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Introduction

My interest in migration began with my first sojourn to Africa in the early 1980s when as a Peace Corps volunteer I worked for the Société National pour le Développement Rural (SONADER), a Mauritanian parastatal development organization then introducing irrigated agriculture to the Senegal River Valley. My job was to mediate between the regional office and village-based cooperatives. The indifference of the local peoples to the projects I supervised did not escape me, and as I was still idealistically committed to the idea of economic development, it was a source of frustration. It was not so much that local people resisted the intrusion of external organizations such as SONADER, or even that they completely ignored our presence. Rather, they seemed to consider our project a pastime, a way for elderly men and women to remain active during the twilight of their lives. I quickly learned that this project was not central to the concerns of men and women who were in the prime of their working lives.

During the second half of my appointment, I could not escape a sneaking suspicion that these communities had something more important and more interesting going on somewhere else. Occasionally, clues crept back to the village. Cars arrived carrying middle-aged men wearing flowing robes and brandishing briefcases. As quickly as they arrived, they disappeared, albeit after having shared a meal and three cups of tea. Although these men, who had grown up in the village, lived in other places, traces of the movements of which they were a part remained in the village long after they had left. While many children, women, and elderly people lived in the village, I could literally count on one hand the number of resident men between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. Although I was in the Futa Toro, the arid middle region of the Senegal River Valley, during a dry year in which no millet was cultivated, cu-
ously the local diet changed little from the previous year (when a generous amount of grain had been harvested). Finally, small reminders of distant places crept into daily conversations—stock English phrases, stories an elder told me of having fought for the French in Vietnam, and recollections many men shared about the years they had lived in Dakar.

By the time I left Mauritania I was struck by the irony that I had traveled three thousand miles to live in an African village only to find that as I went to the village, many villagers had packed their bags and left. Moreover, I had learned from older men in the village that they had been leaving for at least the past thirty years. Clearly, the idea that people lived either in cities or villages, an idea around which my work with SONADER had been structured, failed to capture what communities in this part of Africa were about. I returned to the United States knowing that there was much more to the village I lived in than a small collection of houses built on the high ground of the Senegal River basin.

Years later, when I was conducting research for this book, members of this community managed to find me in Dakar. I finally saw the other urban side of this community. I visited with members of this community in their homes and in the market where some sold cloth. In comparison with the community with which I had been conducting research, this one was decidedly wealthy. Baaba Maal, then an emerging world music superstar, played at their soirees. Later I would learn that entrepreneur, fashion designer, and Senegalese Web pioneer, Oumou Sy, hailed from this village. Indeed Dakar’s retail gasoline market was dominated by migrants from this village.

When I began research for this book I did not know how extensive the ties were between the village where I worked as a volunteer and urban Senegal. But I had seen enough clues to know that there were ties, that there must have been another, urban, side to this community. In 1987, this time as an anthropologist, I returned to Senegal knowing that villages could not be understood by focusing solely on what happened in rural locations. Of course, the ethnographic literature had already begun to reflect this. By then, the ethnographic imperative was that personalized links between rural and urban locations were central to most Senegalese communities. Second, I assumed that these links were actively and willingly pursued, created, and maintained by actors at the local level. I believed that understanding the lives of people in Senegal required that the links be taken seriously: rather than tacking a brief discussion of migration on the end of an ethnographic description of the village, migration should be thrust into, if not dominate the body of the text. The working assumption of this research was that personalized links between rural and urban locations are a central feature of the social organization of communities in Senegal. The ethnographic challenge herein is how to write about a people who are not geographically bound to a specific location, a people who move readily and easily between rural (traditional) and urban (modern) locations, a community whose multilocality (Steiner 1994) spans locations that have been considered distinct in classical social theory. To be sure, the vast movements of people throughout West Africa (see Gugler and Flanagan 1978) stands as a testament to the fact that many people of this region do not see themselves as belonging to communities that are bound to any given location.

When I returned to Senegal I did not return to the Futa Toro. Instead, I chose to work in the Casamance. Situated south of the Gambia, the Casamance is geographically isolated from the rest of Senegal. This geographic isolation reflects the popular view that the people of this region are culturally distinct from other peoples of Senegal. For example, unlike the northern Senegalese ethnic groups, Wolof and Halpulaar, the Jola, the principle inhabitants of the lower (or coastal) Casamance, are considered not to have had centralized states. Moreover, unlike many of its neighbors, Jola society is not divided into hierarchical occupational casts.
Another difference—and one that informed my decision to conduct this research in the Casamance—is that, unlike the Futa Toro, where most migrants are men, Jola villages of the Casamance are marked by high rates of female migration. These high rates of female migration fly in the face of dominant images of urban migration in Africa in which men leave their wives and children in rural villages. I wanted to know why women in the Casamance chose to leave for cities while women in other parts of Africa did not. I wanted to explore the impact that female mobility has had and continues to have on multilocal migrant communities in West Africa.

MANDÉGANE

A series of chance encounters led me to Mandégane, the village where I conducted this research. When I arrived in Senegal, I became friends with a Jola man who worked at a Boy Scout camp in Rufisque, roughly forty kilometers from Dakar. He took an interest in my topic and put me in contact with Abdou Badji, a young medical student at the University of Dakar. We arranged to meet in Ziguinchor at his mother’s home. From there, we planned to attend an initiation ceremony, after which we would go to Mandégane, Abdou’s home village.

Abdou’s father, Idrissa, lived in Diourbel with two of his wives and several of his children. His first wife, Abdou’s mother, lived in Ziguinchor in one of her husband’s houses. I stayed with friends who lived nearby. Each day I visited Abdou’s family while patiently waiting for Abdou to arrive. Several weeks had passed, and Abdou had still not yet arrived. Meanwhile I was getting to know his family quite well. I took advantage of an opportunity to visit Mandégane with several children who lived in the household.

Mandégane is located in the Boulouf region of the Casamance, west of Bignona and north of the Casamance River. This subregion is bounded by discrete geographic boundaries—a river to the south and mangroves to the west, east, and north. Despite great local diversity between the villages, these neat geographic boundaries make the Boulouf a logical referent for a wider-ranging identity. Most people in Mandégane view the Boulouf as a relatively insular area wedged between what many consider the more traditionally Jola (and more insular) Casa to the south and the Mandingized Fogny to the north, a characterization reflected in some of the literature on the Jola.

Just as water bounds the region on all sides, the region’s villages are separated by water. From the air, it is apparent how the unevenness of the landscape could take on social and economic meaning for the people who live there. Low hillocks rise from the water separating villages. In some villages, houses are built to the edge of the lowlands where rice is grown. The Boulouf’s fertile and highly valued lowland rice fields were, until recently, the source of often violent disputes between neighboring villages.

The volatile relations between villages became one expression of how the villages were forced in on themselves. From the arrival of the French at the turn of the century to World War II, most villages looked inward, limiting their relations with other villages in the region. The distinctiveness of the villages remains to the present: most Boulouf villagers are more likely to have close ties with villages in the Fogny than they are with other villages in the Boulouf. This legacy of isolation is further reflected in local linguistic and other cultural differences. Today, even when in Dakar, most people can identify the home village of Boulouf migrants from their accent alone. The Boulouf, I should add, is a region scarcely ten kilometers square.

Despite this local isolation, during my first short visit to Mandégane, there was plenty of evidence of the community’s ties to other locations. Most obvious is Abdou himself, the son of one of the first urban migrants from Mandégane. His father, Idrissa, worked for many years with the Service des Mines, a governmental agency. Idrissa is now retired and living in Diourbel, an administrative town north of the Gambia. One of his wives is a Peul. As mentioned earlier, his first wife lives in Ziguinchor in a house he purchased many years ago. She lives with relatives and rents two rooms to a family of the Serer ethnic group.

Other expressions of these links to other locations were apparent during my first visit. First, the village was full of young men and women who live for much of the year in Dakar but had returned for the summer. They spoke with anticipation of the cultural week, organized by urban migrants, which was to be celebrated the week before they returned to Dakar. Second, there were the ubiquitous plastic and metal goods purchased in Dakar. And finally, most people I spoke with had migration on their minds. They were, as I now understand it, preoccupied by a longing for exile: a deeply held faith that a better life could be found in another place. Migration, which had been thrust upon these people by the tumultuous transformation of West Africa in the twentieth century, had come to represent the promise of marital stability, economic security, and social prestige.

It is perhaps no coincidence that I was not the only researcher who chose to study migration in this region. Indeed, most of the research on this region has in some way touched on this topic. Jos van der Klei (1985) and Peter Mark (1976, 1977, 1978) wrote historical studies of migration; Alice Hamer (1981, 1983) studied female migration in Thionk-Essyl; and midway through my research, another American, Daniel Reboussin (1995), arrived to study migration in Affignam. All seemed to share my conviction that an understanding of what was happening in the Boulouf
required an understanding of migration. Almost ten years of research in the region has strengthened this conviction.

It is hard to imagine the extent to which urban migration has become a feature of Mandégane. Nearly all young men and women leave to work in the city. These migrants might be considered living links, who, by moving between rural and urban households, become part of the social network of a community currently dispersed throughout Senegal. Many of these migrants might be considered circular migrants: they return each summer to help their parents cultivate rice and peanut fields. Later, however, when they become secure in the city, some reinterpret their migration as long term. Others, born and/or raised in the urban areas, share similar life choices with their friends from the village, becoming part of the movements between the village and the city. The wide range of movements defies attempts to reduce migration in Mandégane to any given type. Moreover, while migration in Mandégane does entail movements between distinct geographic locations, it does not necessarily entail movement beyond the conceptual and social boundaries of the community. The people of Mandégane are involved in many different types of physical displacements, but few take people beyond the boundaries of what I have come to understand as an extended community: one whose boundaries are subject to continual redefinition as its members venture into new terrains.

Underlying all studies of migration is the assumption that migrants cross some type of boundary. This might be as simple as the fact of physical displacement—the fact of moving from one well-defined place to another. Often, however, this movement is across spatial divisions that have been rendered socially meaningful. For example, in order for migrants to become international migrants they must cross the frontier from one country to another. They must negotiate their way through a boundary imbued with profound political meaning. With good reason, studies of transnational migration have produced many insights into the cultural meaning of boundaries and the implications of border crossing. Indeed, Mandégane counts among its members migrants who have managed to make their way to Europe. In 1995 migrants who were living in France descended on Mandégane where they convened a village meeting to discuss village affairs.

Still, transnational migrants are but a small minority of this community. Most Senegalese I know would jump at the opportunity to leave Senegal for a European country, but the cost of airline tickets and stringent immigration rules render transnationalism an experience of the privileged elite. In 1999 the depth to which transnationalism had penetrated the collective imagination of West Africans was poignantly brought home when the bodies of two Guinean teenagers, Koita Yanguiné and Tounkara Podé, were pulled out of the landing gear of a Bená Airbus in Brussels. Well educated and articulate, they had penned a letter to Belgian authorities. By way of this letter these two young men asked that the authorities treat them with respect. They also explained their brash decision to tempt death as having been motivated by the deteriorating conditions in Africa for the youth. They might also have been inspired to risk this flight by the fact that earlier that year Bouna Wade had actually survived a similar flight from Dakar to Lyon. Bouna was repatriated to Senegal and died later that year in a second attempt to cross the Sahara at thirty thousand feet (see Lambert 1999b).

Most Senegalese could relate to the frustration that pushed Koita Yanguiné, Tounkara Podé, and Bouna Wade to their deaths. In fact, I am confident that most Senegalese would concur that frustration is the most common Senegalese experience of transnationalism. People are funneled from the rural hinterland to Dakar where they find themselves at a bottleneck—not having found what they were in search of, yet unable to move forward to more promising destinations. While studies of transnationalism have cast light on the impact of border crossing in receiving countries, much less attention has been paid to the communities of which these migrants are members in their countries of origin, a dimension that is critical for understanding the new African diaspora. This book fills this gap in the literature on transnationalism by providing insight into the lives of members of a transnational community who have remained in the sending nation, people who were unable to find their way into Western countries.

Without question, for most Senegalese it is this movement from the rural hinterland to Dakar that is a representative of their experience. Similar to transnational migration, urban migration is rarely represented as simply the movement of a people from locations of low population density to ones of high density. Those places, rural and urban alike, are imbued with powerful symbolic associations. Urban locations are construed as places of modernity and rural locations as places of tradition. These locations are seen to have distinct cultural forms, patterns of sociability, and types of economic systems. The “labor migrant” became a ubiquitous character on the landscape of Africanist scholarship. This is the migrant who, in the words of Sharon Stichter (1985: 3), “moves between wage work and some other mode of production.” This is a migrant whose engagement with urban locations is purely economic and who maintains a meaningful social world—family and friends—in the rural homeland. Straddling two worlds, the labor migrant’s seasonal and/or life-course oscillations between his village of origin and his urban livelihood seem to speak directly to the condition of Africa—a continent that hovers ominously between tradition and modernity; a land that is neither of the past nor the future; a land that has yet to negotiate that difficult passage.
The labor migrant, at least as defined by Sharon Stichter, never existed in Mandégane. Mandégane’s migrants never viewed urban opportunities as purely economic. From the outset, when, during the post-World War II period, Mandégane’s first migrants forged their way into urban locations they brought their social world with them. While it is true that most of these migrants married back into the rural community—that is they chose as wives women who traced descent to Mandégane—they did not leave their wives and families in the village. They brought them along to the city. Like labor migrants they too traveled between the village and city, but unlike labor migrants, their involvement with the urban environment was profound: in the city they purchased homes, formed associations, joined unions and political organizations, and raised children. For them the city was much more than just a place to earn cash. The fact is that the labor migrant represented a bridge between two distinct worlds, a figure who by moving between the two different social landscapes insured that they could be kept distinct. Mandégane’s migrants did not underline the difference between these two landscapes, they blurred them.

Indeed there are probably only a few examples of ethnic groups that voluntarily adopted labor migration as a response to the economic opportunities that emerged in urban Africa under colonial rule. In most cases, labor migration was violently imposed by the colonial powers as a strategy by which to maintain political and economic control over their African possessions. It should not be a surprise that southern Africa has been fertile ground for the production of literature on labor migration. It was in southern Africa that colonial governments, under the pressure of white farmers and white-owned mining corporations, directed their efforts toward controlling the movement of people (see Hansen 1989: 115–120; Walker 1990).

As is detailed in Claude Meillassoux’s (1981) classic discussion, labor migration and maintenance of firm boundaries between precapitalist and capitalist modes of production served the economic interests of the colonial powers well. Colin Murray does an excellent job of describing labor migration in the southern African nation of Lesotho (Murray 1981). As migrants from Lesotho crossed an international border with South Africa, the controls placed on the movement of people were extensive. Through the course of his insightful analysis, Murray tells us that in this part of southern Africa, political and economic boundaries coincide. Significantly, these boundaries mark the passage of people between economic systems of vastly different scale. On the one hand is the economy of Lesotho, construed as small scale and analyzed at the level of the household. On the other is the economy of South Africa, the large scale, presented as no less than the world economic system. Labor migration here, as described by both Meillassoux and Murray, is no less than the movement of labor from small scale traditional African communities into the global economic system.

How useful, though, are such dichotomies for capturing the complexity of contemporary society and economy in West Africa, where fewer controls have been placed on the movement of people? Given this, can a dualistic model in which people move between distinct types of economies and locations provide us with a complete understanding of migration? Or do we need an approach that can account for various and multifaceted social, economic, and political institutions that emerged to fill the space between the household and the global economic system, between the village and the city? Since at least the 1970s, scholars have argued for a “multilocal” approach to understanding migration—a approach that would transcend the depiction of sharp divisions between rural and urban locations (Mabogunje 1970; Philpott 1970; Uzzell 1979; Bartle 1981; and Kearney 1986). These authors called for an approach that would document the ways by which the peoples of West Africa themselves were calling into question and challenging boundaries between rural and urban locations, pre-capitalist and capitalist economies, and traditional and modern meaning systems. The position was perhaps most clearly stated by Gugler and Flanagan in Urbanization and Social Change in West Africa (1978: 64):

Many of the urban residents of West Africa maintain strong ties with the rural area that they consider to be their home. They participate in the urban economy while remaining loyal to a rural community; they operate in geographically separate but culturally and economically integrated systems. “Rural” and “urban” styles and standards, modes of production in the city and its hinterland, are synthetic products of the exchange between these systems, which in fact are no longer distinct.

Despite these long-standing calls for studies of what they refer to as “dual-systems” few ethnographic studies of this type have been done in Africa. This is unfortunate, first of all, because it is such an important dimension of the experience of the peoples of West Africa. During the six years I have spent in the region, almost everyone I have met has been implicated in long-standing social networks that bridge rural and urban locations. And secondly, because this subject speaks directly to a continuing concern of anthropologists: the cultural construction of boundaries, locations, and space (see Barth 1969; Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Indeed, through their mobility, the peoples of West Africa have long been crossing boundaries, redefining their communities, and imbuing the spaces into which they move with new meanings. The peoples of West Africa have been speaking with their feet. This book directly addresses
these themes. It examines how the community of Mandégane has been made from a rural village into a multilocal community through the agency of a variety of actors, from officials of the French colonial government to teenage girls who need clothes for school. This book documents how the Senegalese landscape has been imbued with new meanings as a community rooted in the Casamance has expanded to appropriate new spaces.

**MIGRATION AMONG THE JOLA**

The sharp distinction between rural and urban locations that is characteristic of much Africanist ethnography is reflected in the literature on the Jola. For example, Louis-Vincent Thomas’s (1959) massive seminal ethnography is dedicated to describing the “Jola mentality.” His objective is to describe “Jola thought” and to isolate those attributes that distinguish Jola thought from that of neighboring groups and from that of residents of urban Senegal. He sought to strip away the layers of French influence to get at the traditional Jola mentality. If anything he strove to naturalize the boundaries between tradition and modernity, the very boundaries that the Jola he describes were actively attempting to dissolve by moving into cities, working in salaried jobs, and attending schools.

This is not to say that Thomas was not aware that Jola society was rapidly changing. He was, and later he would examine the impact that schools and urbanization, as vectors for the transmission of Western ideas, have had on Jola culture (Thomas 1960a, 1968). Since Thomas’s initial study, change has been a consistent theme of work conducted among the Jola. These have included studies of the impact of cash crops (Mark 1978; Snyder 1981; Linares 1970, 1985, 1992), the conversion to Islam and Christianity (Gerard 1969; Mark 1977, 1978; Linares 1986, 1992; Baum 1990), the Mandingization of Jola society (Linares 1992) and migration (Gerard 1963; Mark 1977, 1978, 1985; Hamer 1981, 1983; van der Klei 1985; de Jonge et al. 1978; Reveyrand 1986a, 1986b, 1987; Thomas 1966a; Cormier 1985).

