) of the province paid an annual tax (di sòngò, "the price of honey") in cowries and supplied warriors for military expeditions upon request. They received a share of the booty if they were called up for dry season expeditions but they were not authorized to engage in any raids of their own. This prohibition on raiding is confirmed by elders from Tin and Sanamadugu who also contend that members of hòròn duguw who disregarded the prohibition were required to share the spoils with them. Only Sanamadugu and Tin, because they had been installed by the faama, had the right to engage in so boli. It is unclear to what extent these norms were adhered to because Sana Bambara assert that so yaala or so boli (the two terms are used synonymously) were a common occurrence. They note that a kind of rivalry existed between Sana and neighboring Kala over the prowess of their warriors. Kala Bambara were generally considered to be more courageous and enduring, partly ascribed to the harsher conditions - low population density, few wells - under which they grew up.

Arms used in predatory activities consisted of lances, sabres, bows and arrows, and guns. Arrow poison was prepared by the user himself, but the other weapons were manufactured by local blacksmiths. Blacksmiths engaged in slave raiding and owned slaves, though not all of them taught their captives how to work iron. European firearms did probably not become readily available in the area until after the emergence of the Segu Bambara state and the development of Sinsanni as a commercial entrepot. Even during the 19th century, however, Sana Bambara men may have relied more on locally manufactured weapons.

Captives taken in raids or obtained through military campaigns were sold or incorporated into the household. Slaves who were used in production but proved recalcitrant or rebellious were sold. Such individuals were often simply asked to serve as porters to the market and only learned of their fate in the course of the negotiations accompanying their sale. Although slaves could be bought and sold at Sinsanni and Sibila, Niaro, located to the east of Sana proper, is remembered as the slave market par excellence. The founders of Niaro are a branch of the Sibila founding lineage who, unlike their kinsmen, did not adhere to the taboo on fighting in battle or engaging in slave raiding. Through the "spilling of blood" they were transformed from deli massaw into kèlè massaw, i.e. warriors, and thus lost their special status. Their weekly market developed into a vital slave market, frequented in particular by Moors from the North. Among Sana Bambara, the synonym for Niaro was jòn tè gwan la ("the slave is not hot here") because slaves could be sold quickly; slaves taken there rarely remained unsold. Jòn tè gwan la also became a euphemism since it was thought to be a bad omen to pronounce Niaro, especially in the morning. This was most certainly due to the fact that Sana Bambara themselves could be taken captive and sold at Niaro by raiders who invaded from the East and from Kurumari country to the North. If members of a household, particularly children, were ambushed, household heads often sent a representative to Niaro in the hope of finding and redeeming the lost person before (s)he could be moved out of the area.

Some Bambara households owned no slaves at all while others owned a few and some 10 or more. Slave ownership most likely fluctuated over time but, overall, tòn jòn villages had more slaves than the others. This suggests that they engaged in raiding to a greater extent than the hòròn duguw. Slaves were incorporated into the household to work alongside their masters. Adult slaves were able to retain their own names, only children received new names. Slave status did not efface gender identity so that male slaves carried out tasks considered appropriate for men and female slaves those appropriate for women. Only rarely did a lineage excuse its women from agricultural labor because it had so many slaves that women's labor was expendable; and only among wealthy

Bambara or in the tɔ̀n jɔ̀n villages did weaving become denigrated to the point that it was left entirely up to their slaves; these Bambara asserted that 'a Bambara foot is made for the stirrup of a horse and not for the stirrup used in weaving'. Well-to-do Bambara gave their daughters a slave at the time of marriage. Women taken as captives in raids were often married by their captors or a member of the captor's lineage. Oral data, in fact, indicates that Sana Bambara were more likely to retain or purchase female slaves to be incorporated as wives than to accumulate male slaves as units of labor. This would corroborate the findings of Klein (1983) for other areas of the Western Sudan. Female captives could also be given in marriage to a slave of the household since it was incumbent on the household head to find wives for his male slaves. The bride price for a slave woman, paid to her owner, was higher than for a free woman and signalled her lack of kin ties. The offspring of free Bambara men and their slave wives became free members of the household. Though they were formally integrated as descendants, it is likely that descent from a slave mother could become an issue in succession disputes, as is reported to have been the case in the succession struggle between Monzon and his brothers (Roberts, 1978).

Slaves could be purchased with cowries or in exchange for horses. The value of horses appears to have varied considerably over time as elders cite anywhere from three to ten slaves as exchange value for a horse. These figures, of course, were also influenced by the type and age of a horse as well as by the gender and age of a slave. Horses were raised in Sana and, given the raiding activities, horse ownership was a must. Not owning a horse was not only a sign of poverty but also a sign of poor social relations; horse owners could place a horse in the care of a friend or relative who then obtained some of the foals born to the horse. Horses occupied such a central place that praise songs were composed for them.

In contrast with the Bambara, Marka used slaves much more extensively in production. It has already been mentioned that Sinsanni developed into an

important commercial entrepot under Ngolo Jara. During his 1796 visit, Park (1883) was told that the town had 8000-10000 inhabitants which had increased to 11000 by the time of his second trip in 1805. He commented on the large Tuesday market which brought people in from the surrounding areas and noted that even on a daily basis a variety of items, from silver and amber to indigo, salt, and beer, were offered for sale (Anon., 1815). Sinsanni was a nodal point for trade with the desert-side as well as the south and east. Significantly, Sinsanni Marka did not concentrate on trade alone. In his detailed study of Sinsanni and its relationship to the Middle Niger political economy, Roberts (1978) has shown that Marka took advantage of the ready availability of slaves by expanding production. They employed slaves to establish plantations on which they cultivated millet, cotton, and indigo. Female slaves also spun cotton while male slaves wove cloth. As a result of the reliance on servile labor Marka developed a disdain for weaving and agricultural labor.

Sibila never rivalled Sinsanni in economic importance nor did its inhabitants become heavily involved in trade. They did, however, increase production through the use of slaves to a greater extent than surrounding Bambara communities. In Sibila as in other Marka communities slaves were not assimilated in the same manner as in the Bambara villages. The woloso section of Sibila still bears witness to the greater social distance between Marka and their slaves.

Tòn jònw and free Bambara cultivated millet, cotton, peanuts, and subsidiary crops which were interspersed with the others. Though oral history is silent on the way production was organised, it is likely that a variety of mutual aid arrangements prevailed. Men who were not away on military campaigns or raids during the agricultural off-season made mats, repaired houses and village wall, or wove; women spun cotton and pursued their domestic tasks. Bazin (1972, infra27) notes that certain Bambara groups in the Sinsanni area commercialised their agricultural surplus on a regular basis by selling to Moors from the North or to traders from Jenne. Households probably did trade surplus crops and women very likely sold cloth or brewed beer for sale without, however,

becoming fullfledged commodity producers. There is no memory of a glorious past or a period of prosperity coincident with the vitality of Sinsanni as a 'port of trade' during the late 18th and the first half of the 19th century. In fact, many elders held that Sinsanni market was small, or did not even exist, prior to the arrival of Mademba Sy in 1890 and that it only became important during the colonial period. This would seem to confirm that, despite the use of slave labor, Sana Bambara as a collectivity never produced for exchange on a scale significant enough to be remembered.

Aside from the establishment of Gumakoro, Tin, and Sanamadugu during the period of the Segu State, the hòròn villages probably underwent changes as kin groups relocated within the region or new settlers petitioned village chiefs to join their villages. Although the significant group of reference was the resident lineage, the patronym was shared by members of the same clan. Each clan recognized specific animal and plant totems. Clans are dispersed over a wide geographical area far beyond Sana and never unite in common action or for any ritual purpose. The most prevalent clan names in central Sana were Kulubali and Jara; these are considered "typical" Bambara surnames due to their association with the two dynasties of the Segu Bambara State. Certain clan names (e.g. Traore, Dembele) cut across ethnic boundaries. Each clan has a joking partner (senankun) whose members may heap ritual insults on one another. (Kulubali and Tangara, for example, are senankun.) Clan membership, as signified in the patronym, thus serves primarily to facilitate communication between strangers, both between individuals who are senankun and between individuals who belong to the same clan.

It is possible to conclude that the crystallization of a Sana Bambara identity is closely tied to socio-political developments during the years of the Segu State and especially the Ngolossi period. Yet despite a pan-Bambara identification through participation in predatory activities Sana Bambara society evolved dynamics particular to local conditions. State authority was relatively removed and did not intervene in day-to-day life. The hòròn villages were linked through

marriage alliances and some of them also through covenants (jow). Tin and Sanamadugu enjoyed a special relationship as tòn jòn villages and initially exchanged women primarily amongst themselves. Bazin (1974) asserts that hòròn were required to give women to tòn jònw; if correct, this would explain why hòròn villages entered into marriage exchanges with tòn jòn villages since the latter ranked lower than the former. It is nevertheless of interest that, up to the present, Kuabugu has no marriage alliances with Gumakoro even though they claim noble origin despite their installation by the faama.[7] Asking an old woman about the reason for this, she responded simply that 'in the past not all villages were equal' and that the 'intermingling' of villages is a contemporary phenomenon. Hence, Bambara differentiated themselves not only from other social groups but also from other Bambara. Within a village, further hierarchies were based on such categories as old established lineages / newcomers, free / unfree, men / women, and older / younger generation. Taboos (tnèw) circumscribed many activities. Some of these applied to everyone while others were peculiar to individual lineages. A married woman had to respect the taboos of her own lineage as well as those of her husband's lineage. Magico-religious practices permeated every sphere of life. Each household had an ancestor shrine (so kònò boli) which provided a tangible link with the ancestors. Beyond this, each village had a dasiri, a grove where the protective spirit of the village resided; the village made sacrifices as a collectivity but villagers could also propitiate it on a personal basis. In addition, secret societies were introduced into the villages by individual lineages including ndomo, komo, kònò, nama, and nya. Each village had a ndomo society for the uncircumcised boys. The distribution of the others varied, though men from one village could be initiated in another village if the society they favored did not exist at home. Kuabugu, for example, had only ndomo and nya; elders assert that their ancestors had made nya the boli of their choice and did not permit any other boliw in the village. Despite such differences between villages, a body of tradition emerged which was shared by Sana Bambara and which provided continuity over time.

Monzon was succeeded by his son Da in 1808. The rule of Monzon and his son constituted the high point of the Segu State during which state control was most developed. Beginning with the death of Da in 1827 and particularly after the death of his brother Cèfolo in 1839 the state became weaker as a result of strife and intrigue within the ruling dynasty. Tòn jòn factions gained strength at the expense of the central authority. Six Jara brothers took power in short succession during the following 22 years. Internal conflict was compounded by assaults on the margins of the state. With the establishment of an Islamic theocracy in Masina during the second decade of the 19th century, the eastern boundaries became more vulnerable (Brown, 1969). Especially in the 1850s Ahmadu III attacked the Segu State almost every year (Robinson, 1985). These conditions paved the way for the defeat of Ali Jara's army by Al Hajj Umar and his followers in 1860-1.

The Futanke Period.[8]

Sinsanni's position as a trading center was enhanced by the decline of Jenne in the late 1820s and its economy continued to thrive despite the splintering of state power (Roberts, 1978). This implies that the plantation sector did not come under serious attack by tòn jòn factions and that the major trade routes remained open. By extension, one may surmise that warfare did not increase in the Sinsanni hinterland, though the decline in state power was probably reflected in internal cleavages based on alliances with different factions at the state level. Bambara oral history provides no information on these years. It is clear, however, that no local warlord emerged. Sana became a veritable battlefield for two neighboring warlords only after the collapse of the Segu State and its conquest by Al Hajj Umar. The most authoritative study of Al Hajj Umar and his jihad to date is that of Robinson (1985). The following synopsis of the background to the defeat of Segu by Al Hajj Umar is drawn from this work.

Umar was born about 1797 in Futa Toro. He began his Koranic studies under his father and brother-in-law, then travelled and studied in the eastern Futa and in Futa Jalon and, in the late 1820s, performed the pilgrimage in Mecca

three times. Upon his return from Mecca he spent six years at Sokoto where he gained experience in politics, built up a group of followers, and married a daughter of the Caliph Muhammad Bello. He left Sokoto in 1838 and returned to Futa Jalon via Masina. After a trip through Senegambia to Futa Toro in 1846/47, he returned to Futa Jalon with many disciples and proceeded to move his community to the "pagan" kingdom of Tamba where he established a fortified settlement at Dingiray. Mounting tension led to an open confrontation with the king of Tamba; Umar emerged victorious and gained many new recruits as a result. He now prepared a campaign against Kaarta, at this time a "pagan" Bambara state, for which he received more recruits from Futa Toro and for which he enlisted others and established supply lines on his move through Bambuk, Bundu, and Khasso. Despite a confrontation with the French at Medine which disrupted his supply lines, he unseated the Massassi Kulubali of Kaarta during his 1855-56 campaign. Robinson suggests that, given French intervention in the area, an Umarian state consisting of Kaarta and Tamba was not viable, thus forcing plans for expansion to the east. In 1859 Umar left Nioro with 25000 soldiers, many of them inexperienced, and approximately 10000 women and children. Attacked by Beledugu Bambara at Markoya and short of food he ordered women and children to turn back, a command which amounted to a death sentence for many and which created discontent among his troops. Umar nevertheless pushed on, confronted and defeated the Segu army, led by the eldest son of Bina Ali, at Woitala. The surviving tɔ̀n jɔ̀nw joined Umar and the Somono pledged allegiance. Rather than crossing over to the other side to take Segu, he marched along the left bank and entered Sinsanni in October 1860. There, he took advantage of the city's resources to rest and replenish his troops.

In the face of the loss at Woitala and with Umar occupying Sinsanni, Bina Ali buried his enmity with Amadu of Masina and entered into an alliance with him. In return for protection and support against the Futanke, Ali agreed to pay tribute to Hamdullahi and to further the cause of Islam. He had mosques constructed in his garrison towns and hosted some Masina scholars who were to provide Islamic instruction and preside over the destruction of indigenous religious

objects, the prohibition of alcohol and the obligatory shaving of heads. Amadu, in turn, wrote a letter to Umar at Sinsanni urging him to leave the Middle Niger since "pagan" Segu had joined the Islamic fold. Umar responded by sending a delegation to Hamdullahi which made it clear that Umar did not believe the tale of Segu's conversion and which tried to convince the governing council of the validity of the jihad. Amadu and his council considered the shaikh's communication and decided in favor of open resistance. They sent their army to join the remaining soldiers of Segu and confront Umar on the right bank opposite Sinsanni. For two months the two armies faced each other without entering into combat but by the end of February 1861 some of Umar's troops crossed the River to respond to a presumed provocation. The following day Umar gave orders to cross the Niger and move on Segu. The opposing forces were caught by surprise so that the Futanke army took Segu without much fighting. Bina Ali fled east to Masina.

Umar established his people at Segu but was unable to build a solid economic foundation for Futanke rule. He reconfirmed his son Amadu as his successor while he himself continued to be preoccupied with finding a way to deal with Masina. In April of 1862 he led a campaign against Masina, routed the caliph and his people, and took control of Hamdullahi. Amadu lacked his father's authority and did not enjoy the same trust and loyalty of the latter's followers. His extraction of taxes fuelled local resentment and rebellion against the Futanke while Umar's war in Masina disrupted production and trade with the north. Sinsanni revolted in 1863, aided by Bambara from Sana and Kala; they repulsed the Futanke army but did not defeat it (Roberts, 1978). In Hamdullahi, Umar and his people were put under siege by Masinanke opponents; after being nearly starved to death he managed to escape with about 100 of his followers and fled into the cliffs of Banjagara. Most of his talibe surrendered to their pursuers but Umar and the 15 men with him perished in one of the caves where they had sought refuge. Considerable mystery surrounds Umar's death but Robinson concludes that his party was killed when their pursuers set fire at the mouth of the caves which then ignited their remaining powder reserves and exploded.

In 1864 Amadu's people attacked Sinsanni and subsequently put the city under siege. After a 72-day blockade, with surrender a near certainty, Amadu suddenly changed his priorities and returned to Segu (Mage, 1872). He made no further attempt to gain control of Sinsanni. Resistance from the Bambara throne in exile south of the Bani river and from areas north of the Niger that lay in the path of his supply line continued and he was never able to establish security. His talibe in garrison outposts were discontent with their lot and many of those in the capital wanted to return to Nioro and Senegambia. Talibe went on raids and took what they could get to make up for the deteriorating economic conditions and Amadu's reduced ability to redistribute wealth (Roberts, 1981). Finally, rivalries within the Tal family added to Amadu's problems so that he felt compelled to go to Nioro himself in 1885 and put his house in order. He would never return to Segu.

Sana Bambara have not preserved any accounts of their involvement in Sinsanni's rebellion, and memories of the Futanke period in general are fragmentary. Several elders knew that Al Hajj Umar made a pilgrimage to Mecca, that he passed through Masina on his return, that he eventually made war against Segu and that Ali went to Hamdullahi. A few elders suggested that talibe made razzias into the area. The memory linked with the Futakaw ("people of the Futa") above all is religious repression: Al Hajj and his people forbade sacrifices to boliw, banned the brewing and drinking of dòlò, and did not allow Bambara to wear their traditional pointed cap (bamada) and warriors their characteristic tuft of hair because these represented bamananya ("Bambarahood"). Villagers who were caught by wandering talibe infringing against these rules were liable to be killed or an entire village could be destroyed; warriors had their tuft of hair shaven off with a rock if they were found with it. These dangers led people to hide their boliw, often in trees in the bush, and to devise code language for finding out where millet beer was being brewed and ready to be drunk. Some elders concluded that bamananya itself was being combatted so that 'the Bambara were vanquished even before the arrival of the White Man'. It is unclear if these memories are based on word-of-mouth transmission of talibe actions in the

Segu area or if Futanke actually made periodic forays into the area, even after Sinsanni's last confrontation with Amadu in 1865, to destroy vestiges of indigenous religion. Robinson (1985) emphasizes that Umar's capacity and desire to implant Islam was limited and he was more concerned with simply dismantling "pagan" institutions. While there may not have been an outright attempt to establish Islam, the assault on indigenous institutions nevertheless posed a threat to Bambara identity. The significance of these memories therefore lies not in the accuracy with which they reflect local events but in the consistency with which they emphasize religious repression. They show that a Bambara identity had emerged in Sana and that the Futanke jihad threatened to undermine it.

The most vivid recollections of the time coinciding with Futanke rule are of the insecurity and divisiveness in the area. This insecurity is linked less with Futanke rule than with two warlords - N'To of Markaduguba to the Northwest and Bojugu[9] of Pogo to the North - who carried their rivalry into the area. According to Bellat (1893), the Bakka'i Kunta had a resident governor in Sinsanni. It was against this 'Moor domination' that N'To and Bojugu made common cause after 1865, rallying Sana Bambara villages behind them. Hostilities began when Kuabugu stopped one of the men of Bobo Cissè, then village chief of Sinsanni, and killed him, putting his head on the road to signal confrontation. The Marka of the area (including Sinsanni, Sanamadugu-Markala, Sibila, and Niaro) united and sent their columns against Bojugu and N'To; they were aided by Mabere Kano and his warriors as well as horsemen sent by Sheikh Bakka'i. After attacking N'To and Bojugu they made a punitive incursion against Kuabugu and killed 35 men there. Attacks and counter-attacks continued in this fashion, ravaging the area and leading to famine. Only after Abdul Salam, the Kunta governor, fled Sinsanni did fighting cease. Roberts (1978) argues that oral evidence does not support Bellat's assertion of the Kunta governorship in Sinsanni but that overall his reconstruction of the period appears to be correct; he nevertheless does not suggest an alternate source of conflict for the time in question.

The cessation of hostilities was not to last for long. Bojugu and N'To entered into conflict with each other over a question of succession to the Jara throne in exile. Again Bellat (1893) and Roberts (1978) differ somewhat concerning the details of the dispute, but both agree that the two became enemies. Bellat (1893) suggests that Sana Bambara villages were initially with Bojugu, who gave allegiance to Karamoko Jara when he succeeded his brother in 1878; however, after a meeting all except the villages established under the tutelage of the Segu king (Tin, Sanamadugu, Gumakoro) changed sides. Popular memory retains not one but numerous shifts in allegiance, sometimes opposing neighboring villages or even factions within one village. N'To as well as Bojugu are credited with powerful magic which allowed them to pass unnoticed when they wished; magic was also used against them as a measure of last resort.[10] The fighting disrupted production and devastated Sana. Villagers often did not set out for work in the fields without first consulting a diviner to find out if it was safe to do so. Going to market became a risky undertaking so that only "armed men and courageous women" dared do so. Old-established trade routes were abandoned as a result of the insecurity in the Middle Niger, thus undermining Sinsanni's position as a center of trade. Many Marka left Sinsanni so that the town was only a shadow of what it had been at the beginning of the century.

The Colonial Conquest

Ultimately it was not the magic powers associated with Bojugu and N'To which brought about the cessation of intra-regional hostilities but the military superiority of the French. The various factions in the Middle Niger were unable to put up a united resistance and Archinard entered Segu on April 6, 1890. The Tal family fled to Banjagara, joined there by Amadu who had left Nioro before it could be taken by the colonel. Archinard installed Mari Jara, the heir to the Bambara throne, as the new ruler under the guidance of a French resident. But within months Mari Jara was accused of plotting to kill the French resident and was summarily executed (Crowder, 1968). He was replaced by Bojan, a member of the Kaarta ruling dynasty who, however, was met with hostility by the local

population and commanded no allegiance. Bojan was therefore dismissed and a French commander put in his place. This ended the attempt at indirect rule for, as Monteil (1924) puts it, "direct administration appeared to be the indispensable safeguard of our interests (p.101)."

Archinard detached the left bank of the Niger east of Segu and combined it with Monimpe and Sarro to form the Royaume de Sansanding, governed from Sinsanni. N'To had submitted to the French and was left in charge of his home territory around Markaduguba, as were the chiefs of Sarro and Monimpe. All were subject to Mademba Sy whom Archinard had appointed to occupy the position of faama.[11] Mademba was a Senegalese who had served the French in various capacities and who had been to telegraph school in France (Roberts, 1978). Mademba's military support in Sinsanni consisted of a contingent of 2000 Futanke followers who had been taken prisoner by the French during the conquest of Kaarta. Mademba had considerable difficulty in establishing his authority over this force since many were resentful over their assignment to Sinsanni. Moreover, Sinsanni was devastated, lacking in provisions and accommodations, so that these Futanke had to spend their first rainy season in straw huts (ID55).

With Amadu Tal and his people in the East, Mademba was in a strategic position to provide intelligence information on their movements and to prevent their return. The French feared that the Futanke would cross over to the left bank and attempt to stir up trouble from the North. Although many of the village chiefs had come to pay their respects to Mademba, the area was fermenting under the surface. Mademba considered putting together a column of fighters to make a show of force but a number of villages in Kala rebelled before he could realize his plan. The French attributed the problems to a conspiracy on the part of Abderrahmane of Sokolo and of Minfa, successor of Bojugu at Pogo, whom they thought displeased over the limitations of their authority. El Hajj Buguni, a Fulani from the North, was credited with the actual leadership of the rebel forces. Unable to conduct an excursion into Kala to counter the rebels, Mademba

began to construct fortifications for Sinsanni. Rebellion did not remain confined to Kala. Mademba's letters to Segu (IE220) during the entire month of December 1891 showed his preoccupation with insubmission, revolt, or possible revolt.

The name linked with the revolt in Sana oral history is not El Hajj Buguni but "Mori Uli", the Oumarel Samba Donde of French archival documents and Fulbe tradition. Judging by written records, the French saw in him only a minor figure of the revolt while oral evidence suggests that he played a major role in rallying Sana rebels behind him.

Tradition has it that Umarel, a Futanke, and Madani, son of Amadu Tal, engaged in a horse race after the latter had fled to Banjagara from Segu. Madani won the race and publicly mocked his opponent. Oumarel responded by telling Madani that his victory came as no great surprise since his horse had, after all, run from Segu to Banjagara in a single day. This was an allusion to Madani's flight from the French and a grave insult to the young Tal. Amadu was prepared to execute Umarel but his advisors councilled him against such dramatic action, suggesting that he be sent on a difficult mission instead. Umarel was given a small troup of men and sent to fight the French.[12] He vowed that they might receive news of his death but never that he took flight. Following this promise he joined the left bank rebels.

Mori Uli's bases on the left bank were Tin and Dossigela, the latter located at the frontier between Sana and Kala. Sanamadugu, Jado, and Kuabugu were allied with the rebels while other Sana villages appear to have avoided direct involvement. Sibila and Gumakoro sided with Mademba and provided him with information about rebel movements. Mademba's monthly reports during the first part of 1892 (IE220) are filled with information about rebel activities. Sinsanni, Gumakoro, and Sibila were all attacked by the rebel forces. After repeated attacks on Sibila Mademba sent reinforcements recruited from the Bambara villages of Gumakoro, Gumabugu, Soalebugu, and Kajona supplied with ammunition. The situation became more tense during the month of May. Mademba attacked Tin in an attempt to rout Mori Uli and his supporters. When he ordered an

incursion against Kuabugu his men were unable to follow through because Gumabugu refused to provide guides. On the other hand, his men received reinforcements from all Bambara villages not openly allied with Mori Uli in an attack on Sanamadugu. Dossigela, Jado, and Kuabugu rallied to the aid of Sanamadugu. Mademba's need to recruit fighters in the Bambara villages shows how little he could rely on his Futanke sofa, many of whom in fact escaped while Sinsanni was under siege. Gumabugu's refusal to guide a punitive expedition to Kuabugu is evidence of alliances between the two villages. The willingness of Gumabugu and the other Bambara villages to join in an expedition against Sanamadugu confirms that, as a tòn jòn village, Sanamadugu was ranked lower. Jado and Kuabugu were linked by a pact (jo) and therefore made common cause.

The revolt was stamped out by commander Bonnier, one of the French military men actively involved in "pacification". When it became clear that Mademba and the force at his disposal could not deal with the rebels, Bonnier was sent to attack Dossigela where Mori Uli happened to be on June 26, 1892. Supported by its allies from nearby Sanamadugu and villages to the north, Dossigela offered resistance but was eventually overwhelmed by the canon and superior guns of the French. Mori Uli and more than 300 men were killed. The village chief of Dossigela and some 40 elders exploded a quantity of gun powder in the vestibule where they awaited the outcome of the fighting in order to avoid falling into the hands of their enemies. This is also confirmed by Gatelet (1901). Although these figures may be exaggerated, there is no doubt of the carnage. The events are far from forgotten in the area. Dossigela elders were able to point to the location where Bonnier had camped and where Mori Uli was felled by French bullets. Much like Bojugu and N'To, Mori Uli is credited with magic powers: he only needed to unroll his turban to be immune to bullets; on the day he was killed he failed to unroll his turban in time.

The show of brute force at Dossigela established the French as the power in the area. Archival documents (Dakar 1G209) comment on the terror spread by the rapid advance of Bonnier's force and by the losses it inflicted within such a

short period of time. Prior to leaving Sinsanni Bonnier required that all village chiefs come to Sinsanni to offer their submission and to pay a fine in horses. He also left a contingent of tirailleurs in Sinsanni. Dossigela was but a ruin; those who had survived the attack fled and many did not return until after the death of Mademba in 1918. It is unclear if any punishment was inflicted on Tin and Kuabugu. Oral evidence suggests that the Kuabugu village chief fled east for a time but regained the chieftaincy upon his return.

Conclusion.

The introduction to this chapter presented Sana as a socio-historical space and suggested that space and time are integral to the constitution of society. The reconstruction of the different historical periods aimed to show that society is created and re-created in social practice rather than through the mechanical reproduction of social institutions. During the early settlement period newcomers to Sana forged ties amongst each other which gradually replaced the links that tied them to social groups beyond Sana. They were autonomous until the rise of the Segu Bambara State and probably entertained shifting relationships with other social groups. Integration into the state system strengthened the social identity which had emerged locally and expanded social boundaries. With the decline of the state and its conquest by the Futanke the region reverted to anarchy, social boundaries contracted, and the focus turned inward. When the French arrived, Sana Bambara responded in the manner in which they had responded to other opponents, but they learned that their own resources were no match against those controlled by their opponent. In sum, 'Bambara society' must be seen as a fluid entity whose boundaries shifted in space-time. Moreover, 'inside' and 'outside' always interpenetrated to different degrees and entered the construction of local institutions. Sana Bambara identity did not emerge in isolation but in interaction with both 'insiders' and 'outsiders'.

Notes.

1 Sana Bambara speak of Masine in referring to the area otherwise known as Masina.

2 si is generally translated in French as "race". However, si is used not only to designate different ethnic groups but also social categories, such as blacksmiths or leatherworkers, so that 'social species' may be a more accurate rendering of si.

3 A Sinsanni elder confirmed the anteriority of Kuabugu. Jean Bazin (personal communication) received the same information there.

4 Sinsanni is the Bambara name for Sansanding and the name in use locally. Its etymology breaks down to sinsan ("enclosure") + ni ("small"); traditions suggest that when the town was founded a Bozo fisherman had a fenced camp there. The origin of 'Sansanding' is unclear but is the name under which Sansanding appears in the earliest colonial records, and which has been retained as the official administrative designation of Sinsanni after Independence. The Tarikh Es-Sudan refers to Sinsanni as Chenchendi.

5 Es-Sadi probably designated any non-Muslim as 'Bambara' so that it should not be taken in a narrow ethnic sense.

6 The term used in the Tarikh is koi, annotated to be a Songhai word for any political authority from simple village chief to king.

7 The exception to this is a household which relocated to Kuabugu from Tin and which has alliances with Gumakoro through its Tin origin.

8 I have entitled this section "Futanke Period" because Al Hajj Umar's conquest of Segu altered power relationships in the Middle Niger, not because he and his followers were able to establish control of Sana.

9 "Bojugu" is the name used by all of the elders I interviewed. Archival sources refer to him as "Boliedugu". Roberts (1978) follows the archival sources.

10 Legend has it that after destroying Niaro, Bojugu continued on to Tongolo. One of the hunters there put magic powder into seven guns, each of which could take on seven men at a time; when they were used against Bojugu he chose to leave so as to save his army.

11 He was actually accorded the title faama and was addressed as such.

12 A different version of the same account suggests that Mademba was holding some children of Amadu's family hostage and Umarel was sent to rescue them with the full knowledge that he would be killed in the process.

CHAPTER IV

COLONISATION AND THE INSERTION OF SANA INTO THE COMMODITY NEXUS

Prior to the French conquest Sana Bambara had been tied into the circuits of European capital primarily through the production of slaves. The African merchants who mediated this relationship never intervened directly in production. The Segu State levied taxes but also did not attempt to alter local structures of production and distribution. French military conquest constituted a significant turning point because it was aimed at facilitating capital accumulation through the extraction of local products and the consumption of European goods. But, as Lonsdale (1981a) has pointed out, conquest was not an event but a process, and the colonial state was not just a tool in the hands of metropolitan capital. It had the

> contradictory purpose of accumulation, both local and metropolitan, but within a framework of local control. It demanded the creation of a local political system. This evolved in a kaleidoscopic rather than single-minded hierarchy of bureaucratic relations with local social forces, governed not simply by the 'needs of capitalism' but, rather, by crisis-driven efforts to contain the social conflicts which were generated by them (Lonsdale 1981b, p. 109).

The dialectic involved in the penetration of capitalism under the auspices of the colonial state, as stressed here by Lonsdale, is well illustrated in the history of the Western Sudan. Rational accumulation was impeded by fiscal constraints, exigencies imposed by the two world wars and ecological conditions as well as by local dynamics. This chapter will show how these elements shaped French attempts to draw Sana into commodity relations. It provides a general assessment of the impact of colonization rather than an analysis of developments at the level of the household.

The presentation begins with a brief discussion of the structure of authority in the French West African empire and the place of Mademba within this system.

The main part of the chapter is arranged topically to consider 1)intervention in agriculture, 2)taxation, 3)the commodification of labor, 4)military conscription, and 5)circulation of commodities; within each I proceed in chronological fashion. The conclusion links developments and draws out their implications.

Three periods emerge from the data: 1892 to the end of World War I, the interwar years through World War II, and the post-War period to Independence. The first period involved the most active intervention backed by the physical presence of authority. This set in motion processes which were reinforced during the interwar years and through World War II. The post-War years were characterized by a modest economic expansion and decolonisation. The first period up to about 1910 is documented by abundant archival materials owing to the presence of Mademba at Sinsanni and to his active involvement in politics. The documentation diminishes for the last eight years of his life which may be due, at least in part, to his failing health. Archival records for the second and third period are generated entirely at the level of the cercle so that data on Sana is confined to periodic reports based on inspection rounds. The paucity of data results both from administrative distance and from the increasing marginality of Sana to colonial interests. It is therefore often necessary to extrapolate from developments in Segu cercle in general. Even at the level of the cercle there are gaps, sometimes for a series of years, due to missing documents. This problem may also account in part for the limited data during the late Mademba years. Oral information and data from secondary sources will be used to support the archival record.

Mademba Sy and Control of French West Africa.

Precolonial travellers viewed the establishment of 'colonial centers' as a short step to the economic and social transformation of the Sudanese interior. Yet control and 'development' (mise en valeur) of the vast West African empire France was acquiring proved to be more formidable undertakings than they had imagined. The Governor General was located in Dakar at the western-most edge of the territory and each colony was administered by its own

lieutenant-governor. Sana became part of Haut-Sénégal-Niger, initially known as Soudan, administered first from Kayes and after May 1908 from Bamako. Although the boundaries of the colony were redrawn several times during the colonial period, it spanned more than 2800 km from west to east and about 1300 km in a north-southerly direction after the end of formal conquest. The administration of this wide area was the responsibility of only about 500 French officers and civil servants (Clozel, 1912). This made reliance on African personnel a necessity.

Segu cercle covered a large territory. Its infrastructure was poor and French personnel were limited. The administrator was therefore not in a position to keep a close watch on Mademba's actions, even though Bonnier had realized during his two week stay in Sinsanni that Mademba ruled with a heavy hand. He left a French representative in Sinsanni but cautioned him not to interfere with Mademba's authority (Dakar 15G172). When Archinard returned from his campaign to Banjagara in 1893 he reduced the territory under Mademba's jurisdiction by detaching the right bank and a portion of the left bank so that the Etats de Sansanding effectively consisted of Sinsanni proper, of Sana, and of Kala. Since Sana had not been subject to a local chief during precolonial days the villages depended directly on Mademba in contrast with other areas where the chief was left in place; N'To, for example, remained in charge of his villages and served as the intermediary between the villages and Mademba. The absence of a local chief in Sana was not considered a problem by the Administration because the close proximity of the villages to Sinsanni "made surveillance easy" (1E71). Mademba initially attempted to bypass Segu by corresponding directly with the lieutenant-governor in Kayes, but he was admonished to report to Segu and receive his instructions from there (1E71). This did not, however, diminish his authority over his domain.

Mademba made full use of the powers granted him. He conducted himself like an arbitrary ruler and created a lifestyle which both suited royalty and reflected his loyalty to France. Passing Frenchmen were treated to a gastronomic

experience which involved French tablesettings and imported wines and champagnes (Roberts, 1978). Complaints about him increased steadily, ranging from arbitrary exactions to excessive punishment (including execution), the sacrificial killing of children, and the kidnapping of local women as concubines. The administration preferred to treat these accusations as unverifiable rumors, thus relieving it of the need to take action. Such a stance must be seen in light of the difficulties involved in administering a large territory as well as the continuing struggle to defeat Samori and gain control over the southeastern part of the colony. This put a premium on loyal African personnel. Moreover, arbitrariness was built into the indigénat, the prevailing system of administrative justice, which permitted a colonial agent to arrest, imprison, or fine an African without trial. The main concern which the allegations concerning Mademba's conduct eventually raised with the Governor of the Soudan is expressed in a January 1898 letter (1E220) to the commander of Segu cercle in which he stated that the animosity Mademba generated on the part of his subjects could only be detrimental to tax collection efforts. He therefore proposed that the Segu commander collect taxes in Mademba's stead, a measure which he felt had the potential of increasing not only Mademba's income but also the revenues of the Administration. In support of his suggestion he cited the case of Maki at Dinguiraye (now Guinée) where this method had been tried with success.

Before this proposal could be realised the Administration called Mademba to Kayes for an investigation of the allegations against him, particularly his involvement in the disappearance of some children. Sikasso had fallen by then and Samori had been captured. Still, after eight months at Kayes Mademba was cleared of all charges and allowed to return to Sinsanni in October 1900 (1E71). A French resident was posted to Sinsanni to oversee the political and financial administration of the Etats. However, in his letter of appointment, the new Resident was cautioned by Perignon, then commander of Segu cercle:

> ... your mission is not to restrain the powers of Fama Mademba. ...Mister Mademba has been named Fama with all the powers of a black king, but he has to govern the natives of his states with a spirit of justice and humanity. ...You are required to support the Fama and thus show to the natives that, instead of limiting his

> powers, you are at Sansanding to facilitate his task, to prevent renewal of low intrigues on the part of jealous people, and to assure our vassal of our cooperation and our protection, if necessary....(1E220).

Perignon's letter reflected the sentiment which prevailed at the highest level and which had been conveyed to him almost verbatim by the Governor General himself. It shows the extent to which the French colonial services depended on African personnel and indicates that the high command was prepared to close its eyes on abuses of power as long as French interests were served. It also suggests that the Etats de Sansanding may have been considered of marginal significance to French interests in the Western Sudan. The new Resident at Sinsanni died before the year was out and was not replaced. Instead, a 'commissioner for native affairs' fulfilled the Resident's tasks as he had before 1900. Segu administrators only paid courtesy visits to Sinsanni so that the commander felt compelled to state in his 1917 annual report: "...If we have the right to a 'glance' at the Fama's politics, we are in fact very poorly informed about that which goes on in the Sansanding region. The most diverse rumors go around from time to time which, however, we cannot verify (1E72)."

Mademba died in 1918. Although he had been in poor health for some time, leaving two of his sons to fulfill the functions of office, no steps had been taken to replace him or to reorganize his domain. Attaching Sinsanni to Sokolo was considered as a possibility due to the historical trade relations with the north but, ultimately, Sana was attached to Segu cercle. Sibila became canton seat and hence the intermediary between Segu and the villages. Its village chief, supported by gardes cercle, carried out orders from Segu and cercle personnel made sporadic visits. Sana Bambara do not accuse the chef de canton of excesses of authority in general, but they assert that he used his position to encroach on Kuabugu land.

After the defeat at Dossigela Sana Bambara submitted to French authority and did not offer military resistance again. However, this did not mean that they relinquished all control to their colonial masters. People dealt with the constant

demands by being slow in following orders or heeding summons. This form of resistance frustrated administrators and engendered dissatisfaction with indigenous chiefs. Complaints, which began to be expressed in cercle political reports from the late 1920s onward, focus on the inertia and ineffectiveness of village and canton chiefs and their failure to impose themselves, problems which were frequently attributed to their advanced age. Given its dependence on local personnel, the Administration could do little to change this situation. In areas that were vital to French interests new 'chiefs' were named to replace those with whom administrators were dissatisfied but in Sana the Sibila village chief remained chef de canton throughout the colonial period.

1) Intervention in Agriculture.