Most studies of urban migration among the Jola restrict the analysis to understanding the impact of migration on rural villages. Only Odile Reveyrand and Jean Gerard discuss Jola who live in urban locations. Although they both discuss rural and urban associations as distinct and independent, both suggest that extensive ties extend between them. For example, in his discussion of the associations of Balingore and Tandième, Gerard (1963: 154–165) mentions the interests that members of these associations have in their respective villages of origin. As for Reveyrand, underlying her discussion is the assumption that similarities in how rural and urban women’s associations are organized are due in part to the movements of individuals between rural and urban locations. In Mandégane I found that not just individuals moved between rural and urban locations. Most of Mandégane’s associations were multilocal, encompassing rural and urban sections. Moreover, multilocality reached beyond the institutions of formal associations; it was reflected in other social and cultural formations, including the local understanding of the community. Mandégane and other Jola communities have the attributes of the “dual system” that Josef Gugler has long been arguing are characteristic of many West African societies (Gugler 1971, 1991; Geschiere and Gugler 1998).

**MULTILOCALITY**

This book addresses how Mandégane was made into a multilocal society, one that spans rural and urban locations. It describes changes that have been wrought in this community as it has been incorporated in wider ranging economic and political institutions. Among these changes have been the introduction of cash crops, the expansion of trading networks, the construction of schools, and the development of the Senegalese civil administration. Along with these changes came greater opportunities to move and to live in other locations. This rendered the dispersion of members across the Senegal rural and urban landscape an unavoidable feature of the communities rooted in the Boulouf. Where I conducted this research, all men and women born after 1960 are expected to migrate to urban areas. Only 23 percent of this community live in the village of origin. The rest live in other rural locations (23 percent); Dakar, the capital of Senegal (25 percent); and other urban locations (30 percent). A similar situation holds for other villages. Jos van der Klei (1977: 1) found that in 1976 in Diatock, a village with a population of two thousand, four hundred actively engaged in circular migration, and three hundred had migrated definitively to urban locations. Marième Diop (1989: 80) found that 18 percent of men and 20 percent of women in five villages in the Department of Bignona were seasonal migrants.

Now Mandégane is a dispersed community characterized by active social networks maintained across space and through time. Despite its dispersed membership, the community remains largely endogamous. Most members maintain affiliations with a variety of village-based associations as well. Through interviews, archival materials, genealogies, and economic surveys, in this book I trace the history of this community as it has become increasingly integrated into regional and national political and economic institutions. Migration has been an important dimension of these processes. Now, and since the 1960s, all members of this community are expected to attempt to secure urban employment. Migration has become a defining feature of community affiliation and experience. Here I treat migration as a shared system of meaning, a proc-
Part I introduces the reader to the rural community of Mandégane. Much of this part is devoted to describing the social organization of the rural community. In so doing, I lay out how work and economy serve as emblems of affiliation with various social formations in the village. The conceptual problem raised in this part is how the distribution of this community, various idioms have gained currency for describing relationships spanning both time and space. With the development of urban centers and urban migration, for example, much locally controlled wealth has been displaced to urban locations. Though at one time lineage affiliation legitimated rights to land, now it is deployed to secure the resources of urban-based kin (such as cash, housing, and labor) as well. The delocalized lineage, with other social idioms, has become an important means by which this community has redefined its boundaries to encompass both rural and urban locations. Using information collected through interviews and participant observation, I chronicle how these idioms are deployed in specific situations. In addition, I detail the ways by which the history of lineages has dovetailed with regional and national histories.

Part II addresses the economic and political developments that have provided openings for the dispersion of this community. It documents how this village has become a part of wider ranging regional and national political and economic institutions over the past century. I have consulted numerous documents at the National Archives of Senegal dating from the arrival of the French in the late 1800s until the present. With the data they provide, the history of the development of a cash economy, the establishment of a civil administration, and the development of regional infrastructure (such as transportation and school) are reconstructed. This information is presented with and informed by data collected through on-site interviews. In addition to documenting the history of population movements in this community, I shed light on how objective economic and political distinctions between the village and other locations have developed through the course of this century.

Part III addresses how multilocality has been made part and parcel of the way this community represents itself. The conceptual problem here has to do with how distinctions between rural and urban locations have moved to the center of social relations and cultural discourse in the community, distinctions that currently inform choices of occupation, marriage, and residence. Migration—leaving the village and seeking urban employment—figures prominently in these decisions. The extent of migration in Mandégane is striking. Now, and since at least the 1960s, all unmarried men and women leave to work in the city, whatever their household’s economic situation. Instead of explaining migration in terms of exogenous factors (such as income and land), I focus on how the locally constructed categories of “rural” and “urban” inform the regular movement of people between locations. What has emerged can be characterized as a culture of migration, one feature of which is that status is now won and maintained through consumption. Previously, status was achieved through production. Using information collected through interviews and participant observation, I describe the content of these categories as they are locally understood and expressed through both the social organization of work and patterns of consumption. In addition to documenting how these categories have emerged, I explore their relationship to changing gender and age relations. This analysis is contextualized by an analysis of the ways by which, as the community has increasingly spanned different geographic locations, these categories of rural and urban have become constitutive of the community itself. An examination is made as to how objective distinctions between locations are rendered meaningful signposts for individuals at the local level to develop life course strategies.

Most of the research for this work was conducted between 1987 and 1990. In addition, I made follow-up visits to Senegal in the springs of 1996 and 2000, and the summers of 1997 and 1998. Between January and November 1989 I conducted much of the field research in the rural village. During this period I lived as a member of a rural household, and to the extent that it was possible, I participated in the social and economic life of the community. This included activities such as working in the rice and peanut fields, attending baptisms, sharing meals, and hanging out. I managed to develop close relationships with many of the people living in Mandégane. I shared (and continue to share) a particularly close relationship with my host family who welcomed me into their household as one of their own.

When I began this research I knew no Jola. During the spring of 1988, under the skillful instruction of Daniel Badji and Rudy Gomis of the Baobab Center, I studied Jola intensively. During this period I learned much of the grammar and basic vocabulary. In January 1989, when I began my period of participant observation in the village, I could barely speak or understand Jola. By the time I left the village in November, I had developed what I would call a “conversational fluency.” By no means was my command of Jola strong enough to capture all of the nuances of the language. To overcome the problems presented by language I hired Martial Dieme, a professional researcher, to help conduct and translate interviews.

From November 1989 until November 1990 I conducted research in Dakar. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to live with a family as I had in the village. Space is at a premium in most of Mandégane’s urban households. I rented an apartment that provided me with easy
access to Mandégane's community in Grand Yoff where many relatives of my host family in the village lived. I spent most evenings and weekends visiting with people from Mandégane. I made it a point to attend all village and section association meetings and events.

The data were collected through a variety of means, largely informal interviews conducted with the people of Mandégane. In addition to the informal interviews, I conducted roughly seventy taped formal interviews. Most of these were migration histories, but others were on the history of Mandégane. I also collected a census of sixteen lineages and a household economic survey of seventeen rural households. While in Dakar, I took advantage of the opportunity to consult relevant documents at the National Archives of Senegal.

NOTES

1. Because of Mandégane's importance as a religious center it was impossible to conceal the identity of this community. I have, however, taken measures to protect the identity of individual informants. First, I have changed the names of the village sections. Second, "Arounoung," "Ejundan," and "Taourekounda" (names of lineages) are also pseudonyms. Finally, I have used pseudonyms to conceal the identity of all informants with the exception of public figures. The actual names of public figures appear in the text. The public figures whose names have not been changed include: Bacary Dabo, the founder of Kaguith; Yamaye Sagna, first village chief and former chief of Mandégane's fetish; Ansoumana Koregouraye Goudiaby, former village chief; Bacary Goudiaby, first imam of Mandégane's mosque; Arfang Kemo Sagna, former imam; Bassirou Sagna, son of Arfang Kemo Sagna; Daouda Sagna, elder brother to Arfang Kemo Sagna; and Malang Bodian, the current imam of Mandégane's mosque. I have not changed the names of locations outside the village of Mandégane. Nor have I changed the names of people who are not of the community of Mandégane.

2. In her recent book on the Jola, Olga Linares (1992) describes some of the cultural, social, and economic differences between the regions of the Casa, Fogny, and Kalunaye. In this work she does not discuss the Boulouf.

3. The Halpulaar are a possible example of a West African ethnic group that voluntarily engaged in labor migration (see Diop 1965).

4. See Stichter (1985) for a review of the literature on labor migration in Africa.

5. That said, the literature on the impact of migration on rural communities is vast (see Stichter 1985: 29-58). There are also several ethnographies that explore the impact of migration on processes of urbanization (Aronson 1978; Cohen 1969; Plotnicov 1967). It should be noted that multilocal studies of Asia and Latin American migrant communities have been published (see Trager 1988; Hirabayashi 1993), and recently the connections between rural and urban communities in Africa have been explored (Geschiere and Gugler 1998; Trager 1998; Ferguson 1999). Charles Plot (1999) and Lillian Trager (2001) have recently published ethnographies of this type.

6. Marie-Christian Cormier (1985) and Marième Diop (1989) also present brief discussions of the types of employment youth find in the city. Like Reveyrand and Gerard, Diop discusses links between Jola in rural and urban locations in terms of urban village-based associations.

7. This census (collected in 1989) revealed that there were 801 living members of the village section of Fungesaf. Of these, 187 lived in Mandégane, 184 in other rural villages, 187 lived in Dakar, and 243 in other urban locations. A more detailed presentation of the data collected in this census can be found in the appendix to my dissertation (Lambert 1994: 273-292).

8. This figure apparently refers to the number of households that have been established by migrants who were born in Diatock. Thus it probably represents a much higher number of people from Diatock when spouses and children are included.
Usually I took public transportation from Mandégane to Dakar, Senegal's capital. The overland journey was inexpensive, but the uncertainty of traveling in Senegal exacts a considerable toll. There was no way to know when the taxi would arrive in Mandégane, when the taxi to Dakar would leave Bignona, or how long it would take to cross the Gambia River. What I remember from most of my trips between Mandégane and Dakar is waiting: waiting in front of Karamba Diedhiou's house for the car to Bignona, waiting at Bignona's hot and barren taxi stand for the next car to Dakar to fill with passengers, waiting to move to the front of the endless line of cars and trucks to cross the Gambia River, and waiting for customs officials to attend to their duties at the two borders between the Gambia and Senegal that had to be crossed.

It was quicker, but more expensive, to fly to Dakar. It takes just an hour. The Air Senegal flight heads northwest from Ziguinchor across the Casamance River. It cuts over the heart of the Boulouf and from there on to Dakar. Each day I watched the flight cross the sky over Mandégane. I looked forward to the one flight written into my budget as a chance to take a bird's-eye look at the village.

I was lucky. When I finally took the flight the plane flew directly over Mandégane at an altitude of several hundred feet. I could easily identify the village. The prominent mosque that stands proudly at the southern end of the village gave it away. Before the flight I had always thought of the village as circular. I imagined the eight village sections encircling the interior area where the village mosque, meeting area, school, and health clinic were located. From the air, however, I could see that the village was triangular. It was a dark green forested triangle cast against a light brown background.

From the air the Boulouf looked like an archipelago without an ocean.
Dark green forested villages were scattered as far as I could see. These villages were separated from one another by light brown lowlands across the surface of which snaked narrow, light gray rivers. The flight passed over what appears from the air to be a patchwork of rice fields. Villagers had built these fields along the edges of the lowlands. They were close enough to the rivers so that they would be inundated during the wet season but not so close, the farmers hoped, that they would be touched by the tongue of salt water that climbed the Casamance River during the dry season.

Some aspects of this topography can be perceived at ground level. The journey from Bignona to Mandégane passes through several villages and travels across the lowland rice fields that separate the villages of the subregion. The bushtaxis take the "Bignona-Banjul" road until they reach Tendieme. At Tendieme the taxis turn onto a laterite road and head south into the Boulouf. The taxis follow the road through Diegoune and on to Balingore. As the taxis exit each village they pass barricades used to close the road when it rains. When the taxis leave Balingore they turn out of a forest. From there you can look across a stretch of cleared lowlands—a green expanse of rice seedlings during the wet season—to Mandégane roughly two kilometers away. Punctuated by occasional brown houses peeking through the branches, from here Mandégane looks like a hill of trees descending on the north and south into flat rice fields.

The journey from Bignona to Mandégane is short. Once the taxi is ready to leave, the trip takes about twenty minutes. Yet this has not always been the case. At the time of my research the laterite road, which was just several years old, was still in excellent condition. Men as young as their late thirties could remember when a narrow and worn dirt path linked Mandégane to Bignona. At that time, boats provided the easiest mode of transportation out of the village. In fact, it was not until the first roads were built in the 1930s that regular overland transportation between the Boulouf and the French trading post at Bignona was possible at all. Given the difficulty of the terrain it is little wonder that the Basse-Casamance was one of the last regions in Senegal to be controlled by the French.

Connecting villages to nearby administrative and trading posts was not the only problem of transportation that the French confronted in the Basse-Casamance. An even larger transportation problem was that of connecting the entire region to what before independence was the colonial capital, Dakar. The Casamance is separated from the rest of Senegal by the Gambia. The river that runs the length of this former British possession makes the distance farther still. Surprisingly, it was not until
the late 1950s, the dawn of French colonial rule, that the Transgambian Highway would finally provide an overland route between the Casamance and northern Senegal. Until that time the only reliable transportation between the Casamance and Dakar was by boat.

I begin with stories of traveling because it is hard to overstate the extent to which migration has had an impact on Mandédgane and other villages in the Casamance. Now almost everyone leaves Mandédgane to search for work in the city. Migration has become an activity of growing up, as expected as is attending school or working in rice fields. The people of Mandédgane are involved in many different types of migration. Young men and women leave for Senegal's cities in search of long-term employment, some students leave Mandédgane to continue their studies in urban schools, other students work in the city during the summer to earn money, some leave Mandédgane for other rural villages, and still others return to the village having failed to achieve their economic objectives in the city.

Although the population movements are multidirectional, the net long-term movement has been to urban locations. This urban movement has not been blind. These are not solitary migrants moving into unknown territory. When most migrants leave the village for the city they know with whom they will live, where they will eat, and sometimes even where they will work. Although these migrants do move—they do leave one location for another—they remain rooted in the same community.

A village-based informant, a young woman named Fatou Diatta, expressed her experience of this by lamenting that it was lonely in the village because "the village had gone to the city." While, despite migration, the village population has remained relatively constant over the past forty years, migration has had a disproportionate impact on certain age and gender groups. The number of preschool children and elderly living in the village has probably increased, but the number of young men and women between the ages of twenty and forty has, without question, decreased. Fatou was lamenting that many members of her cohort were no longer living in the village.

Fatou's comment also evokes the collective dimension of urban migration. It is not just individuals but the community of Mandédgane itself that has gone to the city. Urban migration has not just delocalized Mandédgane's population, it has delocalized the community and made urban locations very much part of the village. Those who have left Mandédgane have remained very much part of an extended community. They see themselves as members of a community whose members are found throughout Senegambia. Demographically this is a community evenly split between urban and rural locations. This is a community that is no longer bound together by sharing a location, such as a village, or a way of earning a living, such as farming. This is a community whose greatest commonality is that all of its members trace their genealogies back to the village of Mandédgane.

The delocalization of Mandédgane was readily apparent in how the people of Mandédgane view the kin groups of which they are members. When I collected genealogies, no one in Mandédgane claimed that theirs was localized. When listing members of their kin groups, they consistently and insistently included relatives who lived in other rural villages and urban locations. Although land has historically been the most important symbol of lineage unity, ideas surrounding traditional Jola initiation ceremonies reflect the fact that kin groups in this part of Senegal need not be localized. The Jola of the Boulouf initiate young men into the sacred forest roughly every thirty years. Members of patrilineal and matrilineal groups, they claim, are mysteriously compelled to return to the village for the ceremony, regardless of their residence (see Mark 1992:59; Mark, de Jong, and Chupin 1998). Most Jola I knew believed that the ties that bind individuals to their kin groups cannot be broken. Indeed, I found that relationships between those who lived in the village and city were often very close. I did not know of anyone in the village who did not have a son, daughter, brother, sister, or other close relative who lived in an urban location. Even the ties between urban and rural Senegal were revealed in the life histories of those who lived in the village. Biographies collected from those living in the village included stories of extended stays in urban areas, and most children I knew anticipated their eventual journeys to the city. I could not name anyone in Mandédgane under forty-five who had not at some time been a member of one of Mandédgane's many urban associations.

The collective delocalization of this community is best seen in the many associations that villagers have created. Several associations encompass all the members of the community regardless of where they live. Most of the youth (a broad category inclusive of all unmarried men and women, some of whom are in their forties) from Mandédgane carry membership cards in the Union de la Jeunesse de Mandédgane. One might imagine that over time, as individuals from Mandédgane became increasingly integrated into urban life, they would lose interest in these associations. But this has not been the case. These associations show no signs of decay. Each of Mandédgane's eight village sections has urban associations in all of Senegambia's major urban areas. In 1996 two new village-wide associations were formed. One of the more surprising developments occurred in 1995 when migrants who had been living for many years in France again became actively involved in village politics. In the spring of that year they convened a congress that was held in the village. If anything, over time Mandédgane's urban residents have become increasingly involved in this delocalized community.

This involvement with community politics is perhaps understandable
given that most migrants from Mandégane define their primary social networks in and through social networks traceable to the village. On weekends and in the evenings, migrants from Mandégane visit each other. Many Sunday afternoons in Dakar are spent with kins at soccer matches organized by Mandégane's youth association. When not at work, men who live near one another sit in front of their homes talking with friends and relatives from Mandégane. In their homes, successful migrants host and feed more recent arrivals to the city. In my experience, urban leisure and domestic life are largely built around and through Mandégane's urban community. This is buttressed by the fact that, despite urban migration, the people who trace their roots to Mandégane marry each other. Fully 70 percent of women and 80 percent of men in the section of Fungesaf have spouses who trace patrilineal descent to Mandégane.

Still, as any one of these migrants could tell you, the village is very different from the city. One difference is extra-community relationships. For example, migrants employed in the city also establish significant relationships at their place of work, relationships that they maintain largely outside the view of the community. In the village very little that occurs is far removed from work. There, economic and social activities are closely intertwined. The boundaries of the economic and social life of the community are defined quite concretely by the small hillock on which the rural village is located.

Chapter 1 describes some of the more important dimensions of social organization in the rural village of Mandégane. I begin by describing how the village is divided into eight different sections. This is followed by a discussion of social relationships that shape interactions in the household and in the public arena of the section. I end this section with an extended discussion of the principles of lineage, descent, and affinity. In Chapter 2 I continue my examination of life in the rural village of Mandégane by turning my attention to the place of work in the village. Work is one of the most significant activities undertaken in the village. Indeed, it is through work that individuals define their position with respect to the forms of social organization described in chapter 1. The third chapter closes Part I with a discussion of the economic relationship that exists between rural and urban households.

NOTES

1. Throughout this book I use the term "youth" to refer to the socially defined category of unmarried men and women. This is a very broad category and can include individuals ranging in age from young children to men and women well into their forties.

2. One challenge of this research was that of participating in a community that is located in many different places. In the city, I and my informants moved in and out of the community. I tried to follow them to their places of work and was indeed able to do this with a small number of them. However, I quickly realized this would be logistically impossible to achieve with a significant number of people. The frustrated effort I made to visit work sites made it clear that these locations of work, wherever they might be (in other people's homes, in factories, and in offices), though important, were situated on the margins of the community of Mandégane. On the other hand, I found documenting interactions that occurred in homes of migrants largely unproblematic.
From Balingore, Mandégane looks like one large unified village. First, all you can see is a large hill of trees that fades from the north to the south into the low-lying rice fields. From this distance, you can imagine that the village is as densely populated and tightly bound together as the trees. After you have crossed the dike that extends between the two villages, you see that the houses are not that tightly packed after all. What's more, after you have begun to walk through Mandégane you notice that occasional stretches of uncleared brush separate groups of houses from each other. You realize that this uncleared brush suggests a pattern that belies the apparent unity of this rural community.

Indeed, this brush marks the boundaries between the village's residential sections. Far from being a large unified village, Mandégane is neatly divided into eight residential sections, each of which has between 100 and 250 inhabitants. This is approximately the same number of people that Olga Linares (1983: 137) claims is the critical size of villages throughout the region.

Villages. This is what many seem to want to call these sections. I was puzzled by this the first time I visited Mandégane. Each time I said that I was going to Mandégane my hosts quickly corrected me. They reminded me that it was really Fungesaf I was going to visit. It was as though it was just a coincidence that Fungesaf happened to be located in a larger village. I almost had the feeling that they wanted me to forget that Mandégane even existed, or, at the very least, think of it as a village very far away. While I was there I found this surprisingly easy to do. Mandégane's village sections are insular. Their physical boundaries are discrete. Although neighboring sections are less than a stone's throw away, there is not much daily contact between them. What intrigued me the most was that it seemed that section members preferred it that way.
It is as though each section comprised a village unto itself, which by coincidence of having shared the same hillock with some other sections, was forced to negotiate an uneasy union into one village with these others.  

Intense ties of marriage and descent reached across the section boundaries and bound the eight sections of this village tightly together. Like most Jola communities, Mandégane was decidedly patrilineal. Each section had two or three founding lineages that were said to “own the land.” The ideal was for all members of these patrilineal groups to live together in the same section. But this ideal was rarely realized in practice, and over time these groups had dispersed. Abdou Goudiaby, for example, was born in Karak where his patrilineage “owns the land.” When his parents died his mother’s family, who live in Fungesaf, took him in. Abdou, now in his forties, has built his home in Fungesaf. Marriages across sections are even more common. Although endogamy within the village is not an explicitly proscribed rule, Mandégane is, as a matter of fact, largely endogamous. There is a prohibition against marrying within one’s patrilineal group, which encourages exogamy at the level of the section. Many claim that this prohibition extends to members of the same patronymic group, and many informants claim that until recently marriage rules were even more restrictive. Because the pool of potential marriage partners is narrow, many informants claim that most men are forced to look to other sections for wives.

It was in the face of the many ties of alliance and descent that were woven across the boundaries of the sections of the village that Mandégane’s sections managed to maintain their strong and distinct identities. Their distinct identities were revealed to me during village-wide events, such as the celebration of Tabaski, an Islamic holiday. Before the prayers, members of each section met at a predetermined location. Then the section members marched to the center of the village with the section’s eldest man leading the way. Each section was careful to follow a path that would not cross that of another section. The sections entered the prayer ground one by one. The village polity was one, but the procession underlined that, within this polity, each section maintained a distinct identity.

Fungesaf, the section with which I was most familiar, had twenty-six households and eleven patrilineal groups. Of these patrilineal groups three (Badji Arounoung and Ejundan and Sané-kounda) were considered among the section’s original inhabitants. Like the other sections Fungesaf was subdivided into smaller residential areas, fank (courtyards), around which the section’s households were built. I will discuss the fank shortly. First I will describe two other aspects of local social organization.
related "son." At various times during my stay, three of Karamba's other unmarried children who did not live in Mandégane enjoyed extended stays in the village, as did several of his other grandchildren. I knew of many households in which an elder couple lived with their children and grandchildren. What I rarely encountered, however, were households in which married brothers lived together.

I was told that, historically, firstborn sons were expected to found new independent households when they married. This elder son might even be forced to leave the village in search of land if his father did not have enough land for all of his sons. The youngest son carried the responsibility of living with and caring for his parents. In Karamba's house, however, this is not what had happened. Baboucar is the eldest of five sons. By the end of the 1970s all five were in Dakar looking for jobs. In the late 1970s Karamba's health began to slip, and he was no longer able to work in the fields. Baboucar was chosen to return to Mandégane to help his father. At that time two of his younger brothers had already found permanent salaried jobs; another brother was still in school; and the youngest, besides having a reputation for not liking village work, had not been in Dakar long enough to give his search for a job a fair shot. Baboucar, on the other hand, had failed. He had been in Dakar for several years and a few close opportunities had slipped through his hands. It did not seem likely that he was going to get many more. I noticed other households that followed a similar pattern for inheritance. That is, the rural family household, agricultural lands, and responsibility for caring for the elders was falling to a son who failed to find a salaried urban-based job. Although the community of Mandégane is now dispersed throughout Senegal, nearly all of Mandégane's families still had at least one household in the village.

Usually births are spaced such that no two household members, excepting twins, are of the same age and gender category, a group that is referred to as the *symung*. Thus in the household people from different age/gender categories are brought together. Households cut vertical divisions through the section, joining together men and women, young and old, who sit and spend many hours discussing village issues, talking about the agricultural seasons, and gossiping. The converse of this, of course, is that households are cross-cut by the affiliations of their members in the section's age- and gender-based groups, groups that are woven through households and thus integrate households horizontally into the section.

Children are socialized into their age/gender group (*symung*) when they are young. As toddlers these are the people with whom they play. Later, the *symung* becomes the group with whom they work and socialize. After the evening meal, there is much visiting, during which the section divides according to these gender and age categories. Young men and women might gather to play cards late into the night. Married men often wander from house to house searching for someone who has tea to serve. Women likewise spend the evening sitting and talking with each other by the light of kerosene lamps.

While the household is the realm of groups structured by descent and affinity, the public areas that surround the home are the realm of these social categories defined by age and gender. Indeed in these locations, cross-category socialization and communication is inhibited and marked by a respectful distance. Once when I saw a woman pounding rice alone—a short but significant distance from a larger group of women—I approached her to ask why she did not join the other women. She looked at me incredulously, responding, "They are much too young." What can be seen, however, are members of these age/gender groups (*symung*) working and socializing together.

Although most meals are eaten in the home, they are prepared in part in the section's public fora. Meal preparation and other types of "women's work," such as pounding rice, washing clothes, and gathering wood, bring women of the section together in an arena where they can also socialize. During the afternoon, women frequently gather next to the mosque, where they pound rice. They take turns helping each other until everyone has processed enough rice for the day's meal. Young girls work alongside older women. They gather around a mortar rhythmically...
The Village of Work

The Village of Work

and successively pounding their pestles. They then winnow the chaff from the rice by shaking the grain in a broad shallow basket. Chickens gather anxiously nearby, waiting for the odd grain of rice to fall to the ground. Later these same women might gather at the well, chatting and cleaning clothes.

Men also move between the arenas of the household and the section. When they tend to tasks such as mending fences, making chicken coops, or working on the roof in the family courtyard, they rarely appeal for the aid of their friends. If, however, a job requires more effort men often enlist the labor of either the section or the subsection. When Demba Sané rebuilt the roof to his house, for example, he convened the other men of the subsection to place the palm fronds, which he had collected earlier, on his house. Omar Badji used this type of cooperative labor when he needed cross-beams for his house, as did Fabacary Badji when he built his new home. As compensation for their assistance the men receive a midday meal. When they are not working men socialize together in their singing.

After the midday and evening meals, men meet and spend much time talking and drinking tea.

The most important feature of the symung is that it is a group of peers who have a similar background, experience, and structural position in the local social organization. These are people who have the same structural position in their households. Thus the symung provides its members with a domain in which their activities are not under the eyes of those who have power over them. As a peer organization the symung plays an important role in the formation of life-course expectations. In the past, the force of the symung in creating peer expectations was crucial to the conversion of the youth to Islam (see chapters 4 and 7). Today this force is seen in the ways by which youth look to the city for employment opportunities. For example, young girls make decisions about when to go to the city and when to return to the village collectively with other members of their symung.

THE FILAF AND THE FANK

Almost all of the households in Mandégane are located on fank or courtyards. Olga Linares (1984: 413) points out that fank is a polysemic word that refers to a courtyard, the people living around the courtyard, and classificatory brothers and sisters related through the male line. Although Linares acknowledges that lineage members do not always live on the same courtyard, scholarship on the Jola has implied that the fank is a type of extended family. Ideally this would be the case in Mandégane. Under ideal conditions descent and residence would correspond neatly in this way. Yet, in practice, this is rarely the case. At times intra-lineage tensions brought lineage members to decide to live on different courtyards. At other times inter-lineage affinities brought families of different lineages to live around a common courtyard.

The lack of fit between the fank as a residential space and the fank as a patrilineal descent group was linguistically reflected in Mandégane through the distinction made between the fank and the filaf. The fank is the courtyard around which households are built; a filaf is a descent group. In Mandégane the fank is not an extended family. Rather, it is a residential unit (courtyard) whose membership can vary depending on circumstances.

This distinction between the filaf and the fank could be seen in religion, labor, and property. Although Mandégane had abandoned its shrines long before I arrived, it was my understanding that in Mandégane the fank was not associated with shrines. By contrast, the filafs were associated with shrines. As for labor, I came across just a few cases where collective work groups were based on the fank. Most collective work groups are based on the village section (kalol), a much larger residential unit. And finally, agricultural land is held in the name of the filaf, not the fank. Even the actual land of the courtyard belongs to the filaf, not the fank. Members of the fank who are not also members of the fank's filaf do not own the land on which their house is built.

This distinction between the fank and filaf allows residential patterns in Mandégane to be flexible. Lineage members are not condemned to
live together. Members of a *fank* can disperse themselves among various *fank* as a way to diffuse tension that arise from members of the same family sharing a common residence. One of their most important differences between the *fank* and the *filaf* is their durability. Unlike the *filaf*, the *fank* is a temporary social unit. It exists only as long as its members live on the same courtyard. Once members leave their *fank* they are no longer a member of it even if they maintain relationships with individuals who remain on the *fank*. In contrast, the *filaf* is durable. It does not depend on coresidence. Patrilineal ties endure, regardless of where the lineage members may live, whether they are living in Mandégane, Ziguinchor, Kaolack, or Dakar. Thus the *filaf* is allowed to endure precisely because the members can—should they have to—live on different *fank*.

"Brothers": The Central Idiom of Jola Kin Groups

Although lineal relationships are seen to be durable, the kinship idiom is frequently used as a way to understand relationships that might be ephemeral. I encountered an example of this during summer, which was when many single men and women returned to Mandégane for the *semaine culturelle* (cultural week)—an annual festival that is organized by Mandégane's youth. During the cultural week I noticed people exchanging an unusual greeting. The greeting began as do most Jola greetings, that is, with "Kasumaye . . . kasumaye kep" ("Peace . . . peace only"). Shortly after they revealed their names, however, one of the interlocutors would proudly proclaim "I am your father, I gave birth to you!" Yet they had just met, and more than likely, they were not even related.

This is a joke, of sorts. The scholarship on the Jola frequently points out that historically the Jola have been egalitarian. This is indeed true in so much as the Jola, unlike many of the other ethnic groups of the Senegambia region, do not have hereditary castes. But as individuals the Jola are involved in a web of asymmetrical relationships. The punch line of this joke, if you could call it that, is that strangers of the same age and gender should be equal to each other. They should have, at least at the outset, a symmetrical relationship. But here a kinship idiom is being used to upend this symmetry. One of the most important asymmetrical relationships in Mandégane is between a son or daughter and their mother's family. A sister’s son or daughter has rights over the property of his or her mother’s brother. But the mother’s brother has rights over the labor of his sister’s son or daughter. Gifts flow in one direction while labor flows in the other. This is seen as an asymmetrical exchange in which the mother’s brother has power over his sister’s children. This relationship is considered analogous to that between parents and children. Anyone, even a stranger, can proclaim "I am your father" to anyone with the last name of his or her sister’s children.

The people of Mandégane frequently banter in this way. While the joke itself might not be significant, it does illustrate how patronymic categories are used to establish fictive kin relationships. Prior affinal and lineal relationships (figured in terms of patronymic categories) can be projected onto new relationships to establish a fictional kin relationship. While in the above example the idiom provides the basis for a joke, in other cases it is deployed to establish long-term relationships.  

For example, Mariama Diatta, who had married a Badji, established a long-term friendship with a family in Elena, a village ten kilometers west of Mandégane, during a visit to a hospital. Although this friendship started from a chance encounter between two individuals, it blossomed into a standing friendship between two families. They exchanged visits several times a year. This family has the same last name as Mariama Diatta, and the two families speak of their relationship through the idiom of the affinal relationship established by the marriage of Mariama into the Badji family.

I also know of situations in which this idiom was used to incorporate people into the village. Women from other villages who marry into Mandégane use this idiom to become members of families in Mandégane. When Dienaba Diedhiou married Aliou Badji, she left Kabilive to live with her husband in Mandégane. Ordinarily she would have become a "member" of a Diedhiou household. But because there were no Diedhiou families in Mandégane, she became affiliated with a family who had the same kasaf as Dienaba's mother (she was thus *assumple* or "sister's daughter" to this family). I know of other cases where people from Mandégane who, like Dienaba Diedhiou, have lived for several years in villages other than Mandégane. There they often take the last name of their hosts, and in so doing, they adopt the affinal, patrilineal, and matrilateral relationships of their host family.

At times this idiom can be used to incorporate "strangers" so closely into new families that the line between fictive and real kin is blurred. This is what happened in the case of Youba Sané. Youba Sané, originally from Balingore, now lives in Fungesaf with the family of Karemo Sané. Although I was never told the details about why he had left his father's family, toward the end of my research I learned that he was not born into the family with which he lived. He met Demba Sané in Matam, a town in the north of Senegal. When Youba returned to the Casamance, he decided to live with Demba's family in Mandégane instead of his family in Balingore.

The extent to which Youba Sané should be merged into his new family was hotly debated. Youba, a construction contractor, had been able to establish important government contacts through his work. Some elders thought that he deserved the status of an insider, while others, apparently the youth, resented this and considered that it would be dangerous
for an “outsider” to have access to Fungesaf’s “secrets.” Some thought it appropriate that Youba assume all the rights and responsibilities of a true lineage member. Others thought that his rights and responsibilities should be limited. Youba had become so completely merged into this family that it was only toward the end of my research that I learned how he had become a member of this family.

The first three cases illustrate how the kinship idiom can be deployed to establish a fictive kin relationship. The last case illustrates that the use of this idiom can result in ambiguity and the blurring of boundaries between real and fictive kin. Since Youba’s status as a lineage member was contested because his relationships with the Sâné family began as a fictive relationship, this case also illustrates the salience of the idea of true (i.e., biological) kin. A story I heard several times from educated informants in Dakar underlined this point. This story claimed that the Badji family (and here I refer to all Badjis) could be traced to Gabu, the multiethnic capital of a precolonial kingdom in the present nation of Guinea-Bissau. At Gabu, I was told, is a place over which only true Badjis can pass. My informants claimed that this location provided an objective means of distinguishing between people who are Badji by descent and those who themselves took the name Badji or are the descendants of previous name-changers or former slaves.

This distinction between real and fictive kin lies at the core of agnatic descent groups in Mandégane. Agnatic relationships can be understood as circles of closeness with ambiguously drawn divisions between different levels. At the center of the circle are brothers of the same father. It is at this level that genealogical authenticity can be readily verified. In the abstract, brothers of the same father are an inner core of closeness, intimate knowledge, shared history, mutual material claims, trust, and suspicion. Men often speak of themselves in terms of their brothers: *inje di kuti m* (my brothers and me). Brothers make many material claims on each other and, concomitantly, one physical symbol of sibling unity is their father’s household.

The next level incorporates classificatory brothers of the same lineage. This is the *filaf*. This is a corporate group that holds rights in land. At this level, family meetings are convened in the city, and the *filaf* is the widest recognized patrilineal group for male initiation ceremonies (*bukut*). The *filaf* is believed to have forces that draw individuals back to the *fank* (the household). There were cases of people who had left the village, disowned their family, and later, without explanation, returned to the village to resume residence in their father’s house. The local explanation, of course, was that the force of the *filaf* had drawn them back. Yet, as with the test for true Bajis in Gabu, these powers could work only on biologically related descendants of the *filaf*. In a different way, the debates over Youba Sâné’s status illustrate that membership in a *filaf* should reflect a biologically identifiable relationship and that kinship should be more than an idiom.

At the widest level, the ideals of agnatic relatedness encompass all members of a patronymic class under *kasaf* (family name). At this level the model of the relationship between true brothers is tenuously stretched to incorporate distant, unrelated kin, and in so doing, at times the distinction between the *filaf* and the *kasaf* is blurred. This is indeed what happens when the kinship idiom is deployed to establish fictive kin relationships, as is poignantly illustrated by the case of Youba Sâné.

### Families within the Lineage

Whether it is deployed at the level of the family or the *kasaf*, the ideal of agnatic kin relations is harmony. At the level of the *filaf*, members want to convince outsiders that their group “holds each other as one.” Yet, in practice this lofty goal is rarely, if ever, attained. In fact patrilineal groups are rift with divisions, divisions that are so pervasive that it would be more accurate to describe these groups not as in a state of harmony but as in a continuous state of fission.