1892-1918

Despite early surveys (e.g. AOF serie II and Soudan serie XIII) of local crops which tried to pinpoint those with a potential for French industry, no concrete plan was developed for tapping the agricultural possibilities of the Soudan. European colonisation of the land and the creation of a local processing industry were considered but dismissed as unfeasible. The lieutenant-governor of Haut-Sénégal-Niger concluded in 1900:

> Limiting the development of our provinces to farming alone is therefore the only system of colonisation available to us. It has the advantage of demanding only a limited supervisory personnel and of not leaving the soil unproductive (Dakar Q48).

Given the fiscal constraints on the Governor and the virtual absence of global policy formation this effectively meant the encouragement of peasant production as best understood by each commandant de cercle.

A) Attempts to impose a cash crop.

Mademba was well aware of French interests and knew how to play up to them in his reports. A statement such as that of August 1, 1896 (1E220), emphasizing political stability and agricultural production, is a typical excerpt from his letters during the rainy seasons following conquest:

> The most perfect tranquility reigns in all the villages. The inhabitants devote themselves completely to agriculture, having become convinced that it is more profitable than the razzias which used to be their occupation.

The importance Mademba accorded to agriculture in his correspondence was not mere rhetoric. He actively promoted agricultural expansion by not only exhorting cultivators to increase their fields but by planting large surfaces of his own. He experimented with a variety of crops including cotton, tobacco, indigo, wheat, oats, and rice, even attempting dry season cultivation. To his regret, he was unable to convince the local population to follow his example and experiment with dry season crops as well. Mademba's greatest efforts were devoted to the development of cotton as a cash crop. In pursuit of this aim he distributed new varieties of seed and pushed peasants each year to expand their cotton fields. Despite his efforts, the Etats furnished only 30 tons of cotton for export in 1899. During the same year a number of villages complained at Segu that Mademba had requisitioned the entire cotton harvest under the pretext that this was an additional tax imposed by the French. Villages that could not deliver at least 2000kg of cotton received fines ranging from 40000-200000 cowries plus agricultural products. The heavy fines led one village chief to pawn himself along with his wife, father, and child in order to meet Mademba's demands (Dakar 15G176). Despite these abuses attempts to expand cotton cultivation continued. Three tons of cotton seed were sent to Sinsani in 1905 accompanied by a directive from the governor to distribute the seed and pull out all indigenous cotton adjacent to the new fields so as to avoid hybridisation. Yet only 11 tons of cotton were delivered after the 1905 harvest. Mademba's correspondence does not indicate to what degree this poor result was due to resistance on the part of local cultivators or to the unsuitability of the new cotton varieties for local conditions; both are likely to have played a role. A 1918 document gives a clue to the way people responded to intervention in production: people

> resign themselves to the inevitable and hope to see the White Man, of whom one always has to expect a singular fantasy or another tax, as little as possible...If one orders the cultivation of a new crop while pointing out the profit which can be gained from it, they appear enchanted by the good fortune, take the seed with gratitude, and quickly clear the smallest possible corner of land to

> have as little trouble as possible: this is the 'field of the commandant', this is another tax, a fantasy which they beg their fetishes to preserve them from (1E72).

Given Mademba's practice of requisitioning the harvest, cotton cultivation constituted indeed a supplementary tax. In addition, the production of cotton beyond household needs diverted labor from millet cultivation which had to satisfy local needs and tax obligations.

B) Ecological Conditions.

Climatic conditions during these early years were precarious and caused a great deal of uncertainty over the outcome of each harvest. 1891 and '92 were difficult years in Sana, aggravated by the fighting, so that it became impossible to obtain any millet in Sinsanni for months prior to the harvest of 1893. In 1895 the rains were sparse even in July and August. Precipitation improved during the following years but 1901 and '02 were years of drought again. Such variability continued throughout the following decade and culminated in the big drought of 1912/13. Elders relate that people resorted to eating leaves. This is corroborated by archival documents which also note that some villages were partly abandoned as a result of the famine (1E72). The effect of the climate was exacerbated by recurrent locust invasions. Locust swarms passed nearly every year and although actual damage was usually localised their potential impact kept people in fear until the next harvest was assured. Colonial reports during these years show a curious refusal to acknowledge the consequences of prevailing ecological conditions: they voice concerns over locust invasions and insufficient rains only to state at harvest time that yields were good or relatively good. An excellent example of this dates from 1895 when Mademba, after reporting either a complete lack or an insufficiency of rains month after month, states on December 1st: "The harvest is almost completed. With the millet reserves from last year, one could count this as one of the agricultural years of abundance (1E220)." Such absurd reasoning glosses over the fact that tax collection might turn out to be difficult. Up until 1900 taxes were paid in kind and supplied the colonial services with the necessary provisions for personnel and horses.

C) The abolition of slavery.

The economic aspirations underlying colonisation made slavery a delicate issue. Slavery as an institution was dismantled only gradually to avoid the disruption of production and commerce and to prevent large-scale population movements. During conquest African troops were allowed to take captives and French troops themselves took slaves and gave them to their African concubines. To begin to assess the nature and extent of slavery, the Administration sent out questionnaires in 1894 which all cercle commanders were obliged to complete for the territory under their jurisdiction. In 1895 a decree prohibiting the trade in slaves was promulgated. The slave trade was seen as a threat to the stability necessary for effective taxation and slave exports were feared to result in the gradual depopulation of the Soudan. Moor caravans in particular were suspected of taking slaves north and came under close surveillance up until the early years of the 20th century. Rewards were used to encourage village chiefs to report caravans passing through their territory and, conversely, village chiefs who were found to have closed their eyes to a passing slave caravan were punished.

The order did not extend to the use of slaves for the transport of goods. Merchant caravans continued to be permitted to use slaves as porters, as long as they applied for a pass for them in the area of origin or at the point of entry to the Soudan. If a caravan was found to be trading in slaves, the slaves were confiscated and sent into so-called "villages de liberté" which were specially created for the purpose. These villages constituted a ready pool of labor on which the Administration could draw at a time when the local population was slow in coming forth to sell its labor. To avoid the inconveniences connected with the establishment of a "village de liberté", Mademba simply gave confiscated captives to "serious, honorable heads of household of peaceful character"(1E71) who, theoretically, were required to release them at the end of one cultivating season; young boys were obliged to stay until the age of 20, young girls until they were ready to "choose" a husband. There are no records of households who received such slaves though, in keeping with administration practice, it was

probably household heads loyal to Mademba who were rewarded in this fashion.

Slaves who had been acquired prior to the decree were sent back to their masters if they tried to flee unless they could prove that they had been mistreated. This also applied to the Futanke prisoners Mademba had received at his installation in Sinsanni because Segu feared that releasing them would set a bad precedent. Many nevertheless managed to bypass the Administration and escape. Those who remained had their servitude gradually reduced as a result of their continual struggle against Mademba's authority over them. Beginning in 1902 they owed Mademba only three mornings of labor per week, and by 1904 they were entitled to 1/3 of the harvest from his fields as a remuneration for their labor. It was hoped that this gradual liberation would transform them into sedentary cultivators. Other captives could purchase their freedom by paying their master the sum of 300F, a sum which must have been higher than what most agricultural slaves could hope to accumulate.

It was not until December 1905 - and after a second questionnaire on slavery in 1904 - that the French president issued a decree which ended slavery in French West Africa and the French Congo (1E182). The new law initiated a slave exodus in Banamba (Bamako cercle) but not immediately in Segu or the Etats. The exodus from Segu began in 1907 but was not resisted by slave owners as in Banamba. In June 1907 Segu reported that 5331 persons had come to the post during the preceding months in order to obtain a pass; 3209 of these left the cercle. Most of the movement was oriented toward the south where many slaves had originated during the time of Samori's wars. The exodus slowed down during the rainy season but increased again in October and followed the same pattern in 1908 and into 1909 (1E72). Segu was still concerned with the loss in population and suggested that the cercles to the south increase their head taxes to halt the movement, a suggestion which does not seem to have been heeded. The demographic change in the area required another census.

It is difficult to assess the impact of slave liberation on Sana Bambara agriculture. The available reports by Mademba make no mention of a slave exodus and the Segu reports also do not provide a breakdown of departing slaves by province. Segu reports merely confirm oral data which suggests that the people of Sana did not resist slave liberation. Sana Bambara were vague about the slave exodus and did not provide any quantitative evidence concerning the numbers of slaves who left as opposed to those who stayed. This is understandable in light of the secrecy which surrounds slave descent. Census figures (5D45; 5D81) are conflicting: the 1904 and 1908 figures for the Bambara and Marka population (one census combines the two groups, the other gives a breakdown by group) of the Etats show a decline of 2130 persons, equalling 12.85% of the population; however, 1904 and 1908/9 figures for individual Sana villages show that their populations remained stable or increased. The Bozo and Somono population also increased. To conclude from this that the slave exodus affected only Kala rather than Sana would nevertheless be in error.

It is reasonable to assume that abolition had a differential effect on households. For some the impact may have been minimal while for others it was dramatic, given the fact that even those slaves who chose not to depart were no longer required to cultivate for their master. These new households probably entered into client relationships with their former masters. The impact of slave liberation must have extended beyond the domain of production into village politics: prior to slave liberation households had the opportunity to expand their size and productive capacity through the purchase or capture of slaves whereas after liberation demographic differences between households were less easily overcome and therefore had the potential of affecting a household's influence in village politics.

An institution which could lead to slavery and which began to be suppressed by the Administration during the first decade of the 20th century was debt bondage (tònòmada). Ironically, the Administration itself was probably responsible for an increase in debt bondage during the first decade of colonial rule and again

around the time of the 1912-13 drought. The only way certain households were able to survive during years of poor harvest and pay taxes was by pawning a member of the household, most frequently a child or an adolescent girl. A young girl given in bondage could be married to a member of the lender's household, thereby dissolving the debt as part of the bridewealth arrangement. In general, however, pawning often led to servitude because the household resorting to it never acquired the means to redeem the person. The poor harvests of 1901/02 appear to have led to a surge in pawning since the Administration became sufficiently concerned about the practice to take measures against it. The 1903 report for Segu cercle (1E71) notes that aside from prohibiting the practice, the Commander had somme child-pawns liberated outright while freeing those adult-pawns who had spent several years in debt bondage and whose labor had approximately equalled the sum of the debt; Bambara who were known to have given a child in bondage were assembled and admonished to discontinue the practice. It is unlikely that the prohibition of pawning was, or could have been, enforced though this avowed disapproval may have resulted in greater secrecy over the practice. Its eventual diminution was less due to Administration disapproval than to the emergence of wage labor as a means of earning cash to pay taxes.

The Inter-War years and World War II.

The end of World War I brought new initiatives in France to diversify imports and to exploit the colonies more systematically for their raw materials. Henri Cosnier, a member of the Higher Council for Agriculture, headed a mission to French West Africa in 1918/19 which investigated the agricultural and commercial status of the region. Upon his return to France he published a severe indictment of French development efforts during the preceding years (Crowder, 1968). Plans were made to improve infrastructure, develop manpower, educate the peasantry, mechanise and generally improve production. As part of this effort the Dakar-Niger railline was to be completed and the rail and port facilities of Dakar were to be improved. 800 million francs were thought to be

needed as an initial investment. Albert Sarraut, the new minister of colonies, presented the comprehensive development plan to the Senate in 1920 but did not ask for the necessary funding. Since the colonies themselves also could not raise these funds the "Plan Sarraut", as it came to be known, was shelved from the very beginning (Michel, 1982). As a result projects continued to be sporadic.

The 1920s are a period which has remained minimally researched so that it is impossible to speak with authority about developments in the Soudan. This situation is complicated by the fact that most of the economic and political reports of Segu cercle for this time span are missing. Hopkins (1973) points out that West Africa benefitted from the short boom of 1919 but then suffered considerably during the downturn of 1920/21, manifested in the collapse of export prices. A limited recovery seems to have taken place from 1922-29. The difficulty with drawing any conclusions from this very general assessment is that Hopkins' analysis is based mainly on trade statistics. Given the limited involvement of the Soudan in the export of its raw materials it was not subject to the vagaries of the world market in the same way as Senegal, for example. Nevertheless, the lack of resources meant that, overall, productive forces were not improved while demands in the form of taxes and manpower continued.

The "Office du Niger" was the one large-scale development project which grew out of the Sarraut Plan. Given the dearth of cotton after World War I and the failure on the part of the Administration to increase dryland production in the Soudan, plans were developed for irrigated cultivation. In 1919 the engineer Bélime was sent to conduct preliminary studies in the Middle Niger region (Marchal, 1974). He proposed vast irrigation projects which were favorably received by both Cosnier and Sarraut. The French industrialists who were members of the "Cotton Committee", however, showed little interest in Sudanese cotton and did not support the new plans so that financing fell far short of the proposed estimates (Michel, 1982). An exploratory project (S.T.I.N., Service Temporaire des Irrigations du Niger) was nevertheless begun at Baguineda and Nienebale in 1925. By 1929 Bélime submitted a new plan for a more limited

project which foresaw the creation of irrigated perimeters on the left bank only. The area was to be colonized by settlers who grew cotton as the cash crop and rice as their food crop. The plan was accepted and institutionalized on January 5, 1932 as the Office du Niger, with Bélime as its director. The project involved the construction of a dam at Markala-Sinsanni and two canals (the Canal du Sahel to the North and the Canal du Macina to the East) joined with the dam through a feeder canal. The Markala dam was begun in 1934 but was not completed until 1947 (Marchal, 1974).

Magasa (1978) has recorded the accounts of many who were involved in the creation of the Office du Niger. They tell of hard labor under the threat of a whip, harsh living conditions, and death as a result of disease or accident. Though the people of Sana do not figure in the documentary, they also had their part in the realization of the scheme. Elders recollect that the land for the Canal du Macina was cleared entirely with the forced labor of men from Sana. The digging itself was done by men of the "2nd column" (deuxieme portion), military conscripts who did not receive military training but were used for public works projects. During the clearing as well as the digging phase Sana women and girls were obligated to prepare food for the laborers on a rotating basis. Bélime (1921) concluded early on that recruitment and control of a steady supply of agricultural laborers would pose formidable problems and that the scheme could operate more effectively with settlers. Given the low population density in the area to be brought under irrigation, he decided that settlement could provide a means for redistributing population within the Soudan from high to low-density regions. Recruitment focused on populations which had been classed as avid cultivator by colonial administrators. Bambara from nearby villages were recruited for the S.T.I.N. project at Nienebale and Baguineda during the 1920s. Bambara from Sana and Kala were targeted as possible settlers when the irrigated perimeter at Kokri-Kolongotomo was opened in 1935/36 (Marchal, 1974; Magasa, 1978). When settlers did not come forth voluntarily, the Administration resorted to force. Depending on the size of the village, one or more households from each Sana village were designated for resettlement in the irrigated zone;

only the blacksmiths of Soalebugu argued successfully that they should be exempted from sending settlers. With more settlers needed, recruitment was expanded to the Minyanka population near Kujala and particularly to the Mossi and Samo of present-day Burkina Faso (Marchal, 1974; Magasa, 1978). Mossi and Samo were not only thought to be living in areas of high population density but were also noted for having become actively involved in labor migration.

Agricultural 'development' within Sana itself was confined to sporadic visits by Administrators who checked on seed reserves, gave instructions for the agricultural season, and inspected harvest yields. The 1921-43 economic reports for Segu cercle (1Q358) are instructive with respect to the shift of interest which had taken place. Sana and Kala, the former Etats de Sansanding, are never mentioned in any of the reports; instead they focus on Segu, Sigine, Baraweli, and Cinzana. Sigine was within the perimeter of the Office du Niger; Baraweli was off the Bamako-Segu road in an area where cotton cultivation was taking hold; and Cinzana was located in another area of experimentation near the Bani river. In short, attention was devoted to the locales which showed a potential for and embraced export crops. It was in these areas that ploughs were first introduced and that peasants received credit for improving agricultural implements.

The Post War Period.

Hopkins (1973) has characterized the period 1945-60 as one of economic expansion during which exports obtained good prices on the world market and the domestic economy grew. In addition, the metropole changed its policies of making the colonies pay and actually provided capital. In a cautionary note, Hopkins points out that recovery from the losses during the War took several years so that the upturn was not felt until about 1950. Hopkins' general assessment holds for the Soudan if one keeps in mind that the dimensions of economic expansion in the Soudan were on a different scale and of a different nature than those in the Ivory Coast or Senegal, for example.

During the period immediately following World War II cultivators of Segu cercle were still exhorted to put as much land into production as possible and to sell their products to the Administration in an effort to help the metropole recover. By 1948 the resident commercial houses were actively purchasing local produce. The Adminstration began to distribute peanut seed to encourage the expansion of peanut cultivation. Given the favorable terms of trade Sana cultivators did not resist export crop cultivation and expanded their peanut fields while continuing to grow millet as a food crop.

2) Taxation.

The institution of tax payments had the two-fold purpose of raising revenue to run the colonial state and of forcing people into the commodity nexus. Commodification was further facilitated by the introduction of European currency. Initially, taxes were paid in kind and converted to a monetary equivalent, but within a decade of conquest the shift to payment in currency occurred. This meant that cultivators had to produce cash crops or engage in wage labor. Because taxes were assessed on a per person basis, they came to be known as ni sòngò, the "price of the soul/breath of life", as opposed to the di sòngò ("price of honey") paid to the Segu State by villages as a unit.

Coquery-Vidrovitch (1977) suggests that until about 1930 revenue from tariffs surpassed taxes whereas Michel (1982) argues that customs duties declined during World War I and head taxes constituted 60.8-84.5% of revenues in French West Africa. According to Hopkins (1973) customs duties made up more than 50% of revenue for most of the colonial period with the result that "wealthier" colonies such as Senegal tended to subsidize the "poorer" territories. Nearly 1/2 of the money raised went to pay the salaries and pensions of colonial officials and much of the remainder was used to repay capital and interest on the loans made for development purposes (e.g. railroads). In colonies such as Haut-Sénégal-Niger where commercial networks had been disrupted during the late precolonial period and where the export-import trade with Europe was minimally developed taxes were probably more important than tariffs, at least

until the post-World War II expansion, in providing the necessary revenue to run the colonial state.

Initially Mademba received 3000 francs annually from the Administration to supplement the taxes and tariffs he could collect. Over time, however, he was required to send a portion of his tax revenues to Segu (e.g. 25000 francs in 1903) (1E71) along with a percentage of the market taxes. Until at least a preliminary census could be completed villagers were enjoined to deliver 1/10 of their harvest in lieu of taxes. Needless to say, it was difficult to verify compliance so that the establishment of a tax roll became a predominant concern. Mademba began census-taking in 1893 and his efforts were continued with the help of French commissioners from 1900 on. People resisted being counted and frequently hid in the bush to evade the procedure. In 1901 the French agent sent his cavalry in all directions to round up people by force and then imposed fines on delinquent Sana villages. Mademba did likewise and threatened to release slaves proportionate to the number of people who had fled. This first official census was barely completed when, in 1904, new instructions were issued and the process had to begin anew. The earlier threats do not appear to have produced the desired effect because a 1905 report again indicates that the French representative was unable to halt the "fraud" during enumeration; he also noted that people were not as docile as he had expected.

By 1900 already villages were assessed their taxes on the basis of preliminary census figures at the rate of 3 francs per head. Bozo villages appear to have paid primarily in cowries while Bambara villages paid mainly in millet and, to a lesser extent, in peanuts and sheep. Mademba and his French commissioner fixed a price per measure of millet and peanuts respectively, and per animal, to allow for conversion of tax payments.[1] In this fashion the Administration obtained considerable quantities of foodstuffs for the provisioning of the colonial services. The Etats along with Segu cercle became veritable granaries for services in other cercles. At three francs, the tax rate in the Etats was higher than in neighboring cercles (e.g. 2.50F in Segu cercle) and many villages complained about this at

Segu or even asked to be attached to Segu cercle. There was a continuous population movement into Segu cercle from areas bordering it, a phenomenon which bothered administrators because these refugees were frequently not picked up on the new tax roll until several years later. When Mademba left for Kayes in 1900 numerous villages took his absence as an opportunity to resist tax collection. The French commissioner reported to Segu that, although there was no open rebellion, the atmosphere could not be worse. He also suggested that a more equitable tax basis be established so that "wealthier" villages (e.g. Bozo and artisans) would pay a higher rate than the "poorer" Bambara villages (2D102). Needless to say, this advice was not heeded.

As the census progressed during 1901 estimates of potential revenue became increasingly optimistic. Since taxes were still paid primarily in millet, as opposed to Segu where the transition to payment in coin was already well under way, the local agent suggested that the colonial services look to Sinsanni for their millet. He duly informed the villages of the Etats that 1902 taxes were to be paid entirely in sorghum. When a number of villages told him that they did not cultivate enough sorghum due to the unsuitability of the local soils, he advised them to purchase it in neighboring cercles. Perhaps this request, along with food shortages during poor years, was a factor in pushing villages toward acquitting themselves of their tax obligations in coin. Mademba took in his first tax payments in coin during January 1902, a trend which continued thereafter. When he received a telegram from Kayes in mid-March asking him to send 150 tons of millet, he responded that he couldn't send any because he had less than two tons in storage and it had been purchased on behalf of Segu (1E220). Though paying their taxes, villages again complained about the 3F rate. The French commissioner forwarded these complaints to Segu and suggested that tax rates be lowered to 2.50F. The response was negative again and the agent was chided for being too pessimistic and for falling victim to villagers' ability 'to hide their wealth while displaying only their misery' (2D102). The Administration now took the prerogative to set the tax rate but did not see fit to change the rate established by Mademba. Judging by the 1910 tax role for Sana, taxes were

levied on the total population including small children. In 1912 the Administration asked Mademba to increase 1913 taxes to 3.50francs despite the fact that the population of the Etats had already been paying higher taxes than other cercles. This demand coincided with the big drought of 1912/13 so that collection must have proved difficult.

The period of World War I represents a special subphase of the first part of the colonial era, not only because of the recruitment of African soldiers but also the contribution in foodstuffs which had to be made. Michel (1982) asserts that during the first two years of the War no particular support was demanded from French West Africa and the economy was still dominated by import-export houses. According to him it was not until 1917 that French West Africa was asked to provide aid in any systematic fashion, the Bordeaux and Marseille commercial houses having signed an accord for the creation of a consortium which would purchase and deliver West African foodstuffs. Government was to provide the impetus but confine its role to that of facilitator and regulator of prices. This assessment may hold at the level of policy but it gives an incorrect impression of action at the local level.

Documents (1Q177) for Segu cercle show that already in 1914 assessments were made of potential contributions and canton chiefs were consulted on the matter. Millet, maize, sorghum, and groundnuts were purchased during 1915. In November of 1916 the Administrator of Segu cercle wrote to the Governor of Haut-Sénégal-Niger that he had purchased millet for the Défense Nationale and that it had been inspected to assure that it came from the last harvest and was of good quality. He wondered why there had never been any mention of shipments to France, even though Segu had been furnishing millet in thousands of tons. About 2300 tons of millet were purchased after the 1916 harvest at the price of 70F per ton; close to 1/3 of this amount was sent to various services in Kayes, the remainder was destined for the Défense Nationale.[2] In addition, merchants purchased 900 tons of peanuts and shipped them to commercial houses in Kayes. By August 1917 the Administration claimed that grain was still

appearing on the markets even though peasants were no longer being exhorted to sell. The price paid at Segu was 80F a ton, less on the provincial markets. A prohibition of millet exports beyond the cercle were in effect during 1917 and continued into 1918. Demands continued as well. In 1918 Segu cercle was asked to furnish a minimum of 2000 tons of millet but preferably 3700 tons and a minimum of 1000 tons of peanuts, but preferably 1500 tons. Men who remember the period state that millet was requisitioned. Given the derisory prices paid to the producer and the coercive nature of the sales, the provision of foodstuffs was perceived as simply another tax.

Although World War II is usually seen as precipitating the crisis of colonialism (e.g. Crowder, 1968; Suret-Canale, 1971), records indicate that the foundations for this crisis were laid during the 1930s. The economic hardships of this period engendered widespread resistance to the colonial system. Segu had an extremely difficult time collecting 1930 taxes and rumors were circulating that certain canton chiefs would be removed and that no taxes would have to be paid in 1931. In 1931 the Administration resorted to force in order to get all village chiefs to come to Segu to pick up the 1932 tax rolls. Tax collection proved to be no easier during the following years. In 1933 the Segu Administrator acknowledged how serious the situation had become:

> ...Gold purchases in Segu cercle during 1933 amount to more than 1100000 francs. These figures indicate the disproportion which exists between the resources of the cercle population and the fiscal burden placed on them. It is indisputable that for several years now the natives are unable to pay their taxes without dipping deeply into their reserves. Since these are almost used up and economic conditions are only getting worse, we have to expect ever greater difficulties (1E40-I).

1934 conditions led him to suggest a reduction in the tax rate noting that as a result of the prevailing problems some household heads were doing nothing and were quietly waiting to be fined. The entire resources of some families were being absorbed by tax payments (1E40-I). This appears almost as an understatement in view of the fact, reported by elders, that the 1930s saw a resurgence of pawning.

Age of taxation varied from colony to colony and in some colonies over time. A 1935 circular (1Q310/77) from the Governor General of AOF to the Minister of Colonies in Paris indicates that in Soudan, Guinée, and Niger children were being taxed from the age of 8, in Dahomey beginning at age 16, and in Sénégal, Mauritania, and Ivory Coast from age 10. As mentioned earlier, 1910 tax records for Sana show that, at least at that time, taxes were levied on the entire population, including children under the age of 8. The difference between Dahomey (where it had varied over time) and the other colonies was justified by pointing to political exigencies while the early age of taxation was attributed to the fact that children become economically active at an early age and that the colonial state was in need of the revenue. Only children enrolled in school and the handicapped were tax exempt. Women were taxed in all colonies except Togo, a measure which was explained by the statement that African women are "generally considered as a sign or an element of wealth." This tax policy hit the colonies with the least involvement in commodity production the hardest. It confirms that in the Soudan tax receipts were a more important source of revenue than tariffs.

During World War II foodstuffs were requisitioned just as during World War I and harsh measures were taken to increase the production of crops vital to the metropole. Production quotas were set for each cercle; they were often so unrealistic that peasants had to purchase produce to meet the target and even local administrators became cynical (Crowder, 1968).

After World War II colonial personnel continued to make only sporadic visits to Sana. There were still complaints about the disinclination to fulfill tax obligations and the reluctance on the part of the canton chief to impose his authority.

3) The Commodification of Labor.

Labor migration in Sana began early in the century. The initial difficulty of obtaining porters and general laborers for the colonial services and commercial

houses eventually gave way to a ready supply of labor, especially after the harvest. In order to conserve millet, men began to leave in search of cash to pay taxes. This transition seems to have taken place in Segu cercle at the turn of the century and occurred in the Etats not long thereafter. Segu cercle applied some pressure to effect the shift to tax payments in coin, evidenced by the order of 1894 that a proportion of taxes for slaves be paid in coin, and by a note of 1899: "To increase our commercial transactions we ask that taxes, everywhere possible, be paid in coin and that the foodstuffs necessary to feed employees and the military be purchased by the Administration and shipped to the places where they are needed (1E71)."

The poor harvest of 1901 most certainly was an impetus for many households in the Etats to send one or more of its members to areas where cash could be earned. In 1900 Mademba paid porters 0.25F per day; this was the equivalent of 2 1/2 measures (i.e. 2 1/2 kg) of millet if one takes the 1901 tax roll (one measure of millet was evaluated at 0.10F) as a basis; however, the actual value was less than this since millet was evaluated very low for tax purposes. If transport outside of the Etats was involved, a porter was not paid until his return. Gardes cercles received 15 - 20F per month and had to furnish and maintain their own horses if they did not want to be on foot. By the end of 1902 many men were reported to be coming to the Segu post looking for work while others were hiring themselves out as porters and general laborers along the supply route between Bamako and Kita (1E71). By 1909 the supply of porters and general laborers at Segu was said to exceed demand (1E72).

This did not mean, however, that men accepted labor conditions unquestioningly, as indicated by several incidents: In 1904 a number of men complained at Segu that the representative of the Niger-Soudan company in Sinsanni did not pay his laborers regularly and had even threatened one of them; this led Segu to intervene and tell Mademba that he could send the agent 15 men per month at the pay of 0.75F per day plus their ration. In another incident during 1906 laborers in the carpentry workshop at Segu all refused to work

because one of them had been suspended for sitting down during working hours; the administrator feared that the incident would repeat itself during 1907 (2D102).

It is possible to conclude that labor migration to the peanut fields of Senegal began in Sana around 1908/09 but was really set in motion with the 1912/13 drought. Migrants generally contracted with a landlord to cultivate for him 3-4 days per week; in exchange they received a piece of land which they could cultivate for their own account on the remaining days. Because the journey had to be made on foot, most men cultivated peanuts for two or even three consecutive seasons before returning home. Although accepted as a means of obtaining cash for taxes, labor migration did not immediately become a regular part of every man's life. It was resorted to sporadically, often in response to a poor harvest or locust invasion, and was balanced with needs at home and with forced labor demands. Households which did not send one of its male members on migration often approached returning migrants to exchange cowries against coin so that they could pay their taxes.

A practice which impeded the emergence of labor as a commodity and made a mockery of the abolition of slavery and debt bondage was forced labor. The establishment of forced labor (jagoya baara) was synonymous with making everyone a slave of the new masters. For Sana, forced labor was initiated in 1891 with the construction of the administrative poste in Sinsanni which required 100 laborers per day (2D122). Since the greater part of the population of Sinsanni had fled prior to conquest this meant that the Bambara population of nearby villages had to supply much of the needed labor. In effect, an 1891 report (2D122) states that "there are enough Bambara laborers to complete one layer of all the walls every day." Once completed, the buildings had to be repaired after every rainy season. Men did the banco work itself while women had to carry the water needed in construction.

A second priority immediately after conquest was the regular creation of stores of firewood for the steamships which plied the Niger and for areas of

the Soudan which were deficient in wood. Villagers were required to cut wood and then transport it to designated locations; for the most part this meant headloading it since Bambara cultivators owned few pack oxen and no donkeys. It is unclear if women as well as men were involved in cutting wood, since archival records simply indicate that 'villages' received the order to provide wood. Women themselves do not report having cut wood while men say "we used to cut wood for the Whites." In daily life it was women who cut firewood and transported it home and men cut the wood needed in house construction. As a general practice, the Administration called on men for forced labor so that women's contribution, such as carrying water, bringing food and drinking water to the labor site or, perhaps, transporting wood, remained unrecorded and therefore invisible.

Following conquest the restoration and maintenance of roads were an ever-present concern on the part of the colonial government. Aside from the access these provided to villages, it was hoped that improved roads would facilitate market activity and revive trade between Sinsanni and the North. Hence Mademba saw to it that work on the Sinsanni-Molodo and the Sinsanni-Niaro roads progressed; both were reported to be completely restored by the onset of the rainy season of 1899 (1E71). Repair and maintenance were also accomplished with forced labor.

Despite an attempt on the part of the Administration not to have forced labor interfere with agriculture, demands for laborers could come at any time. The problems this posed were even clear to Mademba as, for example, on one occasion in 1905 when he confirmed to Segu that he had received the request for wood but added that people were busy with the harvest and would not like being called away to cut wood (1E220). At times requests specified that only volunteers should be recruited "but in large enough number to assure rapid delivery (2D102)", thus implying that at least indirect pressure could be applied. When it came to the cultivation of Mademba's fields the demand for labor impinged directly on villagers' rainy season activities. Elders relate that Mademba

had vast fields which were cleared and cultivated with the aid of contingents of men from the various Sana villages; women and girls were charged with bringing water and food for their husbands, brothers, and fathers. This burden on the local population probably increased as Mademba's Futanke obtained a gradual release from labor obligations beginning in 1902. Two elders who worked in his fields during their youth remember that Sana villages took turns working in Mademba's fields for three days per week; at the end of the three days sacks of cowries were brought out and each worker received 300 cowries. This withdrawal of labor from local agriculture along with taxation increased the impact of drought and locust invasion and put pressure on people to find sources other than agriculture for paying their taxes.

If forced labor placed limits on the number of men who were able to leave on labor migration, the trend begun prior to World War I nevertheless continued. Men from Sana explored a variety of possibilities for wage labor in order to earn cash for taxes or supplement a harvest deficit. Aside from providing general labor within the Soudan or cultivating peanuts in Senegal, they went to work in the Mande gold fields or in construction projects (e.g. port facilities) in Dakar. By the late 1920s some men left for the Ghana gold mines. Most of the travel to and from these destinations was done on foot; even after the completion of the Dakar–Bamako railline in 1923 a good part of the distance was covered on foot. Contrary to assumptions in the early migration literature departure on migration was not an individual decision. Not only did the household decide whether or not to send a member away, the household elder also consulted a diviner to ensure that the undertaking would be auspicious. When the migrant returned he was required to hand over his earnings to the elder. One old man related the following: "I made two trips to Bouake in Ivory Coast. I bought fish in Nakri (a nearby Bozo village) and took them to Bouake to sell and buy kola to bring back. It was all on foot and one trip took three months. Upon my return from Bouake my older brother took the kola and put it away. The following day I was told to carry the kola to Sinsanni. My older brother got on his horse and also went to Sinsanni and together we sold the kola. My older

brother took the money and gave me a coin that was partly broken and told me to have a ring made from it for myself. That was my reward." Most men spent several seasons at home before leaving again and, as prior to World War I, departure was often prompted by a year of inadequate rains or locust invasion. With the possible exception of men from small households, the majority of migrants appear to have been bachelors who ceased to leave for extended periods of time once they were married. While the majority of men returned to Sana, some did settle elsewhere and lost contact with their families and some died while away.

With the integration of Sana to Segu cercle after the death of Mademba men from Sana were required to work in the gardens of colonial personnel in Segu and to provide labor for construction and maintenance projects there while continuing to repair local roads as needed. Villages also rotated every 15 days in sending representatives who could act as messengers between Segu and Sana when the need arose, a system locally known as cè sigi. Demands for laborers generally went to the Chef de Canton at Sibila who then sent his gardes cercles to designated villages to fill the demand. That requests were burdensome is indicated by the 4th trimester report for 1924 (1E40-I) which states that, since the end of the rainy season, the cercle had furnished more than 500 laborers or oarsmen, a figure which would certainly be exceeded with the demand for labor on the part of various commercial services. As is implied here, laborers were also sent to other areas within the Soudan. One old woman, for example, related that she had spent 12 months near Kayes where her husband was required to cultivate sisal; women did not work in the fields but were obliged to prepare food for the men. In the report mentioned above, the administrator went on to note that Segu cercle was furnishing more than 1000 laborers annually for projects outside the cercle. He considered this to be excessive because the military authority also continued to call on the cercle for porters to assure the transport of baggage and foodstuffs. Although automobiles were introduced to West Africa after World War I, they were not widely available until about 1929/30 (Suret-Canale, 1971). Even then, they were used mainly in urban

centers and in areas which produced export crops (Hopkins, 1973). Despite avowals to the contrary, forced labor demands were not confined to the agricultural off-season; if they were reduced during the rainy season, they often overlapped with the harvest period.

The depression of the 1930s most likely led to a decrease in the opportunities for wage labor. The dramatic drop in export prices probably resulted in a slowdown of migrants to Senegal. By the mid-thirties young men began leaving for the Ivory Coast while also continuing to seek work in the Mande gold fields. Curiously enough, the Administration ascribed this movement not to the hardships of the time - 1935/36 were years of poor harvest because of locust invasion - but to the "lure of higher profits and the attraction of novelty (1E40-I)." Men from Sana nevertheless only made sporadic trips to the Ivory Coast for some time. Rumor has it that migrants had to fear for their lives because the local population there was apt to kill them for their sacrifices. Although the food situation continued to be precarious during 1937, the Administration claimed that most laborers were absorbed locally (e.g. by the Office du Niger projects) so that migration to other territories had virtually come to a halt. Some Sana men did earn cash as laborers with the land surveys and construction projects of the Office du Niger. By the end of the decade Sana no longer provided labor for the peanut fields of Senegal.

The discontent of the 1930s forcefully raised the issue of control. Not only did complaints about weak and apathetic chiefs grow louder but the young were also seen as an element of instability. Having sought to encourage individualism and the desire for riches from the very beginning, the developments of the 1930s led colonial authorities to voice displeasure over this trend. Segu officials accused young men of migrating to escape parental control, of refusing to obey their elders upon return from migration, of causing incidents at home, and of being lured by gain. In their assessment migration definitely had "a pernicious influence on the native family"(1E40-I).

The requisitioning of laborers began to be resisted during this period, particularly when it meant leaving the cercle. Forced labor still constituted a significant burden. In 1935, for example, 305000 person-days of forced labor were executed in Segu cercle, and this by a population enumerated at only 175354. If roughly 20% of this figure represents eligible men, then each of these had to do 9-10 days of forced labor. The aversion to this aspect of colonialism became increasingly manifest during the course of the decade as men began to escape from projects or to refuse outright to participate (1E40-I). Segu recorded an increase in punishments for insubordination during 1939, arguing that the state of war required strict discipline by all (1E40-II). The Governor-General had instituted a supplementary tax in 1937 to facilitate the disappearance of forced labor (Dakar 1Q326/77) but in 1941 Segu had not yet implemented the measure throughout the cercle. While recognizing that it would be easier to coerce people into wage labor if the need arose, Segu considered economic conditions to be too precarious to permit imposition of an additional tax (1E40-II). Portering probably became the primary means of transportation once again because no imports, and therefore no gasoline, were getting in as a result of the British blockade. Segu reported in 1941 that trucks had been sitting idle for lack of gasoline.

Despite the uncertain atmosphere generated by the outbreak of World War II, migration continued. During a pre-recruitment drive into Sana and Kala in February 1941, the agent was shown only "young boys" and village chiefs explained that their seniors were away on labor migration (1E40-II). Some may have left to escape military recruitment.

By the end of World War II wage labor had become part of the social universe of Sana Bambara in the sense that a majority of men engaged in it at some point in their lives, even if only during a single season. In the years after the war peanut production was increased and households began purchasing ploughs and oxen. Despite the sale of peanuts, more cash was needed to buy agricultural equipment and to acquire some of the commodities which appeared

on the markets. More migrants began to leave for the Ivory Coast where coffee and cocoa plantations were being expanded. At the same time, many men hired themselves out as general laborers within the Soudan. Migration remained a male phenomenon as it had been during earlier periods.

Among the most significant changes of the immediate post-War period was the abolition of forced labor in 1946, as recommended by the Brazzaville Conference. Many Mossi who had been forcibly recruited as settlers for the Office du Niger left in its wake (Magasa, 1978). For the people of Sana this new turn of events was so dramatic that they did not believe it to be true. When the Sinsanni schoolhouse was constructed at the end of the decade and Bambara men were paid for their labor they finally became convinced that the dispised system had ended. Aside from the impact forced labor had had on social life and the local economy, it had assailed the dignity of people as human beings. It has left a permanent mark on those who were compelled to labor under this system. One elder summed up the feelings of many: "The White Man brought peace but there was always work; every day we were charged with yet another task. Today we are not dead, but we are tired."

4) Military Conscription.

France instituted military service in its West African colonies, a practice which interfered with rational exploitation of the colonies. The first call for conscription came at the onset of the rainy season of 1905 with an order from the Administrator of Segu cercle that all 'natives' of the Etats who had ever served with a fighting unit be sent to Segu at once; if they could pass the medical exam they would be sent on to Kati (near Bamako) for instruction (2D102). In 1911 it was impossible to recruit anyone from the Etats but in 1912 145 men were assembled for the medical exam; none of these, however, was a volunteer (1E72). Married men could be accompanied to Kati by their wives who were charged with preparing food for the recruits, as is attested by one old woman of Sana; she was sent home when her husband was shipped to France in 1915.