A central point of tension lies in the relationship between the family, which I define as a father and his children, and the lineage (*filaf*), which vary in genealogical depth but are always more than two generations deep. The families of a lineage are in an anomalous position because, while they are of the same patrilineal group, they maintain discrete boundaries between one other. On the one hand, they are the bedrock upon which the ideal of patrilineal unity is built, and on the other, they are the cornerstone of disputes within these groups. In light of the preceding discussion it is not surprising that families would be beset by this contradiction. This level is distinct from that of the lineage. While brothers in one generation will be members of the same family, in the next generation their children will be members of different families. The unity of one generation changes into social distinction and distance in the next. One expression of this is how knowledge of genealogical relatedness in one generation changes into knowledge of classificatory relationships in the next. A concrete example of this can be seen in Karamba Badji’s lineage.

I met Karamba Badji when he was roughly seventy years old. One of the last living members of his generation, Karamba passed much of his time sitting on the front porch of his house, under the nearby mango trees, or walking through the rice or peanut fields, watching younger men and women of the village work. He was a member of the Aroun-oung lineage. Fungesaf was Karamba’s lifelong home, and it was there that he shared a house with his son, Baboucar. Only two other male lineage members of his generation were still living. A younger “cousin"
Lasana, lived in the village of Kabiline, and an older “brother,” Fabacary, lived on the same courtyard as Karamba. They shared this courtyard with a third household headed by Harouna, who lived in Dakar. Harouna left his rural household under the care of Aliou, his classificatory younger brother (Karamba Badji’s FFBSS).

Baboucar Badji, also a member of the Arounoung lineage, did not live on this courtyard. He had built his home on the far side of a short field of rice seedbeds and palm trees from the Arounoung courtyard. Baboucar was an absentee household head who lived in Ziguinchor. Now Baboucar’s widowed mother lives there with a few young children.

While these four households (Karamba, Fabacary, Harouna, and Baboucar) all acknowledge that they are of the Arounoung lineage, many members of this lineage are unaware of their exact genealogical relationship to one another. How well and which relationships individuals know depends on their generation. Thus it would be hard for Karamba to forget that he and Fabacary have the same father and not the same mother. At the same time Karamba’s son, Ismael, could not describe his genealogical relationship to Fabacary’s son, Youssouf, though he did know that their generational/gender relationship was ati (brother). A greater lapse in genealogical knowledge existed between these two households and that of Harouna. Only the elder members of the lineage could describe how they were related. The distance between these three households and that of Baboucar was greater still. Genealogical knowledge of how this household was related to the other households of the Arounoung lineage had completely lapsed. Yet all members of this lineage, regardless of their family, knew their classificatory relationship to one another.

One reason for the lack of depth of genealogical knowledge is that this information historically has been suppressed. In the recent past there was a pre-Islamic prohibition against mentioning the names of the deceased. Even though everyone in Mandégane is now Muslim, a mild prohibition against mentioning the names of elders remains. The preceding example illustrates how this prohibition reinforces boundaries between families. Over a longer period of time, this prohibition, along with other factors, can lead to lineage fission, such as that which occurred between Arounoung and two other filaf of Fungesaf, Ejundan and Taourekounda.

Ejundan and Taourekounda are recognized as segments of the same patrilineal clan as Arounoung. One informant even tried to outline the genealogical relations between these three segments, but his genealogy was sketchy, and it conflicted with genealogies collected from other informants. Still, there was consensus that these lineages shared a common apical ancestor. Although no one knew when and why these lineages split from each other, their origin (or at least their division) was seen to be rooted in real historical events, most likely divisive ones that pitted lineage members in bitter disputes with one another. This contrasts sharply with the kasaf (the patronymic category) whose date of origin is said to predate history itself. The view that lineages are products of history is apparent in the origin of the name of the Taourekounda lineage. The name Taourekounda dates to Ousmane (Taoure) Badji (1918–84) who took the name of his host (Taoure) when he lived for some time in a Manding village. His descendants adopted this name to establish a legal claim to his pension (he was a World War II veteran).
This raises the question of whether or not the lapse of genealogical knowledge between the segments of Karamba, Fabacary, and Harouna's and that of Baboucar implies an emerging distinction within Arounong. Will these families eventually divide into distinct lineages, similar to what occurred between the lineages of Arounoung, Ejundan, and Taourekkounda? Not only is the genealogical relationship between these two segments not known, but Baboucar's house is located a short distance from the houses of the other three. A similar division might be imputed to the relationship in Ejundan between the families of Karemo and Famaara. They, too, have forgotten their genealogical relationship and live on separate fanka.

Historically, land was the primary resource held by lineages and was often the issue over which patrilineal groups divided. There were other families of Badji Arounoung in other parts of the village—mostly in the sections of Jilaban and Dojenak (with a combined total of thirty-three households). For various reasons many of these families have changed their family name from Badji to Coly or Sagna. Although there is a recognized affinity between these families and those in Fungesaf, if anything, their relationship is marked by subdued animosity.

Most members of these "new" lineages live on the south end of Mandégane. My informants claimed that until sometime in the last century this area was uninhabited. Over time the north end of the village, including the sections of Fungesaf and Fatouck, had become densely populated, and there was not much land for rice cultivation. Karamba Coly—the current chef de village who traced descent to the Arounoung lineage and who told me this to show how he was related to my host family—claims that this split took place in his father's generation. According to Coly this happened when some men were returning from a fishing trip. They happened upon rice growing wild in low wetlands near what is today the section of Jilaban, he said. The next year several brothers secretly experimented with growing rice in this area. After they had seen that the land was fertile, they left their other "brothers" in Fungesaf to live near the new rice fields. Although these two lineages recognize that they were once the same lineage, they are now totally separate. They even have different uringuau or sacred forests.

Disputes over land are also apparent in the story of Karemo Badji's father (of Ejundan), raised in Ebunaw. The children that he had while living in Ebunaw all died. He was advised that the health of his subsequent children could only be assured if he left Mandégane. He followed this advice and left Mandégane to live with a friend in Baylay, a village roughly twenty kilometers from Mandégane. The elders of Baylay decided that he could stay and provided him with land on which to cultivate and build a house. After he had been in Baylay for three years, his father's brothers had died, and he decided that it was safe to return to Mandégane. But he did not return to Ebunaw. Instead he moved to Fungesaf where he could care for his elderly mother. To this day, however, Karemo Badji cultivates rice in the fields of Ebunaw, as well as on other land Fungesaf won in wars with the now defunct village of Randiau.

According to Karemo, his father's jealous brothers caused the children to die. Karemo explained to me that jealousy of this kind was a frequent issue over which families divided. He told me that if you have a good return from rice production or if you have too much land, someone in your family might harm you. In this case, none of Karemo's father's children survived while he was in Ebunaw. It was only after his brothers had died that Karemo's father believed it was safe for him to return to the village. Karemo said that people frequently left Mandégane for similar reasons and that often such migrants never returned. However, those who left Mandégane permanently would remind their children that they were from Mandégane. Moreover, most of these children would be initiated into Mandégane's sacred forest. Karemo claimed that close ties to the village of origin were maintained so that these children could retain rights to land in Mandégane.

Land is a powerful symbol of the patrilineal group, yet it also has the power to pit the members of the lineage against each other. It embodies tensions that lie at the heart of the patrilineal group: that is, the tension that emanates from the intersection of centrifugal forces engendered by the ideal of patrilineal unity and centripetal forces engendered by the economic claims that lineage members place on each other. This is reflected in the fact that while ideally members of patrilineal groups hold land collectively, in reality members have unequal rights to specific lots of land. Usufruct rights over lots of the lineage's land are held by families and pass from father to son.

When a man marries, his patrilineal group meets and decides the land on which he and his wife will be allowed to cultivate. Usually this land is taken from his father's land holdings, and often, as was the case for Baboucar and also Youssouf, sons merely take over from their father the responsibilities of cultivating their father's land. The heritage of the patrilineage is not the concern of a son until his father is older, yet even then there is not a lineage member—the eldest lineage member for instance—who is the ultimate arbiter of the lineage's land and in whose name the land is held. Instead, knowledge of land holdings is passed down from father to son in the fields through the practice of cultivation and, as I learned, in the intimacy of the household.

One evening when Karamba's family was sitting and talking, Mariama, Karamba's wife, urged Karamba to explain to Baboucar the location of their fields. On one side, Mariama pushed Karamba, while on the other, Baboucar was pushed by his wife, Fatou, to discuss where the
lineage land was located. Baboucar insisted that he knew where the lands were located, but Karamba quickly mentioned several fields of which Baboucar was not aware. Baboucar continued to insist that he knew the location of all the lineage's land. The conversation ended with a pall of dissatisfaction that Baboucar did not know the lands and that Karamba's brother, Fabacary, was not responsible enough to know them well, either. Lamine, Baboucar's brother, had already expressed some fear that Baboucar's reluctance to grow fruit trees on their land would eventually result in their losing the land.

While Baboucar clearly knew of much lineage land that he did not cultivate, such as land cultivated by his brothers (FBS), the land that was most important to him was the land he had worked throughout his life. Similar to genealogical knowledge, the specifics of land tenure are rooted in the family (a father and his children). During this conversation no mention was made of discussing this issue with Fabacary (Karemo's brother). While there was an interest in maintaining this knowledge in the interests of the lineage, in practice the transmission of this knowledge was confined to the members of the family—just as it also was for Fabacary's family.

Like the depth of genealogical knowledge, agricultural practices reinforce boundaries between families within lineages. Although much of the agricultural work is done by collective work groups, rarely is the lineage mobilized in this manner. Rather than confront potential points of dispute, various families of the same lineage withdraw from one another. I only encountered a few cases in which families make land and labor claims on other families of their patrilineal group. Ironically these types of claims are avoided so as to avert potential conflicts and preserve patrilineal unity and, perhaps, to preserve the possibility of making such claims on land (in particular) and labor in the future.

The village section is a small, closely knit community where people interact daily. Conflicts are often glossed over to preserve the image of unity. Even when divisions have led to hostility, the sentiments of common heritage are often evoked in all sincerity if the political ends call for it. The patrilineal group—the clan and the lineage—uses the sacred forest to symbolize its unity. All male members of the same age enter the sacred forest together, learn the secrets of Jola manhood together, and make their sacrifices to the same sacred wood. It is claimed that this unity is so powerful that when the initiation ceremonies take place every thirty or forty years, all lineage members return from wherever they may be to the house of the lineage patriarch.

The patrilineal group has a near sacred quality and is represented in the figure of the sacred forest and the sacred wood. Splitting this group—when one segment of a clan decides to hold a separate initiation ceremony and establish a new sacred forest—can result in open hostility.

This was the case in 1978 when the Arounoung lineage in Jilaban decided to hold a separate initiation ceremony from that of the Arounoung lineage in Fungesaf. In various ways I heard this ideal of patrilineal unity repeated. Rather tritely it is often said that "if you have to make a choice between hurting your girlfriend and a male friend, you should always hurt your girlfriend. You must live with your male friend for life, but you can never be sure about a woman. You can always get a new girlfriend." Marriage prohibitions were phrased in similar terms: "we don't allow marriage within clans because if there are marital problems it will divide the clan in two. The wife's father will be pitted against her husband's father. Brothers will end up fighting each other." This perhaps explains the trepidation in exchanging labor with agnates. Such exchanges are condoned and even expected of affines.

AFFINES AND THE LINEAGE

If the breakup of the patrilineal group is unthinkable to the point that unity is a veneer of a long history of conflict, unions established through marriage are seen as inherently unstable. Even so, their unity and stability are very strongly desired.

When Karamba Badji rebuilt his house in 1985, his decision to build where he did was most probably influenced by the proximity of the new site to his patrilineal kin, being on the same fank with the house of his brother, Fabacary, and that of his son (BS), Harouna. An additional factor, however, was likely to have been the proximity of this house to that of Karemo Sané, situated on the other side of Karamba's house from the Arounoung courtyard.

Karamba's father died when Karamba was still a child. Upon his father's death, his mother, Astou Sané, did not marry one of her husband's brothers as is often done. Instead, she returned to live with her father's kin, taking young Karamba with her. As a result, Karamba was raised in the household of his mother's kin and has an unusually close relationship with the Sané family.

When I first arrived in Mandégane, Karamba was in Kaolack receiving treatment from a traditional healer for an eye problem. Yet Karamba's family, instead of introducing me to Karamba's brother, Fabacary (the lineage elder), introduced me to Karemo Sané, telling me that, in Kar­amba's absence, should I have a problem, I should consult Karemo. While this situation is perhaps unusual, and partially informed by a certain distrust of Fabacary (which is perhaps a reflection of the circum­spection with which patrilineal kin are treated), it does exemplify the ways by which families of the same lineage are further distinguished by the content of their matrilateral relationships.

The relationship between children and their mother's filaf is second
only to their relationship with their own. Despite this, affines have distant relationships. Only the husband is said to establish a relationship with his wife's patrilineal group by way of his marriage. Even this relationship is marked by distance and respect. Neither marriage nor another type of relationship, the basseumplup, describes a relationship between two patrilineal groups. The basseumplup describes the relationship between an individual and his or her mother's patrilineal group. Children are considered nominal members of their mother's lineage, and they hold rights over the property of their mother's filaf, Assemple, it was often said, could go to their mother's brother's home and take chickens with impunity. I do not know how many chickens are actually claimed in this manner, but several times I listened to men lament that their nephews had recently unburdened them of items ranging from clothing to watches. In return, members of the mother's patrilineal group have rights over the labor of their sister's children. This exchange of goods for labor is considered asymmetrical and is analogous to that between parents and children. An assemple is considered a child of his or her mother's patrilineal group.

Labor is one of the most important resources made available through this relationship. A mother's brother is free to call on his assemple to help him in different types of work. Often men will use collective work groups of their assemple to cultivate their rice or peanut fields. Sometimes men call on their assemple to help them with cash-earning activities. One friend complained that his maternal uncle forced him to carry his oranges to Ziguinchor. Although my friend knew that it was too late in the season to sell the oranges at a profit, he knew that it would be difficult to refuse the request his maternal uncle made of him. Unlike the patrilineal group, labor is central to matrilateral relationships.

While divisions in the patrilineal group are almost unthinkable, the value of maintaining matrilateral ties are sanctioned by the saying "lakum u tingo besseneup"—"Don't break the matrilateral relationship." This proscription acknowledges that breaking such links is possible. Still the besseneup relationship should be reproduced between generations. That is, a man should marry a woman from the same filaf as his mother, and lineages should maintain rights on the labor of children of the same family. Maintaining this relationship also produces a living memory of land claims. For example, married women retain use rights on the land of their father's filaf. If a woman's husband lacks cultivable land he can secure land to cultivate through his wife. If land has been loaned in this way in one generation, marriage can be used in the next generation to insure that this family does not forget who owns the land they cultivate.

Once when I was probing the issue of patrilineal unity with an informant, making clear my doubts that the lineage was as unified as is claimed, I pointed out that divisions were inevitable given that the wives and mothers within a lineage come from different patrilineal groups. My informant said that I had finally understood. Whether the issue is land or labor, this question of matrilaterality and descent hardens distinctions between families of the same patrilineal group. Individuals are reluctant to enter economic arrangements with their "brothers," yet it is precisely with matrilateral kin that these arrangements are often entered into.

Although this is recognized as a relationship between an individual and a patrilineal group, there are certain features of residence and economy that define it as a relationship between a filaf and a household. As most of the land is communally cultivated by the household, if a woman brings access to land into the household, this access will then be shared by all its members. Moreover, a marriage sets in motion a series of relationships within the family that will have implications for all the family's members. Thus, for instance, if an elder has a wife from one lineage, then that lineage will be his in-laws (allol). His children will be assemple to that lineage, and his grandchildren will be aselenkenaye to that lineage. The wife, of course, will be a permanent member of that patrilineal group resident with her husband's family.

Yet the besseneup relationship does not generalize beyond ego's family to other families of the lineage. These other families have other similar relationships, usually with other lineages. The dictum not to break this relationship refers to the desired reproduction of ties between patrilineal groups and a given family. In other words, the mother's lineage could not preserve the relationship by having a daughter marry a son of the same lineage but of a different family. Thus marriages drive wedges between the interests of families in a lineage as each family perceives its long-term interests as intimately linked to different patrilineal groups.

I mentioned earlier that Karamba and Fabacary are the sons of the same father but of different mothers. Fabacary's mother was a Coly from the section of Ebuwaw, while Karamba's mother was a Sané from Funegaf. I discussed how Karamba had particularly close relations with his mother's family next to whom Karamba had built his house. For Fabacary and his family, such a special relationship with Sané-kounda would not have been possible. However, it is likely that such a relationship would have been possible with Coly-kounda, his mother's lineage. Indeed he spent much of his time visiting this family.

In the current generation of Karamba's family, matrilateral alliances have shifted. Certain rights are preserved through the relationship of aselenkenaye in the descending generation, but they pale in comparison to the relationship traced directly through a child's mother. Karamba Badji married Mariama Diatta of Ebuwaw. Their sons, while retaining close ties to Sané-kounda, had even closer ties to Diatta-kounda. Eventually Baboucar, through a marriage arranged by his mother, married his mother's daughter (MBD), Fatou Diatta. Thus ties between these two
families have managed to reproduce themselves in the first succeeding generation. It remains to be seen if ties with Sané-kounda will also be reproduced in this generation. I was told that Sané-kounda had been trying to arrange such a marriage for some time. As for Fabacary Badji—he married Aissatou Bodian of Jilaban, and his son, Youssouf, married Anta Sagna of Ebunaw. Thus, in this family, the assemple relationship of the ascending generation has been severed and a new one created.

When seen as relations between an individual and his or her mother’s lineage, the divisions and divergence of interests are considered legitimate. When the focus is placed on the wives, whose interests are divided between the families with which they live and the lineage from which they come, the meaning is different. Indeed when disputes arise within patrilineal groups, the root cause of these disputes is rarely considered the basseumplup relationship. Rather, blame is most often placed on women who have married into the patrilineal group.

When viewed from a woman’s perspective, the situation appears differently from that described above. Unfortunately, I did not have the same access to women as I did to men, rendering the discussion in this way partial. The most significant lacuna in my data concerns the ways by which women retain close ties with their patrilineage while living in the households of their husbands. Evidence of this is seen in the importance of sister relationships (see Linares 1988). For instance, the migration of young women is often made possible through the cooperation of two sisters, one of whom is the migrant’s mother who lives in the village; the other the mother’s sister who lives in the city. The second helps the young migrant find employment, saves her money for her, then helps her purchase goods. At marriage, it is the mother’s sisters who gather to assess the success or failure of the young bride in her premarital economic activities.