Recruitment prior to World War I received its impetus from the Mangin mission. Charles Mangin, an officer who had served in Indochina and French West Africa, headed a mission to West Africa in 1910 which collected data to assess the recruitment potential for an African force, a colonial army which could fight for France if the need arose. The mission delimited recruitment zones, suggested recruitment quotas, and outlined incentives for recruitment. Characterisations of ethnic groups put forth by colonial administrators no doubt influenced the choice of recruitment areas and suggested quotas. Based on Mangin's data, Governor William Ponty issued a decree in 1912 delineating the modes of recruitment; in addition to voluntary conscripts, young men between the ages of 20-28 were to be called up and serve for four years (Michel, 1982). People resisted this new exaction by fleeing the recruiters and by presenting men who were either too young or too old or infirm. Because of this practice it is difficult to ascertain to what extent the high rejection rates 75% for Haut-Sénégal-Niger, according to Michel (1982) - reflect resistance and to what extent they are an indication of the health status of the population.

Recruitment intensified with the outbreak of World War I. Without waiting for a request from Paris, Governor Ponty offerred in July 1914 to send 6600 men and by November he set out to conscript another 20000 (Michel, 1982). Each cercle was assigned a quota of recruits, a figure which was considered a minimum. Gifts and celebrations for new recruits and bonuses for conscripts' families were among the propaganda techniques used to overcome aversion to recruitment. Although these incentives did not generate any enthusiasm on the part of the population, recruitment progressed without active resistance. Men from Sana passed through Segu cercle so that recruitment figures, for the most part, are not broken down; available figures suggest that conscription amounted to at least 2%.

The most important recruitment campaign began in October 1915 with the goal of conscripting 50000 men from French West Africa. By June 1916 52-53000 men had in fact been inducted. The Soninke, Malinke, and Bambara

populations of the Soudan had already given more than 2% of their own in earlier drives; between October 1915 and June 1916 they, along with the Dogon and Senufo, again bore the major burden of recruitment. The Mossi areas and the cercles of the West-Volta had been designated to furnish 40% of recruits during this drive to distribute the burden more equitably but they fell 50-90% short of their quotas as a result of their rebellion against recruitment (Michel, 1982).

The Bobo and Mossi revolts of 1915-16 were put down only through severe military operations which increased in scale during April 1916. It was during this last phase in particular that indigenous auxiliary troops were used. Men from Sana fought as part of this force and remember the campaign as the "Bobo War" (Bobo kèlè). A report for Segu cercle boasts that 1000 men were assembled within one week, all on horseback and armed with local manufacture rifles, lances, or sabres. But the same administrator was well aware of the adverse effects these demands had, for he noted that while the population was resigned to military recruitment,

> ...most families prefer to keep their children, no matter how high the recruitment bonus. Young men are needed in cultivation. In future, the criterion for the number of tirailleurs to be recruited should no longer be a percentage of the total population but should instead be based on the number of young people indispensable for agriculture (1E72).

Recruitment was officially abandoned in September 1917. However, after Clemenceau took power in November 1917 he again called for military assistance from the colonies. A new drive, headed by the Senegalese deputy Blaise Diagne, was prepared. Though recruitment started late - in Haut-Sénégal-Niger not until late March 1918 a total of 63000 men from French West Africa were incorporated by August, 32000 of whom were from Haut-Senegal-Niger (Michel, 1982). The rejection rate for Segu cercle is perhaps an indication of the toll the war effort had taken: out of 9 men passing inspection only one was accepted (3N313). None of the men inducted during this final drive saw active combat because the war ended before they reached Morocco, Algeria, or France.

Michel (1982) estimates that of the 161000-200000 men[3] recruited for World War I from French West Africa 30000-31000 lost their lives. Those who survived were gradually repatriated during 1919; the 1918 recruits did not return home until well into 1920. With the exception of tuberculor veterans most of the sick and wounded were simply sent home. A one-time compensation, based on length of service and intended as an initial settlement to be followed by a pension, was paid upon discharge but was often spent before the veteran even reached home. Many pensions and compensations were never paid as a result of the complicated paper work or because the veteran could not furnish proof of identity which matched the record.[4] The limited number of civil service jobs made available to veterans benefitted only a small minority since even an applicant for a messenger position was required to speak French. The fear of the Administration that veterans would contest colonial authority was, for the most part, not realized; instead, veterans were more likely to have difficulty reintegrating into village life.[5]

Military recruitment continued during the inter-war years, albeit on a smaller scale. A percentage of the conscripts was designated to become an army of laborers, ready to be employed wherever they were needed and under the worst conditions. Initially their period of service was fixed at three years but this was reduced to two years in order to make recruitment more palatable. The "2nd column" (deuxieme portion), as it was called, was used for Office du Niger construction projects where the system of labor was designed to inculcate capitalist notions of work discipline. The laborers worked in shifts around the clock except on Sundays; they were paid on a monthly basis but 1/3 of pay was withheld until their release at the end of two years (Moreau, 1938). As opposed to this "2nd column", the "first column" were the actual military recruits who could be sent to serve in France or in other French territories. With the outbreak of World War II 80000 troops were sent to Europe and 90000 more were inducted (Crowder, 1968). In December 1939 the Director of Economic Services requested that 50000 laborers be sent to France from French West Africa, 13000 of these were to come from the Soudan. Conscious of

interference with agriculture and especially the production of export crops, the Director urged that each territory set its own timetable for recruitment so as not to interfere with the onset of cultivation; the Sudanese zone seemed to him the most suitable for recruitment due to its well-defined seasons (Dakar, 1Q326/77). After the installation of the Vichy government in 1940 75000 of the recruits sent to France in 1939 were repatriated and the 90000 who had been mobilized were also sent home without pay (Suret-Canale, 1971).

Recruitment nevertheless continued in Segu cercle. After a pre-recruitment drive in Sana and Kala during February 1941, the agent reported that he had been obliged to take a census and to convene all men born between 1918-21 because village chiefs had presented only young boys, alleging that young men were away on labor migration (1E40-II). Segu also tried to keep those who had returned from France under surveillance for fear that they might make unfavorable comments about France's "undoing" or cause other problems. The armistice itself appears to have generated widespread restlessness and insecurity throughout the cercle, but, the Administrator asserted, this was overcome by "the firmness with which we maintained our authority (1E40-II)."

After the French West African high command changed over to the Free French in 1943 soldiers were again sent to the front; between 1943-45 more than 100000 men were embarked for France (Crowder, 1968).

In the face of American pressures and the sacrifices made by French West Africans on behalf of the metropole, the Free French were compelled to promise changes in the colonial system. The Brazzaville Conference was convened between January 30 and February 8, 1944 to outline these changes (Suret-Canale, 1971). The recommendations put forth by the Conference included 1)social reforms, particularly the abolition of the indigénat and of forced labor; 2)the facilitation of economic development, especially industrial development; and 3)decentralisation of the colonial administration but not self-government or independence (Crowder, 1968). These proposals set the stage for developments during the post-War years.

The political ferment of the 1950s, closely watched by the Administration, did not generate much activity in Sana until toward the end of the decade. An attempt to establish a subsection of the 'Union of Sudanese cultivators' (Syndicat des Agriculteurs du Soudan) in Sinsanni in 1955 failed due to lack of attendance (1E40-II). Those involved in the push for decolonisation were members of the small educated elite, some of whom were supported by merchants, others by workers groups.

5) Circulation of Commodities.

1892-1918

The stimulation of commercial activity was a preoccupation paramount to the expansion of agricultural production. It went hand in hand with the encouragement of industrial crop production and the selling of labor power which, in turn, were to provide cash for the purchase of consumer goods. Active trade was also a source of revenues for the colonial state. To satisfy Administration interests, Mademba provided regular reports on the local markets. The three principal markets of the Etats during the last decade of the 19th century were Sinsanni, Sibila, and Niaro (Dakar 1G319). At the time of the French conquest Sinsanni was no longer visited by trade caravans, as already mentioned in the previous chapter. Another important market for Sana Bambara, though located on the right bank of the Niger in Segu territory, was Kominè. During the 1890s Mademba consistently reported much activity at these markets. Most of the transactions involved the exchange of intra-regional products, either through barter or against cowries. Mademba's goal was the expansion of inter-regional trade, especially trade with the North. Through this, he hoped to restore some of its former prosperity to Sinsanni. When the first Moor caravan arrived in Sinsanni in December 1892 he gave it a special welcome and assured the traders that routes would be safe again. The primary product brought to Sinsanni by the Moors was salt which they exchanged against millet, honey, shea butter, local cloth, and the flour made from the fruit of the baobab tree (1E71). Merchants from Jenne also came to purchase millet for their trade with Timbuktu

while traders from the South brought kola nuts. European cloth obtained at Kayes and Medine appeared on the markets mainly during or toward the end of the dry season. Although Mademba provides no information concerning the customers for European cloth, it is fair to assume that it was purchased primarily by the Muslim population of the area since Bambara produced their own cloth which could easily satisfy their limited needs at the time.

Mademba's upbeat tone of the decade following conquest became more diffident after the turn of the century. While still reporting active trading in local products, he appears to have become disenchanted with the volume of inter-regional trade and to have lost his optimism with respect to its revival. Reports for 1903 and 1904 refer to commercial movement as unimportant; trade with the North continued on a small scale but European goods sold only with difficulty. Despite these apparently bleak prospects for commerce, a representative of the Niger-Soudan company established himself in Sinsanni in 1904.

Segu presented a more promising picture. Throughout the first decade of the 20th century reports note an increase in commercial activity. While no European merchant was as yet installed in the cercle in 1899, three commercial houses - Société Commerciale, Maurel et Prom, and Quesnel - had established branches by 1906. Two of these were involved in the retail trade of cloth along with some foodstuffs, the third traded in salt exclusively. By 1915 they also traded in cereals and hides.

The Inter-War Years and World War II.

By the end of World War I trade between the metropole and its West African colonies, especially those of the interior, was not well developed. Exports from the Soudan were confined to animals and peanuts, and these were minimal. Imports were equally unimportant in quantity: in 1913 imports to Haut-Sénégal-Niger amounted to only 7 1/2% of imports to French West Africa and consisted mainly of thread, cloth, and clothing. Both imports and exports

decreased during World War I. 17% of the branches of French commercial houses in Haut-Sénégal-Niger closed during the War and the large houses began to consolidate their position. The branches of foreign houses (particularly syro-lebanese) on the other hand increased by 53% (Michel, 1982). Initiatives during the post-War years to diversify imports and to exploit the colonies more systematically for raw materials failed for lack of funds.

The impact of an increase in the volume of trade between 1922-1929 reported by Hopkins (1973) was probably more significant for the coastal colonies than for the territories of the interior. In the Soudan, economic improvement was relatively more important in centers of commodity production than in areas such as Sana. Information on commerical activity in Sana is lacking for the entire inter-War period through World War II. Oral data indicates that reliance on commodities was minimal during this period. A returning World War I veteran had brought back a millet sieve to replace the locally made fiber plate; the hand carder also seems to have been introduced prior to World War II and labor migrants brought back the occasional piece of cloth. Other than this, most necessities of life were produced locally or could be obtained through barter. The hardships connected with the Great Depression were therefore less a result of reduced commodity circulation than of the more limited opportunities to procure cash for the payment of taxes, compounded by poor harvests. Similarly, the situation of penury which obtained during World War II required greater adjustments on the part of townspeople than of rural populations (1E40-II).

The Post-War Period.

Archival records again provide no data on commercial involvement for Sana, though this gap can be filled somewhat through oral information. The expansion of peanut cultivation in the 1950s did not bring labor migration to a halt. Cultivators began purchasing ploughs, draught oxen, and donkeys. Oxen had been used up to this point only as beasts of burden and donkeys had been employed only by the Marka. Though donkeys were adopted gradually, taboos which had surrounded them still lingered. Ploughs were used only in the millet fields at first.

Nevertheless, the commodification of tools used in production made labor migration a necessity. Cloth purchases increased but did not eliminate handwoven cloth. At the close of the colonial era the range of consumer goods in use was still limited but the trend toward involvement in commodity markets was firmly established.

Conclusion.

The subsumption of Sana Bambara society into the capitalist world system did not bring about a capitalist transformation but it altered the conditions of social reproduction and transformation. Production took on new significance in a system where control of economic resources is a key feature of power relations. By the same token, the interplay of a number of factors resulted in the increasing marginalisation of Sana.

Neither the state nor private capital made investments in production so that the forces of production remained undeveloped. Accumulation was predicated on peasant production which, however, was impeded by the forced labor requirement and by military recruitment. Taxation was designed to not only provide revenues for the colonial state but also to bring people into the commodity nexus. Sana Bambara defied the imposition of cotton as a cash crop and thus kept agricultural production outside of the commodity cycle for the better part of the colonial period. When tax obligations could not be fulfilled without threatening their food supply, they began to sell their labor power to obtain the necessary cash.

Given the colonial demand for male porters and laborers and the dynamic of local social relations - male agnates and their wives are responsible for the material reproduction of the household while female agnates do not share in the patrimony - it was men, and junior men in particular, whose labor became a commodity. Although principles of age hierarchy made it 'natural' for junior men to take on the burden of earning cash, migration had the contradictory effect of increasing their responsibility and range of experience and hence of gradually undercutting the authority of elders.

New 'needs' were not created as rapidly as the advocates of colonisation had led the French public to believe. The Soudan as a whole and Sana in particular provided only limited markets for French goods, at least until the post-War period. The cash earned by Sana Bambara on migration went above all

toward the payment of taxes; buying power did not increase significantly enough to allow for the purchase of many consumer goods. Despite the use of some imported products, needs were largely satisfied locally.

The two phenomena which affected Sana Bambara experience in a very profound way were the abolition of slavery and forced labor. Despite the fact that Sana Bambara were not large slaveholders, abolition required a profound reconceptualization of the social order because it dissolved a fundamental category within the hierarchy of the household and the village. This is not to say that all ties between master and slave were effaced at once or that men of slave status were not the first to be 'volunteered' as military recruits or for forced labor but that former slaves and free persons had to deal with each other on new terms. The declaration of universal equality called into question all social categories in a system based on complementary but assymetrical relations.

Slave liberation also affected the construction of personal identity because the "free/slave" (hòròn/jòn) dichotomy, once a fundamental part of the self and society, was now juridically devoid of meaning. The implications of this were greater for men than for women because for men slavery was irreversible whereas female slaves could make the transition to hòròn status through marriage with a free Bambara man. Moreover, the construction of masulinity was bound up with the existence of this dichotomy prior to colonization when slave raiding constituted a means of establishing male prowess.

At the same time that slaves had been elevated to the level of free persons, everyone had, in a sense, become a slave of the White rulers, a status most poignantly expressed in the forced labor requirement. For those who participated, forced labor is not a fading memory but an integral part of their life experience. The colonial characterisation of the Bambara as "docile" seems to be at odds with the historical record which is replete with notations about passive resistance and challenges of the existing order. Evasion and procrastination were not only difficult to counter, they also implied a denial of 'presence' of the colonial 'Other', hence a certain measure of control.

Notes

1 In 1901 these figures were as follows: 0.10F per measure of millet, 0.05F for peanuts, and 5F per sheep (2D102). (1 measure = 1 kg.) The French Commissioner noted that he had used minimum figures. According to the 1904 census Kuabugu (incl. Mpekolobugu) had 458 inhabitants, meaning that the tax assessment would have amounted to 1374F. Census records show that the Bambara of the Etats paid roughly 8/10 of their taxes in millet, 1/10 in peanuts, and 1/10 in sheep.

2 A document dated 30 May 1917 states that 1700 tons of millet had been purchased, of which about 541 tons had been sent to Kayes and Bamako by various commercial houses. Another document in the same file states that 1600 tons were reserved for the Defense Nationale and 700 tons had been sent to various services in Kayes.

3 Estimates of the total number of recruits vary within this range (Michel, 1982).

4 An old woman whose husband had served in France from 1915-19 complained to me on numerous occasions that all of her household's efforts to obtain the promised pension failed.

5 I have no information concerning difficulties experienced by returning Sana veterans. Cheikh Hamidou Kane has illustrated the impact of the war experience on individual men in his novel Ambiguous Adventure. New York: Collier Books, 1974.

CHAPTER V

PROVISIONING: HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY IN PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY

The previous chapter focused on the experience of colonisation and in particular on the establishment of commodity relations. It concluded that Sana did not undergo a capitalist transformation but that the conditions of social reproduction were profoundly altered. This chapter focuses on the 1980s and examines how social relations within the village community are constituted and reproduced in productive activity aimed at provisioning. It will show that productive activity is central to the reproduction process even though it has not crystallized into the bounded domain of 'the economy'. The non-emergence of a separate economic sphere is closely linked to the fact that neither time nor space have become commodified in Sana. Yet this 'wholeness' is more apparent than real because the reproduction of social relations is no longer sustained from within. Petty commodity production and the sale of labor power on migration are not appendages to a 'traditional' way of life, they are integral to the contemporary social order. This dimension will be discussed in the next chapter.

Village and Household.

Each village has its unique features and dynamics but Sana Bambara villages also share certain characteristics. All villages offer a compact appearance of low, flatroofed mudbrick buildings interspersed by the green of some trees and crisscrossed by a number of alleys of varying widths. Single houses without enclosure or vestibule dot the edge of the village. One or more craterlike holes are left within or at the edge of the village by the fashioning of mudbricks for house construction. Depending on the size of the village, one or more wells provide water for household consumption, for small livestock and, during the dry season, for plough oxen.

In 1981/82 Kuabugu had two wells for the community which provided water year round. A third well supplied several households partially until it collapsed during the 1981 rainy season. Digging a well does not represent any major problems because the groundwater table is relatively shallow (8-12 meters); the problem consists in the need for reinforcement because, due to the sandy soils, wells collapse easily. One of the two main wells was reinforced with mudbricks, the other had a concrete lining provided for the village by the Keita government. Until that time the village had an insecure water supply, relying mainly on small non-reenforced wells which were liable to collapse during the rainy season.

The wells, then, are part of public space. They are associated primarily with women since women draw all the water for household needs and do their washing at the well. Men only draw water for house construction or any gardening they might engage in and for watering the plough oxen during the dry season. The use of the wells by men and women may overlap except when the oxen are watered. If a well requires maintenance, it is carried out by men of the ward in which the well is located; whoever is available and physically able is called upon for the task.

Another feature of village public space are the dugalen (Ficus thonningii) trees. Each village has several of these. Since they provide shade year-round they are favorite places of assembly for men, especially for elders who no longer go to the fields. Men are often found under the one that is in, or close to, their ward of the village or they visit men in another ward. Small children join their father or grandfather periodically; adolescents and young adults sit with the men at times but are more often found in the company of their age mates. Bozo women who have come to sell fish or kule women who are in the village to mend calabashes sit down amidst the men to pursue their activity and chat. This differentiates them from Bambara women who never join the men. Women visitors stop to greet and local women may engage in some banter while passing; they bring their calabashes or inspect the fish for purchase and exchange news with the kule and Bozo but they would never sit down.

The village plaza (feere) is traversed by many people in the course of a day and provides a playground for children during the day or at night. The kamalen tòn or the household heads may use it for meetings but for adults the feere is of significance mainly on festive occasions.

The shrines of the religious societies (e.g. nya, kònò) as well as the mosque are also integrated into village space. In some villages they have become foci of conflict for defenders of Bambara religion and for converts; in others they serve as points of reference for more subtle distinctions between "us" and "them", 'present' and 'past'. Shrines and mosque are identified with men because membership in the societies is not open to women nor do women pray in the mosque.

By far the largest part of village space is taken up by the compounds (duw) belonging to the various households which make up the village. Each compound is surrounded by a mudbrick wall which is usually low enough for neighbors to converse across it; nevertheless, such a wall is a requirement for the compound of any respectable married man. Most compounds do not accommodate the houses of all household members as well as the cooking area, kitchen house, washing areas, granaries, and domestic animals. As a result, the larger households consist of a main compound (duba) where the daily meals are prepared and consumed, where the household head and his wife (wives) and/or a widowed mother have their houses, and where the household granaries are located and the animals are tied up; and one or more secondary compounds belonging to junior men and their wives. Given this dispersal of the household in space, which is a spatial manifestation of changing household composition, it is difficult to evaluate the social position of a household from the appearance of a compound. The main compound usually has a vestibule (bulon), an enclosed entryway where the household can receive visitors or women sit and do cotton during the dry season. Circumcised boys share a house, wherever it is available, with age mates while young bachelors occupy individual houses, often at the edge of the village.

An expanding household can obtain needed space for building a house from a neighbor or friend. Once constructed, houses, even if unoccupied over an extended period of time, remain the property of a specific household though they may be loaned to a member of another household for use. Space vacated by a household which leaves the village goes either to another branch of the same lineage or reverts to the village to be reallocated by the village chief.

The house, so, refers not only to a physical structure but also to a group of agnates; by extension, fa so ("father's house") is the home village. The village headman (dugutigi) ideally holds his position by virtue of being a descendant of the founding lineage. Although the French did not create village chiefs in Sana, the position of the founding lineage is not immutable but is subject to demographic and economic forces; if its fortunes decline or its head is ill or judged to be of weak character it might find its position usurped by a stronger lineage. While the founding lineage may take the headship (dugutigiya) back when it regains strength and influence, some founding lineages choose to leave and resettle elsewhere rather than occupy a subordinate position. In villages where the founding lineage is strong numerically, the office of dugutigi may nevertheless be contested by different factions who vary in strength.[1]

Competing factions of a lineage are generally synonymous with different households. As a lineage grows in size and latent tension develops into open conflict, its members may decide to split into separate households. Once fission occurs the eldest male member still officiates at some ceremonial functions but each household is an autonomous unit of production and consumption and is no longer linked to the other(s) through any corporate interests. Occasionally, lineage segments which have become impoverished recombine to pool resources and labor. If households within the village have to be ranked for any reason, it is done according to the age principle: the dugutigi first (whether or not he is the eldest household head), then the other households in sequence according to the age of their respective heads.[2] Since individual households may leave the village to settle at their cultivation camp, or in another area altogether, members of the

same lineage may be found in different villages or hamlets. Some lineage segments who reestablish themselves elsewhere in Sana often continue to pay taxes with their village of origin to publicly manifest their ancestral ties. Questioning one second-generation emigrant about his reasons for continuing to pay taxes with Kuabugu, he responded in two words: faso nege, "desire for the home village/house of the father". Nevertheless, genealogical memory is shallow and the majority of household heads could not trace their ancestry back beyond the second ascending generation. In day-to-day life residence takes precedence over lineage membership and defines insiders and outsiders.

Decisions affecting the entire village are arrived at by a consensus of household heads or their representatives. Some household heads are chosen to be members of the village council which assists the village headman in administering the day-to-day affairs of the village. Households do not all carry the same weight in village politics for reasons of social origin, demography, economics and, to a lesser extent, the personality of their most senior member. Village progress and harmonious relations within the village are equated with prosperous households and wise inhabitants. Jealousy is considered to be more of a problem in a context of general poverty than in a village where at least some households are doing well. Sana Bambara have an acute sense of the changing fortunes which may befall households: lack of male offspring, death, internal conflict, and economic misfortune all may combine to transform a prosperous unit into an impoverished one. Beyond material well-being, harmonious relations depend on the presence of deliberate individuals who are able to mediate conflicts though village harmony is ultimately ascribed to a capable village headman. Villages, much as households or other associations, are identified with their leader.

The ideal household unites classificatory brothers and their married sons and children, but the majority of households now consists of married brothers who are sons of the same mother and their offspring. In addition, a household may include the son or the unmarried daughter born to a female agnate prior to

marriage (nyamadenw), adoptive or foster children, and visitors who stay for varying lengths of time. (Table 1 provides a breakdown of Kuabugu households to illustrate household composition. Table 2 shows the demographic variation in the different households between 1980-1982. Both tables are to be found at the end of this chapter.) Although labor migration enhances the possibilities for individual accumulation and may thus contribute to divisiveness, there is no evidence to support a direct relationship between commodification and a steady progression toward nuclear units. Households did fission in the past; in fact, the preceding reconstruction of Sana history would seem to indicate that the unified corporate kingroup, as represented in anthropological models, has been the ideal more often than the rule.

Each household (gwa, "hearth") comprises people who cultivate together and who eat together. As will be shown, it is not an undifferentiated unit. All members are subject to the authority of the eldest living male in the senior generation, the gwatigi. Succession passes along the line of classificatory brothers according to seniority before skipping to the next generation. Even if a woman is the de facto household head, she is not considered to be the de jure gwatigi. Agricultural labor is directed by the jaatigi[3], the eldest active cultivator; this may be the gwatigi himself or, if he is of advanced age and has ceased cultivating, one of his younger brothers or his eldest son. As is the case with the gwatigiya, the position of jaatigi follows the relative age hierarchy so that each man has the prospect of becoming jaatigi, barring physical or mental incapacity. A household head could not pass the jaatigiya on to his eldest son as long as he has living brothers who are active in agriculture; doing so would jeopardize household unity.

The jaatigi makes all decisions concerning agriculture, such as the timing of planting, the types and relative quantities of crops to be planted, etc.. The household head retains the right to intervene if he deems this to be necessary, a right ascribed to his greater experience. The jaatigi informs his juniors of the tasks to be executed on a given day and can expect that these are carried out

without delay. Aspects of cultivation or the following day's labors are frequently discussed during or after the evening meal. Particularly in cases where the household head is also the jaatigi and the age gap between him and his juniors is a narrow one, the work plan for the following day is more the result of a consensus than an arbitrary command on the part of the elder.

The absolute authority of the household head is questioned at present. Juniors assert that age is not synonymous with superior knowledge or infallible judgement and that it is beneficial for the household if juniors are able to offer alternate suggestions. Many elders regret the disintegration of their authority but are well aware that insistence on the old order threatens household unity. The diminution of elders' authority, however, is not tantamount to a lack of respect for age. An elder still commands respect and juniors are firm in saying that unless a household head commands the respect of all members of the household, the household as a unit is not respected by other households. Tensions which exist are submerged; if they cannot be contained the only possible course of action is either to segment or, for a young man, to become a permanent migrant. The underlying principle is similar to that governing the husband-wife relationship: an elder who is openly defied by his juniors or the women of the household is no longer their superior, hence he loses the basis of his authority. Consequently, the household cannot be taken seriously by outsiders since a household and its head are synonymous.

While the elder-junior dichotomy is no longer as pronounced as it once was, the women of a household have no input into agricultural decisionmaking to date. They observe a hierarchy parallel to that of the men, but based on their time of marriage into the household rather than on relative age. Thus, the woman who has been in the household the longest and is still active in cultivation is the women's jaatigi. She is informed of the agricultural tasks the women are to execute the following day. It becomes her responsibility to pass this information on to the other women and to see that they comply. Criticisms are passed along in a similar manner.

Men, women, and adolescents who have entered the labor force go to the fields without dispute in line with the decisions made by the jaatigi. I never encountered any disregard for this rule and elders confirmed that "this has not yet become a source of conflict here." If any active household member is ill, or if a woman's child is sick and needs her care, (s)he is excused from agricultural labor but is expected to inform the jaatigi. A woman informs the women's jaatigi. Apart from illness the only valid excuses are social obligations such as attendance of a wedding, the bringing of condolences or, for a woman, the call of a seriously ill mother or father. The jaatigi himself supervises the labor process in working alongside his juniors, unless his social obligations prevent him from doing so.

Entry into the household labor force is determined by several factors including relative age, physical constitution, and household size. Households with a limited number of active adults are more likely to call on boys than larger households so that a nine or ten-year old may find himself urging on the oxen, if only intermittently, during ploughing. Regular participation in agriculture, however, does not come until the age of about 12 or 13 which roughly overlaps with circumcision. Girls do not enter the labor force until the age of 14 or 15 and have by then been excised. Once informed by the jaatigi that they are to participate in production, boys and girls are required to join the adults on a regular basis in going to the fields. Whether or not unmarried girls participate in the millet harvest is left to the discretion of the jaatigi. If the household can do without their help, they may be permitted to spend the harvest with a female relative in another village. In sum, the men of the household along with the married women constitute the core of the labor force.

The timing of retirement from agriculture depends on household demography. The person in line to succeed the jaatigi suggests to the other active cultivators 'to retire' (ka bolo bɔ̀ ci kɛ̀ la) a man or a woman. They must be in a position to carry the work load without the potential retiree before (s)he can be relieved of her/his duties; this holds for the women as well since a woman is usually

retired from her cooking duties at the same time, though this decision is up to the women. Once agreed upon, the person to be retired is informed when (s)he comes to the field, thanked for having worked hard, and asked to relax henceforth. The man or woman next in line automatically takes over as jaatigi. The new retiree then returns to the village to spread the news so that other villagers may thank and bless the household for allowing the person to rest. Some households make the announcement but have it take effect only the following rainy season.

Not all women welcome retirement. One woman recounted how she initially regretted her retirement, feeling that she had been deprived of a source of millet. To make up for this loss she asked to be given a kɔ̀ karila. Most women are retired by the time they reach their mid-fifties, men somewhat later. Elders suggest that retirement age for men as well as women has dropped because cultivation can be accomplished with fewer people since the adoption of the plough.

The aim of every household is to produce enough food (balo) to provide adequate nourishment for household members until the following harvest. This, however, is a minimum requirement. The continuation of social life demands that there be sufficient millet for any upcoming wedding and for a gift to elder men and women in the village. By giving millet to the old after the harvest poor households can be helped without causing embarassment. Since conversion to Islam wandering marabouts visit the village during the post-harvest season expecting a donation of millet. Household heads who have become Muslims take their alms and gifts to the old (or to poorer households in the village on the Islamic festivals of Ramadan and Tabaski) from the Islamic tithe (jaka). Their millet is measured publicly immediately after winnowing and one tenth is set aside. The harvest should also yield enough to cover sauce expenditures (na sɔ̀ngɔ̀) -- i.e. salt, red pepper, fish -- and grain which can be stored as security against climatic adversity. Some household heads assert that, except for the purchase of sauce ingredients, millet should never be sold unless a household's granaries hold

sufficient millet to feed its members for three to five years. This appears to be an ideal position which few households approximate: only one Kuabugu household did not run out of millet during the disastrous years of 1972-1974. Given the agricultural history of Sana since the 1890s this rule of thumb has probably always been a goal rather than the norm for the majority of households.

Millet, the primary crop, is supplemented with subsidiary crops such as fonio and Bambara groundnuts (Voandzeia subterranea). The latter are commercialised only in small quantities and help conserve millet or reduce millet purchases prior to the harvest. Elders assert that in their youth a variety of crops were cultivated in small quantities in the household fields but have largely been abandoned because young men now cultivate hastily and do not want to be bothered. This may hold true for contemporary migrants but many of their seniors still do plant a patch of sweet potatoes (woso), manioc (bananku), hemp (dah), or maize (manyò). More sweet potatoes and manioc were cultivated by men on a personal basis when rainfall was better. Part of the yield was consumed by the household and the remainder was sold. Sorghum (keninke) also used to be cultivated to a greater extent for use in brewing beer (dòlò) despite the unsuitability of local soils. Its cultivation has been virtually abandoned due to widespread conversion to Islam. In general, cropping patterns appear to have been adjusted over time in accordance with ecological changes. Peanuts have long been planted as a tasty addition to the sauce but began to be seen as a means of generating cash only during the latter part of the colonial period. Cash from the sale of peanuts was used for household expenditures including sauce ingredients. By the end of the 1960s peanut yields declined as a result of a renewed dry cycle and households reduced peanut cultivation in favor of millet. When Opération Riz-Segu opened the plain behind Sibila for rice production in the early 1970s many households applied for rice fields as a way of generating cash locally and taking the pressure off millet. Some of the fonio fields were given over to animal pasture at the time. Since rice production too has faltered during the past few years, millet again has to be sold for condiments and emergency household expenditures. Fonio cultivation has therefore been increased

to stretch the millet, though it is not sowed until the first heavy rain. This helps prevent the seed from drying up but also postpones the harvest.

The main emphasis in agriculture, then, is on provisioning. This is heightened by the ecological constraints relating to drought and soil exhaustion. Awareness that yields have declined, despite expansion of the surfaces planted, is universal among adults. The need to secure the food supply is underscored by contemporary migrants when they state that it is paramount to ensure food production since their efforts would be negated if their earnings were needed to purchase food. Labor migration earnings go first toward the payment of taxes, marriage expenses, and agricultural equipment. Households which can meet these needs and prosper because their members are able to subordinate their personal aspirations to the wellbeing of the collectivity gain respect within the village. Poverty, often expressed as segen ("fatigue") in this context rather than as fantaanya, is seen to be the greatest threat to a household because it facilitates discord (bènbaliya) and consequently segmentation. The emerging contradictions between private accumulation and the continuity of the collectivity are as yet contained in the marriage process. This will be discussed in chapter VII.

The Appropriation of Space in Productive Activity.

The space beyond the village is differentiated between housefields (soforow), those directly adjoining the village, and bush fields. Ideally, each household should have a housefield, though this may become difficult as households fission; custom prescribes that brothers who segment must divide the housefield equitably but an elder is not required to share the housefield with his nephews in the event of fission. The space beyond the village is generally referred to as 'bush' (kungo); this is a generic term which includes the fields, even during the cultivating season when fields are put into production. The center of Sana is characterized by sandy soils in contrast with the clay soils which prevail in the River plain and in the areas close to the Macina Canal. Kuabugu and surrounding villages have therefore had relatively better yields since the onset of the current dry cycle. Household heads are familiar with the specific characteristics of their different

fields and make production decisions accordingly. The term used to designate uncultivated space specifically is waa. Each village still has a designated area of waa nearby which constitutes the village dasiri, the 'grove' where the village protective spirit resides. Prior to islamisation, the village chief led the annual sacrifices at the da siri to propitiate the spirit of the land. As more and more Sana villagers have converted to Islam the collective sacrifices have been abandoned so that only individual nonconverts still sacrifice on occasion. The da siri itself is gradually disappearing as bushes are cut away over the years and the land thus gained is incorporated into adjoining fields. One might surmise that with the shift to Islam the conceptualization of people's relationship to the land would change to one that is more accommodating to a perception of land as an exploitable resource though, unfortunately, I was not able to explore this issue.

The idea that land could be bought and sold was still alien to Sana Bambara at the time of fieldwork and no system of landrent had developed as appears to be the case in the first (Kayes) region as well as in the sixth (Timbuctoo) and seventh (Gao) regions (Dembele, 1981). This despite the fact that men from several villages of central Sana felt that their cultivable space was becoming ever more limited. Kuabugu is literally encircled by other villages and can no longer cut new fields. Sibila is blamed for this to some extent because, it is said, Sibila used its position as canton seat (kafo) to encroach on Kuabugu land. Time and again men pointed to fields now cultivated by Sibila as fields which had been cultivated by their elders. Even though two of the smaller households were forced to leave the village to resettle within the perimeter of the Office du Niger near Kè Macina and a third one left within the past 15 years to resettle in Kala, there is currently no land available for potential new settlers. Only one household has joined the village within living memory, approximately 25-30 years ago; this was a relocation within Sana rather than a completely new arrival. Outmigration to cultivation camps, to Kala, or to the irrigated zone near Niono characterizes surrounding Bambara villages to an even greater extent.

Rights in land are rights of usufruct. However, the fields cultivated by a given household over a period of years or even generations come to be seen as household property. The variation in landholdings between different households, including that of the dugutigi, is a function of labor power. Consequently, those households which were among the first to obtain a plough had a relative advantage in expanding their holdings. No household head was in a position to tell me how many hectares of land he was cultivating. Fields had never been measured by the colonial or national authorities or through any indigenous means of evaluating land surface. One elder explained that a given unit of land used to be said to have the value of a goat or a chicken, according to the cost of a work party, but that he would not know the combined value of his fields in goats or chickens.

Prior to the expansion of the plough, each household had its assigned fields and cultivated as much as labor permitted. When the yield of a given field declined it was left in fallow until it regenerated. In the meantime a new field could be cut or one that had been in fallow could be brought back into cultivation. After the use of the plough became universal in the 1960s bushland was reduced to the minimum necessary for pasturing animals during the agricultural cycle. Fallowing had to be abandoned for the most part.

A household which can consistently cultivate all of its fields will retain them and can perhaps even borrow land from less fortunate households. Theoretically, the borrowed land ought to be returned when its owner wants to put it into cultivation again. However, if years have lapsed, the borrower may consider the land his own and refuse to return it.[4] In the current context of a developing land shortage the loaning of land is almost tantamount to losing it so that a tendency to refuse loan requests is emerging. This holds in particular when households from different villages are involved so that landloans are arranged primarily between households of the same village.[5] All indications point to the fact that, although land has not become a commodity subject to market speculation, a gradual change in the notion of landownership is taking place. Land is coming to

be seen as a resource and as a medium in relations of domination. Under these conditions an expanding household may be unable to obtain enough land to fully use available labor. This protects smaller households from being pushed off the land but eventually it may also discourage some members of demographically and economically stronger households from continuing to cultivate.

The land belonging to a household is not an undifferentiated space. Land cultivated collectively by members of a household under the authority of the household head or his representative is designated as foroba. In large households, the sons of different mothers frequently cultivate one or more common fields, known as surò̀foro or jòn foro ("evening field"/"slave field"; the latter term is rarely used now), under the leadership of the eldest brother who is also in charge of the products derived from it. Household fission, if it occurs, takes place along surò̀foro lines so that the surò̀foro then becomes the foroba supplemented by a portion of what was previously household land. Many contemporary households no longer have surò̀forow. Some surò̀forow have been eliminated as a result of fission; however, certain households which could nevertheless set aside surò̀forow for their constituent units have not done so in favor of foroba cultivation. This may be linked to the pervasiveness of labor migration and its greater potential as a source of wealth for subunits within the household. A third category of land is the kò̀ karila ("broken back") which is now only cultivated by elderly women who have been retired from collective cultivation. Individual men could also plant a kò̀ karila in the past, though its cultivation had to be subordinated to both the foroba and the surò̀foro – hence its name "broken back". Any woman retired from household agriculture who still feels capable of cultivating her own field may request a strip of land from the household head and her request cannot be refused. By contrast, younger active women have no such 'right' to their own field but many now strive to obtain at least a small parcel from the household head. The extent to which they have succeeded varies from village to village. There is no category of "woman's field" (muso foro) in Sana because, men assert, women are obligated to cultivate for the household and having their own field would only divert them from this task.

It is significant that it was always this issue of control over labor which was cited for the absence of 'women's fields' rather than diminishing land resources.

Small patches of land which women use to grow some okra during the rainy season do not fall under the category of "women's fields". Usually these are at the edge of the village and involve areas which are not part of household property. Some men also make small gardens near the perimeter of the village where they plant sweet potatoes, maize, red pepper, and lime trees. Only the women of one household used such a patch of land to cultivate onions during the cold season of 1981. They had decided to follow the example of women from villages with land bordering the Macina Canal despite the fact that they had to pull all the water for irrigation from the well. Since onions require much watering, thus potentially depleting the water supply, this could become a source of conflict if other women were to do likewise. Women who can cultivate onions along the Canal not only avoid the drudgery of pulling the water from the well, they are also able to plant larger surfaces. Many men there plant onions as well and some grow tobacco. Even in those areas land is not a commodity and may be allocated to girls or women relatives from other villages for the duration of the cold season. The women of one village adjoining the Canal planted onions near a neighboring village in observance of a taboo which specified that their own land along the Canal could not be put into production. The continued observance of this taboo underlines the non-capitalist nature of production and the non-commodity status of land.