**HISTORY AND THE LINEAGE**

Unlike the kasaf, which could be considered a clan, the filaf, or lineage, is shallow. It might extend four generations in depth, and while the generational (classificatory) relationships are known, the genealogical relationships between specific members often are not known. Prior to World War II, migration to other villages was a principal means of lineage fission. Yet often several generations would pass before the separation of the lineage segments from one another was complete. When the separation is finally considered complete, a representative of the new filaf returns to the village of origin to take some of the sacred wood to their new home so that a new sacred forest can be established. The village of Sindian in the Fognny region of the Casamance is said to have been founded after an epidemic had swept through Mandégane several generations ago and members of the village fled to Sindian. An acquaintance, who lived in Sindian, told me that some elder men remember older brothers who paid reciprocal visits to Mandégane. I knew of no one in Mandégane who maintained active agnatic relationships with relatives in Sindian, although they confirmed this story of the founding of several of Sindian’s sections. I was told that several decades ago these migrants to Sindian had founded their own distinct sacred forest.

A contemporary case of segmentation is to be found in the lineage Taourekonta. The case presented below suggests that a division is developing between two families of Taourekonta—in particular, a split between the families of Moussa and Mamadou Badji.15 Similar to the case mentioned above, the genealogical link between these two families is not known. Although these two families have households in the village that are far apart, these homes are still built around different fank, or courtyards.

The following extract from my field notes documents a conversation on the situation unfolding in Taourekonta that took place between Baboucar and Lamine Badji, two brothers of the Arounoung lineage. Younousse Badji, the principal character and a member of Moussa Badji’s family, had recently returned from Dakar for a short visit. Because he was successful and wealthy, his actions were frequently scrutinized. His arrival in the village provoked a fair amount of discussion.

Yesterday (August 25, 1989) Baboucar and Lamine engaged in a discussion about Younousse Badji. Baboucar said that he knew Younousse well. In the 1960s he had lived in Younousse’s house in Dakar, and he agreed with what people in Mandégane were saying about him. Baboucar said that it was wrong that Younousse paid little attention to his family (patrilineal kin) in Fungesaf. Lamine, however, argued that Younousse had reasons for what he did.

Younousse’s father died while he was still quite young, and Younousse was raised by his father’s mother’s family (that of Mactar Sagna) in Kaguith (a village south of the Casamance River). After attending school in the 1950s he left the Casamance and found work in the military. A few years ago he retired from the military, but he continues to work as a cook on a military base.

Baboucar has noticed that when Younousse comes to Mandégane he never stays with his father’s family. Instead he stays with his mother’s family in Karak (a section of Mandégane). Baboucar thinks that this is wrong. He also faults Younousse for not doing anything to help Mactar Sagna’s family—which, of course, is the family that raised him.

Younousse’s character, according to Baboucar, is exemplified by an event that occurred when Baboucar and Younousse’s younger
brother Malick (and member of Mamadou's family) were living in Younousse's house in Dakar. Every Sunday Younousse assigned someone to wash his sheep. One Sunday it was Malick's turn, but instead of washing the sheep Malick took advantage of an opportunity to work. Younousse noticed that the sheep had not been cleaned, and as they sat to eat, he asked Malick to leave the house—that he (Younousse) would no longer be Malick's host.

When Younousse was asked at a family meeting (including the filsF of Arounoung, Ejundan, and Taourekkounda) why he refused to act as Malick's host, Younousse cited the incident with the sheep. Baboucar seemed to take this at face value, and he found Younousse's pettiness demeaning. Lamnie, however, maintained that Younousse had his reasons—a secret—which Younousse could not divulge that would explain his actions. Lamnie also said that Younousse asked Malick to leave so that he could have the resources to care for his own children. Lamnie thought it was normal that Younousse would decide to favor his children over the children of his brother. Baboucar commented that when he was in Dakar (from the late 1960s through the mid-1970s) "families" were tight and the three above-mentioned lineages "held each other as one." Today they have apparently drifted apart. Baboucar saw Younousse's unwillingness to house Malick as an illustration of the distance that is growing between migrants in the city.

The one point on which Lamnie and Baboucar agreed was that problems of the sort faced by Malick were often caused by wives. Both disapproved of Younousse's second wife. She had apparently told Younousse's first wife that she was going to claim the larger house in Dakar for herself. This would leave the smaller house for the first wife. To reinforce her claim she pressured Younousse to build a house for his eldest son (by his first wife) that could then be considered part of the first wife's inheritance.

Younousse is considered a success. As one of the first people from Mandégane to become educated, he found a job and employment in the city, and he has invested wisely to secure his economic position. He owns four houses in Dakar, two in Ziguinchor, and is starting an agricultural project in Niamone, a village roughly five kilometers from Mandégane. He receives a military pension and retains a civilian position in the military that he claims entitles him to a salary but entails no responsibility. In addition he earns money from the houses he rents in Dakar.

At stake in the above discussion—whether we consider his "eviction" of Malick, the preference he gives his children, his staying with his mother's family in Mandégane, or the competition between his two wives—is who has a legitimate right to the resource base he has established. This forces him to decide who his kin are and to which groups his loyalties lie. While Younousse has not lived in Mandégane for forty years, his primary social groups remain rooted in the village. The decisions he makes about his resources have implications for social relationships in the village and for the social relationships of migrants of the village in other locations such as Dakar and Ziguinchor. Both Lamnie and Baboucar believed the disputes that have emerged around Younousse would eventually split his lineage into two separate lineages.

Just as Younousse's case presents certain difficulties in determining how the lineage organization will fit into the contours of urban Senegal, the emergence of relations between Baboucar's family and the other Arounoung families is equally indeterminate. One common lament of those who remain in Mandégane is that the village is not as densely populated as it once was. When I walked through the village, those who accompanied me frequently referred to places where houses once stood. The effects of migration are seen in the empty houses that are slowly falling to the ground. Baboucar will most likely never return to live in Mandégane, and when his elderly mother passes on, I imagine that his house will also crumble.

During their discussion about Younousse Badji, Baboucar and Lamnie agreed on the issue of the dangers of women to the unity of the patrilineal group. The dispute over future inheritance, as well as the second wife's maneuver to increase gifts from Younousse to his first wife's son in order to increase her claims (the second wife's) on what remains, illustrate how women are perceived as dangers to patrilineal unity. Here the division was between the two wives, though this division was implicated in and ended up dividing the children of these different wives. The way by which these co-wives divide their husband's property will have implications for their respective children and lineages.

Lamnie's own concern over this issue was informed by his personal experiences with his brothers. While ties with Diatta-Kounda have been reproduced through the marriage of Baboucar and Fatou, such has not been the case for Lamnie's other three married brothers. One has married a Sagna of Boulacan; another, a Sagna of the village of Balingore; and the last, a Goudiaby of the village of Gnasaran. The children of each of these unions will have different sets of significant kin. Moreover, the mothers of these children most likely will defend their children's interests over those of other children of their husband's family. Though when discussing the Younousse controversy, Lamnie could understand the preference Younousse had given to his own children, he does not so easily accept similar behavior in his own family. He finds it hard to understand the ways by which marriage produces a divergence of interests between himself and his brothers—a divergence he sees, for example, in the loyalty of his older brother, Ousmane, to his wife's kin.
(often in neglect of Lamine). To explain these problems, he points to “outsiders,” the wives—in this case Ousmane’s wife—as the reason for the difficulties between them.

With the dispersion of lineages across Senegambia and the increased value of social ties in urban areas, the position of women in families has become even more important. In the village, land could only be held by patrilineal groups. In cases where land is loaned between patrilineal groups through women, ownership is not in question as long as the interested parties remember the loan. This is not true, however, for land held in urban areas. As this land is individually owned and not held collectively by the lineage, women can use their position as wives to urban landowners to try to secure rights over this land for members of their lineages. I know of several cases in which this has succeeded: only the wives’ and not the husbands’ relatives are housed in the house they share. It remains to be seen what will happen to these homes, specifically how they will be inherited, in subsequent generations.

NOTES

1. This is particularly true of men. Women probably have a different perspective as residence is virilocal, and most change their section of residence on marriage. Although the village is largely endogamous, many marriages are contracted between families resident in different sections. The sections are largely exogamous.

2. Mandégane’s eight clans were divided into two larger groups. Members of clans that were grouped together were said to be “brothers.” In the same way that there remains a prohibition against parallel cousin marriage, in the past, marriages were prohibited between clans that were joined in these larger groups. It could be argued that Boulouf-Jola society was divided into moieties and practiced a form, following Levi-Strauss (1969), of restricted exchange.

3. Ideally all eight sections were to be united in their allegiance to the same religious leader—the village imam who would lead the prayers. During my research, the circle of belonging was embroiled in a struggle between two religious leaders for the position of imam. Each of Mandégane’s sections was expected to be unified in its support of one or the other candidate for the imamate. This issue was so sensitive that when I happened on two men, whom I knew well, as they happened to be cleaning before it is cooked.

6. The reasons for which and the conditions under which men return to the village vary. The commonality between almost all of these cases is that permanently returning to the village is not desirable. Usually a tragic episode or narrative of failure is used to explain why someone returns. I knew of some men who returned following a mental breakdown. These psychological episodes are often attributed to drug abuse or witchcraft. I knew a student at the University of Dakar who returned to Mandégane under these conditions. Some people claimed that his breakdown was due to witchcraft performed on him by jealous classmates. It is more often the case that men return to the village after having failed to secure permanent employment in Dakar. These men are in an economically and socially vulnerable position and, as such, are often pressured into returning when their labor is desperately needed in the village. This usually happens when their father is too old to work in the fields and a younger man is needed to take over the cultivating and other household tasks. That their labor is needed in the village provides these men with some leverage in negotiating the conditions of their return. Almost all the men in this position have managed to negotiate a marriage through which they can restore a measure of their pride by returning to the village with the status of household head. It is not clear to me why a woman would accept the offer to return to the village and marry these men. I would imagine that these women are tired of living in impoverished conditions in Dakar and see little possibility of marrying a man who can support them in the city. As will become clear in chapter 10, the resistance of women to these types of arranged marriages has become a point of tension in Mandégane.

7. The term “mosque” is used locally to refer to the large central village mosque where the Friday prayers are conducted. Emiserey is used to refer to the smaller section mosques that are used for daily prayers. In this text I refer to the former as the “grand mosque” and the latter as the “mosque.”

8. Previously, in times of more abundant rainfall, this was apparently done throughout the year. Now, however, there is a shortage of locally produced rice. Rice harvested in early June generally lasts until May and thus needs to be separated from the hull. After May or early spring, store-bought, pre-hulled rice needs only to be cleaned before it is cooked.

9. Olga Linares (1984: 417) defines eluup as “house as a physical structure as well as a loose patrilineal descent group whose elders claim to be related because their ‘forefathers were brothers.’” In Mandégane eluup was used as described by Linares. Filaf was used more often to refer to a patrilineal descent group. Unlike the villages described by Linares, the filaf could not be described as loose. Membership was highly circumscribed and very well defined.

10. Schloss (1988) has documented ‘Ehing’ communities in which fank are currently associated with shrines. The only remaining shrines in Mandégane are located in the sacred forest. My understanding is that these shrines are associated with filaf.

11. This is similar to the uses of lineality described by Evans-Pritchard (1940). Among the Nuer lineage, affiliations provide an idiom for understanding spatially defined political affiliations.

12. I deliberately refer here to brothers, not siblings. Sisters have a different, and complicated, relationship to families. This is briefly discussed towards the end of this section.

13. FBS stands for “father’s brother’s son.” This notation indicates the actual genealogical relationship between these two individuals. This and subsequent ab-
I remember early on in this project speaking with a young man who was visiting Mandégane from a Manding village. He said that he once had met the young son of a European missionary who had lived in several different villages and, as a result, had mastered several African languages. More than that, my friend added, this boy truly understood what was different about the villages in which he had lived. He then went on to tell how the young boy distinguished between villages by their means of cultivation: the instruments used and how these tools were employed. The boy said that in “this” village people cultivate standing upright, while in “that” village they bend over. My friend stood in wonder that a child in all his naivety could understand that work, so omnipresent as to be almost opaque, was an activity around which local differences are understood. He was implicitly admonishing me to take my cue from this child.

My friend’s statement about the centrality of work was borne out during my research. For most everyone in Mandégane, the village was about work. Not only was there the unavoidable observation that much time was spent working, but also that work entered frequently into daily discourse. People spoke about their lives in terms of their work and in terms of the work done by others. Whether they were working in collective work groups or on their household’s fields, work became the experience that defined their inclusion in these groups. It became the activity through which one’s position in local social organization was rendered meaningful. In the previous chapter, I introduced two different principles of social organization that held in two different types of lived space: the household and the public areas of the sections. Work situations illustrated the differences between these spaces. The following explores in more detail the ways by which the experience of work defines local
millet fields, seedbeds are prepared by the household following a similar
division of labor. Men turned and cultivated the land while women fer-
tilized the fields with manure carried from the village. The women then
planted seed on the bunds recently built by their sons, husbands, and
fathers. The day following the first rain (July 18) the household began
working on the peanut crop. They worked on the peanut fields continu-
ously from then until August 3.

The millet fields and rice seedbeds are almost exclusively cultivated
and planted by the household. During the cultivation of peanuts, how-
ever, another means of organizing labor is employed to a limited extent.
Men began working in small groups with other men from the same sec-
tion. Of the fifteen days Baboucar Badji devoted to the peanut cultiva-
tion, he spent five working with his age mates. These small groups
(called *kupalol* or “friends”) included roughly five or six male “friends.”
These men were of approximately the same age and they lived in the
same section. Working together under the principle that friends should
aid each other in their work, they took turns cultivating each other’s
fields. A small contribution of 500 CFA (US$1) was made for each day
the group’s labor was used. At the end of the season this money was
used to finance a small feast that only these men attended. Women, how-
ever, did not work in age groups. Instead, they worked on the fields of
their respective households. For the cultivation of peanuts and millet,
despite the restricted use of small male work groups, the dominant prin-
ceiple for the organization of labor was the household. In the mornings,
men and women of the household rose early to go to fields held by their
respective households, fields from which they returned late in the after-
noon.

From early August until late September, rice field preparation became
the preoccupation of the section. Unlike the organization of labor for
millet and peanuts, which centered largely around the household, much
of the labor is collectivized, for the production of rice. The cultivation
by men and the transplanting by women was carried out by the section’s
gender- and age-based work associations. Unlike the *kupalol* used for the
cultivation of peanuts, for which a few men collectivized their labor,
work in the rice fields employs section-wide work associations, which
include all resident and able men and women. Each section has four such
associations that correspond to the gender and age divisions of the com-
community: one for all women, one for all men, one for unmarried men, and
one for unmarried women.

The central idiom for participation in the *kupalol* is friendship. Most
members of this group, being of similar age and gender, might, despite
possible latent animosity, be considered friends. They are of the same
age, and it is with these people that the group’s members socialize during
other times of the year. The logic of their mutual help, if anything,
conversations I had with informants on this topic.\footnote{For example, I was told that it is the men who decide the time of planting, even when they do not cultivate.} The following is typical of the productive capacities and roles (Schloss 1988: 143). My informants not only denied this interpretation, they reiterated their claim that the division of labor begins not with the fact that men cultivate, but rather that women seed the fields. This is apparently the case with the neighboring Ehing peoples for whom “rice is a symbol of female productivity that the division of labor begins not with the fact that men cultivate, but rather that women seed the fields. This is apparently the case with the neighboring Ehing peoples for whom “rice is a symbol of female productivity and roles” (Schloss 1988: 143). My informants not only denied this interpretation, they reiterated their claim that the division of labor began with men’s tasks. The following is typical of the conversations I had with informants on this topic.

\section*{The Regime of Work}

Starting with the first rains in mid-June until late September, every day, except Monday (the day of rest) and periods of mourning, almost everyone goes to the fields at sunrise and stays until they are too exhausted to work. During peanut and millet cultivation, men remain in the fields until the late evening, taking only a short break for lunch that is carried to the fields by children. Most rice cultivation, equally if not more demanding, also begins early in the morning. But men return to the village by the late afternoon to take a late lunch. Sometimes, but not always, they return to the fields in the afternoon, particularly if their work association has been hired.

Cultivation, whether of millet, peanuts, or rice, is a man’s task. Although at times women claim that they can cultivate as well as men, it is generally held that cultivation is the most demanding agricultural task. Once, while working in the millet fields, I heard a woman present a protracted soliloquy in which she praised men and their courage in cultivating. She exalted them for their perseverance and ability, thanking God that she was a woman and did not have to bear the burden of the kajendou, the instrument men use to cultivate their fields. She said this as she planted the year’s millet crop in the tracks of her husband’s labor. Memories of all the domestic work she did for the household evaporated at the sight of her husband’s sweat. If women in Mandégane have one solace, unlike women in Manding and some other Jola villages of the Casamance (see Linares 1970), it is that cultivation is unambiguously a man’s task.

Repeatedly informants traced the division of labor back to the unquestioned fact that men, and only men, should cultivate. When I attempted to unveil some interpretation of this, either historical or symbolic, my informants provided no clues. I then explored the possibility that the division of labor begins not with the fact that men cultivate but rather that women seed the fields. This is apparently the case with the neighboring Ehing peoples for whom “rice is a symbol of female productive capacities and roles” (Schloss 1988: 143). My informants not only denied this interpretation, they reiterated their claim that the division of labor began with men’s tasks. The following is typical of the conversations I had with informants on this topic.

\begin{dialogue}
\begin{align*}
\text{Q: Why do women plant rice? [or why do women weed, plant millet, plant peanuts, etc.]} \\
\text{A: Because men can’t attend to these tasks for then they are cultivating.} \\
\text{Q: Why do men cultivate? [the informant shrugs his or her shoulders then responds]} \\
\text{A: Because we found it that way.}
\end{align*}
\end{dialogue}

Discussions with informants and my own experience working in the fields made me sympathetic to the position that, in Michael Jackson’s words, “Body practice cannot be reduced to semantics” (1989: 134). Ultimately, it seemed, the meaning of this division of labor resided in how activity is experienced and how this work defines relationships between people.

The men of Mandégane, of course, do not cultivate just for themselves. Whether cultivation is done for the work association, for one’s household, or for one’s patrilineage, the product of that labor is destined for consumption by others. In fact the willingness and ability of men to cultivate is a point of honor. This point was made ever so clear by the cases of several women who did cultivate their fields. Most of these women were older, widowed women, whose sons (if they had any) had left for Dakar. Other, distantly related men who lived in the village “disappeared” when these women were trying to recruit men to cultivate their fields. At the same time, these men remarked on the pitifulness of the situation of these women. It was almost unthinkable for a man to allow his wife or mother to cultivate their fields. Cultivation is a man’s task, and when a woman is seen cultivating, it reflects profoundly on the quality of her social network and significantly on the moral standing of her absent male children.

It is in these terms that the worth and value of a husband and head of household is evaluated. When rice production was still the principal and most highly valued economic activity in the village, a man could not marry and establish an independent household until he had proved his ability to cultivate. According to informants it was at an annual dance that men were given the opportunity to display their strength so as to attract prospective brides. Now prospective husbands are increasingly evaluated by the size of their paychecks. In the past, and still, for many who remain in the village, men were and are judged according to their ability to cultivate and maintain a household.

Cultivation is done by hand with a long-handled instrument with a shovel-like head, called a kajendou. This is used to scoop and turn the earth. For dry fields, the cultivation is done in two passes. The first cuts through the top layer and gives form to the bunds on which the crop
will be planted. In this pass the *kajendou* is pushed far in front. As it scrapes the earth, it is slowly turned to deposit the surface layer, first to the right, then to the left. The second pass requires a deeper cut. Here the *kajendou* is used much like a shovel. The dirt is dug out of the shallow hollow created during the first pass. Then the shovel-like head is turned successively to the left and right in order to make high bunds on which the crop can grow. The following excerpt from my field notes should give some sense of the labor involved.

Today was the fourth day of cultivation. After resting for a day I returned to aid in the cultivation. I arrived around eight in the morning, but Baboucar and Ismael had been there for at least an hour when I arrived. I helped with the cultivation by taking turns with Ismael on the smaller *kajendou*. The second pass was much less strenuous and easier to master than the first. The technique of the first pass is deceptively easy. From a distance it appears that the men are lazily pushing their *kajendous* in front of them. But when I did it, I learned that it didn’t take long before I started panting and struggling to keep up with the other workers. With the simplicity of the movements I found it hard to understand how I had lost my breath. Then the regular and alternating movements of turning the *kajendou* to the left then to the right began tightening my wrists. Forcing the *kajendou* into the ground left my shoulders and upper back aching. Ismael (who had not cultivated in nine years) assured me that later that evening I would feel the full weight of my efforts. He was right. That night my hands began to burn. From the previous day Ismael had developed full blisters on his hands which he treated by holding them in hot water, a method which seems to work as they had not burst by the early afternoon. Baboucar, a longtime veteran of the *kajendou*, was amazing in his ability to work. His *kajendou* is much heavier than Ismael’s. Toward the end of the day, I took a try at it, but I could barely manage two rows. Baboucar uses the *kajendou* continuously. He rarely takes a break. On this day he took a short break from cultivating so that he could clear another field. Now I understand why Baboucar talks so much of Monday—the day of rest—and why he falls asleep immediately after eating his evening meal.

Much of the cultivation on the dry fields—peanut, rice, and millet fields alike—is done by households without the assistance of collective work groups. The men turn the land as the women follow with seed, walking down the bunds planting the crop. The millet and rice seed is dropped onto the bund, then dirt is kicked over the seed. Peanuts are
planted on the bunds, as well. But instead of merely dropping this seed onto the bund, a stick is used to poke a hole roughly six inches deep, and two or three seeds are then dropped into the hole which is closed with the foot. When the men have finished cultivating, they often help their wives and daughters finish the planting.

The cultivation of the dry fields is made more difficult because it is often done without the assistance of collective work groups. The fields of the marabout (the religious leader) are cultivated collectively. It takes one day, and the section’s collective field is a welcome break from the monotony of cultivating alone or with one or two sons or brothers. The one-day task is almost festive. The cultivation is done with a long line of men, each with a kajendou, singing and joking as they move down the field.

In contrast to most dry field cultivation, cultivating wet rice fields is done mostly in work groups such as this. This occurs later in the season, after peanut and millet cultivation have been completed, and when the rice fields have become too wet for dry field cultivation techniques. Just as men’s labor becomes increasingly subject to the demands of the section, so, too, does the labor of the women. Women begin spending more time in planting tasks for their ekeefey, or work associations. When everyone becomes involved in the work associations the activities of men and women are increasingly separated.

The experience of cultivation is different in wet fields. The water is often knee deep, so there is no attempt to make bunds on which to plant. Instead, the kajendou is used to turn the earth only once. The goal is to make the ground soft so that it will be easier to transplant the seedlings and to turn the weeds under. Like the cultivation for the marabout, or for the collective fields, wetland cultivation, while difficult, takes on an almost festive atmosphere. Men stand in lines, often based on age, moving down the field, sometimes racing, sometimes singing as they work. At the end of a morning of cultivating, the men gather, sometimes in the front of them. A prayer is made for the coming season, and thanks are given for the collective field. This is true even though planting continues long after cultivation has been completed.

Like cultivating, transplanting rice is exhausting and time consuming. Because the demands placed on women take them away from their household chores, meals are often quickly put together. Throughout the rice cultivation season, the diet consists mostly of plain white rice, due in part to the greater attention women pay to the rice fields and partly due to the lack of meat and condiments during the agricultural season. When the rice season arrives, local trade comes to a virtual halt: traders, too, have fields to tend.

While the transplanting and cultivation fall into a generally accepted gendered division of labor, other tasks also, though not always, tend to fall upon women. When men have returned to the village to relax after peanut cultivation, women continue to weed the fields. Like the planting of peanuts and millet, labor for weeding is organized by household. Women sometimes complained that some men are loathe to help weed. Still, it was not uncommon in the early evenings to come across a husband and wife working side by side removing weeds from their rice fields.

In December and January when the crops are ready, the household again spends much of the day in the fields harvesting. The millet and peanut harvests tend to be done by the household, although some families hire work associations at this time. The millet is cut from the stalk and taken to the house on bicycles. Then, it is stored in the household granary. Peanuts, once taken from the ground, are dried on the fields where they are separated from the chaff. They are then placed in bags and transported to the village where they are stored until the government marketing board arrives in the nearby village of Balingore to purchase them. Some peanuts are shelled and stored in forty-four gallon barrels. These are used as seed for the coming year.

Unlike peanuts and millet, rice is harvested by women. Often households employ female work associations for this task. The rice is cut from the stalk and placed in baskets that are carried to the houses. There, rice, like millet, is stored until it is consumed.8

EARNING CASH IN THE DRY SEASON

Although the agricultural season presents one of the most sustained and arduous periods of physical labor in the village, it is not the only such period. From the end of the peanut harvest in February until May when the clearing of the peanut and millet fields begins, the men engage in petty commerce, selling oranges, and fish and transporting merchandise from the Gambia. These activities are necessary not only for purchasing rice to make up for the shortfall in local production but also for purchasing other goods.

Most households in the section have a bicycle for transporting goods.
Before the construction of the dam in Affignam, the river that passes by Mandégane had an abundance of fish that not only enhanced the local diet but also was traded in neighboring villages by men. Today men must make the ten-kilometer trek to Tendouck, which is on a water course that enters directly into the Casamance River. The traders leave Mandégane long before sunrise for Tendouck where they fill large baskets tied to the back of their bicycles with fish. From Tendouck, they head out on the road back through Mandégane and on toward Bignona, stopping in each village to sell their fish. Most traders do not stop to sell fish in Mandégane for fear that they will lose their investment to friends and relatives. They finish when they have sold all their fish. Sometimes this does not occur until the men have penetrated deep into the Fogny.

The comparatively wet climate of the region has made fruit production a main source of supplemental income. The French, seeing this potential, began experimenting with various fruit trees in the 1940s. Since then, oranges and mangos have become standard trees in almost all villages in the Casamance. The fruit trade is conducted mostly by Wolof traders from north of the Gambia who come to the village in trucks, negotiating prices with the section chiefs for fruit grown by men of their sections.

The year I was in Mandégane, the price of oranges was unusually low. Many men refused to sell them to the merchants from northern Senegal traveling through the region, instead transporting the fruit directly to market in Ziguinchor where they received a higher price. In the evenings before such journeys, these men went through their orchards, gathering the fruit in baskets. Early the next morning, all set out in a group. They chose a shorter and more direct route that avoided the surfaced road and cut across the river winding through Niamone and across sandy stretches down to Tobor. There they met up with the main road on which they pedaled for five flat, cobbled kilometers across the Casamance River into Ziguinchor. Not until the afternoon did they begin their return, also by bicycle, to Mandégane.

Arriving in the early evening from such trips drained from exhaustion, all slept early and usually rested the next day. That evening, however, they prepared to repeat the journey the following day. After several weeks of this, the wear of the work on the men’s bodies begins to show. They sleep-in late and show little energy to do more than socialize during the day. Still, all are pushed on by a mild competition with the other cyclists, each of whom is eager to prove that he is most able to bear the draining physical labor.

Early in the season, when there are few oranges and fish in Ziguinchor, the returns are quite good. That season men could earn 12,000 CFA (US$48) profit from one trip to the market. By the end of the season, however, the earnings fell off to as low as 1200 CFA (US$4.80). Baboucar Sané’s uncle (MB) is too old to make the trip. Much to Baboucar’s chagrin, he was convinced by his uncle to make a few trips transporting oranges to Ziguinchor. They split the meager profits (2000 CFA [US$8]). After all their oranges were sold, Baboucar purchased oranges from someone in a neighboring village. And when these were sold in Ziguinchor at less than cost, his season of transporting oranges was over.

During the off-season, women, like men, engage in other economic activities. Many of these activities are directed toward household maintenance, that broad range of activities that can be subsumed under household chores, as well as seasonal activities such as making salt and collecting firewood. In addition, women turn their attention to income-earning activities such as vegetable gardening, and the collection and marketing of forest fruits such as kuperang and enyork. Most women invest their earnings in savings associations. By doing so, they insulate their cash earnings from being spent on maintaining the household.

These savings associations take the basic form of the gender-based work groups (ekeefey).

The comparatively wet climate of the region has made fruit production a main source of supplemental income. The French, seeing this potential, began experimenting with various fruit trees in the 1940s. Since then, oranges and mangos have become standard trees in almost all villages in the Casamance. The fruit trade is conducted mostly by Wolof traders from north of the Gambia who come to the village in trucks, negotiating prices with the section chiefs for fruit grown by men of their sections.

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These savings associations take the basic form of the gender-based work groups (ekeefey). These women’s work groups do not dissolve when the agricultural season has ended. For example, during the months after the rice harvest and before the rains, these work groups participate in the collection of firewood. Almost every morning, women meet and head out to the bush. They return several hours later carrying on their heads loads of wood that are deposited at the house of one of their members. They take turns carrying wood for each other. Each time the group’s labor is employed, the beneficiary pays a small sum (1000 CFA/day [US$4]). The association saves this money and might use it later either to purchase clothes or to pay for a feast.

While the ostensible objective of these groups is to ease the considerable workload placed on women, they provide the collective women’s groups with a way to save money. The money the women earn is held separately from that earned by the men’s association. The women’s groups might use this money to pay for a feast at the end of the agricultural season. Usually these feasts are jointly sponsored with the corresponding men’s association and co-organized with an adjoining section’s association. For the larger senior ekeefey, a similar pattern is followed. Usually, though, they slaughter a bull that is shared by everyone in the section.

Upon marriage, women enter other savings associations. In the same way that girls are stratified into age groups based on when they were born, married women are stratified into associations based on when they married into the section. As these associations include women who are responsible for planting household fields, women sometimes help each other plant the rice crop in much the same way that the men’s kapalol is a mutual aid society for cultivation. The recipient of this labor pays a small amount into a kitty that will be used at the end of the planting season.
One of the more popular women's savings associations is *essobey*. The name is derived from the name of a Senegalese textile parastatal, SOTIBA (Société de Teinture, Blanchiment, Apret et d'Impressions Africaines), that produces cloth. Most of the resources collected by these associations are used, as the name suggests, for the purchase of cloth. In these associations, married women of the section collect money earned through dry-season economic activities, such as gardening and the collection of firewood, to purchase more cheaply in bulk cloth that will be made into garments. Generally women will wait until a village festival, such as the yearly pilgrimage to the late imam's grave, to have their clothes made. Each woman makes a dress cut from the same bolt of cloth. At these festivals, you can usually tell which women live in the same section or town and which women are of the same age group by seeing who is wearing the same style of clothes. This is more than just a display of economizing; it is a display of women's unity. They are sartorial badges of membership in savings groups. These associations have proven to be an effective way for women to protect their earnings from the demands of relatives. Once the money has been paid to the savings associations the women cannot gain access to it. These groups have proven so popular among women that women in urban areas have formed similar groups. During festivals urban women, too, wear *essobey* outfits.

These savings associations place great demands on women. They must earn money to make the required payments into these associations. During the dry season, one of the few cash earning activities available to women is vegetable gardening. They have to tend their plants each day, usually when they are already overwhelmed by household chores. Moreover, because the vegetables are often ripe when the local market is saturated, women often spend days walking from village to village selling tomatoes or eggplant, only to return, literally, with a few coins. I know of women who walked the twenty kilometers to Bignona's market where they might spend a few days: their gross earnings from the sale of tomatoes often are not enough to cover the cost of transporting the crop by taxi (roughly 1000 CFA [US$4]). When I asked women why they worked so hard for so little earnings, they nearly always responded that they needed the money for their savings associations. One elderly woman, who grew up in a time when there were neither vegetable gardens, nor *essobey*, was befuddled by the lengths to which women go to earn so little. She suggested that women should forgo having new clothes every few years so as to be able to relax during the dry season. As she put it, in her generation there was simply no pressure to have new clothes for each village festival.

NOTES

1. The only people who do not regularly cultivate earn an income through activities that are incommensurable, due to timing or prestige, with agricultural production. As far as I could determine, in Mandégane this includes several schoolteachers employed by the government (who are not from the village) and a young construction contractor. There are also two religious leaders and two health workers for whom agricultural work is done by other members of the village.


3. Time constraints precluded detailed research on land tenure practices. This requires an examination of the history of individual plots—a task that is not only time consuming but also touches on sensitive issues. When I inquired about individual plots I was often given the "official line"; that they were inherited from "fathers." I learned later that these plots actually belonged to wives' families. Under these conditions it became clear that finding out the true story on a sufficient sample would have taken my research too far from my central concern. Olga Linares, a more seasoned ethnographer than I, informed me that she has collected data on land tenure practices. As of yet, this data has not been published. Other works already published on the land are van der Klei (1978), Thomas (1966b), and Snyder (1981). Linares (1970: 225) and others (Pelissier 1966; van der Klei 1977) have concluded that urban migration has resulted in a labor shortage and was not caused by population pressure on land. Recently, salt intrusion has rendered many lowland rice plots unproductive. Linares (1970: 225) maintains that
this is a direct result of the flight of labor to the city and the consequent inability of villages to prevent the intrusion of salt. Although I did not thoroughly investigate the issue I found no evidence that suggests that land was the underlying reason for urban migration.

4. While a given patrilineal group might face a lack of land on which to cultivate, when the situation in the village as a whole is considered, most people agree that there is an abundance of land. And although land is held by men in the name of their patrilineal group, land can (and often is) redistributed through women. Women have the right to borrow land from their male kin that can then be exploited by their husband’s household. Thus even if a man has no land in the area selected for cultivation, it is likely that his wife’s lineage will have land which he could cultivate. Access to highland fields tends to vary according to where one lives in the village. Most households of the section I lived in had vast tracts of highland fields from the section north from the village. This was not the case for other sections that abutted rice fields. Many people who lived in these sections went to the nearby village of Affignam where they were loaned fields, in much the same way as the people of Fungefai were once lent lands through the kasannok.

5. At the time of this research US$1 could be exchanged for roughly 250 CFA. All subsequent currency conversions are based on this exchange rate.

6. Urban-based relatives of rural families are complicitous in demands for dependent youth in the city to return to the village. Doubtless there are several reasons for this. Still, most make no secret of the fact that they look forward to not having to support these youth during the summer. Of all social categories, it is students, both male and female, who most completely depend on their urban hosts. It is perhaps they more than others who feel most acutely the tug of the moral obligation to respond to their urban host family’s appeal to help the natal household in the village.

Unemployed men, and women who work as domestics, often have multiple strategies for avoiding these demands and more compelling reasons for doing so. The unemployed often comment on the shame they feel when they return empty-handed to the village and with few employment prospects. In addition, such migrants must return to a vivid reminder of the life to which they will never return should their journey to urban areas end in failure. In one interview, a young, self-employed electrician confessed his wish to visit the village. But, he claimed, a visit was impossible because he was unable to save enough money. The 4,000 CFA (US$16) bus fare was not the problem. Rather, he could not accumulate the additional 50,000 CFA (US$200) that he would have to bring back in the form of gifts. It is against these disincentives for return that relatives in the city press youth to return.

Students are in a different position. Although their employment prospects might diminish when they leave school, as students they can return to the village without the shame of being unemployed. Moreover, if they return without gifts, only their urban hosts, who should have provided them, would be implicated.

7. A local rural development project (PIDAC) had tried to change agricultural practices by encouraging the people to turn the dirt when the fields were still dry, then to break the clumps of dirt with sticks. Few families still practice this technique. Most cited the bodily experience of work as their reason. The new method shifted the bodily experience of work to the lower back; cultivation with the kajendou focuses the experience on the upper back and shoulders. This was one of the distinctions between the Jola and the Manding, who cultivated with the dabo, a short-handled hoe. With the dabo, pain was also experienced in the lower back. This difference in the bodily experience of pain was often cited as the principal reason the Manding never cultivated in Jola villages: they could never accept the stress placed on the upper body.

8. Rice and millet are produced almost exclusively for local consumption. Other activities are oriented toward the market. Revenues from peanuts, fish, oranges, and mangoes are controlled by men, while revenues from the garden, and also forest fruits, are controlled by women. Still, the uses to which these earnings are put are vastly different. As other researchers have described for other West African societies (Shipton 1990; Kane 1977), for the Jola, cash earned by a husband and a wife are kept separate and managed in very different ways.

9. The profit from this petty trade, similar to most men’s economic activities, is individually held. Most of these earnings are invested in the household, the maintenance of which is foremost the responsibility of men. Men also cultivated a collective field of cassava, located next to the women’s vegetable garden. Earnings from this field are held collectively by the section, as are the earnings from a collective field of peanuts cultivated each year. This money serves as a collective savings on which members of the section can draw in times of need. Some is set aside for the end of the cultivation season when men pay for a small feast.

Resources permitting, a cow may be slaughtered.

10. Each village section has two women’s associations (ekofey). One is made up of all unmarried women between the ages of approximately thirteen and marriage. The second includes all women regardless of age. Membership is required of all women who live in the village. Transplanting and harvesting rice are the principal activities of these groups. In principle anyone may hire these associations, but in practice their labor usually remains within the group’s section. Part of the ideology underlying these groups is that, through the work groups, women can help the elders (kasifiak) of the section with agricultural production. These groups are considered a way to distribute labor equally between households. The high demand for its labor dictates that engaging the ekofey to work on one’s field can be difficult. Similar to hiring practices for the men’s collective work groups, hiring the female ekofey depends on having a household member in the work group to argue on behalf of the household as well as to demonstrate that the household has made a contribution to the collective labor of the section.