Conceptualization of Productive Activity.

Productive activity is not narrowly circumscribed by certain hours of the day, days of the week, or a fixed "work place". Rather, its rhythm follows the seasons and its spatial parameters vary with the nature of the activity. Put differently, 'work' and 'leisure' are not rigidly separated in time or space. Productive activity is covered by the generic term baara ("work"), but it is used in the abstract primarily when speaking of work executed on labor migration. To say that "someone went to work" (karisa taara baara kè) indicates that the person

in question went on migration with the express purpose of earning cash. By contrast, a person involved in some activity locally is said to be engaged in a specific task, such as "going into the bush" (a bè taa kungo fè) or "making a mat" (a bè bilèli da). Without exploring the nature of wage work further at this point, we may simply say that it involves a notion of equivalence regardless of the particular activity concerned whereas work carried out in the village context is differentiated even if a given activity does generate cash.

It may be useful to speak of 'productive activity' rather than of 'work' within the village context to emphasize the wide range of tasks covered by the term baara. Baara is not confined to activities which result in a tangible product, it also includes social obligations as, for example, offering condolences or going to a wedding to present a gift. Baara, therefore, aims not only at material production but also at the production and reproduction of social relations. It implies effort; this is most poignantly expressed in the phrase a kèra baara ye ("it has become work"), used to indicate that something has become complicated. A term which overlaps with baara to a certain extent but which seems more clearly to imply the expenditure of physical energy is ciya. Tasks which are usually designated as ciya are brickmaking and construction (bògò ciya), women's work on the threshing ground (gende ciya), or work executed for a political authority (faama ciya). Also, to commend someone for being industrious is to say that "(s)he is doing labor" (a bè ciya kè).

Juxtaposed to baara or ciya is lafiya, ("rest", "ease", "relaxation"). Lafiya is predicated on work completed and assumes a state in which the body is at ease. A woman who has walked all the way to the fala (the Macina Canal) to do her laundry and who, once finished, gets into the water herself and washes can say afterward sisan, n'lafiyara ("now I am relaxed"). A break between tasks or during an activity, however, does not allow for lafiya, it is merely ka lafiya bò ("to pull/get out the rest") or ka segen bò ("to pull/get out the fatigue), to catch one's breath so to speak. Women sometimes say an tè lafiya ("we don't rest") to indicate that they don't run out of work, that there is always something to do.

Lafiya, in the expression u lafiyara ("they are at ease"), may also be used to express that life is easier for those in question as a result of better ecological conditions, improved technology, or various other reasons; by contrast, to say that people have it difficult is to say that "they are tired" (u segenmen).

Lafiya may be linked to nyenajè ("amusement," "enjoyment"). Nyenajè covers the range of amusements which take place in the village in the course of a year, such as the dancing on festive occasions, an evening of entertainment provided by a visiting buffoon (nsirindala) or by passing balafon players. Nyenajè implies sociability. Men sitting together in the evening talking (ka baaro kè), or women conversing and joking while doing cotton with friends, may say afterward an nyenajèra bi ("we enjoyed ourselves today"). In the latter case work does not preclude nyenajè but nyenajè requires the presence of more than one person. A person who is relaxed and in a happy frame of mind may feel enjoyment but it is incomplete unless shared with other people.

Finally, "play" (tulon) is related to nyenajè. It may refer to the play of children as well as to entertainment enjoyed by adults, such as the sogo tulon, the puppet theater. Ka tulon kè not only means "to play" but also "to joke". It takes on a pejorative connotation if someone is said to be a tulonkèla, meaning that the person is frivolous or, in reference to a man specifically, that he is always chasing after women.

Activity of any type is frequently affirmed in greetings. Aside from those relating to the time of day, many others can be generated to acknowledge a person's state of being or involvement in activity. Someone returning from market may be greeted with i ni dògò ("you and the market") or someone who has completed a task and is tired with i ni segen ("you and the fatigue"). The rainy season in particular gives rise to numerous formulations. I ni samiye ("you and the rainy season"), i ni daba ("you and the hoe"), and i ni daamu ("you and the pleasure") are only a few of the salutations offerred to Bambara cultivators during planting. The first greeting to anyone working in the field at any time during the agricultural cycle, or to a person on the way to or from the field is i

ni ce;[6] only after acknowledging a person's involvement in labor does one say 'good morning' or 'good afternoon'. This emphasis, along with the proliferation of greetings, provides an indication of the significance productive activity, and especially cultivation, assumes.

The rhythm of activity is closely linked to the diurnal cycle and the season. Time (waati or tuma) has not yet become a measurable entity independent of social activities. It is what Giddens terms 'lived time' rather than formless duration. Nevertheless, elders assert that the pace of life has quickened and that everything is more hurried than in their youth. This is most obvious during the agricultural cycle when work in the fields goes on seven days a week. In the past, Monday was the day when everyone was released from labor in the foroba so that household members could work in the surò̀foro or follow individual pursuits. It was also a day for men to relax around the beer pots. In Kuabugu, Monday began to be abandoned as a day of rest during the early 1960s. Only a minority of non-Islamised Bambara in several of the other villages still observed Monday in 1981. The tò̀n continues to schedule work sessions on Monday which require that its members be released from the household fields. The day for initiating planting is also given less significance now; Tuesday and Friday were formerly eschewed because they were deemed "heavy" (ka girin), hence inauspicious. Similar taboos relating to other activities are observed to varying degrees.

The periods of the diurnal cycle correspond to the passage of the sun: su (night, with dugutila indicating the middle of the night); fajiri (dawn); sò̀gò̀ma (morning); tilegwan ("hot sun", i.e. middle of the day); wula (afternoon), and fitiri (dusk). They overlap to a certain extent with prayer times which are also used as time markers in the course of the day: fajiri at dawn, selifana around 2 pm, laansara around 5 pm, and saafo around 8 pm. Together they structure daily activities which vary according to the seasons.

The most active period of the year corresponds to the rainy season (samivè). Except for the old and the very young, everyone is in the fields during this time

until all the planting and weeding is accomplished. It is followed by kawula, the interval between the end of the rains and the beginning of the cold season (fonènè). Harvesting coincides with kawula and the first part of the cold season. The latter part of the cold season and the hot season (tilema) are characterized by non-agricultural pursuits. People rise somewhat later in the morning and follow a different meal pattern. Once the season of weddings and amusement, this is now a relatively quiet time in the village as a result of virtually universal migration of young men. Samiyèda, the onset of the rainy season, is the time when fields are prepared and an occasional light shower wets the ground. It is during this period that migrants return so that people's eyes are expectantly turned to the road any time a lorry stops; word quickly spreads throughout the village when another young man has arrived.

Embedded in the seasons are the months of the year, beginning with jominè which corresponded with November in 1981. The months in question are lunar months, though people are aware of the Roman calendar and refer to those months simply as tubabu kalow (French, i.e. European months). Most people do not know the names of the tubabu kalow at all, or at best only a few, an indication of their insignificance to local concerns. I would occasionally be asked what day of the tubabu kalo we were on and we would remark on the discrepancy between it and the lunar month; it was an item of curiosity, no more. While jominè is considered to be the first month of the year, the rainy season is at the same time thought to begin the year. This apparent contradiction suggests different traditions and points to the differing significance of months and seasons. The rainy season is not only the beginning, it is also the focal point of the year and serves as the basis for computing age and a woman's integration into her husband's household. San, the term for "year" is often taken to be synonymous with rainy season and also means "sky" and "rain" - in short, it is not an abstract term.

The Process of Provisioning.

In the productive process people observe a particular rhythm, that is, they follow certain paths in space-time. Bourdieu (1977) calls this "respect for collective rhythms" (p. 162) and elaborates

> The reason why submission to the collective rhythms is so rigorously demanded is that the temporal forms or the spatial structures structure not only the group's representation of the world but the group itself, which orders itself in accordance with this representation.... All the divisions of the group are projected at every moment into the spatio-temporal organization which assigns each category its place and time: it is here that the fuzzy logic of practice works wonders in enabling the group to achieve as much social and logical integration as is compatible with the diversity imposed by the division of labor between the sexes, the ages, and the 'occupations'...(p. 163).

Put differently, the labor process is a symbolic order in which social identity is shaped and relations of autonomy and dependence are negotiated and reconfirmed. Though the ostensible goal is material production, the social order itself is reproduced and transformed. In the account that follows, the provisioning process is examined through the prevailing forms of cooperation which are based on 1)mutual aid; 2)tòn labor; 3)intra-household collaboration; and 4)individual and gender-related activity. It will be seen that despite their rhythms and patterns none of the categories is static.

1) Mutual Aid.

Mutual aid involves various forms of inter-household cooperation and is predicated on reciprocity. It demands coordination between households and a synchrony of rhythms which is disrupted when cash income becomes essential to household well-being. Prior to the adoption of the plough mutual aid was practiced during all phases of the agricultural cycle. The flexibility of networks during certain phases, then and now, attests to the fact that perceived unequal contribution or incompatibility may lead to dissolution.

The arrival of the stork (baninkòno/ciconia abdimii) signals the approach of another rainy season. The heat is still blistering but is broken by an occasional brief shower. Adolescent boys form groups in order to clear fields of brush

and unwanted bushes, pile up the debris and burn it. They work one day on the field of each participant, following the instructions of his jaatigi. Once completed, the cycle may begin anew or else the group disperses and reassembles with new members. This pattern for clearing fields is one form of mutual aid (dama baara). The clearing of fields is less arduous and time-consuming now that most fields are cultivated regularly, hence it can be left to those age grades which make up the cè misèn tòn and which have not yet commenced labor migration or which are only being initiated into the process. When fallowing was still practiced clearing required a more concentrated effort so that fewer men were able to leave on migration or had to return early. Given the way in which labor migration has evolved, it is questionable if dama baara could be sustained during the pre-cultivation phase were clearing not a responsibility which could be taken on by the younger age grades now.

Mutual aid is also practiced during the fonio harvest. Labor networks are based on kin ties without following a single pattern and may be modified as a result of conflict.[7] Fonio is the first crop to ripen and can be harvested by mid-September. The harvesting process is divided along gender lines. The men in the network go to the field that is to be cut on a given day. They gather the stems into a bunch with one hand, pull, and cut it with the sichle in the other hand, leaving it in small piles. Later it is gathered and stacked into a mound. The men also clear an area of all the stubbles and grass near or under a tree to become the threshing ground. The cut and stacked fonio is allowed to dry for two to three days, longer if it rains on one of the days. Then the women of the network thresh and winnow it. The women's jaatigi of the household whose fonio is being threshed becomes the jaatigi of the entire group. If the fonio belongs to a suròforo, then the eldest woman of the suròforo acts as jaatigi. The women begin by taking a few layers off the stacked fonio and spread it in a circle. They then position themselves around its circumference and beat it with the stick each woman has cut for herself in preparation of threshing. As the grain falls off, layer after layer is removed, beaten again, and shaken through. The straw is set aside to be taken home eventually by the men for animal

fodder. The fonio grain is scooped into calabashes and winnowed to remove the chaff; as the grain piles up it is continually swept in an upward motion to eliminate any debris. Women active in agriculture as well as retired women take part in this process. In a network which includes retired women it is the younger women who do the threshing while the retired women winnow and sweep. Retired women who wish to help with threshing do so by "crushing" (ka cɔ̀nkɔ̀) bundles of fonio with their feet to loosen the grains. When the threshing is completed and the dust of the threshing area has been winnowed to gather up all the grains, the jaatigi gives each participant an equal measure of fonio as a reward for participation. Everyone's contribution may not be exactly equal but by virtue of having taken part in a collective effort the reward is the same. The women make benedictions and the younger women then carry the harvested grain home to be stored in the household or surɔ̀foro granary.

Dama baara prevails to some extent during the transport of millet to the threshing ground. While some households move their own millet without help, others cooperate with a related household and yet others form a network which involves all juniors and girls of tɔ̀n age as well as married women. In the latter case, the juniors of all participating households come with a donkey cart and everyone cooperates in loading up the carts while some juniors stay on the threshing ground to unload and distribute the millet. Mutual aid during this phase of the labor process appeared to be very much in flux in 1981. This may have been due, to some extent, to divisiveness introduced in 1980 when some juniors left before threshing was completed, and to the uncertain threshing schedule which again was a problem in 1981.

Mutual aid is still strongest with respect to the winnowing of millet. The pattern discussed below applies to foroba millet. A kɔ̀ karila, and sometimes a surɔ̀foro or a small field of sunna (an early variety of millet), is still threshed by hand and winnowed by a small circle of women who are expressly invited. Because winnowing is only one phase of the labor involved, the activity on the threshing ground is also known as "threshing ground labor" (gende ciya) and

concerns women exclusively. After the threshing is completed to the household's satisfaction, the jaatigi informs the elder woman of the household who, in turn, spreads the word around the village. If it is only midday, the winnowing begins in the afternoon, otherwise the following morning. The women's jaatigi divides the millet into sections (ka kala ci) with the help of the junior women. When the winnowing begins two or more women depending on the surface and the number of women present cooperate on one section and are responsible for completing all work connected with it. Women who share a section have one or more members pick up the millet and the other(s) separate the grain from the chaff through a continuous movement of the calabash. All of the women who are engaged in the actual winnowing line up at one end of the threshing ground. The pace of the work depends to a great deal on the wind. If the wind is favorable, the work never comes to a complete standstill because women take turns eating their meals. The women of each household bring their own food for the midday meal. If work continues until mid-afternoon the household whose millet is being winnowed brings seri (a millet gruel) for all the women. The piles of millet are swept in an upward motion, much like fonio, to remove any debris. Since the wind only carries away the chaff, the debris remaining in the calabash is deposited in a pile and beaten with a stick to loosen any grains still clinging to a cob. The entire pile is then winnowed again.

When the winnowing draws to a close, the old women of the village are informed that it is time for them to come to the threshing ground. Each of them comes with a small broom and together they proceed to sweep the entire threshing ground and supervise the collection of the individual piles of grain into one large pile. Their sweepings are winnowed by some of the women to recover any remaining grains. It is not until all tasks have been completed and nothing but one beautiful pile of grain remains on the threshing ground that the women's jaatigi sends word to her male counterpart that the women have finished their work.

During the final winnowing phase, the women of the household set aside some millet and cover it with branches or in any other way possible to hide it from view. They agree on the amount and divide it amongst themselves after the threshing ground has been cleared. It is referred to as "hiding millet" (ka nyɔ̀ dogo) or as "stealing millet" (ka nyɔ̀ sunyè) and is in effect institutionalized theft. Men are aware of it but must pretend that they do not know and are prevented by taboo from interfering with it. Since they are not permitted to come to the threshing ground until they get the signal from the women, they do not know how much the women are taking. While the active women of all households steal millet for themselves, the proportion varies between households and reflects the state of gender relations within the household to a certain extent. The fact that retired women have no part in the theft is an indication of the different structural position they occupy: "young women" (muso misènw) are still 'outsiders' in the household whereas "old women" (muso kɔ̀rɔ̀baw) have grown children, they are firmly integrated into the household and their interests have merged with those of their sons. Some old women occasionally protest the theft of their daughters-in-law when it happens under their eyes but they are reprimanded by the other women present and are not allowed to interfere.

The eldest woman of the household, aided by the other old women, is in charge of measuring out the millet for the gende filen, the reward all women are entitled to. The distribution is based on a complicated system that allows for different categories of labor; a fixed number of baskets (by tradition 11, according to old women, unless it is a poor year) are divided among 1)the winnowers (nyɔ̀ siuurulaw), 2)those "who beat the morsels" (kunkurun gosilaw), 3)those "who raise the arm", i.e. those who winnow the morsels (bolo kɔ̀rɔ̀talaw), 4)those "who winnow the dust" (bugurin suurulaw), 5)those "who sweep the place", i.e. the old women (yoro furalaw), 6)the girls "who carry water" to the threshing ground for the winnowers (jitalaw).[8] Women who participate in several of these tasks receive millet in the respective categories. Before women leave with the millet they make benedictions for the household to express their thanks. Many households have female visitors during this phase of the agricultural cycle,

specifically to participate in the winnowing. These may be female agnates who are married in other villages or kin of resident women who come to winnow the household millet or to stay for the entire winnowing cycle. They are often from villages or from households whose harvest is poor; through their participation they obtain millet to help feed their husband and children.

Various forms of mutual aid used to prevail during cultivation and during the millet harvest but have all been dropped. The disappearance of mutual aid during cultivation is attributed to the universal adoption of the plough which permits people to cultivate larger surfaces with less labor. Labor networks were probably undermined by forced labor and early labor migration so that the advent of the plough only strengthened a tendency which favored household autonomy. Since the purchase of the plough depended on the resources of the individual household and different households acquired ploughs at different points in time, it was difficult to integrate the plough into existing labor networks and still preserve the notion of reciprocity underlying mutual aid.

The disintegration of labor networks during the millet harvest is linked to bird invasions which increased following the creation of the parastatal sugar complex at Duguba on the Canal du Sahel in 1972. In the area north of the Macina Canal near Duguba the birds cause so much damage to crops that some households have obtained bush fields many miles to the north while others have left the area altogether. When the food supply diminishes near the fala, the birds move into Sana in huge swarms. Sana Bamananw have responded by having each household concentrate on saving its own millet. This points to the primacy of the household over the lineage or the community and to a fundamental tension between collective production and private (household) appropriation. In a situation where the survival of the household is at stake submerged conflicts are more likely to come to the fore and the unequal contribution of different individuals and households become a bone of contention. In contrast with the tòn, labor networks have no institutionalized mechanism for fining absentee members so that juniors who wish to leave on migration, or are sent off early by the household,

may provoke discord; under these conditions labor networks become a constraint on individuals as well as on households. Beyond this, men and women justify the abandonment of labor networks by pointing out that individuals' contribution is unequal because some are quicker and better workers than others. This is surely not a recent discovery but it takes on significance in the context of commodification.

2) Tòn Labor.

The kamalen tòn may be hired by households which are in need of extra labor during the cultivation period or during the harvest. Tòn is a generic term for association and such an association can be designated for any purpose its members desire. The very notion of tòn is linked with a system of fines designed to aid in enforcing the rules. Aside from the kamalen tòn, also known as ci kè tòn ("cultivation association"), Kuabugu associations included the nyò gosi tòn ("millet threshing association"), and the muso furu tòn ("marriage association"). The kamalen tòn is composed of the age sets of male youths between the ages of approximately 14-36; the youngest age sets (to about age 18 or 20) constitute a sub-unit known as the cè misèn tòn and may be called upon independently. Unmarried girls participate in the ci kè tòn until they get married. They take a subordinate role, however, in that they do not cultivate alongside the men but only accompany them to the field to offer drinking water.

The institution of the kamalen tòn is a very old one and its basic structure has remained the same. Elders state that in their youth the tòn labored for food and cowries. Until the 1970s, drums were taken to the field whenever the tòn labored and female members sang and clapped their hands to encourage the young men to exert themselves to the fullest. This practice has gradually been abandoned in most of the villages.

Tòn members assemble to labor on behalf of the community or, against pay, for individuals and households. The collected fees are used mainly for holding an annual festival which aims to entertain the entire village and thus to facilitate

social harmony at the onset of the rainy season. Tòn ideals still hold that aid be given free of charge to households whose survival is threatened as a result of death or illness, but despite these ideals the Kuabugu tòn had not cultivated or harvested free of charge for a number of years. It worked for a fee, fixed at 5000MF plus food for one morning of labor, 3500MF plus food for the afternoon; if the recipient is a resident of another village, then the fee for one morning's labor is raised to 6000MF. The fee is a reflection of the size of the labor force so that the tòn of a larger village charges higher fees. Some villages have more than one tòn in keeping with social composition and village politics.

Tòn members reject the suggestion that, in working for a fee, the tòn really benefits the wealthier households. They point out that the fee is low considering the number of workers a household obtains and, moreover, a household has three months to pay the fee. Indeed, the Kuabugu households for which the tòn labored in 1981 were among the smallest and poorest. In one instance, the tòn was hired to thresh sorghum and agreed to accept only a meal as remuneration.

Despite the fact that Monday has ceased to be a day of rest, tòn labor is still carried out on Mondays. If not all of the work scheduled can be accomplished on Mondays, then the tòn will also assemble on Fridays but never on any other days of the week. No household head can intervene or withhold its members when the tòn fixes a work session. The tòn elders, however, are conscious enough of household labor needs not to accept commissions if the absence of juniors would place an undue burden on the majority of households. During the 1981 cultivating season, for example, the Kuabugu tòn accepted only a total of five commissions: two mornings and three afternoons. This paralleled the 1980 pattern. During both years, the tòntigi suggested, the season had been so rushed (ka teli) that they were unable to fit in more work sessions. What he was implying, in effect, was that tòn labor was curtailed in order to give full attention to labor in the fields of individual households. The tòn did cultivate two tòn fields in 1981 in order to produce millet and generate revenue for the 1982 tòn festival. These fields were borrowed from households which lacked the labor

to put them into production and were retained again in 1982.

The tòn is in charge of transporting the millet grain from the threshing ground to the granary. Members are not normally rewarded, though they may steal some millet during transport. One household head who had had an exceptionally good harvest in 1981 slaughtered a goat and had it cooked for them with rice in compensation for their aid. During years of good harvest the nyɔ̀ donni ("bringing in of the millet") becomes a joyous occasion whereby many adult men come to lend a hand and elders observe the millet being put into the granary and make benedictions for the household.

Since 1979 the tòn has ceased threshing the millet by hand. Prior to this time, the "millet threshing ton" (nyɔ̀ gosi tòn) threshed the millet of all village households in turn. This tòn overlapped with the ci kè tòn and in addition included several senior age grades. All members were required to assemble for threshing. If a young man had already left on migration, his kinsmen sent him a letter asking him to return as soon as the first threshing date was set. Those who were tardy returning were fined on a graduated scale. A member who stayed away entirely was fined 25000MF during the 1970s; before then the fine had been 5000MF. This was steep enough to make a young man calculate carefully if staying away was worthwhile. Any fines collected were administered by the tòn elders and used for village needs, such as supplementary tax assessments. Of the various Sana villages, only the non-islamised section of Gumakoro continued to thresh its millet by hand in 1981 and ensured the presence of its young men by charging absentees 50000MF. In some of the other villages, such as Tin, tòn members were required to be present for transporting millet to the threshing ground.

Currently, villages call on entrepreneurs, some from as far away as Markala or Bamako, to 'thresh' their millet by driving a tractor or truck over it until the grains have separated from the cobs. Entrepreneurs known to have started threshing in the area are contacted by individual households to find out if and how soon they would be able to thresh. If available, they are asked to come and

evaluate the millet laid out on the threshing ground. The tractor/truck owner specifies a threshing price in kind, the jaatigi makes a counter offer, and the two negotiate until they arrive at a price acceptable to both. At times no agreement is reached and the entrepreneur departs.[9] This means that the millet remains on the threshing ground, exposed to termite and insect damage, while at the same time other households are prevented from putting out their millet. Even if an agreement is reached, threshing may still be time-consuming because the equipment is often old and breaks down; anything but minor repairs cannot be done locally.

The decision to abandon handthreshing in favor of threshing by hired labor can be linked directly to current patterns of labor migration. While machinethreshing most certainly eases the physical burden for young men, this may be secondary to the fact that it gives individual households and their juniors greater independence in chosing when and where to go on migration. Money is bound to introduce tension: those who pay fines for absenteeism feel that it is a high price while those who stay behind work harder and regret their reduced earning potential. The move to machinethreshing eliminates this source of discord in the village and gives each household greater autonomy while also making it bear the cost alone. Villagers nevertheless were dissatisfied with this new dependence on outsiders and expressed a desire to own a communal threshing machine-tractor.

3) Intra-Household Collaboration.

Cultivation and harvest test the prowess of the household as a productive unit. The importance of a healthy labor force is reflected in the benediction Ala k'aw kisi samiyè tuma banna ma ("May Allah protect you against illness during the rainy season"), which is offered when someone receives millet after the harvest. The benediction is as apt now as it was in the past, particularly since the diminution of mutual aid places greater stress on the self-sufficiency of the household.

Men generally take household refuse to the fields though households that own cows call on their women to help load and spread the manure. Due to the climatic uncertainty nothing is sowed until the first copious rains have fallen. This occurred around June 10th in 1981 and around May 30th in 1982.[10] Islamisation has altered precultivation ritual and diminished the central place the household head once had in it. Rather than making sacrifices at the household shrine (so kɔ̀nɔ̀ boli), most household heads now simply ask that a chicken be cooked or that takula[11] be prepared and taken to the fields for the workers. Although the day of the week on which planting is to start is given less significance now, the jaatigi still decides when cultivation is to begin and executes the first stroke of the hoe.

All fields, except those designated for fonio, are ploughed prior to planting. The labor requirements for fonio are limited; it is simply scattered, covered with shallow strokes of the hoe and it is not weeded. Men and women collaborate throughout the cultivation period. When millet, peanuts, and Bambara groundnuts are sowed a plough team (a man who guides the plough and a woman, girl, or young boy who leads the oxen and urges them on) prepares the ground while the remaining cultivators drop the seed onto the furrow and cover it with a sweeping motion of the foot. Some households have two, or even three, ploughteams while some own no oxen and are therefore compelled to hitch a donkey to the plough. Households which lack oxen but can spare one of their juniors can trade with a household which has oxen but is short on labor.

The millet fields receive the most attention and are weeded twice: the first weeding is done with the hoe when the plants are about 5-10 cm high and are also thinned out; the second with the plough, whereby workers who are not part of the plough team follow with a hoe to remove any remaining weeds between plants and to free millet leaves which were covered with soil through the action of the plough. Bambara groundnut and peanut fields are weeded only once with the hoe. The women of the household frequently weed in the peanut or groundnut fields while the men prepare the rice field. If a household is short on

labor it is these fields that are neglected rather than the millet fields. One jaatigi summed up the emphasis on the millet fields in the following way: "millet provides our to (i.e. the basis of all meals), peanuts the sauce; the sauce is secondary."

The cultivation period is marked by continuous activity. The men leave for the fields at dawn and return for breakfast only if the field is close by, otherwise breakfast is taken to the field by a child or by one of the women. In contrast with the agricultural offseason, to is already prepared for breakfast, if at all possible, to give more sustenance to the cultivators. With the exception of the woman whose turn it is to cook, the women go to the field as soon as they have pounded millet and eaten breakfast. The woman who remains behind prepares the meal, serves the retired members of the household and then goes to the field with the food. When she gets to the field she first informs the jaatigi that the food has arrived and joins the other workers. It is up to the jaatigi to decide when to begin the middday break and to invite everyone to eat.

The consumption of the meal is followed by a short period of rest the end of which is, again, signalled by the jaatigi. Only at the time of the mid-afternoon prayer (selifana) is there a longer break. Any leftover food or some dege is consumed at this time. If drinking water is low, a woman may go home to fetch another pail and the woman responsible for meal preparation returns home to begin her work. The evening meal is frequently light, consisting of the millet gruel (seri) that is usually served at noon during the dry season. Households which run out of millet during the cultivating season purchase it with cash at the going rate or against repayment in kind after the harvest to feed cultivators. Where tensions run high, subunits within the household (e.g. each brother and his wife and children) may decide to fend for themselves in providing the daily meals.

From the time planting begins until all weeding is accomplished work continues seven days a week from dawn until dusk. Surò forow are cultivated with household labor whenever the work can be fitted in. With the focus on the

fields, the village seems deserted during the day. Children who have not been taken to the fields play around the village and are looked after by the elders who are retired from cultivation. Old women cultivate their kɔ̀ karila if they have one, collect shea nuts, do cotton, and help the younger women with domestic tasks. Old men work on their mats, weave, or attend to other needs around the compound. In short, retirement is not synonymous with idleness or superfluity. Children or elders release goats and sheep when the herder is ready to take them to pasture. Neither men nor women attend the weekly markets unless there is a pressing purchase to be made. The steady pace of activity is only interrupted by social obligations connected with a name-giving ceremony, a wedding, or a death. Aside from some conversation after the evening meal there is little visiting among adults, except for young girls or particularly bachelors who may chat into the night. Soon after the last prayer call the village falls silent, a silence broken only by the sound of playing children during a moonlit night.

Once one household has completed cultivation a kind of rivalry ensues among households to see who will finish next. At each evening meal note is taken of those who have followed suit. Juniors of households which have finished often help kinsmen or friends who lag behind so that they too may enjoy a brief period of rest before the harvest begins.

During the millet harvest each household now also concentrates on its own fields. There is no global term for 'harvest', instead, each crop is referred to specifically (e.g. ka fini kan "to cut fonio", ka nyɔ̀ tigè "to cut millet", etc.). The ripening of Bambara groundnuts (tiganikuru) and peanuts may overlap with the early part of the millet harvest. Women often go out to dig up a basketful of groundnuts for the evening meal, which then consists of nothing but boiled groundnuts. If the entire groundnut field is to be harvested, the men go to the field early in the morning to begin unearthing them with the falo, a straighthandled, narrow-bladed hoe. The women follow and pull them off the stalks into a basket or calabash. Many households pile the dug-up stalks under a tree to allow women and men to sit in the shade while pulling them off the

stalks. The same labor pattern holds for peanuts; if the millet harvest is already underway retired women may help out to allow the men to work in the millet fields in the afternoon. Before the bird invasions reached current levels peanuts were unearthed before the millet was cut but now the millet is given priority.

Beginning at the time of the fonio harvest and continuing throughout the millet harvest many retired men and women spend a good part of their day making certain that stray goats and sheep do not get into the millet fields. Elders and household heads prepare for the approaching millet harvest by fabricating baskets (fufuw) out of specially collected grasses for transporting the millet in the fields. They also make new granary bottoms and sides, if needed.

One or more of the men "break" (ka kari) the millet stalks close to the ground so that they all face in the same direction. This is done in the evening when work is winding down or early in the morning before everyone arrives. Men and women work side by side cutting millet cobs off the stalks with a small knife (kemesu). They leave them along the furrow or give them to one of the juniors or a woman of the household who puts them in a basket (fufu) and carries them to a designated area in the field where they are stacked. Once the entire field has been harvested the millet pile is covered with thorns to prevent animals from feeding on it. Some women look for millet cobs that have been passed over as they transport the millet or during their breaks and collect them. Millet gained in this fashion becomes their personal property. Young children often go on harvested fields to collect such passed-over millet (nyɔ̀ nyoron). Many men disapprove of women gathering nyɔ̀ nyoron, suggesting that it diverts them from the task at hand or even makes them pass over millet on purpose while cutting. This attitude betrays a fear that women gain at the expense of the foroba and seems to be more common in larger households. Unless men oppose it outright, many women collect in between tasks or during breaks.

With the current bird problem priority in cutting millet is given to fields which birds are likely to pass first or which they have already invaded. People attempt to drive them away by shouting and making noise. Since birds often

settle in trees from which they swoop down on an area, the millet under and surrounding trees is usually cut first. Some households 'break' more millet than they can hope to cut in a single day because the birds do less damage to millet that is lying down. If more than one field is being invaded households often divide their labor force to work in two fields simultaneously and drive the birds away.

Much as at the end of cultivation, the jaatigi may assign a junior to help a related household or else individual men may choose to aid the household of a friend. This was the only occasion when I observed a member of one household provide a day's labor for the future affines of one of his brothers.

Households lacking in labor occasionally use migration earnings to hire a man passing through the area in search of work. The employment of wage laborers, however, is rare. A more frequent practice is the hosting of a guest, often a kinsman or friend from a town, who stays for the millet harvest and is paid in kind when the harvest is completed. Unmarried girls who are released by their natal household to work on their own account may join the household of an older married sister, or a mother's sister, for the harvest period. Similarly, a widow who has returned to her natal household can hire herself out to other households on a daily basis since she is not obligated to labor for the foroba. The standard payment in 1981 was one fufu full of unhusked millet for two full days of work.

At the end of the harvest the active women of a household are entitled to one tightly packed fufu of millet in recognition of their participation in agriculture. During extremely poor years when the survival of the household until the following season is at stake women are not rewarded in this fashion. It is up to the jaatigi to 'give' the millet to the women, a gesture which signifies that the millet belongs to the patriline and the women are outsiders who are rewarded for their labor. Similarly, once the millet has been threshed and winnowed, the jaatigi gives each active woman several baskets full of grain (from three to five, depending on the harvest), known as the tobilikèla nyɔ̀ ("millet for the cook"). The

retired women each receive from one to two baskets.

4) Individual and Gender-Related Activity.

Agricultural activity is almost by definition collective, be it at the level of the foroba or the surɔ̀foro. Kɔ̀ karila or small patches of secondary crops cultivated and appropriated by individual men or women are not very significant in terms of either the time expended or the product gained when compared with the collective complex of activity. Moreover, crops such as okra, sweet potatoes, or maize add variety to meals for all members of the household.

Non-agricultural productive activity aimed at provisioning is highly gender-specific. Its pace is determined by those who execute it and it lacks the sense of urgency which characterizes agriculture. It is by virtue of being a woman that a person pounds millet or collects shea nuts while another weaves or repairs a house by virtue of being a man. At the same time, these activities reenforce female and male gender identity. Gender-specific activities are viewed in a similar light as caste-specific activities: if Bambara women do not mend calabashes like kule women or make pots like blacksmith women, it is not that they could not learn how to do it but rather that it is not their station in life to pursue these activities. Casted people are social inferiors so that taking on their tasks would mean lowering oneself to their level. Similarly, men could learn how to pound millet or do cotton but do not do so because these are the tasks of women who are their social inferiors. Productive activities, then, are concrete manifestations of social hierarchy which, however, does not preclude their being considered complementary. In contrast with the North American admiration for the jack-of-all-trades, doing anything and everything is viewed as a mark of social inferiority rather than a virtue. Only slaves or their publicly identified descendants are 'free' to do anything.

As already indicated in connection with the millet harvest, men collect the appropriate grass and make special baskets for transporting millet in the fields. With a different grass they weave thick, rectangular 'boards' (kare) which are

used to extend the height of the donkey cart when transporting millet from field to threshing ground. Men are also responsible for fashioning and maintaining the granaries. Regardless of size, all granaries have a round, flat bottom with a low rim, a barrel-shaped wall which is set into the bottom, and a conical roof. Each of these components is made with grasses cut specifically for the purpose. Each granary is elevated on logs, dusted with insecticide, and plastered with mud. Once it has been filled it is covered with a grass top which is also plastered with mud, unless the contents is for immediate consumption. The roof is placed on top. Each crop has its separate granary. If women obtain only little fonio or millet, they store it in an earthenware jar purchased from a blacksmith woman; if they acquire larger amounts, their husband is obligated to make granaries for them on request. In households where the positions of household head and jaatigi are occupied by two different persons, the former frequently makes the new granary, if needed, while the harvest is in progress. Granaries, like houses, also need replastering if age and rain have caused damage; these repairs are generally done at the time the granary is refilled.

Rope needed for various purposes, especially for tying up animals, is manufactured by men. The raw material is gained from the bark of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) or, more frequently, the rind from branches of the nama bush. Men are also responsible for bringing home grass or leaves for their horse or a sheep they have tied up to fatten. During the dry season they must give water to the plough oxen. Since oxen are generally taken care of by one herder men from the households involved water them on a rotating basis.

Some time between harvest and planting, men have to make any necesary building repairs or engage in house construction. The labor involved in house repairs depends on the damage done by the rains and by termites. Before the onset of the rainy season the roofs are checked for potential leaks and, if necessary, newly replastered. The exterior walls are also replastered from time to time. If a roof starts leaking during a rain, it is repaired as soon as the rain ceases. Unmarried youths repair their own houses, husbands are responsible for

their wives' houses, and sons must maintain and repair the houses of elderly parents.

House construction and repair are considered comparable to women's food preparation activities. By the time a young man reaches the age of 20-25 years, he stops sharing a house with his age mates and moves into one of his own. This means building a new house lest there is an unoccupied house in the compound. A preferred period for making mud bricks is the interval between fonio and millet harvest when the water holes have not yet dried up. Bricks are currently made with the aid of a metal mold; prior to its introduction the mud was shaped by hand and put on layer by layer, each layer having to dry before the next one could be added. A man who has the necessary cash can hire the ton to make bricks for him. During construction per se kinsmen and age mates often come to help. Construction is directed by a man considered knowledgeable, sometimes referred to by the French term "macon". Unless this happens to be a friend who agrees to a special arrangement, the fee for building a house with one interior partition was 10000MF in 1981/82; a more elaborate version with two partitions cost 15000MF. The wood and straw for the roof is obtained in the bush and cemented over with mud. The walls of the house are plastered with a fermented mud mixture inside and out. To make the interior more pleasing to the eye, some men hire a laborer to replaster the walls with a sand mixture; given the sandy soil in the area, the sand is simply collected on one of the roads.

Putting in the floor of a house is a woman's task. Instead of simply using a fermented mud mixture, some women make the mud more cement-like by adding sifted sand. This helps even out the floor and makes it easier to sweep. If the mother of a youth building his own house is elderly, one of the younger women of the household puts in the floor in her place. Women also periodically redo the floor of their own house.

While women and men consider house construction and repair to be comparable to women's responsibility for food preparation, it is nevertheless

much more focused in time. Tasks connected with food processing and preparation constitute the most ubiquitous and time-consuming complex of women's non-agricultural activities. Though food preparation as a general category is defined as 'women's work', its dynamics cannot be understood without a disaggregation of women and their relationship to different levels of production.

At the level of the household, it is married women of childbearing age who are responsible for processing foodstuffs and preparing the daily meals. Every bride brings her own utensils, from the mortar for pounding millet to the calabashes and food bowls; the household (foroba) is only obligated to provide a large iron cooking pot. Women's retirement from food preparation generally parallels their retirement from agriculture and is also tied to the availability of a 'labor force', i.e. the presence of younger women who can carry on.[12] In households built around the nuclear unit, a woman cannot retire until her eldest son marries. Unmarried girls do not share household cooking responsibilities, though they generally help their mothers with food processing; girls who are old enough, i.e. strong enough to do the requisite pounding, may at times substitute for their mothers in processing. In small households, an unmarried girl may actually cook in place of her mother. Visiting female relatives or a widow who has returned home help with food processing but are under no obligation to cook. In sum, it is married women of reproductive age and active in foroba agriculture who bear the primary responsibility for food preparation.

Women have no access to the household granaries. They receive the millet and any other ingredients for the daily meals from the household head or his representative. In extended households the millet for the daily meals is stored in the house of the elder woman or the women's jaatigi and each woman comes to her for the portion she is to pound on a given day. The woman whose turn it is to cook is not required to participate in pounding millet, rice, or fonio, but must fill the water jars, wash the pots and utensils, and locate all household members to inform them when the meal is ready. Women generally cook for two

consecutive days on a rotating basis. The senior woman sees to it that all women fulfill their obligation.

In addition to the daily routine of food processing and preparation there are related activities which are more limited in time. One of these is the processing of baobab leaves which form the basis of the sauce. When the leaves are in abundance in late september one of the men goes out with a donkey cart, cuts some branches and brings them home. Women or young girls bring home smaller amounts. The women strip the leaves off the branches, divide them amongst each other, and spread them out to dry. Each woman pounds her own supply and sifts it until it is a fine powder, then stores it away to use as needed throughout the year.

The preparation of to requires potash which must be provided by each woman. This involves going out after the millet harvest to cut millet stalks before animals or termites do too much damage, to burn them, and to bring the ashes home.

The oil used to fry fish, meat, or chicken also must be furnished by the woman who prepares the food. The local oil is extracted from the shea nut (si) in a long and laborious process. Shea trees (Butyrospermum paradoxium/parkii) grow wild and are relatively abundant in Sana in contrast with neighboring Kala where they give way to the balanzan. Shea nuts ripen during the rainy season so that women have to use their midday break or the hours from dawn until breakfast to collect the nuts that have fallen to the ground. During years of abundance women may even spend the better part of a moonlit night gathering. In poor years some women try to speed collection by taking sticks and beating the fruits of the tree; this practice violates the principle of giving everyone a fair chance and there are taboos against it. The flesh of ripe shea nuts can be eaten but the pit is saved and each woman stores all she can collect in round holes (kolo sow), specially dug for the purpose in the village. Only after work in the fields slows down or ceases do women bring out their nuts and roast them in a mudbrick oven. The shell is removed after they are completely dry, cracked with

a flat stone if necesary, and the core is pounded to extract the oil. A woman invites female members of the household and/or friends to join in the pounding. During years when shea trees produce in abundance groups of women process their nuts together by bringing their mortars into the feere. The pounded mass is strained and boiled until all of the oil rises to the top. After the oil cools it is shaped into rounds the size of a tennis ball and a number of these are wrapped, often by a man for his wife, into large leaves to form a bundle, tied, and stored away. Ideally, a woman should give a calabash full of oil to her husband and one ball of the hardened oil to the household head as well as to the other heads of household in the village. It is intended to express her respect and to obtain the blessings of the men. This rule is modified during poor years to apply only to husband and household head. I was unable to observe if the rule is still widely respected during good years because the shea harvest was poor in 1981 and promised to be poor again in 1982.

Finally, each woman is responsible for her own supply of firewood. An axe is one of the utensils a bride brings when she gets married. The bulk of the firewood is cut after the millet has been put into the granaries, though women often return home with a few pieces of wood during the harvest season already. Up to the present there is no real shortage of firewood in Sana but women do have to go farther and farther from the village to obtain their supply. Since Malian independence men have been coming to the villages to cut wood for a fee.[13] Laborers find a host who provides them with a place to sleep and an evening meal; in exchange, he works for the host one day each week. A woman who hires him to cut wood for her must provide him with breakfast and lunch. Women generally accompany the woodcutter to collect and stack the wood so that he can spend all of his time cutting. Not all women took advantage of the available laborers in 1982 but those who did hired one man a minimum of one and a maximum of three days. The women who cut all of their wood themselves stated that, had they hired a laborer, they would have had to pay him with their own money; some of the women who did contract with a laborer paid him themselves while others had a husband who assumed the fees for one or two

days' cutting. Most of the wood is now taken home on the donkey cart by one of the household juniors or the woman's husband, but some is still carried home by the women themselves. Each woman has a space in the compound where she stacks her wood and uses it as the need arises. To use another woman's wood without permission is tantamount to provoking a quarrel.

Men repair their own clothes but women must do the washing. For this, they are obligated to provide the soap unless a labor migrant purchases soap for his mother or young wife in town. Most women make their own soap, preferably from shea oil. When the shea harvest is poor other plant products (e.g. ntònkè, the fruit of Ximenia americana, or nsègènè, the fruit of Balanites aegyptiaca) are substituted. The manufacture of yet another type of soap, kata, made with the ashes of millet stalks (sègè) used to be confined to old women. A taboo, which is no longer widely respected, prevented younger women from boiling kata. The developing disregard for it cannot simply be attributed to a lessening of 'old values' but must be viewed in the context of expanding commodity relations, to be discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusion.

The preceding discussion of the provisioning process was intended to show that 'the economy' is not a distinct sphere which is set off in time and space. Consequently, there is no separation between 'home' and 'work' or between 'love' and 'money' governed by different moral principles. Rather, a single moral order prevails which upholds obligations corresponding with personal status.

Ethnic and gender identity are shaped in the productive process. A child may be born of Bambara parents, but it only becomes Bambara if it grows up in a Bambara environment. "It is the social milieu which makes a Bambara Bambara and a Bozo Bozo," people say. Embedded in this statement is the idea that Bambara relate to space differently than the Bozo and that they observe different collective rhythms, with all this implies for the emerging Self. Since this Self is a gendered Self the productive process has different implications for men and women.[14] Children are socialised through activities which tradition defines as masculine or feminine and their execution becomes a reaffirmation of that identity. Such gender-specific tasks are characterised by notions of complementarity. By contrast, notions of gender and hierarchy are closely linked in agricultural activity where the division of labor by gender is minimal. Although women work alongside the men during cultivation and harvest, they are defined as strangers within the kin group but are obligated to participate by virtue of their position as wives. Their contribution entitles them to a reward in kind in addition to daily sustenance. For women and men, position in the productive process is also defined by relative age.

The diminution of mutual aid and, to a lesser extent ton labor, confirms Bernstein's (1979) assessment that

> ...the destruction of the reproduction cycle of natural economy gives way to a different process of social reproduction in which the social reproduction of households takes place increasingly on an individual basis through the relations of commodity production and exchange (p. 424).

Household fission, though facilitated by private accumulation, becomes more

precarious as households have to rely increasingly on intra-household labor and on equipment obtained through the commodity nexus.

The focus on provisioning as a means of showing how it structures relations within the village community was an analytical device. It was not meant to suggest that structures and processes in the community are independent of the wider world. Given contemporary circumstances, any interpretation which focuses only on the world of the village misconstrues reality. It is therefore necessary to turn to the next chapter for a more complete analysis.

Notes

1 Usurpation of headmanship is not uncommon. Two of the villages with which I was familiar had dugutigiw who were not the rightful heirs to the office. The archives reported about a fraternal dispute over the headmanship in a third village.

2 This sequence was followed for providing my food during fieldwork. After one or two rotations the order was called into question by one household head who argued that he should be ranked ahead of one of the others. The challenge was accepted because the man who had replaced his brother as household head was younger than the challenger.

3 In general usage jaatigi means "host". Its literal translation would be "keeper of the shadow".

4 This happened with households no. 8 and no. 18. The former had borrowed a field from the latter after the death of the household head. Now that the children of no. 18 are older and ready to cultivate a larger surface they requested it back but were refused. The case was not resolved at the time I left the village.

5 A household head told me of his attempt to borrow a field which had lain fallow for two to three years from someone in a neighboring village. He was refused, even though the 'owner' had himself borrowed it from the Kuabugu dugutigi and had failed to give it up when asked.

6 ce has no meaning in and of itself, though it may be derived from ciya, "labor". Aside from its use in greeting a laborer, it means "thank you" in everyday usage when it may be reenforced by adding i ni baraji.

7 Kuabugu networks were as follows: households 1, 2, & 14, though 14 talked about breaking away; 8, 9, & 10; 5, 6, & 18; 12, 15, 16, & 17; 3 & 4; households 7, 13, & 14 were not part of any network despite the fact that the

heads of 13 and 14 were kinsmen.

8 During poor years or for smaller households it is 11 calabashes. One of the baskets or calabashes is for the uncircumcised boys, the others are divided among the categories listed in the following proportions: 3-3-1-1-1-1. How high the baskets/calabashes are filled varies between households. Also, during good years, households can choose to add some. Finally, how much each woman receives depends on the number of women who share in the reward.

9 Just how difficult a process this can be was evident in 1981. Threshing took a long time and involved several entrepreneurs because individual households could not come to an agreement. Peasants frequently aimed to thresh for the same or a lower price than the previous year even though gasoline costs had increased considerably. The entrepreneurs, on the other hand, want to make a profit. They are generally employees of parastatals with access to a tractor or members of merchant families who have invested in a tractor. The millet they earn is for personal consumption and for commercialisation on the parallel market. -- One way to avoid the problems encountered in 1981 would be for the village headman to come to an agreement with an entrepreneur and then for all the other households to thresh in sequence. This was not done in 1981 because, following a dispute which had ensued in 1980, he did not want to impose himself.

10 Some households may decide to sow fonio after an earlier, lighter rain but this is risky because the seed may dry up before the next rain arrives.

11 A type of pastry made with millet flour and water.

12 In one instance, a woman who had been retired from agriculture was not retired from food preparation because her retirement would have left a single woman processing grain and preparing meals for 12 adults and 3 children. She was scheduled to be retired as soon as the wedding of one of the juniors would bring another woman into the household.

13 A young man and an elderly man came to Kuabugu in 1982. In 1981 I was new to the village and consequently unaware of the presence of any laborers.

14 Michelle Rosaldo (1980) has explored this in her study of Ilongot personhood.

TABLE 1. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE 1981 RAINY SEASON

No. 1 --Father, mother; 2 sons, their 2 wives, and 5 grandchildren. 4 active in cultivation.*

No. 2 --2 brothers, their 3 wives, and 11 children; sister's daughter (of one of the wives). 8 1/2 active (1/2 = part time).

No. 3 --Man and his bride (singa, but not wedding, had been held); the widow of his deceased elder brother (now married to the younger brother in no. 2) and her 6 unmarried children. 7 active.

No. 4 --2 brothers, their 2 wives, and 4 unmarried children. 4 active.

No. 5 --Widower (who had a 'visiting wife' in a nearby village); brother's son, his wife, and 2 unmarried children; BrDau's son, taken in as an infant after his mother died. 3 active.

No. 6 --Father, his second wife, her 2 unmarried children; children of first wife: 2 unmarried sons, 1 unmarried daughter, 1 married son with 1 wife and her son. 5 active.

No. 7 --Widowed mother; her 2 sons, their 3 wives, and 8 children; one daughter who had returned home after husband's death during dry season. 7 active.

No. 8 --Widowed mother; her 3 sons, their 6 wives, and 11 children. 9 active.

No. 9 --2 brothers, their 4 wives, and 9 children; 1 adoptive daughter (adopted by a barren wife). 9 active.

No. 10 --2 brothers, their 2 wives, and 6 children; (a third brother with wife and 1 child remained in Bamako during rainy season). 4 active. (The women in this household do not cultivate.)

No. 11 --Father, mother; son, his wife, and 2 children; 2 unmarried sons, 1 unmarried daughter. 5 active.

No. 12 --3 brothers (same mother), their 7 wives, and 18 children; 1 married daughter's daughter; father's brother' son, his 2 wives, their 6 children, and 2 adoptive daughters (each wife received a girl following death of a sister). 19 active.

No. 13 --Man, 1 wife; deceased brother's unmarried daughter; sister's unmarried son (born prior to her marriage). 4 active.

No. 14 --Man, 2 wives, 6 children. 3 active.

No. 15 --Widowed mother; son, his wife, 1 child; 3 unmarried sons; 2 sons of deceased co-wife, their 2 wives, and 2 children; 1 unmarried son of deceased co-wife; husband's brother's son, his wife; husband's brother's 2 unmarried daughters. 13 active.

No. 16 --Man, his wife, their 2 unmarried sons; brother's widow, her married son, his wife, and 3 children + 1 unmarried son; widow of brother (different mother), her 2 unmarried sons; widow of brother (different mother), her 3 unmarried sons (1 unmarried son remained in Bamako during rainy season). 7 active.

No. 17 --Man, his first wife; their son, his wife, and 2 children; their unmarried son; 3 children of deceased second wife; 1 adoptive daughter. 6 active.

No. 18 --Widow, her 5 unmarried children. 4 active.

*Designated as active are only those who have entered the household labor force. Children who urge on the oxen intermittently are not counted.

TABLE 2. DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES IN EACH HOUSEHOLD BETWEEN JANUARY 1980 AND MAY 1982

No. 1 --J'80: 11 persons; 1 birth, 1 death; + 1 wife; M'82: 12 persons.

No. 2 --J'80: 16 persons; 4 births, 2 deaths; M'82: 18 persons.

No. 3 --J'80: 9 persons; 1 death; M'82: 8 persons. (Bride, whose singa was held, joined household during 1980 and 1981 rainy season; she was to join permanently following 1982 rainy season wedding.)

No. 4 --J'80: 8 persons; 1 birth, 1 death; M'82: 8 persons.

No. 5 --J'80: 7 persons; 1 birth, 3 deaths; M'82: 5 persons.

No. 6 --J'80: 12 persons; 1 birth, 4 deaths; M'82: 9 persons.

No. 7 --J'80: 15 persons; 1 birth, 5 deaths; + 1 wife with child; M'82: 13 persons.

No. 8 --J'80: 19 persons; 3 births, 2 deaths; 1 daughter married out; M'82: 19 persons.

No. 9 --J'80: 16 persons; 2 births, 2 deaths; + 1 wife; M'82: 17 persons.

No. 10 --J'80: 14 persons; 2 births, 2 deaths; + 1 wife; M'82: 15 persons.

No. 11 --J'80: 9 persons; 1 birth; 10 persons.

No. 12 --J'80: 41 persons; 3 births, 7 deaths; 1 widow left, took 2 children with her; 1 adoptive daughter married out; M'82: 33 persons.

No. 13 --J'80: 5 persons; 1 death; M'82: 4 persons.

No. 14 --J'80: 7 persons; 2 births, 1 death; M'82: 8 persons.

No. 15 --J'80: 19 persons; 3 births, 1 death; M'82: 21 persons. (Singa was held for bride of one brother and she spent 1981 rainy season; was to join household permanently after wedding in 1982.)

No. 16 --J'80: 18 persons; 1 birth, 2 deaths; M'82: 17 persons. (Singa was held in 1980 for bride of one brother; she spent that rainy season but not 1981 rainy season; was to join household permanently after wedding in 1982. Brother who had been on migration in Bamako for 2 consecutive years was expected to return for 1982 rainy season.)

No. 17 --J'80: 12 persons; 1 birth, 1 death; M'82: 12 persons.

No. 18 --J'80: 6 persons; no change; M'82: 6 persons.

CHAPTER VI

PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY AND THE WORLD OF COMMODITIES

This chapter seeks to expand the perspective of the previous one by taking a closer look at the consequences of Sana's subsumption into the capitalist world system. It begins by locating Sana within the Malian nation-state and by providing a synopsis of post-Independence political developments in relationship to the rural sector. The major part of the chapter focuses on the satisfaction of needs through involvement in the commodity nexus both at the level of the household and the individual. This activity is guided by the maxim N'i ma segen, i tè fèn sòrò ("you don't obtain anything without getting tired"). Although a household's or a person's prosperity are ultimately thought to be the work of Allah, the maxim makes it clear that women and men must take an active part in it.

Peasants and the Malian Nation-State.

To most outsiders, Sana is simply known as the "arrondissement de Sansanding", a subunit of Segu cercle north of the Niger river. Segu cercle, in turn, is subsumed by the "region de Segu" which is the fourth of Mali's seven regions. The state is represented in Sinsanni by the "chef d'arrondissement" who is still referred to as the "commandant" by the local population, much as during colonial times. Any disputes which arise and cannot be resolved through negotiation can be brought before the chef d'arrondissement or the regional court in Segu. This potential intervention of the state may influence the actions of the parties involved but of more far-reaching significance is the place Sana is seen to hold with respect to the rest of the nation.

The 'decentering' of Sana is a process which was shown to have begun during the colonial period and which has altered people's conceptualization of Sana's relationship with the world beyond the province. Everyone now is keenly

aware that a part of what is deemed necessary for the continuation of material and social life cannot be obtained within Sana. Rather than focusing inward, most people look outside of Sana for supplementing local resources. For labor migrants directly and for others vicariously the 'outside world', be it Segu, Bamako, or Abidjan, becomes an integral part of assumptions, strategies, and actions. In short, Sana is no longer viewed as a self-sufficient social world nor is action predicated on such a notion. People do not require a thorough understanding of politico-economic forces to know that their area is impoverished and to situate Mali with respect to other West African countries or to Europe. The marginality of Sana within the Malian nation-state is symbolized by the only major road which traverses Sana on a west-east axis: if it exists at all, it is because it provides access to the irrigated rice schemes of the Office du Niger around Kolongo-Kokri-Kè Macina. Stretches of the road are covered with deep holes and thick layers of dust so that vehicles now often follow a bush road to bypass it; these same sections become virtually impassible during the rainy season. The last time any repairs were effected, one head of household commented, was when the President of the Republic, Moussa Traore, had gone on a visit of the Office du Niger in the 1970s.

Moussa Traore and his party, the UDPM (Union Démocratique du Peuple Malien), were preceded by Modibo Keita and the US-RDA (Union Soudanais - Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine). The US-RDA emerged as the only party in the struggle for independence. It opted for independence in federation with Senegal and its leaders supported a strong federal government in contrast with the Senegalese leaders who favored greater autonomy for each territory. In spite of unsettled differences, the "Mali Federation" gained independence from France on June 20, 1960 but broke apart two months later. The hostilities surrounding the breakup led Modibo Keita, the new president of the "Republic of Mali", to cut all communication with Senegal (Foltz, 1965). This move halted all imports and exports via the Bamako-Dakar railline until reconciliation in September 1963.

The Keita government wanted to bring about a socialist transformation. In accordance with this aim it sought to decolonise the Malian economy and strengthen agriculture. It established a state trading network in order to compete with French firms and successfully attracted foreign aid from Western and Eastern bloc countries. A hierarchically organized cooperative system was to facilitate the improvement of the productive forces and the reorganisation of agricultural production along socialist lines. The effort ultimately failed for various reasons, including an idealisation of traditional village structures, low producer prices, and the inability of rural cooperatives to retain profits from commercial ventures (Ernst, 1973). According to Bingen (1983) food crop production stagnated or decreased, and the peasant's buying power declined as crop prices fell and the price of agricultural equipment and consumer goods rose; the government trade network lost out to private traders in both attracting the marketed food crops and in making available consumer goods in the rural areas. Party militants harrassed peasants about selling food crops and in 1967 even confiscated grain stores; when their activity began to threaten the army, a group of young officers staged a coup d'état in 1968 and put Mussa Traore in power as the new president.

The Traore government adopted a pragmatic political ideology without substantially altering many US-RDA economic and foreign policies. It continued to require, for example, that all food grains be sold to the government marketing monopoly OPAM; this policy was only relaxed in 1982 under pressure from the IMF and Western donor countries. It strengthened ties with Western donors while maintaining links with socialist countries. Rural development strategy concentrated on opérations de développement, rural development programs which focused on the production of specific commodities within circumscribed geographic regions. Initially they provided only technical services but then expanded to include literacy programs and health care. They became favorite conduits of foreign aid, to the point where some (e.g. Dembele, 1981) argue that they have increased the dependence of Malian agriculture. Though formally under the Ministry of Rural Development, these opérations de développement

enjoy financial and administrative autonomy in implementing their programs (Kebe, 1981). They are conceived as short-term structures which are to turn over power to smallholder groups as these gain technical expertise. However, both the lack of a timeframe and the benefits they provide to their personnel as a result of the independent financing militate against such a transition (Bingen, 1983). Their management of production and trade expands state control over the peasantry and the bureaucracy itself takes on some of the characteristics of a social class (Meillassoux, 1970).

Throughout the decade of the 1970s and into the 1980s the situation of the peasantry has steadily deteriorated. This is due only in part to the drought conditions which have prevailed during most of these years. Between 1967 and 1977 agricultural equipment prices have increased by an average 30.96% annually while producer prices increased only 0.2% on average. Basic consumer goods have risen as well. According to one estimate (cited by Kebe, 1981), a peasant had to produce 92.3% more millet or sorghum in 1978 in order to maintain the 1962-63 level of sugar consumption; this is calculated at Bamako prices which are generally lower than those in the rural areas. Much as during the Keita years the SOMIEX (Société Malienne d'Importation et d'Exportation) has been unable to supply the rural areas at reasonable prices. The Party and the Government nevertheless continue to emphasize their commitment to improving and increasing both food production and the production - distribution of consumer goods (e.g. L'Essor 14-7-1981 and 4-1-1982).

How do Sana peasants see their relationship to the State in view of post-independence developments? Their attitude is best summed up in the response I received when I asked what they expected from the State. The respondents were several young men who had spent a number of years moving between Sana and urban areas in Mali and Ivory Coast. Their answer was not a shopping list of needs but purely and simply the desire not to receive excessive and untimely demands, adding that "if the skin of a drum is stretched too tightly it breaks". These feelings go back to the Keita period. Negative reactions focus

on the imposition of a collective field and the requirement to provide labor for construction projects which they felt were of no benefit to them. The institution of OPAM survived the Keita government and was no more popular in 1981 than in 1968. Twice Kuabugans resisted millet deliveries to OPAM because the demand was considered excessive. During the Keita period the village council was jailed for such resistance in Markala until other household heads obtained their release; more recently all household heads had to spend the night in Sinsanni as punishment. Other issues, such as disputes with the local school, have led to confrontations between individual villagers and representatives of the state. The result is a sense of powerlessness and passive or isolated resistance. The inability to revolt is attributed to disunity among Sana villages on one hand and their lack of arms on the other. The latter reflects a perception of the state as a structure that has the means and the willingness to back its demands with force; but the implications of the insistence on the former - often couched in terms of janba ("betrayal") - are more serious: they point not only to mistrust rooted in history but also to a differentiation of interests linked to contemporary developments.

Most Sana Bambara peasants have also not reaped the benefits of "comprehensive" rural development which their involvement with Opération Riz is supposed to entail. Those responsible for animation rurale are located in Sinsanni and confine their activities - which are often inactivity - largely to that town. Even there, their life style sets them apart from other residents and discourages mutual trust and cooperation. During the early years of the program some village women received health education in Sinsanni but there has been no attempt to follow up and reinforce this training. The maternity is small so that women from the surrounding villages resort to it only when a birth promises to be complicated. The literacy program has collapsed. One reason seems to have been the practice of teaching all men together rather than separating them into at least broad age categories; it proved embarrassing for elders to share the role of student with their juniors. What remains then is that aspect of rural development which tries to capture the productivity of the peasant for the

benefit of the state without allowing the peasant to gain greater control over his (or her) own destiny.

Commodities and the Household

Household heads cite taxes, marriage expenses (to be discussed in the next chapter), and agricultural equipment as the three major expenditures which require cash revenue. The order in which they are cited gives an indication of the priority assigned to each. The requirement to pay taxes is considered to be inevitable since it is potentially backed by force. Taxes are due during the months following the harvest and can be paid either by the individual household or by the village as a collectivity. Each household receives a sheet (du carnet) with a tax breakdown and the village chief receives a summary assessment for the village. Taxes are assessed on all persons over the age of 14, excepting mothers of five or more children, on shotguns, and on domestic animals. Tax rates vary between different areas of Mali. 1982 rates in Sana were as follows: 4125 MF per person, 1600 MF per horse, 500 MF per cow, 200 MF per donkey, and 100 MF per goat or sheep. The Kuabugu household with the lowest assessment payed approximately 10000MF, the one with the highest slightly over 100000MF. These figures are based on reported births and deaths and on an informal census carried out by the chef d'arrondissement.[1] In addition to this once-yearly payment smaller sums, which are designated for different purposes, have to be paid at varying times throughout the year. These requests are hand-delivered to the village chief who then has to collect a share from each household. The share of each household is generally determined on the basis of household members active in cultivation; when the millet threshing ton was still active the funds could be taken from accumulated fines. Any such requests are now direct cash outlays for which the household head is responsible.

Basic agricultural equipment consists of hoes (daba and falo), machete (bese), sichle, knives for cutting millet (kemesu), and small calabashes for sowing millet. The more costly equipment which differentiates households comprises plough, plough oxen, donkey, and two-wheel cart. Two-wheel carts are currently

outfitted with rubber tires which require repair or replacement from time to time. In early 1982 a used cart could be purchased for 37500MF, the equivalent of 300 kg of millet if sold locally at about the same time. The carts are utilised for the transport of goods as the need arises, be it seed and equipment, harvested millet, hay, or wood; they are also used on market day and for the transport of sick people. The poorest households do not own a cart and depend on relatives or neighbors for help. Oxen are no longer used for transport and were, even in the past, only owned by wealthier households. Carts are drawn by donkeys, either one or two. Female donkeys could be purchased for as little as 12500MF but are less enduring than male donkeys which could cost as much as 55000MF. Donkeys require no special maintenance and are allowed to forage; some female donkeys in fact go astray but male donkeys are more closely watched, often by a child, and are brought into the compound and tethered at night. Some men use donkeys as a means of transportation.

The plough has been almost universally adopted in Sana. All Kuabugu households cultivated with a plough and used hoes only for some of the weeding and for planting fonio. All millet, peanut, and Bambara groundnut fields were ploughed prior to sowing and the millet fields were also weeded with the plough. The cost of a plough varied between approximately 15000 and 25000MF depending on the type used. Maintenance and repairs, which can be quite costly (one household cited repair costs of 6700MF for 1981), are done by local blacksmiths who are paid in cash or kind. The Kuabugu blacksmith was from Soalebugu and spent part of the dry season in the village to do necessary repairs. Only one household, originally from a neighboring village, had a jajmani-type of relationship with its blacksmith. Two out of the 18 Kuabugu households ploughed with a donkey. They had not been able to accumulate the cash to purchase draught animals and also lacked the social ties and the extra cultivators to make a loan arrangement. An untrained ox cost 50000-60000MF but a mature trained animal could cost 100000MF or more. Since households do not usually buy two animals at once, they purchase an untrained animal and use it together with a mature one; prior to the rainy season it is put through regular

training sessions to get used to a nose ring and to drawing a weight. It is preferable to own three oxen so that one can rest while the others draw the plough because animals are often weak, especially at the beginning of the cultivating season, due to a lack of food during the long dry season. Some households own two teams of oxen and two ploughs which not only permits them to cultivate all of their fields but also to keep them free of weeds. Households without oxen or with only one but with kin or affines who have a herd can often make an arrangement whereby they are given a young animal to train; or, a household which can spare a cultivator can arrange to have one of its adolescents or young men cultivate for a household with enough animals in exchange for the use of an animal or two. Sometimes a suroforo owns an animal which is then used in foroba cultivation.

During the 1981 dry season young boys watched the draught oxen but during the 1982 dry season the village hired a herder who was paid per animal, a combination of millet and cash. He had a host in the village and took the oxen out in the morning, then returned in the early afternoon to have them watered, and brought them back again for the night at dusk. Draught oxen are not sent on transhumance with the cows because, villagers say, it tires them out too much. The fear that an animal might get lost or stolen may also play a role in the decision to keep them close to the village.

Chemical fertilizer is used only intermittently and only on selected fields. Household heads contend that fertilizer must be used with care so as not to damage the young plants when rains are inadequate, but are interested in purchasing it to offset the scarcity of cow manure and the inability to leave fields in fallow for any length of time, if at all. Soforow are given preference when distributing any available manure including household refuse. Chemical fertilizer is difficult to obain. Its distribution is controlled primarily by the S.C.A.E.R. (Service du Crédit Agricole et de l'Equipement Rural) which sells it at its branch in Segu, 62 km away.[2] Approximately 90% of fertilizer and equipment sold by the S.C.A.E.R. goes to cultivators who participate in one of the

opérations, the remainder is available to other peasants who are required to pay cash (Kebe, 1981).

Finally, households which have not retained enough seed or wish to plant a crop they did not cultivate the previous year must purchase the required seed. The jaatigi always selects millet seed immediately after the harvest, has it prepared by the women, and stores it in his house or that of the household head. The seed for fonio, sorghum, peanuts, and Bambara groundnuts is simply taken from the respective granaries at planting time. It is no longer stored separately because the quantity planted has diminished in recent years, largely as a result of climatic conditions. A household which has none or has not kept a large enough amount can exchange it against millet or buy it with cash.

In addition to the means of production, the household is also responsible for providing household members with the daily meals. If it runs out of millet prior to the new harvest, it must purchase millet against cash or pay in kind after the harvest. The former is preferable, if at all possible, to avoid taking a debt against the new harvest. Aside from supplying the grain, the household must provide sauce ingredients. Men say proudly that they provide the sauce in contrast with the Marka who make the woman on cooking duty responsible for the sauce. The basic ingredients consist of salt, red pepper, and dried fish. Kuabugu was one of the few villages which still purchased salt collectively. The village chief purchased it in bulk from the Sinsanni SOMIEX on market day and household heads assembled the following morning to obtain the quantity they needed. Supply problems during the 1982 dry season meant that each household had to fend for itself.

The sauce base made with baobab leaves is most frequently enhanced with fish. Fresh, dried, smoked or fried fish are purchased from Bozo fish vendors on market day or when Bozo women come to the village. When millet is in short supply Bozo women may sell their fish only against fonio or millet. Men fish in the Canal from time to time to provide fresh fish. Chicken and meat are eaten only intermittently. Chickens are slaughtered mainly for guests or when one

threatens to die. Since all chickens are owned individually the household head must slaughter one of his own unless another member of the household offers one. Meat is obtained primarily through a tònò and occasionally in the market. A tònò involves a group of men who agree to purchase a goat and then share the meat in equal portions. On the Islamic holidays the village buys and slaughters a cow; each household takes a fixed number of shares, depending on size, and has three months to pay. The same procedure may be followed when a cow in one of the herds becomes too weak. Goat tònòw are often initiated by young men who have returned from migration and have a "desire for meat". Meat is not considered a food to be "eaten" like a staple; it is "chewed" after to and sauce have been consumed. When chicken or fish are available they are also portioned out at the end of the meal. The use of Maggi cubes has become popular but they are not purchased on a regular basis. Similarly, sugar is a favored addition to gruel (moni or seri) or to dege but is purchased only now and then, most frequently as a treat for a guest. The quality of meals in large households which combine several subunits is often poorer than the meals of households which are centered on the nuclear unit or on the sons of one mother. A household which is relatively wealthy but is rift by tension may provide only the minimum and leave it up to individual units to supplement the basic meals.

Old women with some means or the woman who cooks may take it upon themselves to improve the sauce by planting okra, buying some fish, sugar, or tomatoes when in season. Women also go to Nakri, a nearby Bozo village, during the agricultural off-season to pound millet in exchange for fish. This may be done expressly to help the household but even women who do it for their own account give a portion to the household head. In sum, to say that "men provide the sauce" is a normative statement which conceals the contribution women make. Overall, the diet has probably become less varied than it once was; this is due in part to the diminution of subsidiary crops and in part to the virtual disappearance of game.

Rice is currently considered to be the cash crop par excellence. Its cultivation takes place under the auspices of Opération Riz-Segu, the only opération with which Kuabugans were involved in 1981. Opération Arachide had a representative in Sibila who told me that he had not succeeded in his attempts at encadrement so that he was no longer bothering with the villagers. The resistance is not surprising in view of the fact that Opération Arachide activities in Sana began during the 1970s when peanut production was in decline as a result of the drought conditions. Moreover, the extension agent introduced a peanut variety which, to peasants, appeared ill-suited for local soils and the reduced rainfall. A number of households did not plant any peanuts at all in 1981 and some planted one field.

Opération Riz-Segu promotes the production of irrigated rice through partially controlled flood recession (Bingen, 1983). Inundation of the fields depends not on pumps but on rainfall and sufficiently high water levels. Following a study of ORS, Bingen (1983) has concluded that polder management frequently collaborates with informal groups of large, wealthier landholders rather than with village advisory councils as outlined in its operating principles. The ORS approach to extension work itself is centralised and very hierarchical. Aside from the chef de casier who manages the polder, a moniteur is in charge of a subsection and supervises the encadreurs who are responsible for yet smaller units. The moniteur is a junior-level agricultural technician but the encadreurs are not required to have any agricultural training and essentially learn on the job; their only prerequisite is the completion of at least seven years of primary education.

The precursor of Opération Riz developed polders on the left bank near Sosse during the 1960s. Kuabugans report that they were invited to participate in the earthmoving operations in exchange for a piece of rice land but declined "because forced labor had ended". Peasants from a nearby village saw many of their millet fields incorporated into the project but received less than a proportionate share of rice land. In 1972 ORS opened the plain behind Sibila for irrigation with water from the Macina Canal. By 1973/74 Kuabugans followed

households from neighboring villages in applying for rice fields in the Sibila plain. In doing so they aimed to offset the loss of cash income from peanut production which was faltering as a result of the dry cycle. Moreover, it permitted people to cultivate an additional crop without reducing the land surface devoted to millet production. Large households were allocated 3-4 hectares while smaller ones received 1-2 hectares. After several years of satisfactory yields, a portion of the land which had been allocated was confiscated and its cultivators were asked to move to another area which had an inadequate water supply. Knowing this, they refused but their land was nevertheless reduced and reapportioned. Since the late 1970s Niger flood levels have been low so that inundation has been precarious at best.

Representatives of Opération Riz, all of whom are eligible for rice fields, appropriate the best land for themselves or allocate it to those who know how to cultivate good relationships with them. According to ORS guidelines 80% of the land is to be distributed to smallholders from villages on the polder perimeter, 15% to traders or state administrators (i.e. absentee landlords), and only 5% of polder land is to be retained for ORS employees. But land distribution is difficult to verify because land allocation lists are often not up-dated or not maintained at all (Bingen, 1983).

Rice fields thus belong to a separate category of cultivable space. For Kuabugans, they are located at least 5-6km distant from the village and are not contiguous to any village fields. ORS provides a fixed quantity of seed; any seed needed beyond this has to be purchased wheverever it can be obtained. The men of a household prepare and sow the field. Rice is generally not weeded. Labor demands conflict with work in the other fields so that the latter are given preference due to the uncertain rice yields. Women bring food to the field but do not participate in cultivation or harvest. The women of the household alone winnow the rice once it has been threshed by Opération Riz, but some even receive their gende filen from the men. This underlines how rice has been integrated as a male crop.

Before the winnowed rice can be removed from the field it is weighed and fees, in kind, are assessed for seed, water, and threshing. A portion of the harvest, fixed at 400kg/ha in 1979/80 (Bagayoko, 1982), must also be sold to the government. What remains is at the disposal of the peasant. When the harvest is very poor or the threshing machine is in disrepair peasants may obtain permission to thresh their rice themselves and thus escape the payment of fees. Functionaries frequently take advantage of the peasants and manipulate weight and assessment of fees in such a way that peasants may be left with little to show for their efforts. Even the encadreurs with their primary education consider themselves far superior and view the peasants as dupes whose illiteracy prevents them from resisting effectively. Peasants feel that they may be fortunate one year and unfortunate the next. It is perhaps the possibility of having a harvest and being treated fairly which makes them continue to plant rice. The villagers themselves know that their illiteracy puts them at a disadvantage and are aware that they are limited in the resistance they can offer. The rice fields thus constitute an arena where the dichotomy 'literate' / 'illiterate' (lakoliden / kunfin) and 'authority' / 'peasant' (faama / cikèla) is both contested and confirmed. The relation to space and its use here clearly reflect the power relations which obtain between the peasant and representatives of the state. The state controls the land and the peasants occupy the position of tenants, a relationship rooted in the Malian jural code which designates the state as the owner of the land (Kebe, 1981).

The importance of millet as a source of cash increases when rice production yields little or fails altogether. The change in marketing policiy beginning with the 1981 harvest meant that rather than selling all millet to the government peasants were required to deliver only a quota, after which they were free to sell to private traders. Just how advantageous this change is depends on the level at which the quota is fixed. If too high, it will mean no change for many producers, especially under conditions of climatic adversity. Through the 1980 harvest the village received a given number of sacks every year for OPAM millet; filling them often meant that nothing, or little, was left for commercialisation on

the parallel market. For many it also cut into the margin which allowed them to help out a relative in need. When the request seriously endangered the food supply the village resisted, as indicated above. Small quantities were traded mainly in the Sinsanni market. Unless yields have been exceptionally good or a household has an emergency, all millet is put into the granaries immediately following the harvest. Small quantities are sold to purchase sauce ingredients and to meet sudden cash needs as the year progresses and it becomes clear that food needs can be met. Any calculations of the amount which can be sold must take into consideration the weddings which a household expects to celebrate in the short-term. A commercial crop of minor importance is indigo. Two households had a small field which retained moisture well and which they had planted with indigo; aside from a small amount given to the women of the household for personal use, this was commercialised in its entirety.

Apart from the sale of rice or millet, the major local source of cash is livestock, primarily small animals. Few households in the center of Sana own herds of cows. Out of the 18 households in Kuabugu only three owned milk cows. One herd involved less than 10 animals and was kept in a kraal with one of the other two, the others numbered 20 - 30 animals each. Most households have goats and sheep; the former are preferred because they are hardier and are more likely to have multiple births. The size of herds varies from household to household. Two of the three households which had no livestock at all also ploughed with a donkey rather than with oxen; the third is said to have had 25 animals in the past, a sizeable herd by local standards, but they all died. It is difficult to judge a household's herd by appearance alone because animals are often individually owned. Nevertheless, the ownership of livestock and the size of the herd is probably the best indicator of household wealth. Animals can be purchased and a herd built up only if a household's subsistence is secure and if it can meet equipment expenditures. If enough cash can be generated beyond this, through the sale of rice or surplus millet or through wage labor, it can be invested in animals. The strategy is to buy goats and, once these have increased, to resell some and purchase a cow. In contrast with the past, well into the

inter-War period, when surplus crops were converted primarily into gold or silver the preferred form of cash investment is now livestock. A nafolo tigi ("wealthy person") is defined as someone who has a herd, who dresses properly, whose household eats to rather than seri, whose dege gourde is never empty and who always has kola to offer a visitor.

Despite production differentials between households, everyone agrees that agriculture alone cannot satisfy a household's cash needs. Household heads are reluctant to become involved in government credit schemes for fear that they will have to sell millet at harvest time in order to meet the repayment schedule; in addition, they are afraid of the arbitrariness of the extension agent who might take away their entire yield and still tell them that they owe more. A household in immediate need of cash first sells any goat(s) it is able to sell and, barring that, agricultural products. If neither of these avenues is open it takes a debt with a friend or with kin. Above all, households now look beyond Sana for cash. The money which can be earned locally is almost dismissed, as when people say:"we can offer food but we cannot offer money; money we do not have."

Labor Migration.

"Labor migration is an obligation" elders say. At the same time, they acknowledge that it is impossible to tell a young man not to go on migration; or, in other words, that obligation alone is not involved. Migrants themselves state that they engage in wage labor in order "to repair the house" (ka so dila), a metaphor which suggests that the household might crumble without their help. The consumer goods which migrants purchase with their earnings are often not formally acknowledged in discussions of the origin and persistence of migration, yet it would be unthinkable for a young man to go on migration without purchasing clothing. Bicycles, radio-casette players, mosquito nets made of cotton, watches, and, to a lesser extent, motor bikes have become fairly standard items which migrants acquire. Men also return with gifts for household members, such as a piece of cloth for their wives or mothers and cloth or used clothing for the other women of the household. Migration was and is initiated out of a

need for cash but adherence to it cannot be attributed to need alone.

To go on migration is variously referred to as ka taa jamana kònò (lit.: "to go into the country"), ka taa wari nyini (lit.: "to go looking for money"), or ka taa baara kè (lit.: "to go do work"). In contrast with early wage labor, contemporary migration is not considered to be demeaning. One man drew a distinction between early migration, when men worked mainly as general laborers, and present-day migration, saying: "we were dirty, we even looked like slaves; but look at today's young men, they are clean and welldressed." Another characterized early migration as "poor man's travel" (fantaan taama) and current migration as "rich man's travel" (faama taama) explaining that nowadays young men leave with personal belongings and travel by motorized vehicle whereas in the past men went on foot and only with the clothing they had on their bodies.