11. At the time of Thomas’s (1959: 222) research, the collective work groups were paid in rice that was eaten at the festival. Now these groups are paid in cash that the association uses to purchase fish or cattle depending on the amount earned during the season.
Long before I arrived in Senegal the people of Mandégane had become very active in urban migration. Despite the hazards involved in pinning down the intentions of migrants, it did become clear to me that, in part, urban migration was made meaningful through work. This should not be surprising. The preceding chapters detail how local social groups are built around and made meaningful through work. Work figured among the many features that could be used to differentiate between rural and urban locations. During interviews men and women claimed that work ranked high among the reasons that they wanted to leave for the city. They claimed that work in the city was less arduous. After having lived in the village and worked in the fields, I found this claim very believable. As is true throughout Africa the residents of rural Casamance spend much of their time working, so much time that the boundaries between leisure and work become blurred. When I arrived in Mandégane the harvest was well underway, and I was told by men that in the spring they could relax and spend much time talking with me. Later I learned that this meant only that they no longer went to the fields. Instead they sat and talked under the mango trees as they tended to various chores. The same was true for women who socialized in their age groups as they tended to a variety of household chores.

During an interview with two young women, the connection between work and migration became clear. The women spent much of the time looking at the ground and shyly and hesitatingly responded to my questions. Both were in their mid-teens and had for several years been working in Dakar. At the time of the interview they had returned to the village for the summer during which they were helping their mothers work in the rice fields. When I asked them why they preferred to leave their families and go to the city, they merely shook their heads and looked at
located in the developmental cycle (Fortes 1949; Goody 1958). While, in
the economic strategies of rural households. It also exposed the fact that
households in Mandégane. It revealed tendencies in residence patterns,
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urban households and migration patterns. The survey revealed that personalized rural-urban links are central to
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such strategies must be understood in terms of where households are
located in the developmental cycle (Fortes 1949; Goody 1958). While, in
their feet. They knew that we had long since moved beyond the standard
response that they had gone to collect their trousseau. This standard
response is but a thin facade that girls and women maintain as to why
they leave to work in Dakar. An older woman who was listening in on
our interview became impatient with the younger girls’ reticence and
broke into the conversation. She said, passionately and without a hint of
resentment, that if the girls would not respond to the question, she
would. “Women go to the city to escape work. Here in the village they
work in the fields, and then when they return to the house, they have
to collect wood, pound rice, and carry water. In Dakar you do not have to
do that. There are no rice fields, there is running water, and you cook
your food on gas burners.”

The same was also maintained for men. References are frequently
heard of vagrant men in the city. Men who are unemployed, who live
at the expense of their brothers and sisters, are often said to spend all
their time chasing women and drinking tea without making any effort
to find a job. While I know of few men who choose to be idle, there is
truth to the idea that the city is a place of refuge from the work of the
village. Some claim that these men are afraid of the kajendou, the tool
used in cultivation that produced such ugly blisters on the hands of my
friends. In joking, people will grab your hand and rub your palm to see
if you have the callouses that prove that you work in the field. Most
men from Mandégane (in the village and the city) pride themselves on
their ability and willingness to work. In public they state their regret that
they cannot go back to the village to cultivate. Privately, however, they
confess in hushed tones that they prefer urban employment because it
frees them from the demands of agricultural labor.

While migrants certainly have their own personal and individual rea-
sons for wanting to remain in the city, it does not indicate that their
migration is not also meaningful to their relatives who remain in the
village. Indeed urban migration has a significant impact on the com-
position and economic strategies of rural households. To address these is-
ues I conducted an economic survey of fifteen randomly selected
households. The official tax lists for Mandégane claimed that there were
three-hundred-seven independent households in the village.1 For my sur-
vey, I collected information on household composition, agricultural prac-
tices, and consumption. The data revealed several features of rural
households in Mandégane. It revealed tendencies in residence patterns,
and it shed light on aspects of economic relations between rural and
urban households and migration patterns.

The survey revealed that personalized rural-urban links are central to
the economic strategies of rural households. It also exposed the fact that
the long term, rural households attempt to forge dependence on a closely
related male (usually a son of the household head), in the short term
young households forge dependence on women (usually the head’s
daughters). The data revealed the oscillation of youth of all ages between
rural and urban households for various lengths of time. Many children
are raised in households other than that of their parents, which helps
reinforce close ties between rural and urban households.

Men generally do not become household heads until they are forty
years old. Many young married men live with their fathers, and only
after the death of the latter do these men inherit their father’s house-
holds. In this sample there were no cases of married men living with
their fathers, and only one in which such a man lived with his mother.
This is not surprising, however, as the married men in this sample
ranged from forty-nine to eighty years of age.

The rural households in my sample had between three and sixteen
permanent resident members. The households of the two youngest men
were significantly larger than other households. This was probably be-
cause these men had two wives rather than because they were young.
Indeed, the four households in which the head had two wives ranged
from ten to seventeen resident members; eight of the other households,
in contrast, had between six and eight members.

Without exception, all the household heads, four of whom had two
wives, lived with their wives. The norm in Mandégane was for husbands
and wives to live together. I was aware of only a few households in
which married couples were separated, and even then, the separations
were temporary. A man who lives in the city and faces financial diffi-
culties often sends his wife and children back to the village until he has
sorted out his problems. There were a few cases of co-wives who divided
their time between the city and the village. One wife remained in the
village with her husband while the other worked in the city. Every other
year or so the wives alternated.

My survey showed that most of the other household members were
lineal descendants of the household head. In households where the heads
were under sixty-nine, most resident lineal descendants were their own
children. In households where the heads were older than sixty-nine,
many of these lineal descendants were grandchildren. In addition, six
households listed nephews and nieces among their members. Of these,
only two households cited their relationships to these children as matri-
lateral.

Only two households had members with a relationship to the head
different from those discussed above. The largest household included
the wife of the head’s brother. Her husband, who is not listed as a res-
ident member of the household, reportedly spent half the year in Big-
nona and the remainder of the year in this household. The next largest
household included the head’s elderly mother and his sister, the latter I
assume to be divorced or never to have married.

While for almost all age categories the population was equally distrib-
uted between men and women, a graph of the total age distribution
resembles an inverted bell curve. Members are concentrated in the
under-twenty and over-forty age groups. Of the fourteen households for
which reliable age data was collected, seven had no members in the
twenty to forty age group. For the other households, this age category
represented a low percentage of the total household composition. Ag-
gregate data reveals that most of those in the under-twenty age group
are less than ten years old. The number of members under ten was
roughly equal to the number over forty. This concentration of members
in the younger and older age groups reflects the impact of rural-urban
migration on household composition. Most people—men and women—
between twenty and forty spend much of the year in the city. At the
time of my survey, several were paying extended visits to the village.3
Those unmarried men and women between twenty and forty who were
in the village at the time of my survey had returned to the village for
the agricultural season.

The pattern of Jola migration does not result in the creation of totally
independent households. For one, data that reveals that grandchildren
and nephews and nieces live in rural households suggests that sending
children to live with close relatives in the village is an economic strategy
of urban households. Other significant aspects of the linkages between
rural and urban households were revealed in the data collected on con-
sumption.

The data on consumption patterns provides a perspective of household
expenditures.4 However, the difficulty informants had in recalling the
amount spent on certain items and their inability, at times unwillingness,
to detail the contribution of individual household members made it dif-
ficult to collect complete series of data. For these reasons, the informa-
tion presented here should be understood as imperfect estimates of expen-
ditures made between January and June 1989. My data is also biased in
that it was collected almost exclusively from male household heads. De-
spite these problems, several interesting patterns can be discerned. The
first was the inability of rural households to produce enough rice to meet
their subsistence needs. Rice presented the greatest financial burden on
the household budget. By June the average household had spent 47,000
CFA (US$188) on rice. Because rice is cultivated in January and the first
rice purchases are made in March or April, we can expect that the por-
tion of the household budget spent on rice during the remainder of
the year was much greater than it was for the first six months, which was
when I conducted my survey.

To make up this shortfall, all households except two reported that
relatives who were not then living in Mandégane made a considerable
contribution to the household budget. Of those households that were
beneficiaries of such contributions, almost all claimed to depend on sons
of the household head. Only three claimed to depend on daughters. One
household claimed that the contribution was made by all of the children
living in urban areas.

The patterns of household dependence reflect developmental patterns
in the situations of the household heads and their children. The optimal
position for any household is to be dependent on an employed male
earner in the urban areas. Five of these households had a primary earner
living outside of Senegal (not including those in the Gambia). For those
households that did not claim to be dependent on an external earner,
the head of the household did not have an actively employed son in the
city. Also, households that depended on the earnings of the head’s
daughter did not have sons actively employed in the city. These daugh-
ters were most often unmarried and relatively young (twenty-two and
twenty-three) in comparison to the male contributors of other households
(average age of thirty-three). The head of one household claimed de-
pendence on an older (thirty-two) married daughter who lived with her
husband in France. The sons of all daughter-dependent households were
either in school or learning a trade. Evidence from other son-dependent
households suggests that, as the daughter-dependent households aged,
and as these sons became more secure in the city, these sons gradually
took over the financial responsibilities held by their sisters.

Finding work is usually more difficult for men than it is for women.
Most male work in the city is skilled work, and male migrants usually
do not expect to find permanent employment in the city for several years.
Women, however, are willing to work as domestics at low wages. Until
recently women could often find this type of work on their first trip to
the city. The skills needed for this work were learned in the village or
could be learned on the job. Thus young heads of households whose
sons are still too young to have found permanent employment could
rely on the earnings of their daughters temporarily to make up for the
shortfall in their (rural household’s) budget. It is precisely this household
economic strategy that is cited as the reason for the failure of a village-
wide attempt to ban female migration in 1969.

In interviews, informants frequently spoke of the economic benefits of
male migration for rural households. It was widely argued—that men contribut-
ated to the rural household, a claim that was indeed supported by the economic survey. On the other
hand, many claimed that female migrants did not make significant contri-
butions to rural households. These claims about the behavior of female
migrants matches my survey findings for older households. It does not
match my findings for younger ones. Even so, with the increased de-
dependence on imported goods and the apparent decline in local agricultural production, it was clear that the long-term viability and well-being of rural households now depend on having a male breadwinner, a breadwinner who is, moreover, reliably and permanently employed in the city. A less tangible benefit of a solid male urban breadwinner for rural households is the urban base such an earner provides for future migrants to the city.

While the migration of both men and women makes sense as a household economic strategy, migration is far more complicated than this. To fully understand and explain this institution, one must explore its many other (and no less important) dimensions. Among other things, migration provides a critical introduction for men and women to new ways of living, different regimens of work, and different types of status. These actual and potential experiences, together with the “bright lights” of the city (Schapera 1947), provide an allure to urban areas that hardly needs the “push” of an elder head of household. By itself, an explanation of migration as a household economic strategy does not tell us why people migrate; it merely provides evidence that, once they migrate, some benefits return to rural households. At the very least, this helps explain why elders do not discourage their children leaving the village for the city. The question as to why migration has become central to household economic strategies, however, can be answered only through an examination of the history of this community and how multilocality has become one of its defining features.

NOTES

1. I verified the cited tax lists (for 1989) with the households in Mandégane, and they proved to be accurate in determining the number of households. They were not, however, accurate for determining the composition of the households. Where taxes are paid and by whom provides little information on household composition. Often taxes are paid by the rural household for people living in the city. Other residents of rural households, such as students, are exempt from paying taxes. That said, the official population of the village of Mandégane as based on the 1989 tax list is 1,099. If we can assume that the census we collected for the lineages of the section of Fungesaf is representative of the other sections of the village, I would estimate the total population of the extended community of Mandégane to be more than 4,000. The census revealed that 23 percent of lineage members were residents in Fungesaf.

2. Of the 135 resident members of surveyed households, seventeen said that they were passing an extended visit to the village.

3. This included such items as rice, cooking oil, sugar, fish, soap, kerosene, and matches. While information on durable items was also collected, the reliability of this information is questionable.
to be reliable it had to be collected from people who actually participated in the events in question.

The evidence I collected was made available to me through the goodwill of my friends and informants and through fortuitous events. The challenge was to recast the fortuitous into the deliberate. What is sure is that despite the lack of deep historical information, Mandégane has always been changing. It is already well established, for example, that during their migration from points to the southeast, the peoples of the region successfully dismantled a Bianouck kingdom and, later, heroically resisted several Islamic jihadsthat swept into the region from the west. Yet the events that have unfolded since Ziguinchor, the last Portuguese trading post in the Casamance, was officially handed over to the French in 1886 provide what appears to be a story of particularly dramatic transformation. Between the turn of the century and the present, schools, consumer goods, wages, cash crops, roads, urban centers, and administrative bureaucracies have all become defining features of Mandégane. During this period, novel lines of power were drawn. Frederick Cooper has pointed out that Michel Foucault’s observation that the deployment of power in Europe was capillary is not the best way to think about the deployment of power in Africa. Cooper proposed that we think of the deployment of power in Africa as arterial. In Africa “power in colonial societies was...concentrated spatially and socially, not very nourishing beyond such domains, and in need of a pump to push it from moment to moment and place to place” (Cooper 1994: 1533). This was a power that pulsed with the greatest strength along the roads, in the towns, and in the peanut fields, near to and within domains that were and are most completely dominated by the state apparatus, an apparatus that was first French and later, after independence, Senegalese. Here I focus on how the surrounding economic, political, and social environment has changed—that is, how this great artery through which power flowed was made a permanent feature of the region. I undertake this discussion with an eye toward understanding the development of social, political, and economic institutions in Mandégane. I am interested here in how these arteries of power developed in and worked their way through the Casamance, in the process redefining the space of one social location—the community of Mandégane.

The more I reflected on the materials that I collected in the field, the more a commonality rose to the surface, encapsulating all the other changes that have occurred in this community. It is that, over time, Dakar, the capital of Senegal, has become an increasingly important presence in all facets of the social, economic, political, and cultural life of this community. Although now the importance of Dakar as the center of political and economic life in Senegal is taken for granted, this was not always the case. At the turn of the century Dakar was a small town of only ten thousand inhabitants. Between that time and 1990, Dakar expanded to a metropolis of over one million.1 During this period, the political and economic situation shifted from one in which the links of most people in the Senegambia region with urban centers were mediated by various traders and colonial administrators to one in which rural-urban links became more personalized. Today it would be difficult to find a resident of rural Senegal who does not have many relatives and/or close friends in this rapidly growing urban center. According to the 1988 government census, half of Senegal’s population lives in urban areas with half of these living in Dakar (Senegal 1989). A census I conducted revealed that the population distribution of Mandégane’s extended community matches that of the nation.

The current social forms in Mandégane of the family, household, and age groups differ greatly from what they were ten, twenty, thirty, and certainly one hundred years ago. Though many explanations might be posited for these differences, because half of this community now lives in urban areas and because all children born in the last thirty years have or, barring an unexpected development, will go to the city, strongly suggest that perhaps the most important reason for these differences are the close personal links forged between Mandégane and Senegal’s urban locations. The emergence of Dakar as the most important economic and political location in Senegal was accompanied by, and largely achieved through, the extensions of this urban center into the most distant recesses of the nation. Roads, railroads, telephone lines, an elaborate administrative structure, and secondary urban centers—some of which once competed with Dakar for primacy—were constructed. Through these and other means, events occurring in and decisions made in Dakar have increasingly become intimately linked to the history of every village, family, household, and individual in the country. How did this happen? How are we to understand the gradual interlock of Dakar’s history with those of smaller rural communities? While comparative materials are not yet available to arrive at a general model of the variety of ways by which Senegalese communities have been incorporated into this network, I present here a sketch of this process for Mandégane, one community in the Basse-Casamance region of Senegal. In the following pages I will focus on what these changes in the social, political, and economic organization of Mandégane have been. The task is both ethnographic and historical. It entails making connections between events that have to a great extent unfolded outside the boundaries of this community on the one hand and changes in the political, economic, and social organization of this community on the other. Stated in the terms set out above by Cooper, addressed is the making of the arteries of power that mediate between this community and urban Senegal. What are they, and how were they made? How did it come to be that Senegal’s urban locations have
such an important place in the collective imagination of the people of Mandégane?  

In this part I document the making of migration in this community by looking at three historical periods. I begin by looking at the early colonial period. Chapter 4 considers how the French established a colonial administration in the Basse-Casamance and the impact that this new political and economic order had on the Mandégane. Religious and economic institutions were among the many local institutions to change during this period. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the people of Mandégane began converting to Islam, and they began cultivating peanuts in order to have a cash income and thus access to goods. Chapter 5 addresses the post-World War II era. This period saw the emergence of Dakar as the most important urban center in Senegambia (the region now encompassing Senegal and the Gambia), and, with it, the expansion of urbanism throughout this city's hinterland, which laid the seeds for the widespread involvement of Mandégane in urban migration. Last, chapter 6 discusses the rise of urban migration from the journeys of the first male migrants to the institutionalization of female migration, exploring how Mandégane became a translocal community. I close this chapter with an examination of the installation of a migrant community from Mandégane in Dakar's urban environment. I address first, how members of this community came to be concentrated in certain parts of the city and second, some of the many urban associations that they formed.

NOTES

1. The commune of Dakar has a population of roughly six hundred thousand. However, the combined population of Dakar and neighboring popular communities, such as Pekin, is estimated at 1.2 million (Senegal 1993).
2. Much of this information was collected from documents in the National Archives of Senegal. These documents are indicated by the initials ANS, followed by the series, document number, and, if relevant, page number. For example, ANS 2G 34 86 refers to page 86 of document 34, Series 2G in the National Archives of Senegal. A full listing of the documents consulted, with their reference numbers, is provided in the bibliography.
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for peanut production, that attracted the French to the Casamance. In contrast to the north-south trade routes plied by the Portuguese, French traders traveled along an east-west axis that ran the length of the Casamance River. By 1840, the French had established posts on the Casamance River west of Ziguinchor at Point St. Georges, Diogue, Carabane, and Diembering, as well as to the east of Ziguinchor at Sedhiou. Still, almost half a century would pass before the Casamance became a French possession.