Away from home it is possible to engage in activities that would otherwise be considered demeaning. They become acceptable as long as they earn cash. This emphasizes the nature of money as the ultimate commodity. During a stroll with two migrants in Bamako we passed near some young men 'ironing' (beating clothing with batons). One of my companions noted that these were men from Sana and commented that he didn't know they were doing this, whereupon the other responded: "oh yes; our people will do anything to earn money." This readiness to do almost anything for money would seem to bear out the conceptualization of migrant labor as baara tout court.

Whether migrant labor should be classified as "individual labor" (jònforo baara) or as "labor engaged in for the collectivity" (foroba baara) is an issue over which young men are divided. Some held that it should be the latter since wage labor first of all satisfied household needs while others argued that it should be the former since it is the individual who goes on migration and first satisfies his personal needs and who, ultimately, is in charge of his earnings. Others suggested that labor migration has an element of both categories. The different positions point to an ambivalence concerning the disposal of migration earnings which issues from the reality of migrants' socialisation[3] as well as the potential

for private consumption and accumulation on migration. The obligation to the foroba is paramount and, in the past, meant handing over all earnings but since the migrant is beyond the eyes of the household no one can be sure of the amount earned. The argument several first-time migrants offered for choosing to go to Nyamina rather than to nearby Sinsanni was that it would be more difficult for their kin to get in touch with them whereas in Sinsanni they would be within reach of anyone who needed anything. Clearly, the concern was that accumulation of earnings would be difficult if they stayed close to home. It is an open secret that migrants now hand over only a fraction of their earnings but the household head is limited in the pressure he can bring to bear against his junior unless marriage negotiations are in progress on his behalf.[4] Even if nothing is said, the size of the contribution may introduce tensions not only between household head and migrant but also between the juniors of a household; it is recognized that the earning power of individuals varies and this is taken into consideration in evaluating a contribution, hence it is not differential contribution that is at issue but disproportionate withholding. No one objects to the migrant retaining earnings to purchase clothing, a radio or bicycle, or to his keeping some funds for small personal expenses including wedding contributions. The portion retained by the migrant becomes a "shameful matter" (malo ko) for the household if individual gain is visibly put above the common good or if it openly favors the surõforo. Migrants assert that aside from contributions handed over or sent home while still on migration, they are also called upon to help out as the need arises during their stay in the village. Indeed, when the time arrives for them to leave again they may have difficulty financing their own transportation, especially those who go to Abidjan.

The pattern of contemporary migration developed in the years after Malian independence. During the early 1960s weaving came to replace general manual labor as young men learned to weave cotton blankets which were in demand in towns such as Segu, San, Kujala, and Nyamina. These blankets were made with homespun cotton but they had patterns woven in with thread dyed in indigo. Aside from weaving, a second tendency developed whereby young men went to

the Ivory Coast, no longer to work on plantations but to dig wells and septic tanks in Abidjan. By the late 1960s weaving in Bamako became attractive; before then, men assert, it was possible to earn more in Sinsanni than in Bamako. To the present day, the majority of young Kuabugu migrants go to Bamako, of the remainder slightly more than half go to regional centers and the rest to the Ivory Coast. This pattern varies between villages. In some villages, weaving remained more closely associated with slavery and never became widespread among men so that migrants to Bamako turned to small trade or to the transport of loads on bicycles while many others went to the Ivory Coast. The prevailing pattern for any of the villages is not static but continues to change.

Young men prepare to leave as soon as the millet is threshed and stored in the granaries. Some leave even earlier if the other household members agree that the harvest can be brought in without their help. Some may actually be sent earlier by the household head if the household is in dire need of cash and/or the harvest is poor.[5] Migrants themselves decide where to spend the dry season. Destination is determined to some extent by length of stay, though this has become less crucial since millet is no longer threshed by hand. Migrants with several years experience have developed a preference for a specific town and will go there, barring unforeseen circumstances.

Preparations for departure are often made in all secrecy, perhaps with a friend from the home village or from a neighboring village. Only household members are informed of the imminent departure. The main reason for the secrecy in the past was a fear of sorcery. With islamisation men disavow sorcery but the secrecy is nevertheless maintained. In some instances only a migrant's mother and the household head are aware that he is planning to depart. Although young men can no longer be prevented from going on migration, the timing of their departure can be influenced. An elder, or the mother of a young man, may ask that he execute certain tasks before leaving. Brothers generally come to an agreement as to who will leave first and, consequently, return first, an arrangement which is subject to rotation on an annual basis. The youngest

migrants assert that if one leaves against the wishes and without the blessings of one's family (somɔ̀gɔ̀w) one's labor will be unproductive. Once on migration, letters home frequently ask for the blessings of the "old woman" (musokɔ̀rɔ̀ba), i.e. the migrant's mother or the elder woman in the household. A migrant may also be called home if illness in the household requires his presence. Similarly, a message is sent if a member of the resident lineage dies, whereupon the migrant is expected to return home to offer his condolences.[6]

In villages like Kuabugu where weaving has become accepted as an income-generating activity on migration, young men begin by weaving for their mothers, then for other women in the village. Once they have mastered the technique, by around age 18, they begin to leave for one of the urban centers of Mali. Those who leave for the first time usually join a friend who has completed at least one dry-season stint since, they say, he has experienced city ways and has links to a host (jaatigi) who can provide room and, possibly, board. No 'inexperienced' youth left in 1981 but of those who left in 1982 about 50% went to nearby Sinsanni (12 km distant) where also a few long-time migrants were weaving. The others went to Nyamina where they were initially put up by the host of a friend from a neighboring village who had been there the previous year. They had passed up Segu despite the fact that villagers and other Sana migrants were working there because the housing situation was considered extremely tight. Movement to San and Kujala has ceased completely in recent years. Although Bamako is judged to present the most lucrative opportunities for weaving, it is not sought out by the inexperienced partly because weaving there involves mostly machine-spun thread and partly because it has a reputation for its housing shortage and the high costs of room and board.

All those who intend to weave take their basic tools with them and then obtain the few necessary materials to erect the weaving structure close to their jaatigi. Those who go to the same town generally congregate in the same general area. Because of this phenomenon and because of the tendency to join friends from other villages, it is usually possible to identify a certain quarter of

the city as the quarter where those originating from Sana province are weaving. Those who do not weave are familiar with the area and drop by from time to time. In Bamako, Sana weavers were located in the quarter of Bozola close to small shops and the central market. About eight of the men lodged in a single room, rented out by the household facing their work area. As a result of returning several, and sometimes many, years in a row, migrants develop familiarity with the locale and establish relationships with some of its residents.

The preferred form of labor is to have a woman contract with a weaver for a certain number of blankets for which she herself determines pattern and color and provides the yarn. A woman may also place an order but ask the weaver to purchase the yarn. In either case, the weaver specifies his price, based on the difficulty of the pattern, which can then be negotiated. The margin for bargaining is small since weavers adhere to an accepted price range. Barring any orders, a weaver can buy thread and weave the strips according to his own choice, then display them in the hope that a passerby will become interested; they may also be given in consignment to a trader. Due to the capital investment and the insecurity this involves, this option is not favored.

While all blankets are made with cotton yarn, the bulk of blankets produced in Bamako is woven with machine-spun thread (gari) that is dyed in bright colors. They are known collectively as boloti. The thread provenes either from the state-owned factory COMATEX, located in Segu, or from France. COMATEX experiences production stoppages or slow-downs at times so that only imported yarn is available. In contrast with Bamako, blankets men weave in Segu, Nyamina, or Sinsanni are made with homespun thread, interspersed with indigo-dyed thread or vice versa. For these blankets the woman customer provides the thread and tells the weaver what the pattern should be. The patterns are known by various names, e.g. damion (alternating blocks of natural and indigo yarn), kaleni (thin stripes), etc. During the 1982 dry season weavers earned 2000MF per blanket in Nyamina, 1500MF in Segu and Sinsanni. A blanket done primarily in indigo fetched 2500MF in Sinsanni because its production is more time-consuming.

Blankets produced in Bamako can sell for 5000MF or more, excluding the yarn.

Attempting to assess the dry season earnings of a weaver is a delicate affair with a considerable margin of error since young men like to keep their earnings a secret and are extremely evasive in conversations touching on the subject. Only one of the youths who had gone to Nyamina from mid-January to mid-April, his first trip, disclosed that he had brought back 55000MF, after paying for transportation, food and lodging (5000MF monthly), a radio (16000MF) and minor personal expenses. Migrants to Bamako can be expected to earn more than this. Transporting loads on bicycles is said to be more lucrative than weaving if steady work is available.

The objective of earning the maximum amount of cash possible translates into a constant pace of work. Weavers get up at dawn, wash, and set to work. They remain seated in the shade of their weaving structure, a foot in the stirrup, and hands busily moving back and forth, until dusk. They pause only to eat, to say the two afternoon prayers, to purchase yarn, or go on an urgent errand. This goes on seven days a week. At dusk, they spread out their mats and spool the yarn until all is ready for the following day. Passersby or friends stop during the day to chat, but the work nevertheless continues. Thus, while migrants control 'their own time' they nevertheless treat it as a resource. The rhythm is entirely self-imposed in contrast with the rhythm during the cultivating season where the cropping cycle demands a certain pace.

Given the difficult housing situation and the extra expenses involved, most married men are not accompanied by their wives. In addition, the work executed on migration has the potential of undermining the social hierarchy which makes a man the superior of his wife; a man who is ready to do anything can no longer claim superiority so that it is better for the wife not to be present. Some migrants take their wives if they stay away during the rainy season (i.e. dry season -rainy season - dry season) but once a man has two or more children he returns home every rainy season. Women criticize young men for neglecting their marital duties in favor of earning money. The criticism is aimed in particular

at those who take a first or second wife and then leave on migration all the same. They assert that until the 1970s a man would not have gone on migration the year he took a wife. This turning point coincides with the dry cycle that began in the late 1960s and which contributed to the entrenchment of current migration patterns.

Migrants whose destination is the Ivory Coast, have to plan their strategy more carefully than those who remain in Mali. Transportation is costly and to minimize expenses as much as possible men travel in any way possible. In Abidjan, men live with other migrants and are at times unable to obtain work. The potential for higher earnings induces men to try Abidjan at least once. Some find that their expectations are not met and do not like the atmosphere and thus go to Bamako after that. Others are more fortunate, like it, and therefore go to Abidjan year after year. Rather than engage in general labor which might pay 1000CFA per day (1981/82 rate), they try to obtain jobs digging wells and septic tanks. The work is performed on contract for various firms, where the contract is on a per job basis. Two men work together and can earn as much as 7500CFA per day (3750CFA each), depending on the difficulty of the job and on the rapidity with which they accomplish it. Although they may be without work between contracts for as long as 10 days, the potential of earning a relatively large sum in a short time is attractive to them. When asked about their work in Abidjan, migrants generally say that they dig wells and admit only in longer conversations that they also dig septic tanks or work in sewage removal. Their hesitancy to admit to the latter reflects a feeling that this work is demeaning; one migrant commented: "this pays well but Ivorians don't like this kind of work. They want to be like tubabs and sit in offices." Aside from being physically demanding and insecure, the work can be outright dangerous: during the 1982 dry season one of the villagers was buried alive while digging a septic tank when the sandy soil collapsed around him. The ground in the area was so treacherous that even three days of effort failed to bring up his body and had to be discontinued for fear that another life would be lost in the process.

Safekeeping of earnings represents a different kind of a problem. Migrants often trust a landlord with the money earned and are unable to get it back because he has spent it for his own needs in the interim; at other times only a portion of the sum is returned to them because they did not insist on having the amount handed over written down. Migrants may also fall prey to thieves. Either one of these possibilities may induce a young man not to return home for the rainy season because it would be shameful to present himself without any gifts and a contribution to household needs.[7]

Although most migrants return to the village every rainy season some, as during earlier periods, do not. Parents and brothers of such men repeatedly expressed sorrow and disappointment over a son or brother who had not returned and whose whereabouts were unknown. Some men who establish themselves in town while maintaining ties become contacts when a family member requires extensive medical treatment, when a young girl is looking for work, or when cash is needed for an emergency. However, the intentional creation of an 'urban link' by encouraging a member of the household to find permanent work in town has so far not become a strategy for Sana Bambara. Those who have remained in town are seen as having rejected the life of a cultivator.

How do men determine when to stop migrating? Posing this question to some men, the first reaction was a hearty laugh, followed by the statement: "once you find yourself among migrants who are of your son's age, then you are out of place and you should stop going." The statement suggests that there comes a time when migrant labor, though not demeaning in and of itself, becomes a source of embarrassment, a threat to a man's dignity, because it implies that one does not have the wherewithal and, equally important, the descendants who can take over and assure that material needs are met. Indeed, men above the age of 40 45 who still migrate are heads or jaatigiw of small households who have no sons or younger brothers old enough to engage in wage labor. The need for descendants, therefore, cannot be underestimated. A household which comprises several generations is clearly at an advantage

vis-a-vis a household which consists of a nuclear unit where the breaks between generations, linked to the developmental cycle, are much more pronounced. A household with young men in the 18 - 40 year age bracket is not only in a better position to produce enough food, it can also obtain enough cash to improve and maintain agricultural equipment and to build up a herd.

When young men are asked why they return to the village, they respond that they must, some day, retire their elders who, before them, have retired theirs. Not doing so would mean that they have failed them. This professed sense of loyalty and intergenerational continuity points to the reproduction of certain structures and values but at the same time it glosses over the predicament in which migrants find themselves. During informal conversations they often admit that they have been tempted not to return or that they would settle in Abidjan if only they spoke French. The majority of contemporary migrants are illiterate, having had no schooling at all, and the minority with some schooling has difficulty reading or writing a letter in French. But ultimately, the obstacle is not literacy but the structure of the Malian economy as a peripheral economy and its relationship to other economies in the region. The industrial infrastructure is poorly developed, a fact which is recognized not only by the government but also by certain migrants. Reflecting on the poverty of the Malian nation-state, some migrants attributed the problem to the enclaved position of the country, to its ecology, and to the fact that most consumer goods and industrial products are imported rather than manufactured locally. Development of the industrial base would very likely mean a higher rate of rural attrition unless the rural areas themselves develop in a manner which increases the control of the peasant vis-a-vis the state.

Rural Non-Agricultural Commodity Production.

For senior men and for married women provisioning and income-generating activities are not separated in space as they are for migrants. Their earning potential is also much reduced, thus reenforcing the perception that the world of money and the world of goods lies beyond Sana. Many of the non-agricultural

activities which generate cash for men and women locally are still aimed at provisioning. Since the gainful dimension has taken on greater importance in recent years there is a growing tendency to overlook taboos and considerations of social hierarchy. This trend leads some people to comment that "nowadays everyone wants to do everything".

In contrast with agricultural production which involves the collaboration of household members, non-agricultural activities are carried out by individual men and women who then dispose of the product. The existence of a category of personal property (halala), much as of surðoro property, implies a recognition that not all individuals have the same needs and allows those who are inclined to do so to attempt to satisfy them. In speaking of personal or surðoro property people often say that it would be "shameful" if one always had to beg the foroba for little extras or when hosting a visitor. It appears however that at least until the early part of the 20th century, juniors and women could not dispose of their personal property at will and could have it appropriated by the household head, or women by their husband, if the need arose.[8] This is no longer the case.

Senior men use the cash they earn for a range of items, such as tobacco, kola nuts, beer (if they are non-converts), and flashlights or batteries. Men also purchase clothing, often used, and take care of day-to-day household needs. The primary income-generating activities for men are weaving and making mats (bileli). Men who weave against pay, in addition to the weaving they do for their wives, have diminished in number since adolescents have taken up weaving in preparation for labor migration. Up until the 1960s adolescents learned to make mats before learning how to weave; now the opposite is the case. Neither adolescents nor adult men actively solicit weaving commissions; rather, they wait for a woman, from the same or another village, to approach them with a specific project and then negotiate the price. Mats are "created" (ka bileli da) from millet stalks which have to be cut as the millet is being harvested. If left in the field for any length of time, they risk being damaged by foraging animals;

they also tend to turn yellow, something to be avoided since one mark of a good mat is that it is pale yellow in color. Men who intend to make mats therefore cut the stalks they need as soon as a field has been harvested, bundle them, and store them suspended from the ceiling of their house or the household vestibule. Retired men necessarily cut more stalks than younger men because they spend a good deal more time fabricating mats. Their pocket money, or "kola price" (woro sòngò) as it is known, is derived mainly from the manufacture of mats or from weaving. The millet stalks are split in half and stripped of the marrow, leaving a flat strip some 6-7 feet in length. These strips are wetted and then woven together until they form a rectangle of approximately 5'3" x 3'2". The entire border is reenforced with plant fiber. The mats serve the needs of the household and any surplus is sold at the weekly markets of Sinsanni and Dioro. In 1981/82 these mats could fetch 1200 - 1500MF.

During the dry season some men set up their weaving structure under the dugalen while others bring the raw material for their mats, ropes, or whatever else they may be working on. The pace of activity reflects the fact that time has not yet become a commodity: the activity can be interrupted at any time for a nap and on some days a man may simply come to sit and relax. At times the conversation is lively, at other times no one speaks. It is the company of others that is valued so that someone who habitually shuns sociability, unless ill or incapacitated, is suspect as a person.

Subsidiary activities engaged in by only a minority of men include some small trade, making reclining stick chairs, and weaving fans. The most prevalent form of small trade is the sale of sugar cubes, flashlight batteries, and kerosene. Each village has at least one or two men who buy these items in the market towns and resell them locally at a small profit. They are known as "table owners" (tabali tigiw) whose customers come to them. Other men pick the fruit of the tamarind tree when it is in season or buy it in more remote villages and then sell it at the weekly markets. A few men attempted the purchase and resale of sheep but

were constrained by lack of venture capital. Chairs are made from branches cut in the bush, stripped of their bark, and tied together with strips of goat skin. Fans (yallaw) are woven from the leaves of the sebe tree (Borassus aethiopum) and attached to a short wooden handle. Both of these items are sold locally and at the weekly markets. The use of stick chairs is of recent origin, an introduction of young men (and used mainly by younger men) who have been on labor migration. Some men buy a young sheep which they tie up and fatten for resale at Ramadan.

The quest for personal wealth is most closely identified with women. In contrast with men who are expected to subordinate their personal interests to those of the patriline, women can openly pursue their own interests as long as they fulfill their obligations to the household. This association of men with communal and of women with individual appropriation is also reported by Rosaldo (1980). It does not appear to be of recent origin and may be integral to the discourse of dominance. Men approve of their wives' income-generating activities because these ultimately benefit their children. A woman who is unable to accumulate some personal property is said to be lazy and a woman who is completely dependent on her husband is likened to a slave woman. This perspective conflicts to some extent with the local interpretation of Islam which makes a husband responsible for his wife's support. The contradiction is mitigated by phrasing a husband's responsibility in terms of an ideal which is practicable only in a very limited way for economic reasons. Men who provide the fees so that their wives can hire a laborer to cut wood, for example, do so in the spirit of this ideal. Even if the Islamic precept is held out as an ideal, it is important because it strengthens the notion of a hierarchical relationship between husband and wife.

Personal property has the potential of upsetting the balance of power in favor of the woman. Men therefore say that it is good for a woman to obtain personal wealth as long as she does not surpass her husband.[9] There are also strictures on what a woman can do with her earnings, taboos which subvert the

idea of money as the ultimate commodity. The one which is still widely adhered to applies to the proceeds from selling shea butter: a woman should not use these to buy small livestock because the animals would eventually fall sick and die; the animals can be obtained by first converting earnings into gold or some other product and only secondarily into livestock. The prohibition on making kata, on the other hand, is breaking down despite the fact that many men disapprove. Kata is a type of soap boiled from the ashes of millet stalks. Its fabrication was once the prerogative of old women. Young women who wanted kata had to address themselves to an old woman; a young woman who took it upon herself to transform cold water into a solid in making kata provoked discord and bad luck. Women who currently disregard this taboo make kata primarily for sale and only secondarily for home use.

The objective of gainful activity varies according to a woman's position within the household. Women whose daughters have all been married continue to be active in order to be able to purchase a new cloth now and then, to have the means for cooking a meal for themselves, annd to make a gift on the occasion of a wedding or to a visitor. Beyond this, they might help out by buying condiments from time to time or giving snacks to their grandchildren. Women with small children and unmarried daughters orient their activities toward the needs of their children in addition to providing for their personal needs. Both their own 'needs' and those of their children include an increasingly greater range of consumer goods. This expansion of women's goods will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. Aside from purchasing clothing, both new and used, for themselves and their children, they have to provide the tools needed in doing cotton and in fulfilling their domestic duties. They also must bear any medical expenses they or their children incur lest their husbands are in a position to do so or offer to intervene. Women use the millet stores they accumulate during the harvest season mainly in cooking supplementary meals for themselves and for their children and in bartering for fish and other condiments; this is less the case for women in small households, particularly if they have no co-wives, though they may be required to draw on their own millet when the

household granary runs out. Beyond the day-to-day needs which arise, women's major preoccupation is the accumulation of dowry goods for their daughters. This concerns virtually all women since barren women frequently adopt a daughter. Women without children express the need to obtain personal wealth in terms of old age security. Women still favor gold and silver as a form of wealth but they also increasingly keep goats. Men, in fact, contend that at least half of all the goats are currently owned by women; they also suggest that women are now in a better position for accumulating personal wealth because the foroba has become a more secure provider of daily needs. It is difficult to verify the latter assertion without collecting detailed household budgets, but all indications are that the foroba currently relies more heavily on migration earnings to make up deficits rather than on women's personal wealth. Oral accounts of the 1972-74 drought however, known as the nyò bilen kòngòba, suggest that women contributed to household survival both through their labor and the sale of jewelry.

The opportunities for earning cash locally are limited for women as they are for men. Apart from the cultivation of a kò karila, which is reserved for old women, all activities can be pursued by women of any age category. Women from villages with land along the Macina Canal engage in onion cultivation during the cold season as a means of earning cash. But even they process cotton when they have the time and after the onions are harvested. Women without access to land for onion cultivation see the transformation of cotton as their primary means of acquiring cash. "Doing cotton" (ka koori kè) - which means ginning, carding, and spinning cotton - is not confined to any particular category of women. Little girls begin to help their mothers when they are five or six years old; by the time they are 12 they are already proficient spinners. Unmarried girls do cotton for their mothers, though by the time they become engaged the products of cotton transformation or the proceeds from it are designated for their dowry. Even old women whose children are grown and take care of their needs continue to do cotton "by force of habit", they say. Retired women are able to do cotton year-round whereas women who are active in agriculture can

concentrate on their cotton only in the post-harvest season, after they have cut the bulk of their wood supply.

Women no longer produce either all of their own clothing or that of their husbands and children. Sons and husbands who leave on migration purchase their own clothing. Women themselves still wear some homespun cloths (taafe), produce tunics for their young sons and husbands, mosquito nets, and possibly a pair of pants for their husbands. Their main effort now goes into making blankets for use and for sale. The type of blanket produced has become a commodity only since the late 1960s. Sold on the markets of Dioro and Sinsanni prices ranged from a low of 3000MF to a high of 4500MF in 1981 and '82. At a price of 3000MF a woman who has had to pay a weaver and possibly a third person for sewing the blanket together barely breaks even, since the raw cotton itself is purchased in the market.

Women who are not on cooking duty and retired women can be found with their cotton already at breakfast time. It is ubiquitous throughout the day and into the night.[10] The women of a household frequently gather in the compound vestibule during the day or else join a friend to have company while working. In the evening they work at their own house or at a friend's house by the light of a kerosene lamp. In order to encourage production the women of one or several households form cotton circles (maani) whose members process cotton for each other on a rotating basis. Some women also organize get-togethers whereby the participants spend an entire day (faala) or a night (si nyèna) doing cotton. The night time meetings, not attended by any retired women, usually take place at the house of a woman whose husband is away on migration or at the house of a co-wife who has gone home for a visit. They are very congenial affairs with much conversation and a post-midnight meal for which the various women make contributions.

It is difficult to estimate a woman's cotton production for a given season because not all of the thread is turned into a finished product and women are often secretive about the amount they have stored away. If they have spun

enough thread for the project of their choice, they give it to a weaver. Husbands are obligated to weave for their wives without remuneration. Men who do not know how to weave ought to pay a weaver to do it in their place. This remains the ideal but in many instances women are required to pay the weaver themselves. Some men stop to weave when their sons are old enough to weave for their mothers (now by the age of 14 or 15). A woman has first rights to her son's labor in weaving, though if she has no project for him her co-wife can claim his labor as well. Other women are required to pay for a weaver's services. The fee depends on the project and the experience of the weaver. In 1981/82 adolescent youths who had mastered weaving bands for a blanket charged 1200 - 1500MF per blanket (6 - 7 strips of about 1,80m in length). They often agree to wait for their payment until the woman has sold the blanket. Blankets are not dyed but the natural thread is interspersed with a narrow blue pattern at regular intervals. Women either give some of their thread to a Marka woman to have it dyed indigo, or else they purchase the already dyed thread in the market. The completed strips may by sewn together by the woman herself, by her husband, or by someone who does it for a fee. Often a finished blanket provides a woman with an opportunity to attend the weekly market; if she is unable to go to the market herself she can commission her husband to sell the blanket for her.

Many women engage in small trade at least now and then. This is, for the most part, confined to the village since it is not thought appropriate for Bambara women to hawk their products in other villages; given this lack of experience they, unlike Marka or Bozo women are not considered to be astute traders. A woman can obtain some mangoes, tomatoes, or guavas from a relative and then sell these locally; or a woman might take some kola nuts on consignment for a Marka woman. Some women purchase nere or baobab flour in the market and resell it locally. Though seen as a legitimate and even desirable means of earning cash, small trade remains very limited in scope due to the lack of capital, the range of products, and the purchasing power of villagers.

Shea nuts are seen as an important source of revenue because surplus oil can be sold in the market. A bad year for shea nuts is therefore met with disappointment. Two other products which can generate cash for women equally depend on the vaguaries of nature. Women purchase rice, if available, steam and pound it, and then resell the processed rice. During years when the household rice field produces they also use the rice gained from the gende filen in this manner. Fonio obtained from a woman's personal field or in winnowing is pounded and sold in the market for a slightly higher price than raw fonio grain. The gain from processing fonio is small in relation to the labor involved; once the harvest is well underway processed fonio often remains unsold.

The dearth of opportunities for earning cash leads many women to express a sense of relative deprivation and to complain that Mali is poor. Villages located near the Macina Canal are seen to be more desirable places for women because of their potential for cultivating cash crops, such as onions, and thus for accumulating some personal wealth. Beginning in the mid-1970s women allowed their unmarried daughters to go on migration so as to help them prepare the dowry. Initially, these were girls with a relative in Segu or Bamako who could serve as a contact for obtaining work as domestics.

In 1981 some of the younger girls from Kuabugu went to Sinsanni while girls of marriageable age went to work in Bamako. The latter were hired by Malian households at a pay of 7500MF per month plus room and board. In Sinsanni girls earned only 3000MF per month. Mothers nevertheless approve because they feel that this is more than what they could earn by doing cotton and their absence helps conserve household millet resources.

Men disapprove of female migration. They are aware that girls may take lovers, not only because of reduced supervision but also as a means of supplementing their meager income. Young men were unanimous in their opposition but contended that as long as mothers agreed, men were powerless in preventing it. Women's 'power' in this context is couched in terms of their ability to withhold sexual services; given a man's right to physically punish his

wife or, if he has more than one wife, to favor one woman over another, this 'power' is ephemeral at best. The apparent inability to intervene ends with respect to the migration of married women. As soon as a girl gets married, she stops going on migration unless her husband asks her to accompany him on a trip. There seems to be a tacit agreement about this, since going/not going does not become an issue after marriage.

Men's disapproval of female migration did affect the 1982 migration pattern in Kuabugu. Only one girl who was to be married during the rainy season went to Bamako; of the others some went to stay with relatives in Niono or Markala where they earned money winnowing rice and engaging in small trade, and some obtained a plot of land near the Macina Canal for planting onions. One of the latter indicated that there had at least been indirect pressure to dissuade her from going to Bamako. In 1983, several Sana villages held a meeting during which it was agreed to prohibit female migration outright.[11] It remains to be seen whether or not this decision can be sustained and how it will affect the development of dowry.

Conclusion.

Despite the fact that the environment continues to be an important source of products used in day-to-day life, cash and the goods it can procure have become indispensable in maintaining the social order. The limited opportunities for generating cash within Sana, compounded by drought and government marketing structures, have made labor migration the primary source of cash. This has led to the perception that two separate orders exist: the world of the village which can offer little more than sustenance and the world of the town where it is possible to obtain cash and consumer goods. The way in which these orders are mediated becomes central to any understanding of the dynamics of social reproduction.

Mediation itself must be approached in light of the differential relationship which obtains between the two orders and men and women respectively. Those with primary access to the world of commodities are junior men. Given their position in the social hierarchy it is 'natural' that they be delegated to earn cash but their involvement has the unintended effect of subverting social hierarchy: their direct control of the money they earn makes their elders dependent on them and thus demands continual renegotiation of power relations; moreover, the experience of the wider world gained on migration becomes an authoritative resource in interaction. In addition, labor migration is bound to become a source of tension because it is initiated on behalf of the collectivity but is at the same time an individual endeavor; on one hand the proceeds should therefore go to the collectivity but on the other the product derived from individual labor should be subject to individual appropriation.

Women have no claim on men's earnings nor have adult women been able to engage in migration. Women in their teens and early twenties who migrated prior to their marriage have done so for a very short sequence of years in comparison with their male counterparts and their earnings have been considerably lower. Their mothers benefitted only in as much as it eased their burden of accumulating dowry goods for them. Married women benefit indirectly

from men's earnings through any increase in foroba or surɔ̀foro wealth and directly through gifts of cloth or soap.

A further dimension of the differential relationship to the 'world of money and goods' relates to the co-presence/absence of migrants with their kin. Wage labor separates migrants from their kin in space and time. For a portion of every year face-to-face contact with kin is not maintained; hence, kin relationships are no longer unmediated. Instead, migrants interact mainly with age mates and with people who, definitionally at least, are strangers. In the village, the absence of young men places a greater burden on their seniors and diminishes the dynamism of social life. (See table 3 below for changes in household composition during the dry season.) Messages between village and town circulate only if a trusted intermediary travels between the locales. Migrants gain experience of a world which neither their wives or mothers nor their seniors share; although most seniors have migrated at least for one season, they did so at a different time and under different circumstances. In the absence of electronic means of communication - not all have access to a radio and those who do only when broadcasts are in Bambara - knowledge of the wider world is filtered through the migrants. While migrants are not subject to capitalist work discipline, they become tuned into rhythms which are different from those at home. In the movement between rural area and city their conditions of existence become differentiated from those of their seniors and, particularly, of women. When at home they often express a yearning (nyɛ̀nafin) for the city and they question certain aspects of rural life. Their knowledge and aspirations arise from their expanded experience so that the local social order is no longer taken as self-evident. The question that must, therefore, be addressed is how, under the circumstances, the social order is reproduced.

Notes

1 Every autumn the chef d'arrondissement visits the villages to question household heads about the ownership of animals. The results reflect the (un)scrupulousness of the chef and the success (or failure) of villagers to conceal the truth more than they do the actual animal population. I was present during one such visit and witnessed the manner in which figures provided by the villagers were altered. Since villagers are unable to read their du carnet they are generally unable to verify whether or not they have been cheated. The chef also demanded "gasoline expenses" in addition to the customary chicken.

2 I personally went to the Segu S.C.A.E.R. at the end of May 1982, just prior to the beginning of the cultivating season, to inquire about the price and the availability of fertilizer. One of the workers informed me that none was for sale at the time.

3 I use 'socialisation' here as understood by Giddens (1979). He holds that the child is an active partner in interaction and his/her progressive "involvement with society"; and that socialisation does not stop with childhood but continues throughout an individual's life cycle.

4 The case of migrants from household no. 16 can serve as an example: one, who was weaving in Segu during the 1982 dry season, made remittances to satisfy the demands of his affines just prior to the wedding. A second, weaving in Nyamina, was sent a letter by the jaatigi asking him to remit money for the annual customary payment to his bride; to emphasize the urgency of the request, the senior added that if the money did not arrive he would be forced to sell millet with the consequence that the migrant might have to go hungry during the rainy season.

5 Household no. 15 sent one junior to Bamako at the end of the 1981 cultivating season expressly to earn tax money because litigation had depleted their resources. The agreement was that he would return for the millet harvest if needed, but ultimately he was not called back. The decision which of the juniors to send was arrived at by consensus among the brothers.

6 In the case of the migrant from household no. 12 who died in the Ivory Coast his brother and sister and his kinsman from household no. 11 returned from Bamako to offer condolences. The juniors from households no. 16 and 17, also kinsmen, broke off their stay in Abidjan to return home to personally relate the news rather than send a letter via an intermediary.

7 One young man was sent to Abidjan in 1982 because his cousin from a neighboring village had not returned for the 1981 rainy season, despite the fact that he was already married. The young man had in fact been robbed and did not want to return empty-handed though, according to another migrant, he also contemplated staying in Ivory Coast.

8 Old women state that husbands could sell a wife's goat if the need arose. One elder related an instance in which one of his age mates wanted to give one of his mother's goats to his friends to be slaughtered on the occasion of his wedding. His father interceded, letting him know in no uncertain terms that he did not have the right to give away the goat. It was the father who had married the man's mother and thus had the right to dispose of the goat. The son excused himself whereupon his father proceeded to give him a larger goat for presentation to his friends.

9 The elder in household no. 4 was so concerned that his wife would put him to shame that he refused to cut her fonio field in 1981. His younger brother cut it with the help of kinsmen but the quarrel over the matter induced the woman to leave and spend the harvest cutting millet in a sister's village. The

man was criticized by both men and women who felt that the woman's activity was beneficial to the household and that the threat to the man's dignity came not from his wife but from his own lack of initiative.

10 Women often compared my writing up of notes to their preoccupation with cotton, saying that it is always there.

11 I learned of this through a letter which did not apprise me of the reason for the decision.

TABLE 3. CHANGES IN HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION DURING THE 1981 AND 1982 DRY SEASONS

No. 1 --1981: - 1;* 1982: - 1.*

No. 2 --1981: - 2; 1982: - 4.

No. 3 --1981: - 2; 1982: - 4.

No. 4 --1981: - 1; 1982: - 1.

No. 5 --1981: - 1; 1982: - 1.

No. 6 --1981: - 1; 1982: - 2.

No. 7 --1981: - 1; 1982: - 3.

No. 8 --1981: - 2; 1982: - 4.

No. 9 --1981: - 2; 1982: - 2.

No. 10 --1981: - 1; 1982: - 1.

No. 11 --1981: - 2; 1982: - 4.

No. 12 --1981: - 5; 1982: - 5.

No. 13 --1981: - 3; 1982: - 3.

No. 14 --1981: - 1; 1982: - 1.

No. 15 --1981: - 6; 1982: - 7.

No. 16 --1981: - 4; 1982: - 4.

No. 17 --1981: - 1; 1982: - 2.

No. 18 --1981: - 2; 1982: - 3.

*The number designated as absent includes unmarried girls who had left expressly to earn money.

CHAPTER VII

COMMODIFICATION, MARRIAGE, AND SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Given the nature of Sana Bambara involvement in the commodity nexus, how is the integrity of the social order maintained? What mediates the apparent dualism of a social world focused on provisioning but sustained by commodity production beyond its boundaries? These are the questions which emerge from the previous chapters and which this chapter seeks to address. The focus will be on marriage as a central element of social reproduction. I was first drawn to a closer examination of marriage as a result of my participation in several weddings. The sense of the importance of marriage I gained in the course of the ritual was confirmed by day-to-day conversation and practice. Subsequent analysis has shown that the marriage process both reflects and mediates contemporary contradictions. The chapter will open with a description of the wedding celebration and a discussion of its form and meaning. The major part of the chapter is devoted to an examination of marriage strategies and marriage payments.

The Wedding Ceremony.

The sewing of the dan kɔ̀nɔ̀, the garment with which the bride covers herself upon arrival in her husband's village, signals that a wedding is soon to take place. The bridegroom calls on members of his age set to come and sew the dan kɔ̀nɔ̀ together. The age mates assemble under the dugalen (Ficus thonningii) and sit down on mats already spread out for them, surrounded by older men and boys who come to look on. The ten strips of homespun, cream-colored linen (fini mugu), each 15-20 cm wide and 10 elbows long, are linked at intervals of approximately 25 cm. Once completed, the dan kɔ̀nɔ̀ is rolled up and put into a calabash or small metal tub (bajagari) which has been

contributed by the groom's sister who will be receiving the tithe (jaka) in wrappers (taafe) from the bride. It is thus handed over to the delegation which is dispatched to fetch the bride.

The delegation which escorts the bride consists of two unmarried men, one married woman, and one unmarried woman. In precolonial times when roads were insecure these were also accompanied by village hunters or other armed villagers as protection against a possible ambush. Since the advent of the donkey cart, the delegation takes along a cart on which to bring back the bride.[1] When the wedding party, swelled by age mates and relatives of the bride, returns, it does not approach the village until after nightfall, often not until one or two o'clock in the morning. All wait at the entrance to the village while one of the two messengers goes to the duba of the bridegroom to inform the elder that guests (dunanw)[2] have arrived and will enter the village only on condition that they be presented with a goat; given the late hour, however, they would be satisfied if the goat were handed over the following day. The elder grants the request and the young man leaves to communicate the response to the kɔ̃nyɔ̀ tigi, the man representing the bride's lineage.

This is the signal for the women of the groom's household to fill some calabashes with water and offer them to the guests. They are followed by other village women who come to greet the bride and her party. In the meantime a mat has been spread out at the village entrance and the bride sits or lies down on it, completely covered by the dan kɔ̀nɔ̀. At her side is an old kinswoman who watches over her and takes care of her needs. Custom permits neither the mother or the father, nor the grandparents of the bride to participate in the wedding.[3] Unmarried members of the bride's age set sing and play the sagonan, a calabash decorated by a blacksmith and ornated with cowrie shells, considered to be the musical instrument of unmarried girls. The songs offer greetings to the women of the village and ask for their support. They also tell of the "arrival of a boat from Timbuktu", that is, of the many things a bride brings with her. The village women, in turn, welcome the bride in song and ask her to live in harmony

with the local women. During the entire welcoming ceremony the bride herself is silent and does not move until the delegate who has announced her arrival comes with garments for her. With the help of her woman companion, the bride puts on a homespun tunic (dulɔ̃ki) and a hat (gaban) which has been borrowed from one of the men in the village; a knife is hung over her shoulder and a stick or spear put into her right hand. Thus, in the guise of a traveller who evokes a man rather than a woman, the groom's representatives lead her to the main compound of her husband's lineage. The village women and the women in the wedding party follow.

The procession halts at the vestibule (bulon) entrance to the compound. A child, preferably male, is brought and tied to the bride's back. She is met by the senior woman of the household who washes her feet, with milk if available. In the process, the heel of each foot is made to touch the ground four times. Only then is the bride allowed to pass through the bulon into the compound and is led to the house of the eldest woman. Inside the house she changes back into the dan kɔ̀nɔ̀ and lies down on a bed (dalan), protected from sight by a mosquito net. The old woman remains by her side and other women relatives stay in the house as well to keep the vigil with her. Any village woman who still comes to greet the bride addresses herself to the bride's companion.

Once the bride has settled into the house her dowry (kɔ̀nyɔ̀ minanw) are brought in by the women; no man is permitted to carry any of it and the goods only enter the compound after a younger sister of the bride, who bars the entrance, receives a small sum of money (e.g. 500 MF). In the open space of the compound village women take turns playing the gita; they spend the night singing, dancing and performing sketches. The Kuabugu women's association (muso tɔ̀n) made it incumbent on all women to participate in entertaining the secluded bride.

Apart from the two young men who acted as the bridegroom's messengers no men participate in the arrival ceremony. The old men of the village gather in a compound or a public space designated for them, stretch out on mats, and

spend the night together chatting or dozing. The bridegroom's household kills a goat for them the following day, if it has the wherewithal. The bridegroom himself, his age mates, other men of the village, and guests who have already arrived, keep a vigil in the yard (du kɛ̃nɛ̀) outside the groom's house talking, listening to radio or taped music and making tea. Food is provided for newly arrived guests and the women of the household prepare a midnight meal for the groom and his guests. The food consists of the two pillars of Bambara nourishment: to and dege.

Each village household provides a dish of to or dege, according to ability, since one of its men is bound to be a member of the muso furu tɔ̀n. The village "marriage association" includes all men and boys from circumcision to about age 50. The muso furu tɔ̀n obliges all its members to be present on the occasion of a wedding, unless excused for a valid reason. Various members are designated to ensure that food is offered to all guests, that guests are properly greeted, and that the festivities in general proceed smoothly.

Women who are responsible for meal preparation return to their own compound as dawn approaches. Those who remain behind continue merry-making until breakfast is served, then they also leave to go about their domestic tasks. The wedding breakfast consists of rice and sauce. It is served to the groom and his guests, to the elders, to the bride and all the women who keep her company including the old women of the village. Each household prepares a midday meal. The men generally eat with the groom but relatives or friends who attend the wedding are also invited into the household for some food. Although many weddings are now held at the beginning of, or during, the rainy season when work in the fields is pressing, no villager goes to the fields when a wedding is celebrated in the village.

Throughout the day, there is a constant stream of male visitors. They arrive from other villages to wish the bridegroom well and make a monetary contribution (bolomafara) to help defray expenses. Unlike the women who attend a wedding many of the men are not linked to the bridegroom through a kin

relationship. The bridegroom has designated a friend who sits by his side and accepts visitors' gifts. After each contribution, the "treasurer" publicly acknowledges the gift by calling out the name of the person and the amount given. He then hands out some candy. Depending on the means of the giver and his social distance to the bridegroom, the amount offerred may range anywhere from 200 to 2000MF. The public acknowledgement, aside from being an expression of thanks to the contributor, is a means for the bridegroom to make a mental note of the gift since he is expected to reciprocate when the giver, or someone in his household, gets married. As weddings often take place in several villages simultaneously, a man may attend more than one wedding on a given day to make his contribution. The wider the network a man builds, the greater his chances for receiving many contributions. During the fieldwork period Kuabugu men received between 150000 and 215000MF on their wedding day, all in individual contributions. The amount of these contributions has seen a considerable increase since labor migration has become universal. Giving 5 or 10MF was the rule in the early 1950s and a contribution of 200MF became a topic of conversation. Prior to the widespread acceptance of European money contributions were made in cowry shells.

The household elder, who spends the night and day in the company of the old men, also accepts contributions. However, these are on a much smaller scale than those received by the bridegroom since they come from elder visitors who are fewer in number. In short, it is primarily men of marriageable age who attend weddings.

Entertainment is provided by local musicians who play the drums in the groom's compound beginning in mid-morning. They receive a chicken for their effort; this was butchered prior to conversion and its blood smeared on the large drum with a chicken feather glued to it. Women and young girls come to clap their hands and sing. Men and women dance separately, with the men's dancing involving acrobatics (e.g. somersaults). Girls and young women can honor a dancer for his prowess by tieing a scarf around his waist or chest and by

pulling his arm. Men also encourage each other by pulling one another's arm.

In the afternoon, women gather once again to entertain the bride until it is time to display her dowry and publicly count her belongings (minanw woloma). The goods the bride has brought with her are spread out on mats and the elder women of the ward set aside personal items (e.g. kerosene lamp, stool, etc.) and count blankets, calabashes, enamel bowls, and wrappers (taafe). No divorced, or divorced and remarried, woman is permitted to participate in the woloma. One tenth of the wrappers is given to the bridegroom's sister who has provided the calabash or bajagari for transmitting the dan kɔ̃nɔ̀ as well as a pair of shoes and the mat on which the bride lies down upon her arrival in the village. The remainder is divided among his mothers (mother and father's elder brothers' wives), his father's sisters, and the active women of the resident lineage. The delegates who have escorted the bride each receive a calabash and so do the old women who are in charge of the woloma and the wife of the household head. Enamel bowls are given to the eldest woman of the ward (who directs the woloma) and to the husband's sister(s); the proportion set aside varies. The blankets are given to the old men who pass them on to the bridegroom after retaining one for the bridegroom's father or household elder and one for his friend the "treasurer". Once the process of selection is completed, the young boys seize the blankets and the women take the wrappers and engage in a dance of joy to the sound of the drums.

After the minanw woloma is completed, the bride's chaperone helps her to dress in a boubou (dulɔ̃kiba) and leads her, head covered with a cloth, to the area where the old men are gathered. Elders of the bride's and the groom's lineage respectively then offer speeches of praise and thanks, transmitted by a blacksmith. The bride is seated on a small stool (gomè) and listens. Only after the men have finished does the old woman deliver the bride to her husband's compound where some of the young men present end her seclusion by pulling off her headcover (ka kun dayèlèn). The bride then enters the house designated for her and sweeps it. Without engaging in any interaction with the bridegroom

she leaves for the main compound, ostensibly to carry water and cook the bridegroom's evening meal. In reality, she does not pound millet or carry water until the following day. The men still remaining with the bridegroom now also make short speeches or simply offer benedictions before leaving for home. Visitors from other villages are accompanied onto the road by friends or relatives.

Before the bride's kin depart the husband's household is required to make monetary gifts to various members of the wedding party. These are generally taken from the fund the bridegroom has built up in the course of the day. The most important of these gifts (kɔ̀nyɔ̀ laada) goes to the bride's lineage via the age mates of the bride. The head of the musɔ furu tɔ̀n negotiates with the age mates of the bride over the amount to be given and if no agreement can be reached, he speaks to the kɔ̃nyɔ̃ tigi. The latter, being the most important person in the wedding party as representative of the bride's lineage (generally an older brother of the bride or her father's younger brother), then specifies an amount which the household has settled on beforehand or which he decides himself. In addition to the kɔ̀nyɔ̀ laada variable amounts are given to each sister or mother's sister and other kinswomen of the bride who attend the wedding, to the kɔ̃nyɔ̃ tigi, to the intermediary (furu boloma), to the witness (svere) who accompanies the kɔ̀nyɔ̀ tigi, to the representatives of the kamalen ton of which the bride was a member, and to the women who bring certain items of the dowry. The woman or girl who brings the bride's gold receives something for each piece of gold. In the past, a separate amount (kassa sɔ̃ngɔ̀) was designated for the bride's fathers (musɔ faw) but this is no longer obligatory. Equally, neither millet beer nor its monetary equivalent is mandatory any longer. The back and chest of the wedding goat (kɔ̀nyɔ̀ bɛ̀n ba) are smoked and sent to the bride's lineage. The amounts given in the various categories have increased over time and vary between lineages but the categories themselves have remained largely unchanged. In the more distant past, the gifts were made in cowries which were then replaced by "Bambara money" (Bamanan wari)[4] and currently the national counting system prevails.

Once the guests have departed the wedding has officially ended. However, the bridegroom must still kill a chicken and invite the members of his age set to share the evening meal with him. They stay to chat (ka baro kè) with him, joined by the bride and some of the local unmarried girls. The wedding marks the separation of a woman from her kin but does not immediately integrate her into her husband's household. She participates in household activities for three days, for one week if her natal village is far, and then returns home. For the duration of her stay the young men of the village take their evening meal with the bridegroom and entertain him and the bride afterward. When the bride is ready to leave the bridegroom delegates a young man who takes her back to her natal village. Prior to her departure, she receives two wrappers and a gift of cash from her husband. The bride and her escort leave in the afternoon or after dark so that the bride arrives in her village after nightfall. She remains at home for one to two lunar months before joining her husband definitively. Her return is a joyous occasion which again unites the husband and his age mates for a meal prepared on her behalf (kònyò muso nyè).

The Wedding Ritual: Form and Meaning.

It is difficult to pinpoint how the wedding ritual has changed over time. A question about the way weddings were celebrated during a woman's youth is often met with the response that it was the same as now. Only further probing reveals certain changes. Similarly, a reply to a question about the meaning of or reason for certain of its aspects usually invokes "tradition" (laada) rather than cosmology. This is frustrating to a researcher seeking help in deciphering the symbolism of the wedding ritual while at the same time reminding the analyst that meaning cannot necessarily be expressed in discourse and that form itself --as tradition, and the continuity this represents--is intimately linked to content and carries meaning. Asking a social actor to provide an explanation of a given practice is to demand an analytical stance and a mastery of information which may be beyond the command of a single individual, at least at that particular point in time (Bourdieu, 1977). Meaning is sustained and recreated above all in

practice.

According to elder women's recollections the major difference between today's wedding ceremony and that of their youth seems to be due to the acceptance of Islam. Prior to conversion, the bride entered her husband's village and compound in the same manner as today, only that rather than being secluded she was taken to her husband's house immediately so that consummation of the marriage was not delayed until the following night. During the wedding night, the guests enjoyed themselves around the beer calabashes --dòlɔ̀ being consumed by men and women-- and sang and danced to the sound of drums. As soon as the bridegroom left his house in the morning, the old women went to give the bride her ablutions and brought out the cloth that could provide evidence of her virginity. If she was found to be a virgin, her husband's kinsmen and agemates fired off rifle shots. If, on the other hand, she was no longer a virgin the bridegroom could bring shame on her kingroup by refusing her; conversely, he could announce that he wanted to marry her nevertheless and demand to know the name of her lover who was then required to pay a fine. Much as today, wedding celebrations did not last more than a day. When brides started to be secluded during the night of their arrival in the early 1960s there was no merry-making on the part of village women during the night; only after the women's association (musɔ tɔ̀n) was formed as part of the mobilization during the Keita years did entertainment become customary.

Significantly, Islam is being interpreted in a way that submerges sexuality as an element in the alliance: whereas in the past the sexual aspect of marriage was publicly acknowledged by taking the bride to her husband-to-be without delay, seclusion as currently practiced takes sexuality out of the public realm and makes it a private matter. At the same time, the premarital sexual experience of the bride does not become an issue in kingroup politics though there are indications that even in the past the bride's honor could be protected through manipulations of the cloth that bore evidence of her virginity.

As the description of the wedding ritual shows, the celebration of a wedding involves a multitude of relations which coalesce around the bride and the groom respectively rather than around the two as a couple. The transformation of the bridegroom's social identity from bachelor to married man involves no special ritual. He occupies the place of honor, surrounded by age mates, kinsmen, and friends, and receives the wellwishes of the guests. The bride's transition from "girl" (mpòǫòtigi) to "woman" (muso), on the other hand, is marked by segregation and liminality. Enveloped by the dan kònò she is concealed from view and dependent on her companion upon arrival in the village. In entering her husband's household her attire defines her as an outsider but one who is welcome, as signified by the washing of her feet. The child on her back symbolizes the descendants she is expected to bear. The woman who receives her has already moved from stranger to full member of the household and expresses the hope that the bride also follow the same trajectory by setting her foot firmly on the ground four times. Once inside the house she is secluded again until her veil is publicly lifted by one of the unmarried men of the village the following afternoon. Even prior to conversion to Islam the bride did not occupy a public place.

Changes in the timing of weddings are readily acknowledged. Rather than celebrating weddings during the dry season, most weddings now take place at the end of the dry season or during the rainy season. This shift is attributed to labor migration and to the difficulties of preparing a dowry. Mothers count on having the entire dry season to prepare while bridegrooms and their kin do not want to, or cannot, forego migration earnings. Moreover, as a result of the absence of most young men a dry season wedding would be poorly attended; this would diminish the enjoyment of the festivities as well as the contributions a young man receives. The current timing is viewed as a material exigency. The prohibition against weddings during the month of aranjaba, the seventh month in the lunar calendar, still holds. An aranjaba wedding is thought to bring bad luck, according to some because Islam made much progress during this month at the expense of animist religion, according to others because the Great Flood began

during this month.

The expression of solidarity on the part of age mates and villagers in general, through participation in ritual and the provision of food, underlines the significance of marriage for the reproduction of the kin group and the village. Participation in the wedding by all villagers even when work in the fields might be pressing subordinates material production to the reproduction of the social order. This dichotomy between work defined narrowly as economic activity and work involved in the reproduction of the social order is, of course, particular to capitalism. Yet the previous chapter has shown that despite the prevalence of non-capitalist relations of production, Sana Bambara society is tied into nexi which make this distinction relevant. In this context, universal participation in a wedding must be viewed as a product of reflexive activity rather than merely as a 'leftover' from the past. The contribution of food to uphold the honor of the household, and by extension the village, vis-a-vis guests from other villages is equally significant in light of the trend toward greater household autonomy.

Polygyny and Widow Inheritance.

Most Sana Bambara men desire to marry more than one wife but less than 50% actually do. I have no evidence that polygynous marriages have increased as a result of the infusion of cash generated through labor migration, though this requires verification in a province-wide study. One third of Kuabugu men with two wives had inherited one of these from a deceased elder brother. Of the two men with three wives one had inherited one of his wives. Only one Kuabugu man had four wives, two of whom he had inherited. Most men who inherit their first wife still marry a second wife through the customary marriage process. A wedding is celebrated and marriage payments are made only when a woman is first brought into the household. Widow inheritance, prescribed by custom, does not require any further prestations. Upon the death of a man, his wife has the option of returning to her natal household or, conversely, of remaining in her deceased husband's household. In practice, however, only the woman who has remained childless or who has no living children, has the option of returning

home and remarrying since her children would be constrained to stay in their father's household.[5] The majority of women consent to marriage with a husband's younger brother. It is generally the brother immediately following the deceased in the age hierarchy who inherits the woman. If a man leaves two or more wives and there is more than one younger brother of marriageable age, then each brother may inherit a wife; the eldest of them would receive the first wife and so on down the line.[6] The new husband commences sexual relations with the woman following her period of mourning --three months for converts, five for non-converts-- without any ritual sealing of the relationship. Household fission or membership in a different surðforo is no obstacle to widow inheritance. Where a resident lineage has segmented, the woman and her children generally remain members of the deceased man's production unit so that the link between the woman and her new spouse is confined to a sexual relationship. This can result in a predicament for the woman if she bears children for her second husband since these children can potentially join their biological father's production unit, particularly if he claims them by paying taxes for them.[7] It is a double predicament firstly because the children leave the productive unit that has maintained them during their unproductive years and secondly because the mother, who may have been retired from agriculture by that time, is supported by a productive unit to which her children do not contribute. Remaining a member of a deceased husband's surðforo[8] creates less of a problem although it may raise questions of inheritance, particularly if one surðforo is wealthier than the other.

Widow inheritance currently represents the only form of conjugal union which does not involve the formal creation of an alliance.[9] A marriage with a divorced woman, or a widow who did not consent to a union with a husband's younger brother, requires only a minimal bridewealth payment but is nevertheless predicated on a formal inquiry made to the woman's male kin. Once the woman joins her husband, the union is not differentiated semantically from unions based on a complete series of prestations. This situation contrasts with that described by Comaroff (1980) for the Tshidi where affinity, and consequently marriage, is

subject to negotiation as reflected in the ambiguous status of conjugal unions.

Matrimonial Strategy.

Bourdieu (1976) has argued that marriage strategies

> must be seen as one element in the entire system of biological, cultural, and social reproduction by which every group endeavors to pass on to the next generation the full measure of power and privilege it has itself inherited (p. 141).

This makes of marriage an arena in which social identity and status are negotiated. In constituting an alliance, households have to make the best possible use of the allocative and authoritative resources at their disposal; that is, it is not only the resources which are available that count but also the skill with which they are deployed. Strategies are predicated on the practical mastery of principles which cannot be reduced to a set of rules. This must be kept in mind in the discussion which follows.

Despite the contribution young men now make to bridewealth payments through their labor migration earnings, it is incumbent upon the household elder to find wives for his juniors. The man and the woman concerned are never actively involved in the creation of a marriage alliance. Identifying a suitable young woman and bringing the negotiations to a successful conclusion is one of the foremost preoccupations of a household head, today as much as in the past.

In seeking wives for household juniors, the age hierarchy must be strictly observed; that is to say, a household head is not free to favor one of the unmarried men by seeking a wife for him first if there are unmarried elder brothers. However, a young man who stays on labor migration without the accord of his seniors forfeits his right to a wife obtained for him through household effort and wealth; in short, he is simply bypassed in the hierarchy of the household. The hierarchical principle also applies if an elder makes it his task to find second or third wives for his juniors. Men stated categorically that even in the past it was impossible for an elder to have two or more wives while any of his juniors of marriageable age had no wife at all. Juniors who might be

slighted in the search for wives are those men who are considered illegitimate (nyamaden) either because they were born before their mother's marriage or because they are the offspring of an extramarital relationship and were not recognized by their social father. Such illegitimate children are usually integrated into the household of their maternal kinsmen. Often the wife obtained for them is a woman with a physical handicap or one who is divorced, i.e. women for whom bridewealth is much reduced.

Men and women insist that not all men are equally "lucky" in appealing to potential affines as a spouse. Thus, an elder may spend considerable time trying to find a second wife for the eldest son without success and finally give up to use his efforts in favor of the next eldest so that a more fortunate junior may have two wives even though his elder brother has only one. Likewise, if the first wife of one junior causes discord within the household through her behavior or provokes quarrels with her husband or his kinsmen, he may be favored in the search for second wives. Marrying a second wife, rather than divorcing the first, is a favorite strategy for "correcting" a first wife and provoking her to mend her ways. A man who is attracted to a young woman may ask the elder to try to obtain her for him as a second or third wife. Such a request, however, could not be put above the need to obtain first wives for all bachelors of marriageable age even if the man in question makes a considerable contribution to household welfare through his labor migration earnings. In general, personal preference for a specific woman plays a greater role in the choice of a second or third wife than in a first marriage.

Elopement does not constitute a strategy either for obtaining the wife of one's choice or for pressuring affines to agree to a marriage. The only alternative to the customary marriage process is for a junior to establish himself at his point of labor migration and marry without the mediation and assistance of his kin group.

Wives are chosen with preference from villages which are linked with each other through old-established "marriage roads" (furu siraw). It has already been

mentioned in chapter III that villages did not relate to each other on an equal basis, a fact which was reflected in marriages between villages. Dossigela, for example, has established marriage alliances with Kuabugu only in this generation and still respects a pact which makes marriages with women from Jado taboo. Kuabugu did not seek women from Gumakoro and the only women presently from that village have married into a lineage which resettled from Tin. Sana Bambara also do not seek women from villages founded as a result of the creation of the Office du Niger unless these women are members of households which relocated from Sana into the perimeter of the Office. The preference for marriage with women from other Sana villages, along the established marriage routes, can be seen as a practice that favors social reproduction. Sana Bambara women, as opposed to women from other ethnic groups or Bambara townswomen, are thought to have been socialized according to local custom so that they are less likely to question established patterns.

Furu siraw are also referred to as balima siraw ("kin roads") because marriage alliances have long been predicated on a form of generalized exchange. A kin group gave a woman in marriage with the expectation that it would receive one in return at some (indeterminate) point in the future. Marriage with the daughter of a bènkè (mother's brother) or, secondarily, with that of a tènèn muso (father's sister) was preferred. The referential kin term for both of these is kanimè (cousin) and can be expanded outward in the two kin groups. Within this system, an elder responsible for finding a wife for a junior first approached the young man's mother's brothers or, in the absence of a suitable candidate, his own female agnates. This search could be extended outward in the kin groups involved. To obtain a wife via balima siraw did not negate the use of strategy in order to effect the most suitable match. Although men are credited with the initative of finding a wife for a junior and carry on the formal negotiations, women may be involved behind the scenes, so to speak, by making informal contacts and inquiries. A woman who 'prepares the ground' for an alliance with a daughter from her own extended kin group can strengthen her position in the household.

Apart from patri- and matrilateral cross-cousin (kanimè) marriages, elders frequently initiated marriage alliances with partners at beer drinking sessions. This rarely takes place now as a result of widespread conversion to Islam. Men who had made the trip to Senegal together during the early years of labor migration could reenforce their relationship by offering a friend's kinsman a daughter in marriage. Up to the present a lineage can offer a daughter to another lineage without receiving a formal inquiry in order to strengthen or maintain a relationship between the two groups. When this happens, the young man for whom the woman is intended is usually designated so that one junior in a household may be 'engaged' (a maminèna) to two women simultaneously while a younger brother, also eligible for marriage, may not be engaged at all.[10] Such initiation of an alliance on the part of 'wife givers' indicates that matrimonial strategy was and is not confined to 'wife takers' nor is it exercised by 'wife givers' only after being approached for a woman. As already discussed in chapter III, marrying a slave woman constituted another strategy for obtaining a wife until the first decade of the 20th century.

Sana Bambara who have access to an increasingly restricted circle of women are those who have remained adherents of traditional religion. Muslim converts state that their animist neighbors do not even seek to marry their daughters 'because they know they would not get them.' Muslims, on the other hand, do seek to marry women from non-Muslim households because 'their upbringing is no obstacle to integration into a Muslim household.' This new hierarchy is not as absolute as it sounds because it would only apply when entire households have resisted conversion to Islam. Non-converts have two weapons with which to fight the development of one-way marriage ties: falen and a form of divination, to be discussed below.

A process, begun in the heart of Sana during the latter part of the colonial period and seeming to accelerate, is making balima siraw less important and is creating links between villages which previously had no or few marriage alliances. The manifestation of this process is termed falen, which can be glossed as

"exchange" or "conversion". The term is not reserved for any specific category of goods; it can be used for changing millet against rice, for making change, and for other such transactions. What is being exchanged under the system of falen are women, that is to say sisters or daughters, who become wives. Men recognize and acknowledge that marriage alliances have always been based on exchange but this exchange was delayed; falen, as currently practiced, means that the party seeking a wife must be in a position to promise a sister or daughter in return. Falen marriages are practiced to a greater or lesser degree in most Sana Bambara villages. In Kuabugu, approximately 25% of all marriages initiated since the inception of the practice about 30 years ago were falen. Men from villages which still have few falen marriages say that they try to resist by breaking off marriage negotiations if a falen arrangement is demanded but add that they may have to give in to the trend in the long term. Lewis (1978) noted that falen was disdained along the Bani as a sign of poverty. Fulton and Toulmin (personal communication) and Norton (personal communication), who conducted research in villages about 60km north of Segu and some 25km outside of Segu along the Markala road respectively, noted that falen marriages were eschewed in those areas as well.

Sana Bambara suggest a variety of 'causes' for the development of falen. The simplest of these is a new scarcity of women. An examination of genealogies provides no evidence of a skewed sex ratio which would support this contention. The age of first marriage for men has fallen somewhat while it seems to have risen for women (brides are generally between 17-20 years old). It is difficult to tell if this change is statistically significant; however, coupled with the fact that some men have two wives, it might have a limited influence on the availability of women.

Another reason offered points to the diminution of the respect for kinship (balimaya) with the consequence that some people were refused unexpectedly when seeking a wife along balima siraw. Those rebuffed eventually responded by demanding a wife in return for a sister/daughter. What appears as a diminution in

respect for kinship may be linked to the increasing importance accorded to material wealth due to insertion into the commodity nexus. One elder pointed to this as a problem when he stated that those who disregarded balimaya favored a wealthier suitor over a poorer one even though the poorer one may have been a kinsman.

A third explanation is socio-historical. It traces the roots of falen back to slave liberation by suggesting that former slaves set the process in motion when they refused to give a daughter in marriage without receiving a wife. Though juridically equal after liberation, free Bambara continued to refuse their daughters to descendants of slaves under a pretext while seeking to marry woloso women.

Finally, one woman noted that poor people practised falen in the past so that the current system is merely an extension of it to a wider segment of the population. The term 'poor people' in this context may also encompass slaves and their descendants during the decades following abolition. This origin would confirm the characterisation of falen as a sign of poverty reported by Lewis (1978), but it does not explain the expansion of falen. The above reasons, as articulated by Bambara men and women, will be taken into account in the discussion at the end of this chapter.

The Creation of an Alliance.

Without the outright offer of a daughter or the conviviality of the beer calabashes, an elder poses questions about young girls he encounters, delegates a relative or friend in a neighboring village with 'looking' on his behalf, or inquires about potential spouses among the young man's cross-cousins. Once a girl has been identified, a representative, who may also be a blacksmith, is sent to the elder of the girl's household in order to make a formal inquiry. It is not only important that this representative be trusted but also that he be respected by and have friendly links with one or more members of the girl's household, the idea being that he can favorably influence them in informal inquiry prior to approaching the elder. Request and response are formulaic. The delegate states

that he has heard that a particular girl is not yet engaged and would like X (the suitor) "to be favored over her" in order to receive her. The implication of this is that the suitor is the girl's social superior, or else he could not marry her. This principle would, of course, be negated if the man is a slave descendant. If the girl's agnates have already set their sight on a potential spouse for her, the elder will respond: "We'll think about it", meaning that a positive response is precluded. This exemplifies strategy on the part of a woman's kinsmen. If there is hope of receiving her, the elder's response is: "It is true that she is not yet engaged but the matter cannot be decided upon by myself", i.e. it must be discussed by the male agnates as a unit. "Return in X amount of time." It is here that the intermediary's connections come into play because his allies within the household can try to sway the elder in favor of the arrangement. If the elder is strongly opposed his wishes prevail and a negative response is given when the intermediary returns. At present, the girl's father's preferences enter into the decision to a much greater extent than in the past; moreover, women are now informed which suitor is being considered for their daughter though they generally defer to the men's wishes unless they have strong objections, stating that it is up to the men to decide because "children belong to the man/husband" (denw ye cè ta ye). Up until the early years of Independence women were simply informed of the fait accompli once the decision had been made and their daughters could be beaten by their kinsmen if they objected to the choice of a spouse.

Non-islamic custom prescribes that the choice of suitor also be confirmed in divination. The elder, or any other man delegated and empowered to do so (boli tigi), kills a black chicken and if the chicken falls to the ground belly-up the choice is confirmed and a positive response can be given when the intermediary returns. It is a bad omen if the chicken falls over on its side, followed by a negative response when the intermediary returns (shè kama ma sòn "the chicken wing did not agree"). Those who have converted to Islam no longer rely on divination and simply give the intermediary their positive decision. As indicated earlier, divination could be a way for animist Bambara to reject a Muslim

suitor. [11]

If a girl is promised to the member of a lineage with whom past marriage ties exist, the decision is conveyed to the intermediary in terms that emphasize this fact; the elder states that the two lineages are already "marriage partners" (furu nyɔ̀gɔ̀nw) and that the daughter is promised in that spirit. If, on the other hand, the marriage is to be falen, the intermediary will be informed that the lineage is willing to enter a marriage alliance but that it would like to be shown/introduced to (ka jira) a woman as well. The suitor's lineage then has the opportunity to respond positively or to withdraw from the negotiations. A marriage alliance is sealed by the transmission of the furu sɔ̀nni fɛ̀nw, also known as labilali fɛ̀nw.

Marriage Prestations.

Recent discussions of marriage (e.g. Comaroff, 1980; Murray, 1981) have emphasized that marriage is a process rather than a point of transition. Marriage prestations are an integral part of this process, not merely a manifestation of, or compensation for, the transfer of rights. Following Sahlins and others, Comaroff (1980) reminds us that bridewealth payments, along with the transfer of other material objects represent

> a point of articulation between the organizational principles which underlie and constitute the socio-cultural system and the surface forms and processes which together comprise the lived-in universe..../ ...in any system where explicit rules delimit contributors to, and recipients of, prestations by kinship category, their alienation represents a symbolic context in which relevant linkages are construed and, perhaps, negotiated. Existing definitions of these linkages may simply be reaffirmed, or they may be contested; but, in either case, a manifest universe of effective relations is ordered in the process (p.33/p.35).

This takes on particular importance in a context such as that of contemporary Sana where the integrity of the social order can only be sustained through involvement in the economic system beyond the province. One might therefore expect that marriage exchanges reflect this involvement. The discussion which follows examines the changing composition of marriage payments. It shows that prestations fall into different categories according to the phase of the marriage

process and that their production is becoming an individual rather than a collective project.

Furu sònni is the sacrifice made to the lineage protective spirits to ask for the blessing of the proposed marriage and the protection of the daughter to be given; (fènw, as in furu sònni fènw, simply means "things", i.e. the required goods). Converts to Islam no longer make this sacrifice and thus designate the goods to be transmitted as labilali, literally "letting go" or "permission to leave". The customary goods consist of two (sometimes four) black chickens, one male and one female; one basket of millet (jala nyò); and a specified number of red and white kola. Red is considered 'male' kola and white 'female' kola and since marriage involves man and woman both must be included. Red should nevertheless predominate because the man is the woman's superior. If only red kola were to be given it would be considered a "red matter" (ko bilen), something that brings bad luck. Adherents of traditional religion sacrifice the chickens, converts do not and may not even require that chickens form part of the labilali; they may ask for a male sheep instead. Some lineages also no longer ask for the basket of millet and request a sum of money in its place. As many as 100 kola nuts may now be demanded. Initial negotiations are confined to the two households involved, but the transmission of the furu sònni/labilali brings the newly constituted relationship into the realm of public knowledge because the kola are divided among all resident members of the bride's lineage.

Once the marriage alliance has become official, the bride's household informs the intermediary (furu boloma) of the bride price. Bridewealth is not monolithic as reported sums of currency seem to imply. In fact, the inclination to place a monetary value on all the goods transmitted prior to the wedding has taken hold in Sana only since the late 1960s. Prior to that bridewealth was viewed as a series of prestations culminating in the wedding ceremony. Furu sònni/labilali initiates this series. Its core are the san yèlèma fènw, the goods to be transferred at each anniversary of the alliance until the wedding takes place. The composition and quantity of san yèlèma fènw differ within and between villages

and are considered a household secret. Nevertheless, the existence of inter-generational marriage links between certain villages and lineages provides elders with a working knowledge of prevalent prestations so that they know approximately what to expect when asking for a woman from a given household. The san yèlèma fènw are also referred to as laada ("custom"), implying that they form part of lineage tradition.

The san yèlèma fènw used to reflect the staples of Bambara agriculture, comprising a specific number of measures each of millet, fonio, and Bambara groundnuts as well as several gourdes of millet beer. Prior to the disappearance of cowries as currency laada also included the fixed sum of 30000 cowries, 40000 if the bride was a slave woman who was obtained directly from her master. It was not - and is not - possible to bargain over bridewealth but a household which was unable to fulfill its annual prestation could ask through its intermediary that it be changed or liquidated entirely. Any annual prestation that was liquidated entirely or in part did not have to be paid at a later date and was never mentioned again unless a dispute ensued between the two lineages. The nature of san yèlèma fènw and the manner in which they were produced throws into question Meillassoux' (1960; 1964; 1975) postulate, derived from his research among the Guro but also accepted by other neo-marxists (e.g. Dupré & Rey, 1978; Rey, 1969), concerning the control of elders over juniors based on their control of bridewealth. It is true that elders were in charge of foroba property in their capacity as heads of household but since fonio, groundnuts, and millet were produced collectively they could not dispose of them at will. Terray (1972) recognized the tenuous nature of such control when he stated that lest an elder fulfil his obligation to obtain wives for his juniors he would risk losing his dependents. Moreover, Meillassoux' suggestion that participation in long-distance trade resulted in the emergence of a 'prestige sphere' which limited access to certain types of goods to elders does not hold for Sana.

With increasing involvement in the commodity nexus in recent years fonio and Bambara groundnuts have been excluded from annual prestations. Prestations

in millet are specified in two categories: dòlò nyɔ̀ and dege nyɔ̀. Among non-converts, the former was/is brewed and transmitted in the form of beer to be shared by the men of the kingroup and their guests. As men have converted to Islam they have substituted a sum of money or a quantity of millet for the millet beer. Half of the dege nyɔ̀ is given to the bride's mother and the remainder is divided among the other women of the household. Since the 1970s cloth is frequently requested in place of, or in addition to, dege nyɔ̀. Along with a demand for cloth goes a specific sum of money, known as the "tailoring wage" (kalali sara) which can be increased from one year to the next. The cloth is designated for the mother of the bride and the kalali sara for the other women of the household. Those who still demand millet to the exclusion of cloth nevertheless also request a certain sum of money in addition to kola and perhaps tobacco. It is up to the household head to decide what, if any, portion of the cash should be given to the bride's mother. The composition of the prestations may be altered during the course of the engagement so that san yèlèma fènw may consist of millet, kola, and currency for three years and then become cloth, kola, and currency the following years. The number of cloths may also be changed from one year to the next and the type of cloth to be transferred may be stipulated. The transition from agricultural products to money and cloth eliminates the option of asking that a payment be reduced or liquidated altogether. A demand for a payment in cash or cloth, which can be obtained on migration, does not diminish a household's moral authority in the way a demand for millet would when the giver's household is experiencing adversity.

In addition to the san yèlèma fènw a household can demand a prestation of millet in the name of the bride's age mates who are already engaged (filan nyɔ̀). Though customary in all Sana villages, it is not demanded by all households nor for all daughters of a given household. A household may specify that, for example, two of the bride's agemates are already engaged and they are therefore to receive 2 (or 2x2, etc.) measures of filan nyɔ̀ as part of the annual prestation. This millet is not given to the lineages of the age mates but to the mother of the bride who then divides it among the women of the household (baw min bɛ̀

bulon kelen na).

Another type of prestation are the boloko fènw ("excision goods"). These include a range of items specified by the bride's household, such as one to two goats, a chicken, millet, kola, a mat, a large calabash of shea oil, and an excision cloth made of 7 bands of homespun cloth, each 7 elbows long. They are transmitted at the time of excision. One goat is given on the excision day itself, the other must be slaughtered, cooked and taken to the bride's village with millet couscous and a gourde of dege for the celebration of the daworo (6th day after excision). If the goat is not slaughtered (and it may be demanded live) it must be accompanied by a fee for condiments. Since girls are currently excised between 9-12 years of age many have been excised by the time they are promised in marriage. The boloko fènw are therefore often demanded soon after the labilali fènw have been transferred but the goat is brought live and is accompanied by millet grain rather than couscous or dege. Much as the san yèlèma fènw, the boloko fènw are changing in composition. Some households, for example, now demand a cash payment rather than a goat.

If the bride should die before the wedding can take place, her kinsmen are not obligated to return any of the prestations made up to that point. There is also no obligation to offer a sister in her stead. If, on the other hand, the bridegroom died prior to the wedding it was customary for one of his younger brothers to take his place; where no younger brother was there to marry the bride her kinsmen were free to promise her to another suitor without returning the bridewealth. The automatic substitution of a younger brother is a prescription which is currently in flux but has not so far led to a mandatory return of bridewealth.[12]

During the year of the wedding the bridegroom chooses three of his age mates to accompany him in greeting his affines (buranw fo). In cases where the bride is not in the care of her biological mother, this greeting is addressed to her social parents. The bridegroom's household determines the day by sending a message to the in-laws, letting them know that they would like to come to greet

them. The greeting involves a prestation of kola, cash, and sometimes cigarettes; the amount of cash is determined by having the intermediary inquire how much other households are receiving on the occasion to avoid loosing face by transmitting less than what is current in the village. The bridegroom and his age mates spend the day - and night, if the village is far - in the compound of the lineage elder and are served food by the women of the household and the age mates of the bride. A portion of the money they have brought is designated for the mother of the bride to help her with her preparations (ba bolo deme wari or ba bonyè wari), some for the other 'mothers' of the bride, some for the bride's age mates, and some for the elders of the lineage.

The buranw fo however does not end the outlays prior to the wedding ceremony, it only initiates the final phase. Customary marriage (furu siri) and civil marriage (bolo da) first have to take place. The furu siri is a short ceremony uniting representatives of the groom's lineage and elders of the bride's lineage in the bulon of the latter to bless the relationship. Converts to Islam have the imam read from the koran.[13] The old women of the lineage assemble in the compound to give their blessing and receive kola and a small sum of cash from the groom's lineage when the ceremony in the vestibule is completed. The bride remains with the old women and receives cloth for a wrapper, boubou, head scarf, and shoes (now plastic thongs) along with the calabash in which the gifts are transmitted. Men and women are then served a meal by the bride's household.

Sana Bambara have acquiesced to demands by the Malian state for a civil wedding. Its name bolo da stems from the fact that the couple must appear before the chef d'arrondissement and indicate their consent to marry by signing a document, that is to say, by putting their fingerprint on (ka bolo da). Officially, the fee paid to the civil servant should replace bride wealth payments; notices at the municipality in Segu warn that anyone caught exchanging money or goods beyond the 20000MF fee, or celebrating an elaborate wedding, will be severely punished. Needless to say, the fee paid to the civil servant is only an additional

burden on the bridegroom. Apart from paying the fee, the bridegroom now is under peer pressure to obtain a mobylette for himself and his age mate to drive the bride and her agemate to Sinsanni rather than simply taking her on a donkey cart or on a bicycle. The bride and her age mate, as well as the representative of the bride's father and the furu boloma receive a monetary gift on the occasion.

Finally, the groom's household must weave all of the bride's cloth before the wedding date can be set. Old women note that during their youth the bride's kinsmen would take care of all the weaving 'so as not to give away what the dowry included.' As the dowry goods began to increase bride mothers started sending all of their homespun cotton thread to the groom's kinsmen with specifications for the types of blankets and wrappers[14] that were to be woven in addition to the standard mosquito net. If the groom's kinsmen cannot accomplish the weaving themselves they must hire others to help or do it for them. Certain households continue to refrain from sending the "wedding thread" (konyo gese) and instead request money to pay for the weaving; this can provide another opportunity for extracting cash.[15]

Whether or not the bridegroom's kinsmen weave the kònyò gese, they must weave the dan kònò. The raw cotton for it is purchased with foroba resources - failing that, with resources provided by the bridegroom's mother - and divided among the sisters and sisters-in-law (buran musow) of the groom to be ginned, carded, and spun. In the past, it was done only by the groom's sisters.

In preparation of the wedding celebration, the household purchases sugar for the dege; condiments for the various meals; hard candy to be handed out to visitors who make a contribution; kola for the bride's party, the old men of the village, and villagers and guests who keep the vigil with the bridegroom. If the household does not own enough goats and chickens it must buy some for the festivities and if rice has not yielded the previous year it must be purchased for the wedding breakfast. The women of the household distribute the unhusked rice to the women of other households to be pounded and they, aided by all the

women of the resident lineage, pound the millet in preparation for the various meals.

The final major expenditure is made on the wedding day itself, as described in connection with the wedding ceremony. After a bride has been fully integrated into the household through the kɔ̀nyɔ̀ muso nyɛ̀ all obligatory prestations to her kinsmen end. It is merely incumbent on her husband to maintain good relations with his affines by treating them well when they are guests in his household (e.g. by offering kola nuts) and by sending small gifts, if possible, when she goes home on a visit.

Some men suggest that there is no essential difference between prestations based on local products and those of today because then as now there are households which have and others which don't. This glosses over the fact that in the past everyone was in a position to produce the products required and production shortfalls due to climatic adversity affected all. Misfortunes which befell a household (e.g. sickness or death) were cushioned by mutual aid. Equally important, obligations inherent in balima siraw and the moral authority a kin group commanded could overcome a lack of material resources. Currently, on the other hand, marriage is predicated on commodity production. Ecological adversity since the late 1960s seems to have contributed to the the commodification of bridewealth so that now marriage becomes a reason for migration. The demand for money and cloth brings commodity relations into the reproduction of a social order which is still on the margins of relations based on contract.

Wedding Goods: Counter Prestation or Inheritance?

Goody (1973) suggests that dowry in Africa is linked to Islam, or other world religions, because Islam provides for inheritance to daughters. To link the expansion of 'wedding goods' (kɔ̀nyɔ̀ minanw) in Sana to the spread of Islam would be to take a concurrent phenomenon as causal, particularly since knowledge of the precepts of Islam is very superficial and increase in goods is not restricted to islamised households. Furthermore, wedding goods are not

construed as an inheritance which a woman receives from her lineage as a unit but rather as a store of goods which her mother accumulates on her behalf.

The notion of wedding goods is not a recent one. The eldest of women state that they, as their mothers before them, had to bring an axe for cutting firewood, mortar and pestle, cooking utensils (calabashes, clay pots, wooden bowls, ladles), and baskets; they also had gourdes for dege and for storing cloth, oil lamp, water jar, stool (gomè), cloths, blankets, and a mosquito net. A woman who was married some 45-50 years ago reminisced that she came with 30 wrappers, rather than the 10 or 15 common at the time, because her mother had means. Brides then brought no more than two or three blankets. Prior to slave liberation some brides received a slave as wedding gift from their kinsmen and then, as now, some women received a goat or sheep or, more rarely, a cow if their kinsmen had the means. Mothers also strove to give their daughters gold, generally in the form of earrings and, through the early part of the colonial period, a nose ring.

Since the late 1960s the quantity and range of kònyò minanw has greatly increased. Brides bring not only the goods already mentioned but also metal buckets and wash basin, water kettle, enamel bowls, one or more metal trunks, brazier and tea pot with glasses, and frequently a small table; the kerosene lamp has replaced the oil lamp and pots are made of iron rather than of clay. Wrappers and blankets have greatly increased in number and are complemented by sheets, decorative multi-colored blankets known as tapis, and prayer rugs. Many wrappers are of printed cotton or hand woven but with machine-spun thread (kòba) rather than home spun. If a bride has obtained many wrappers (now frequently 100-200) the bride's mother, in consultation with the old women of her ward, withholds a portion for the bride rather than turning them all over to her affines. Some women sell part of these and give the proceeds to the daughter or purchase gold for her; the cash obtained from the sale of this cloth, as the cash obtained from selling shea oil, cannot be used directly for buying livestock. Prior to the bride's departure all of the goods that accompany her at

the time of the wedding are counted by the old women of the bride's ward, stacked, and held together by large nets (celuw).

Every woman works to obtain a rich dowry for her daughter. It is considered her duty and involves her reputation. A rich dowry indicates that the mother "has worked hard" and that she is respected, for only an industrious woman who develops a large social network can accumulate many goods. Every woman is obligated to give a wrapper or blanket when the daughter of one of her sisters gets married; she must respond likewise at the wedding of the daughter of a woman married to a member of her husband's resident lineage. Beyond this, she can incur debts by giving wrappers to daughters of other women of her extended kin network or of the village. In the past, women gave their boloma fara taafe in a calabash and later, when enamel bowls became fashionable, some gave it along with an enamel bowl. Women say that they can no longer afford to do this and give a calabash or a bowl in addition to a cloth only in special cases. In Kuabugu, a bride's age mates all contributed by giving her an enamel bowl. These gifts are made prior to the wedding and are repaid in kind - i.e. a homespun wrapper is repaid with a homespun, a kòba with a kòba, etc. - when her own daughters get married. The kinswoman who presents her with the big tunic the bridegroom receives gets the dan kònò in return after the wedding. The extent to which a woman is aided by her lineage through resources derived from bride wealth prestations is ignored publicly.

Despite the fact that unmarried girls became involved in labor migration during the mid-1970s (rather than cutting millet under the tutelage of a kinswoman, for example) in order to help their mothers prepare the wedding goods, weddings are increasingly postponed because the mother has not completed her preparations. A household which is nevertheless anxious to integrate the bride can hold a singa or sen don. Ka singa means "to rent" or "to borrow" and ka sen don means "to participate", "to take part". Both terms refer to a preliminary wedding ceremony which formally brings a woman into the household without exposing her mother to shame for not having accumulated the

goods she deems necessary. No guests are invited from other villages and the bride does not bring her belongings. Although the wedding is held one, or sometimes two, years later[16], the year of the singa counts as the bride's year of marriage into the household. Following the singa, the bride returns home briefly and then joins her husband's household for the rainy season through the fonio harvest. The tobilikèla nyò is set aside for her after the harvest much as for the other married women of the household. The two brides who were in Kuabugu on singa in 1981 left the village immediately after Tabaski. Their husband is allowed to visit them at home before the wedding takes place.

An unmarried girl's pregnancy may also induce a household to move up the wedding. This is never cited as an explanation for the singa, presumably because a household would celebrate the wedding if the bride's mother were ready. A man and his kin who are willing to accept a woman's illegitimate child (nyamaden) may hold the wedding as early as possible.[17] If preparations cannot be completed they will arrange for a singa to publicly end the relationship with her lover.

The Stability of Marriages.

Among the benedictions offered by guests at a wedding are some which express the wish that the marriage last for a lifetime (e.g. Ka furu mèn si la!). And making the foot of the bride touch the ground firmly four times at the entry to the compound symbolizes the desire for marital stability. Some men and women assert that divorce has become more frequent and point to it as a sign of a breakdown in old values but genealogies do not bear out this fact. An examination of Kuabugu genealogies over three generations shows that the divorce rate has always been less than 1%.

Men wish to avoid divorce if at all possible because of the rupture it introduces into the links between lineages and its implications for the wider kin network. As already indicated, marrying a second wife is preferred to repudiating a wife with whom one is dissatisfied. The primary recourse for a woman who is

displeased with her husband's behavior or angered after a quarrel is to leave for a visit of her natal household or other kin. Women do not resort to this while work is pressing during the agricultural season unless they feel that they have been seriously wronged, but during the dry season they may leave for extended periods of time. In the event of serious conjugal problems women are constrained to seek the aid of an intermediary, a nearby friend or kinsperson, indicated to them at the time of their wedding. Only if this person does not succeed in resolving the conflict may a woman return home and count on the full support of her kinsmen. Once this happens it is up to her husband's lineage to send a representative who negotiates for the return of the woman.[18]

With the emergence of falen conflict in one marriage also spells problems in the other marriage that was part of the arrangement. If mediation attempts do not secure the return of a wife, the husband's household may call its kinswoman home to put pressure on the affines. The complication this creates is viewed as one of the major disadvantages of falen marriages but in a case where this occurred during my stay recall of the husband's sister did bring about the return of the wife who had left. However, it is not yet possible to tell if falen will impede divorces in the long term. Although a divorce in a falen arrangement ruptures the relationship between two lineages, it does not have repercussions for an entire kin network the way a balima divorce would.

Conclusion.

The continuity of the social order is predicated on marriage. Male agnates who share a common patrimony form the core of household and community. The labor --in the double sense of the term-- of women who enter as strangers helps ensure the integrity of the group: elder men can retire only if they have sons to replace them and elder women need daughters-in-law to carry on for them. Households and communities are linked through a network of ties in the form of marriage alliances which ensures that the social order is reproduced (e.g. principles of hierarchy are reconfirmed). However, because the creation of alliances is accomplished through action, it also holds the potential for change.

Discussion of matrimonial strategies and marriage prestations has shown that both the way in which marriages are constituted and the composition of bridewealth are changing. These changes are closely linked to the commodification process. The emergence of falen, while containing an element of all of the reasons offered by Sana Bambara themselves, does not reflect a diminution in the respect for kinship per se but for the way kin groups are linked. Households have become more autonomous as a result of integration into the commodity nexus and rely less on collective labor during the production cycle. The production of prestations is therefore also less of a collective endeavor, particularly where cash and cloth form an important component. Falen involves primarily the deployment of the resources of two households rather than of a wider kin network and a rupture in a falen relationship does not implicate an entire kin network. Falen represents a contraction of kin networks and thus an acknowledgement, if only implicit, of disruption. At the same time, it allows for an expansion in the range of potential matrimonial partners without regard to traditional notions of hierarchy.

To ascertain the impact of falen on the escalation of bridewealth would require a detailed study of transactions in falen and balima marriages. Men assert that falen does not have the effect of reducing bridewealth nor that it makes

bridewealth transactions between the two lineages exact copies of each other. While bridewealth has undergone quantitative and qualitative changes, as shown, it has not increased to the same extent as in many other areas of Mali. Men themselves stress that household wealth has become less important -- in a relative rather than an absolute sense -- and that only a woman can obtain another woman. Although the prestations which move from one lineage to another in a falen arrangement may preserve the principle of social hierarchy expressed in bridewealth, they cannot exceed the bounds of what would be deemed reasonable; excessive demands by one party would risk a like response by the other party, particularly since the two marriages do not necessarily occur within the same time span. The woman promised in exchange for a woman does not have to be of marriageable age at the time the agreement is made. Non-quantitative evidence, therefore, indicates that even if falen is not a conscious response to commodification it has the unintended effect of diminishing bridewealth inflation. Although the commodity nexus introduces a new source of inequality between kin groups which is recognized in prestations, it is also held in check.

Through the control of household crops and especially through labor migration men are linked into the commodity nexus more directly than women who are more closely tied to the world of provisioning. By circulating money and cloth through bridewealth women obtain commodities to which they otherwise have only limited access. The system of distribution (of bridewealth and of kònyò minanw) undermines accumulation by any one woman and makes a bridegroom's kinswomen and the women of his household beneficiaries. Yet the need to contribute cloth at the wedding of kinswomen also places constant pressure on women to engage in petty commodity production.

The marriage process, then, bridges the world of goods and the world of provisioning as well as the world in which social reproduction and alliances interpenetrate. At the same time, it ties the community more firmly into the commodity nexus. In reproducing the social order, the marriage process also

carries the seeds of its transformation.

Notes

1 In one case familiar to me the bridegroom's household rented a vehicle to get the bride since her village was some 65km distant. The vehicle took the bride and her party to a nearby village where they awaited darkness and then proceeded by donkey cart.

2 Dunan means both "stranger" and "guest".

3 If the bride is not raised by her biological mother, her social mother may accompany her to the village of her husband though she also does not participate in the festivities as such.

4 In the Bambara counting system kèmè (100) equalled 400 as opposed to the 500MF customary until 1984. Units below 100 also had different designations than they do today. The modern kèmè of 500MF is also referred to as "Muslim 100" (slamèya kèmè). The old counting system prevailed in Sana until after Independence.

5 There was one woman who left a little over a year after her husband's death and following the deaths of her two youngest sons. She took her other son and daughter with her and, at the time of my departure, it was unclear if their father's kinsmen would insist on their return.

6 In one instance, a man inherited two wives because he was the only remaining younger brother.

7 Children usually appear on the tax rolls beginning at age 15 when they are considered active in agriculture. One young man known to me was said to be under pressure by his father to switch over to his father's household.

8 In some Sana villages a woman changes over to her new husband's surò̀foro.

9 The only exception to this was an old man and woman who considered each other husband and wife but lived with their respective kin in different villages. Both had been widowed and the woman came from time to time to spend a few days with her husband since the man no longer travelled beyond the village.

10 I was familiar with two such cases in Kuabugu.

11 One islamised household head told me that he was rejected following divination when seeking a woman from a non-Muslim household for one of his younger brothers. It is unclear what factors played a role in the rejection.

12 Upon the death of a young man who had been engaged to two girls, some villagers said that they were doubtful the brides would be given to the younger brother of the deceased even though he was of marriageable age and was not yet engaged.

13 I never witnessed a non-Islamic furu siri.

14 Blanket and wrapper patterns are known by a variety of different names.

15 In one such case during the fieldwork period 30000MF were requested as payment for the weaver, plus 10000MF "to help the mother." It was paid but when the groom's household asked for a wedding date another 20000MF were demanded. Even after that, a decision about the wedding date was delayed under a pretext and the groom's household expected another demand for money.

Significantly, this marriage had been arranged along balima sira.

16 I have recorded two such cases in Kuabugu. In one of these the bride returned to cultivate for her husband's household during the rainy season; in the other, she was not permitted to return under the pretext that she might get pregnant again. During the rainy season following the singa she had become pregnant but the child she bore died.

17 This appeared to be the reason for two accelerated weddings although it was never acknowledged publicly.

18 In one case, a woman did not return for nearly three months despite the fact that she had left two young children behind, one of whom fell sick during her absence. People suggest that one party must admit fault before the woman will come back.

CHAPTER VIII
CONCLUSION

Chapter one elucidated the conditions which made possible the discourse about the Bambara and outlined the forms this discourse has taken. It made explicit the relations which enter into the production of an ethnographic text so as to confront the problematic nature of such an endeavor. Consequently, I have sought to write not about "the Bambara" but about Bambara men and women in a specific place and time. My account has tried to provide an interpretation of their conditions of existence and of the way these have developed historically. Producing knowledge that is adequate to this complex reality has necessitated not only reflection on anthropological practice but also a reconsideration of the concepts with which we try to apprehend reality.

In trying to come to grips with the contemporary situation of Sana Bambara, I have suggested that a global perspective is indispensable. To a certain extent, I maintain a dualist position in arguing that while Sana is part of the world system, it does not follow that it is capitalist or that local social relations are determined by the world economy. The question that necessarily arises is how to conceive of the relationship. Meillassoux (1972; 1975) and Wolpe (1972) have argued that rural areas such as Sana subsidize capitalist accumulation by producing laborers and by providing their social security; capital only pays these laborers an hourly wage that covers direct costs. Non-capitalist and capitalist sectors are thus organically linked: the former reproduces labor power for the latter so that it is in the interest of capitalism (and of the laborers it exploits) to maintain rural social relations. Rather than destroying the "domestic community", capitalism fossilizes its structures. Meillassoux and Wolpe are correct in stressing that the non-capitalist sector is not an entity apart, a simple holdover from the past, but they place too much emphasis on the 'needs' of capitalism and can therefore not

account for the specificity of local social forms.

My own approach has been to move away from the determinacy of 'the economic' and to give greater weight to 'human agency' in social reproduction-transformation. While positing that Sana Bambara are part of the capitalist world system, I do not assume that their form of integration has been determined by its functionality to capitalism. The subsumption of Sana into the capitalist world system was shaped by a variety of forces, including Bambara responses to new realities, as discussed in chapter four. Rather than acquiescing to the imposition of cotton as a cash crop, Sana Bambara went on labor migration to obtain the cash needed to pay taxes and shore up their food crops under conditions of ecological adversity. As a result, they are today less affected by the vagaries of the world commodities markets than cotton or peanut producers in other areas of Mali. During the 1950s and 1960s when they increased the production of peanuts, these were planted on the household field rather than on individual fields. Household fields continued to be maintained in 1981/82 and elder men and women were relieved from agricultural labor by their juniors. As indicated in chapter seven, Kuabugu households did not go to the fields when a wedding was held in the village and all contributed a dish of food for the celebration. While capitalism has been resisted through such practices, other practices --such as cooperative labor during certain phases of the agricultural cycle-- have been abandoned as a result of involvement in the commodity nexus.

The contradictory nature of insertion into the cycle of commodity production is evident in various domains of social life. While many elements of capitalism are missing or are only minimally present, production and reproduction in Sana Bambara villages cannot be sustained without involvement in labor migration. In other words, commodity production is essential despite the fact that it involves food products only to a limited extent and that it is separated from agricultural production in space and time. Elders make production decisions and continue to be responsible for negotiating marriage alliances but their control of esoteric

knowledge has been undermined by conversion to Islam. Furthermore, allocative resources have gained in importance, particularly in sustaining the cycle of agricultural production, and in the marriage process. Since elders must rely on juniors to earn cash, as discussed in chapter six, their symbolic position is undermined and authority based on age is thrown into question. Though subject to negotiation, the age hierarchy has not been overturned. This may relate to the fact that distantiation is still encompassed, even though migration introduces a different space-time modality.

Sana Bambara migrants continue to uphold the productive and generational cycle at home because their life chances are still tied up with the collectivity. At the same time, they are able to gain primary control over resources which would not be available to them in the village and which open up prospects of private accumulation. The extent to which individual needs are subordinated to the needs of the collectivity depends at least in part on the tensions and conflicts within the household. These are influenced by the material well-being of the household and the authoritative resources the household head (and through him the household) can command within the community. The increased importance of allocative resources constitutes a potential source of power for women but they, like men who no longer migrate, are constrained by the limited opportunities for generating cash. It remains to be seen whether or not there will be a struggle over women's involvement in commodity production beyond the province. If women are unable to expand their income-earning opportunities while men continue to be primary in earning cash, women may become increasingly identified with the sphere of consumption. This would have implications for the construction of gender identity. Aside from gender identity, ethnic identity is also taking on new dimensions. As a result of conversion to Islam, both men and women frequently refer to non-converts as "Bamananw"; asked if that means that they themselves are not Bambara, they respond that indeed they are, but that they are "converts" (tubi denw) or "Muslims" (slamèw). In short, 'Bambara' is used to connote religious affiliation similar to the way Muslims used it during earlier centuries. In the occupational domain, many contemporary Sana Bambara migrants

continue to identify with cultivation, but this identity is much more nuanced than the colonial sterotypes of the Bambara peasant.

I have used the term 'peasant' rather than 'semi-proletarian' in referring to Bambara cultivator-commodity producers. Neither 'peasant' nor 'semi-proletarian' specify the relations which these categories entail, though 'peasant' evokes links with a subsistence economy whereas 'semi-proletarian' emphasizes involvement in capitalist relations of production. I have shied away from using 'semi-proletarian' because it implies a transitional category. However, if the experience of Sana and that of other areas in the Sahel are any indication, then the movement toward full proletarianization is not inevitable, at least not in the near future. The historiography of labor in Africa as well as current shifts in the world economy would seem to provide ample evidence that capitalist penetration does not proceed in linear fashion and that capitalism need not take the same form everywhere.

The need for commodities in reproducing the productive cycle has the potential of promoting social differentiation. Households with young men who are able to earn cash are in a better position to purchase agricultural equipment and are then also able to make effective use of it during the cultivating season. Up until now, capital investment in agriculture has been confined to basic equipment. The availability of land, compounded by ecological constraints, has curbed agricultural expansion, though access to land varies between and, to a lesser extent, within villages. While greater emphasis on agricultural commodity production may not lead to the commodification of land, it may well encourage landlordism and thus favor the emergence of different strata. At the time of fieldwork, Sana Bambara were not enmeshed in the differential allocation of resources reported for other areas of Africa (e.g. Berry, 1985, for Western Nigeria) or Mali. Bambara men and women themselves point out that the neighboring Marka, for example, deploy resources in different sectors, particularly cultivation and various aspects of trade.

Potential shifts in the control of resources in Sana Bambara villages and in the province as whole are not unrelated to ecological conditions, trends in marriages alliances, and relations with the Malian state. An improvement in yields as a result of more favorable climatic conditions and better access to inputs such as fertilizer may encourage migrants to 'invest' in agriculture by practicing more intensive production techniques where surfaces cannot be expanded. Falen marriages, if they continue to increase, will allow households to 'reach out' socially while confining prestations to a narrower circle; especially as commodities are substituted for food products, this may favor accumulation. The intrusion of commodities into marriage payments had not brought about a higher rate of polygyny in 1981/82; that is, cash earnings did not seem to be used to obtain more wives. Finally, although the state bureaucracy reproduces itself through taxes obtained from the peasantry, Sana has relatively less to offer than areas which produce cotton, peanuts, or other export crops. As a result, state intervention in production is largely confined to the activities of Operation Riz. The expansion of the rice fields and improved management and technology could potentially increase state control and favor local differentiation through greater involvement in cash crop production.

Ultimately, issues such as 'differentiation' or 'proletarianization' cannot be illuminated by community studies such as this one. In order to discern trends and illuminate processes it is necessary to conduct region-wide studies and to relate findings from these to capital accumulation at the national level. At a minimum, it requires detailed information on the way migrants are linked into urban class structures. There is as yet only a scant literature on the urban economies of Mali and the way these shape, and are shaped, by developments in the rural areas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adanson, Michel. 1759. "A Voyage to Senegal, The Isle of Gorée, and the River Gambia," in John Pinkerton Voyages and Travels. London: Longman et.al., 1814. Vol. 16: Africa.

Anonymous. 1815. The Journal of a Mission to the Interior of Africa in the Year 1805. Philadelphia: Edward Earle.

Anonymous. 1883. The Life and Travels of Mungo Park. New York: R. Worthington.

Arnoldi, Mary Jo. 1983. Puppet Theatre in the Segu Region in Mali. Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University.

Bagayoko, Dramane. 1982. Idéologie Communautaire, Sociétés Rurales et Associations de Culture ("ci kè tòn") au Mali. Paris: Doctorat de 3e Cycle.

Balandier, George. 1959. "Tendances de l'éthnologie française (I)." Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie, vol. XXVII, pp. 11-22.

Baudrillard, Jean. 1973. Le miroir de la production. Tournai: Casterman.

Bazin, Jean. 1972. "Commerce et predation: L'état bambara de Ségou et ses communautés marka." Conférence on Manding Studies. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

--------- 1974. "War and Servitude in Segou." Economy and Society, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 107-143.

Bazin, Mgr. H. 1906. Dictionnaire Bambara-Français. Republished in Ridgewood, N.J.: Gregg Press Inc., 1965.

Bélime (Mission 1919-1920). 1921. Les irrigations du Niger. Paris: Emile Larose.

Bernstein, Henry. 1979. "African Peasantries: A Theoretical Framework." The Journal of Peasant Studies, 6(4), pp. 421-443.

Berry, Sara. 1985. Fathers Work for their Sons. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Berthoud, Gerald. 1974. "La signification sociale des 'biens de prestige' dans les formations lignagères africaines." Canadian Journal of African Studies, VIII(2), pp. 307-24.

Bingen, James R. 1983. The Role of the State in Food Production and Rural Development: Lessons from Opération Riz-Ségou in Mali. Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA.

Boeke, Julius H. 1953. Economics and Economic Policy of Dual Societies, as exemplified by Indonesia. New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.

Bohannan, Paul and George Dalton (eds.). 1962. "Introduction," in Markets in Africa. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1976. "Marriage Strategies as Strategies of Social Reproduction," in Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (eds.): Family and Society. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

---------- 1977. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burling, Robbins. 1962. "Maximisation Theories and the Study of Economic Anthropology." American Anthropologist, 64, pp. 802-821.

Brink, James Thomas. 1980. Organizing Satirical Comedy in Kotè-Tlon: Drama as a Communication Strategy among the Bamana of Mali. Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University.

Brown, William A. 1969. The Caliphate of Hamdullahi, ca. 1818-1864. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin.

Caillié, René. 1968. Travels through Central Africa to Timbuctoo. 2 vols. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd.

Cancian, Frank. 1966. "Maximisation as Norm, Strategy and Theory." American Anthropologist, 68, pp. 465-470.

Chayanov, Aleksander V. 1966. On the Theory of Peasant Economy. Homewood: R. D. Irwin.

Clammer, John. 1975. "Economic Anthropology and the Sociology of Development: 'Liberal' Anthropology and its French Critics," in Ivar Oxaal, Tony Barnett, David Booth: Beyond the Sociology of Development. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Clifford, James. 1983. "Power and Dialogue in Ethnography: Marcel Griaule's Initiation," in George W. Stocking, Jr. Observers Observed. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Clozel, M. le Gouverneur 1912. "Preface," in Maurice Delafosse: Haut-Sénégal-Niger, vol. 1. Paris: Emile Larose.

Cohen, William B. 1974. "Imperial Mirage: The Western Sudan in French Thought and Action." Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, VII (3), pp. 417-445.

Collier, Jane F. and Michelle Z. Rosaldo. 1981. "Politics and Gender in Simple Societies," in Sherry Ortner and Harriet Whitehead (eds.): Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Comaroff, John. 1980. "Introduction," in John Comaroff (ed.): The Meaning of Marriage Payments. New York: Academic Press.

---------- 1980. "Bridewealth and the Control of Ambiguity in a Tswana Chiefdom," in John Comaroff (ed.): The Meaning of Marriage Payments. New York: Academic Press.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 1977. "Mutation de l'Imperialisme Colonial Français dans les Années 30." African Economic History, no. 4, pp. 103-152.

Copans, Jean. 1974. Critiques et Politiques de L'Anthropologie. Paris: Maspéro.

---------- 1982. Mode de production, formation sociale ou éthnie: les silences d'une anthropologie marxiste. Paris: EHESS, Centre d'Etudes Africaines (Document de Travail no.4, mimeo).

Crowder, Michael. 1968. West Africa Under Colonial Rule. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Curtin, Philip D. 1964. The Image of Africa. 2 vols. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

---------- 1975. Economic Change in Precolonial Africa, Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Dalton, George. 1967. Tribal and Peasant Economies. New York: Natural History Press.

Delafosse, Maurice. 1911. "L'âme d'un peuple africain: les bambara." Revue d'éthnographie et de sociologie, t.II, p.10.

---------- 1912. Haut Sénégal-Niger. 3 vols. Paris: Emile Larose.

Dembele, Kary. 1981. "La dimension politique du développement rural," in Moussa C. Cisse, Kary Dembele, Youssouf G. Kebe, and Mamadou N. Traore: Mali, Le paysan et l'état. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Dieterlen, Germaine. 1951. Essai sur la religion bambara. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Dupré, Georges and P. P. Rey. 1978. "Reflections on the Relevance of a Theory of the History of Exchange," in David Seddon (ed.) Relations of Production. Totowa, N.J.: Frank Cass, Ltd.

Durand, Jean-Baptiste-Leonard. 1807. Voyage au Sénégal fait dans les années 1785 et 1786. Paris: Dentu, Imprimeur-Librairie.

Durrenberger, E. Paul. 1984. "Introduction," in E. Paul Durrenberger (ed.): Chayanov, Peasants, and Economic Anthropology. Orlando, Florida: Academic Press, Inc.

Edholm, Felicity, Olivia Harris and Kate Young. 1977. "Conceptualising Women." Critique of Anthropology. 3 (9/10).

Ennew, Judith, Paul Hirst and Keith Tribe. 1977. "'Peasantry' as an Economic Category." Journal of Peasant Studies, 4(4), pp. 295-322.

Ernst, Klaus. 1976. Tradition and Progress in the African Village. London: C. Hurst & Co.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object. New York: Columbia University Press.

Faidherbe, M.L. 1859. Notice sur la colonie du Sénégal. Paris: Arthus Bertrand, Editeur.

Fellous, Michèle. n.d. Le developpement social de l'enfant bambara en milieu traditionnel. Paris: doctorat de IIIe cycle.

Foltz, William J. 1965. From French West Africa to the Mali Federation. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Foster-Carter, Aidan. 1978. "The Modes of Production Debate." New Left Review, 107, pp. 47-77.

Furnivall, J. 1939. Netherlands India: a Study of a Plural Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Gallieni, Joseph. 1885. Voyage au Soudan Français (Haut-Niger et pays de Ségou) 1879-1881. Paris.

Gatelet, Le Lieutenant. 1901. Histoire de la Conquête du Soudan Français (1878-1899). Paris: Berger-Levrault et Cie., Editeurs.

Giddens, Anthony. 1979. Central Problems in Social Theory. London: Macmillan.

---------- 1981. A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

---------- 1982. Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

---------- 1984. The Constitution of Society. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Golberry, Silvester M.X. 1808. Travels in Africa. London: Jones & Bumford.

Goody, John. 1973. "Bridewealth and Dowry in Africa and Eurasia," in J. Goody and S. J. Tambiah (eds.) Bridewealth and Dowry. Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 7. London: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Harding, Leonhard. 1972. Französische Religionspolitik in Westafrika. "Soudan Français" 1895-1920. Inaugural-Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin.

Harris, Olivia and Kate Young. 1981. "Engendered Structures: Some Problems in the Analysis of Reproduction," in Joel S. Kahn and Josep R. Llobera: The Anthropology of Pre-Capitalist Societies. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press.

Harrison, Mark. 1979. "The Peasant Mode of Production in the Work of A. V. Chayanov." The Journal of Peasant Studies, 4(4), pp.323-336.

Henry, L'Abbé Joseph. 1910. L'Ame d'un peuple africain. Les Bambara. Reprinted in Anthropos Ethnologische Bibliothek, vol. 1, no. 2.

Hopkins, Anthony G. 1973. An Economic History of West Africa. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hunwick, John. 1976. "Songhai, Borno and Hausaland in the Sixteenth Century," in J.F.A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.): History of West Africa, vol. 1. London: Longman.

Jean-Léon L'Africain. 1956. Description de l'Afrique. Nouvelle édition traduit de l'italien par A. Epaulard, Th. Monod, H. Lhote, et R. Mauny. 2 vols. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient.

Kahn, Joel S. and Josep R. Llobera. 1981. The Anthropology of Pre-Capitalist Societies. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press.

Kanya-Forstner, Alexander S. 1969. The Conquest of the Western Sudan. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Kaplan, David. 1968. "The Formal-Substantive Controversy in Economic Anthropology: Reflections on its Wider Implications." Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 24, pp. 228-251.

Kebe, Youssouf Gaye. 1981. "L'agriculture malienne, le paysan, sa terre et l'état," in Moussa C. Cisse, Kary Dembele, Youssouf G. Kebe, and Mamadou N. Traore: Mali, Le paysan et l'état. Paris: L'Harmattan.

Kerblay, B. 1971. "Chayanov and the Theory of Peasantry as a Specific Type of Economy," in T. Shanin (ed.): Peasants and Peasant Societies. Baltimore: Penguin.

Kesteloot, Lilyan. 1978. Da Monzon de Ségou. vol. 1-5. Paris: Fernand Nathan.

Klein, Martin A. 1983. "Women in Slavery in the Western Sudan," in Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (eds.): Women and Slavery in Africa. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

L'Essor (Anon.). "UDPM. Un objectif: promouvoir les agro-industries. Un imperatif: soigner l'organe le plus malade de notre corps, le tertiaire." 14 juillet 1981.

----- Message à la nation du Président de la République: "Davantage de rigeur, de courage, d'abnégation et de patriotisme pour renverser le cours des choses." 4 janvier 1982.

Labat, Jean Baptiste. 1728. Nouvelle Relation de l'Afrique Occidentale. 5 vols. Paris: Guillaume Cavelier.

Le Barbier, Louis. 1906. Etude sur les populations bambara de la vallée du Niger. Paris: Djarric et Cie., Editeurs.

Leclerc, Gerard. 1972. Anthropologie et Colonialisme. Paris: Arthème Fayard.

Leiris, Michel. 1951. L'Afrique fantôme. Paris: Gallimard.

Lewis, John Van Dusen. 1978. Descendants and Crops: Two Poles of Production in a Malian Village. Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University.

Lonsdale, John. 1981a. "States and Social Processes in Africa." The African Studies Review, vol. XXIV, no. 2/3.

---------- 1981b. "State and Peasantry in Colonial Africa," in Raphael Samuel (ed.): People's History and Socialist Theory. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Luneau, René. 1974. Les chemins de la noce. Paris: doctorat d'état.

Magasa, Amidu. 1978. Papa-commandant a jeté un grand filet devant nous. Paris: François Maspéro.

Mage, Eugene. 1872. Voyage au Soudan Occidental (1863-1866). Paris: Editions Karthala, reprinted 1980.

Marchal, Jean-Yves. 1974. "L'Office du Niger: flot de prospérité paysanne ou pôle de production agricole?" Canadian Journal of African Studies, vol. VIII, no. 1.

McKay, Donald Vernon. 1943. "Colonialism in the French Geographical Movement 1871-1881." The Geographical Review, XXXIII, pp. 214-232.

McNaughton, Patrick R. 1977. The Bamana Blacksmiths: A Study of Sculptors and their Art. Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University.

---------- 1979. Secret Sculptures of Komo. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues.

Meillassoux, Claude. 1964. Anthropologie Economique des Gouro de Côte d'Ivoire. Paris-La Haye: Mouton.

---------- 1970. "A Class Analysis of the Bureaucratic Process in Mali." The Journal of Development Studies, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 97-110.

---------- 1972. "From Reproduction to Production: A Marxist Approach to Economic Anthropology." Economy and Society, I(1), pp. 93-105.

---------- 1975. Femmes, Greniers, et Capitaux. Paris: Maspéro.

Michel, Marc. 1982. L'Appel à L'Afrique. Contributions et réactions à l'effort de guerre en A.O.F. 1914-1919. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, série "Afrique"-6.

Molineux, Maxine. 1977. "Androcentrism in Marxist Anthropology." Critique of Anthropology. 3 (9/10), pp. 55-81.

Monteil, Charles. 1903. Monographie de Djenne. Tulle: Imprimerie Mazeyrie.

---------- 1924. Les Bambara du Ségou et du Kaarta. Paris: Emile Larose.

Moreau, Paul. 1938. Les indigènes d'A.O.F. Leur condition politique et économique. Livre III. La condition économique. Paris: Les Editions Domat-Montchrestien.

Mudimbe, V.I. 1984. African Gnosis. Paper commissioned by the ACLS/SSRC Joint Committee on African Studies for presentation at the 27th annual meeting of the African Studies Association, Los Angeles, California.

Murray, Colin. 1981. Families Divided. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Nash, Manning. 1966. Primitive and Peasant Economic Systems. San Francisco: Chandler.

Paques, Viviana. 1954. Les Bambara. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Polanyi, Karl. 1957. "Aristotle Discovers the Economy," and "The Economy as Instituted Process," in Karl Polanyi, C. M. Arensberg and H. W. Pearson (eds.): Trade and Market in the Early Empires. Glencoe: The Free Press.

Raffenel, Anne. 1856. Nouveau voyage dans le pays des nègres. Paris: Chaix et Cie.

Rey, P.-P. 1969. "Articulation des Modes de Dépendance et des Modes de Production dans Deux Sociétés Lignagères." Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines, 9, pp. 415-440.

------- 1971. Colonialisme, Neo-Colonialisme et Transition au Capitalisme. Paris: Maspéro.

------- 1973. Les Alliances de Classes. Paris: Maspéro.

Roberts, Richard. 1978. The Maraka and the Economy of the Middle Niger Valley: 1790-1908. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto.

---------- 1981. "Fishing for the State: The Political Economy of the Middle Niger Valley," in Donald Crummey and Charles C. Stewart (eds.): Modes of Production in Africa. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc.

Robinson, David. 1985. The Holy War of Umar Tal. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Rosaldo, Michelle Z. 1980. Knowledge and Passion. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Sahlins, Marshall. 1972. Stone Age Economics. Chicago-New York: Aldine-Atherton.

Silverman, Sydel. 1979. "The Peasant Concept in Anthropology." The Journal of Peasant Studies, 2(3), pp. 270-291.

Soleillet, Paul. 1887. Voyage à Ségou, 1878-1879. Paris: Challamel.

Stocking, George W. Jr. 1968. Race, Culture, and Evolution. New York: The Free Press.

Suret-Canale, Jean. 1971. French Colonialism in Tropical Africa 1900-1945. New York: Pica Press.

Tauxier, Louis. 1927. La Religion Bambara. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

---------- 1942. L'Histoire Bambara. Paris: Paul Geuthner.

Terray, Emmanuel. 1972. Marxism and "Primitive" Societies. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Thomson, Joseph. 1890. Mungo Park and the Niger. London: George Philip & Son.

Thompson, E. P. 1978. The Poverty of Theory. London: Merlin Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. The Modern World-System. New York: Academic Press.

---------- 1974. "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis." Comparative Studies in Society and History, 16, pp. 387-415.

Willis, John Ralph. 1976. "The Western Sudan from the Moroccan Invasion (1591) to the Death of Al-Mukhtar Al-Kunti (1811)," in J.F.A. Ajayi and Michael Crowder (eds.): History of West Africa, vol. 1. London: Longman.

Wolpe, Harold. 1972. "Capitalism and Cheap Labor Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid." Economy and Society, 1, pp. 425-456.

Zahan, Dominique. 1960. Sociétés d'initiation bambara. Le N'domo. Le Kore. Paris-La Haye: Mouton & Co.

---------- 1963. La dialectique du verbe chez les bambara. Paris-La Haye: Mouton & Co.

---------- 1974. The Bambara. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

---------- 1980. Antilopes du soleil. Arts et rites agraires d'Afrique Noire. Wien: Edition A. Schendl.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Archives nationales du Mali, Bamako:
Fond ancien:

ID55	Notices historiques du royaume de Ségou. Première et deuxieme parties, 1896.
1E71	Rapports politiques, Ségou et Sansanding. 1891-1905.
1E72	Rapports politiques et rapports de tournées - Ségou, 1906-1920.
1E177	Correspondance et rapports sur les villages et captifs libérés. Cercle de Ségou. 1893-1908.
1E182	Esclavage. Décret-Arrête et circulaire relatif à la répression de la traite. 1905-1906.
1E183	Enquête ministerielle au sujet des mesures à prendre pour la suppression de l'esclavage. 1895-1904.
1E220	Correspondance avec le Fama de Sansanding, cercle de Ségou, 1890-1917.
1Q177	Ravitaillement. Correspondance, cercle de Ségou. 1914-1920.
2D102	Correspondances. Affaires administratives, cercle de Ségou - Sansanding. 1891-1917.
2D122	Création du Poste de Sansanding, cercle de Ségou. Correspondances. 1891.
5D45	Recensement Sansanding et Bendougou, cercle Ségou. 1904.
5D81	Recensement statistique ann., cercle de Ségou. 1909-1914. (Residence de Sansanding.)
6D29	Impôts et taxes. Etablissement du rôle d'impôt. Sansanding, cercle de Ségou. 1910.

Fond moderne:

1E40-I	Rapports politiques et rapports de tournées, cercle de Ségou. 1921-1959.
1E40-II	Rapports politiques et rapports de tournées, cercle de Ségou. 1940-1959.
1Q358	Rapports économiques du cercle de Ségou. 1921-1943.

Archives nationales du Sénégal, Dakar:
Fond ancien:

1G184	Capitaine Bellat. Renseignements historiques sur les pays de Sansanding et du Macina. 1893.
1G319	Notice sur les états de Sansanding. 1903.

15G172 Ségou. Affaires Politiques. 1890-1896.

15G176 Affaire de fama Mademba. Sansanding. 1900-1919.

Q48 Economie du Soudan. 2 notices. 1897-1900.

Fond moderne:

1Q310(77) Population, Recensement, Exodes. 1921-1948.

1Q326(77) Travail et prestations. 1935-1938.

Archives de la France d'Outre Mer, Paris:
Ancienne Série:

AOF, série II - Explorations, missions.

Soudan, série XIII - Agriculture, commerce, industrie.

Soudan, série XIV - Travail et main d'oeuvre. (Esclavage)