In 1854 the French appointed General Louis Faidherbe governor of Senegal, and from the commune of Saint-Louis at the mouth of the Senegal River, he began his project of carving a French colony out of the West African coast. At the outset, Faidherbe directed his efforts toward consolidating French control over the Senegal River valley, the main artery of the gum arabic trade. Shortly thereafter, in 1859, the French administratively joined the colony of Senegal with Goree, an island off the coast of the Cap-Vert peninsula, thus making it possible for the newly established colony to encompass the coastal areas of West Africa reaching from Mauritania to the Gambia River.

In 1860, after the unification of Goree and Saint-Louis, Faidherbe accompanied Pinet-Laprade, the superior commandant of Goree, on a visit to the Casamance and the “southern rivers,” a collection of French controlled trading posts located on coastal river inlets extending from the Cap-Vert peninsula as far south as Sierra Leone. Pinet-Laprade—with the help of French resident to the Casamance, Emmanuel Bertrand-Bocande—managed to convince Faidherbe that the Casamance should be brought under French control and incorporated into the colony of Senegal. Faidherbe would return to Saint-Louis with a new vision of Senegal. It was a vision that did not limit the colony’s territory to the length of the Senegal River nor to the land extending between the Senegal and Gambia rivers. Rather it was a vision of what some French viewed as the natural borders of Senegambia. This vision anticipated a French colony extending from the Senegal River to Sierra Leone (Saint-Martin 1989: 454–459).

The British and the Portuguese, of course, were major obstacles to the French project of unifying this vast region in West Africa. The British had long been established at the mouth of the Gambia River. While the French managed successfully to block the southern expansion of the British into the northern Casamance, they never managed to convince the British to cede their possessions on the Gambia River. The British rejected French offers to exchange Gabon or the Côte d’Ivoire for the Gambia.

The Portuguese, in addition to Ziguinchor, controlled vast tracts of coastal land immediately south of the Casamance, land that was then known as Portuguese Guinea. While the French never attempted to gain possession of Portuguese Guinea, one of Pinet-Laprade’s first acts as governor was to pursue a policy of squeezing the nominal Portuguese presence out of Ziguinchor. He did this by offering Ziguinchor’s principle trading partners on the Diagobel Channel merchandise at a 3 percent tax rate. This compared favorably against the 25 to 30 percent rate they received from the Portuguese (Saint-Martin 1989: 542).

It was not long before the Portuguese realized that, sooner or later, the Casamance would be under French control. Anxious not to cede the region without receiving any concession from the French, they made a final attempt to impose their sovereignty over the banks of the Casamance River in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Under orders apparently received from the Portuguese colonial capital of Cacheu, Portuguese agents contested French claims to several villages. Eventually, under pressure from French traders to make Ziguinchor a French possession, the French opened talks with the Portuguese in 1883. The subsequent negotiations ended with the 1886 treaty that defined the boundaries between French and Portuguese territories along the upper Guinea coast. The terms of this treaty called for France to cede the Cassini River (just south of Portuguese Guinea) to Portugal. In exchange, Portugal recognized French dominion over Ziguinchor and the entire length of the Casamance River. France officially took possession of Ziguinchor in April 1888 (Roche 1985: 199–207).

Ziguinchor quickly eclipsed the other posts on the Casamance River and became France’s principal outpost between the Atlantic Ocean and Sedhiou.1 By 1892, two French trading houses, the Compagnie Française de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (CFAO) and the Société Agricole de la Casamance, had agents in Ziguinchor (Trincaz 1984: 41). The efforts of French traders, the most vocal of which was the trading house Murel and Prom, were instrumental in bringing the French to wrest the Casamance from the Portuguese. Unlike the Portuguese, the French had colonial ambitions that were political as well as economic. Shortly after they raised the French flag over Ziguinchor, the French set about establishing an administrative structure throughout the Casamance.

The French initially divided the Casamance into two circles: the Haute-Casamance, extending from the west to the Soungrouprou River, administered from Sedhiou; and the Basse-Casamance, extending through the remainder of the region east to the Atlantic Ocean, administered from Ziguinchor. After two and a half centuries as a Portuguese possession, the small town of Ziguinchor had long been accustomed to European rule. There, the French faced few obstacles in imposing their political control. The outlying areas, however, were a different matter.

The French knew that hazards awaited them in the Basse-Casamance. In 1849, long before the Portuguese left, the French appointed Bertrand-Bocande the first French resident of the Casamance. From his post at Carabane, Bertrand-Bocande was frequently frustrated by the lack of lo-
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The labor and other economic resources of the region, they had to find a means of pacifying the region. The key to this end, and one that also fit well with their economic objectives, they believed, was to displace the Dioula and Manding traders. Not only did these traders monopolize trade in the Basse-Casamance, but the French believed that they were also responsible for the region’s lack of political cohesion.

The French considered the Jola as the region’s legitimate residents, but they did not believe the Jola were responsible for the political turmoil that beset the region. In their opinion, the Jola were merely victims of the intrigues of various outsiders. With such a hostile and fragmented political environment, a strong unified regional opposition to the French presence was unlikely. In 1907, however, while attempting to establish an administrative post at Kartiak, the French were attacked by a coalition of members of Kartiak and neighboring villages. Although the aggressors were native to the Boulouf, the French did not hold them responsible. Instead they placed blame on Dioula traders who furnished the locals with guns (Roche 1985: 293). The French viewed the attack as an effort by Dioula traders to defend their monopoly on direct contact with local peoples. According to the French it was beyond the Jola to have organized this resistance on their own. They believed that the Jola lacked the intellectual sophistication or maturity to resist French expansion of their own volition, an opinion reflected in the following extract from the Casamance regional report of 1906.

The Jola are still too primitive to understand an authority based on benevolence, and moderation is the best way to impose on them and make them fear us. The Jola is a big child who is excessively lazy, drunk, warlike, and insubordinate. They are easily influenced by the Dioula, Manding, Wolof, and others who have an interest in maintaining the old status quo to the end of living at the expense of everyone and stealing without prudence. The Dioula are our worst enemies and all the residents of the Fogny have made mention of the harm they do to our authority. They represent us as pillagers, arsonists, and molesters of women and children who have no other goal than to collect large amounts of money or slaves. For the tranquility of the region we must free the Fogny from these parasites who live at the expense of the region. (ANS 13G 380: 9, translation mine)

To break the perceived Dioula and Manding monopoly, the French pursued direct contact with villages. In the absence of indigenous village political leaders, the French appointed chiefs who had little, if any, local legitimacy. In Mandégane, according to local lore, the French, confusing religious with political authority, appointed Yamaye Sagna, then “priest”
of the village fetish, as the first village chief. At the time, however, people in Mandégane feared the French, and Sagna, like they, fled to the forest whenever the French arrived. Koregouraye Goudiaby, however, did not; the French quickly named him to replace the fearful Yamaye.

Despite the appointment of local representatives in many villages, early French efforts to pacify the region were frustrated. The French administration and military were unable to enforce administrative objectives, village chiefs lacked legitimacy, and the French often found themselves embroiled in the very conflicts they hoped to end (see ANS 2G 3 44). At times French military power was virtually for hire to whichever of two disputing villages chose to pay taxes. Frustrated in their efforts to control the region, the French began investing in other means of extending control. They found their solution in immigrant Islamic religious leaders.

MANDÉGANE BECOMES MUSLIM

Ironically, many inhabitants of the Basse-Casamance converted to Islam shortly after their ancestors, with French assistance, had successfully defended the region against jihads led by Fodé Kaba and Birame N'Diaye in the late 1800s. The Jola accepted this new faith only after a different type of Islamic leader took up the banner of Islam in the Casamance: an Islamic leader who, on the one hand, was committed to working peacefully with the local peoples and, on the other, was more of a collaborator than a competitor with French colonial authorities.

Shortly after the Manding jihads had failed, a network of competing Mauritanian and Manding Sherifs became prominent in the region. The French, having worked with Islamic leaders in northern Senegal, realized both the threat that they presented and the potential aid that they could provide. Although the French remained wary of the Sherifs' intentions, the French investigated the possibility of working with them. In 1908, R. Arnaud (ANS 13G 379: 6), in a study of “the Muslim question” in Casamance, reached the following conclusion:

The black Muslims never act against the wishes of the venerated marabouts; they will fight against European domination without any motive of exasperation coming from arbitrary administration, one can be sure that they have a positive view of high religious personages to whom they send their praise. In these conditions, always having ties with one of the leaders of the brotherhood is the best means of maintaining peace.

If, many French argued, the Sherifs promoted the expansion of Islam, these converts would extend their loyalty, via these Sherifs, to the French. The French decided that the expansion of Islam was an acceptable concession in exchange for pacification, and the colonial authorities granted Sherif Mafoudh, a Mauritanian marabout, liberty in his actions throughout the area west of the Soungrougrou River.

Sherif Mafoudh was born in the Hodh region of Mauritania in 1870 and had studied the Koran in several locations, including the Holy City of Chingueti (in northern Mauritania). Instead of pursuing a purely religious calling he heeded his grandfather's advice that the future was with the French, and he forged a career of mediating between colonial administrations and indigenous peoples. In 1906, after a failed diplomatic mission in Portuguese Guinea, Mafoudh accepted a French offer to settle at Binako, east of Ziguinchor on the Casamance River. There he had little success winning converts. But his objectives were not just religious; they were also economic. Binako proved a fine location from which to supervise his trading and agricultural interests in the Casamance and Portuguese Guinea.

Mafoudh’s economic endeavors were more in line with French economic interests than were those of the Dioula and Manding traders. Mafoudh based his regional economic organization on peanut cultivation which he traded to French trading houses. To the pleasure of the French, Mafoudh went beyond just trading peanuts. He also encouraged the expansion of cash cropping by selling seed to other villages.

Sherif Mafoudh did not limit his activities to the area surrounding Binako. Earlier, in 1902, he had founded Dasilamé, a village located only a few kilometers from a French post at Dioulouliou. He delegated responsibility for this post to Hadramî, a brother, who lived with several Toucouleur, Manding, Wolof, and Sarakole followers. Though the primary economic activity of this post was peanut cultivation, Hadramî worked for the French administration, as well. From this base, which was located a few kilometers from the Boulouf, Mafoudh quickly became the leading religious and political figure in the Boulouf. Though French documents make few references to his role in the administration of the region, Mafoudh is remembered by the people of Mandégane as a man of legendary stature. He is remembered primarily as the man who promised that he would use the power of his prayer beads to achieve the peace that had alluded the military might of France.

It is claimed that before anyone in Mandégane had converted to Islam, Mafoudh and Hadramî paid frequent visits to the village, lodging with village chief Koregouraye Goudiaby. Over time, Mafoudh was able to establish close contacts with village chiefs throughout the Boulouf. According to some sources, eventually the French even authorized him to appoint village chiefs. Koregouraye Goudiaby was apparently pressured by Mafoudh to convert to Islam. This pressure, together with his desire to use the mystical powers of the Koran to enhance his legitimacy,
persuaded Koregouraye to convert to Islam. He changed his name to Ansoumana Goudiaby, thus becoming, according to one village faction, Mandégane’s first Muslim. Mandégane, though, was not the only village to have an Islamic chief. Such was also the case for Diatock with Chief Ansoumana Sagna, and Tendouck, with Chief Ansoumana Diatta.²⁰

By 1915 at the latest, a subregional network of Islamic village leaders, all loyal to Mafoudh, emerged in the midst of a predominantly animist population. In Mandégane, these early converts were initially scorned by their co-villagers,²¹ even forced to live just outside of the village. ostracized by their neighbors, these Muslims began befriending other Muslims in the subregion. In this respect Islam contrasted sharply with animism. Animist villages were not just politically distinct but also divided along the lines of religion. Each village had its own fetishes, one of the most important of which was kept in the men’s sacred forest. While neighboring villages may have respected the power of each others’ fetishes, they certainly did not owe them their allegiance. Traditional religion, like politics and many other matters, was the concern of individual villages, and rarely did it provide occasions for villages to unite in common celebration.²²

This would not be the case for the animists’ Muslim neighbors. These early converts to Islam, regardless of their residence, found themselves unified through their shared religious faith which, unlike the animist fetishes, made universal claims. A sense of commonality emerged among these early Muslims: they perceived themselves as a minority, adhered to a common religion, shared a loyalty to Sherif Mafoudh, and worked to promote French interests. This allowed (and given their small numbers even compelled) them to pay mutual visits and to convene frequently for prayer meetings. According to the oral history of Mandégane, it was this unifying force of Islam, then practiced by just a handful of believers, that laid the groundwork for peaceful inter-village contacts. Through the conflation of Islam and the office of village chief, as well as the mediation of Mafoudh’s religious organization with the French administration, it is likely that Islam became the ideology through which Boulouf villages, once isolated in both ideology and practice, came to be incorporated into a supra-local politico-religious organization.

Mandégane’s village chief, Ansoumana Goudiaby, was not alone in heeding the call to Islam. Contemporaneous with his conversion was that of an age group of several youths in the section of Djiran.²³ Headed by Daouda Sagna, they recognized in a young boy, later known as Arfang Kemo Sagna, an unusual intelligence. In this child they saw a potential village religious leader. Promptly, then, they abducted him, sending him to Birkama in the Gambia to study the Koran. This brash and daring act changed Mandégane forever.

When Chief Ansoumana Koregouraye Goudiaby converted, he assumed responsibility for both the office of village chief and the coordination of religious services. Without a trained imam in Mandégane, Ansoumana hired itinerant Manding marabouts to lead prayers. With an objective of having a local imam to free the village from dependence on Manding marabouts, Ansoumana’s “brother,” also a Muslim, sent his son Bacary to Birkama to study the Koran. When Bacary returned, Ansoumana delegated religious responsibilities to him.

Bacary held this position for seven years until Arfang Kemo Sagna returned to Mandégane as a young man well versed in the Koran. Bacary, acknowledging Sagna as more learned in Islamic studies, ceded the imamate to him. Though Sagna executed his responsibilities as imam well, he remained active in the more lucrative enterprise of trading peanuts, a skill he had learned in Birkama from his Koranic teachers. Eventually the peanut trade proved more attractive than that of serving as the leader of a small but devoted religious community.

Sagna then left Mandégane, first for Djilakoune in the Kalunaye, and later for Ziguinchor, in order to concentrate on the peanut trade. After Sagna’s departure the Islamic leadership in Mandégane was beset by problems. First, the imamate passed to his brother, Daouda Sagna. Shortly thereafter, during a visit by some Mandings to instruct Mandégane’s Muslim women in female circumcision, Daouda loaned the women mats from Mandégane’s mosque. Shocked by this defilement of religious property, the village promptly stripped him of his position. Daouda’s removal from office was followed by the quick succession of two imams, each of whom resigned following their involvement in sexual improprieties: one impregnated a widow who was still in mourning, and the other married a woman who had yet to divorce her first husband.

Disruptions caused by this rapid succession of religious leaders provoked the animists, still in the majority, to make an appeal to Arfang Kemo Sagna for his return. When this failed, they appealed to Sherif Bassirou, who was affiliated with Mafoudh, to intercede with Sagna on their behalf. An agreement was negotiated whereby Sagna would return on the condition that the village cultivate peanuts for him.

Arfang Kemo Sagna returned to Mandégane, reassumed the imamate, and forged a career that ensured his reputation as one of the most, if not the most, important political leaders in village memory. During the subsequent forty years Islam sprouted from a handful of believers to encompass the entire village. While animists scorned the early converts, Sagna’s success rewarded them as the vanguard of an ideological and political organization that mediated between the village and a strengthening French colonial political and economic structure. Of course Mandégane was not alone in accepting this foreign faith. According to French documents, there were few Muslims in the circle of Bignona in 1903 (ANS 2G 3 44), but by 1933 this number had risen to fifteen thousand (ANS
Thereafter, the number of Muslim converts continued to rise. With Islam spreading rapidly through the Boulouf, Sagna's reputation began spreading beyond Mandégane. Before long, the village had become the Boulouf's most important religious center. In 1984, when Sagna died, he left the bittersweet legacy of both having vigorously promoted the Islamic faith and, sadly echoing the events that followed his first departure, having located Islam at the center of the village's most divisive and enduring political conflicts.

Arfang Kemo Sagna's success as a religious and political leader rendered Mandégane an atypical village. In most Boulouf villages, the office of chief was eventually separated from that of the imam. In Mandégane, Sagna used his reputation to forge a vast network into Senegalese political institutions, a network that eclipsed that of Mandégane's chief. Likewise, Sagna's prominence and contacts gave him much greater influence over village opinion and affairs than the chief. Yet concurrent with the ascendency of Sagna in Mandégane was the decline of Mafoudh's organization. In neighboring villages, the Islamic structures established by Sherif Mafoudh to mediate between the villages and the French administration were eventually superseded. Once the Sherifs had pacified the Boulouf, French administrators and European traders began forging direct contacts with the region's villages, thus displacing the Sherifs from their heretofore influential positions.

**THE CONSOLIDATION OF ISLAM IN MANDÉGANE**

After World War II, with most of the village converted, Sagna's organization had successfully supplanted the village fetish as the conceptual model for the village, and Sagna's household had become a central location at which labor and wealth were concentrated. Arfang Kemo Sagna's prominence reached its apogee in the late 1960s when, I was told, more than one hundred Koranic students lived in Sagna's household.

Smaller mosques were built in each of the village's sections. All were led by religious leaders loyal to the imam. At night, small children gathered around fires in each section to chant verses of the Koran. During major religious celebrations, all Muslims gathered to pray at a central village location. The imam's position was further strengthened by his virtual monopoly of Koranic knowledge. As the village turned to Islamic prescriptions concerning baptisms, marriages, and funerals, villagers relied increasingly on Arfang Kemo Sagna to conduct and provide instruction in these rituals. Significantly, his influence was not limited to the village of Mandégane: he attracted followers from other Boulouf villages, as well, particularly those of Balingore, Bagaya, and Niamone.

In the mid-1950s, Sagna proposed the construction of a cement mosque in Mandégane. Over the next five years, each section cultivated a field of peanuts, and each section made an annual payment until one million CFA had been collected. The village quarreled briefly over several proposals for the mosque; one section even withheld their labor and funding. Despite these setbacks, over the next four years construction proceeded, and in 1961 the mosque was completed.

This mosque remains the largest of the Boulouf. It was built on the south end of the village's central public area. According to local lore, the mason could read neither French nor Arabic, and Sagna's son, Bassirou, claims that it resembles a mosque in Medina, Saudi Arabia. The large, elegant Mosque quickly became the pride of the village, and some of those who helped in the construction wanted to exclude those who had refused to participate. But the mosque, Sagna proclaimed, had been built for the glory of God: its doors were opened to all Muslim men of the village. The mosque remains an object of pride for Mandégane today. Situated next to the open public meeting area, renamed asselenkenaye (the place of prayer), the mosque and the celebrations that take place there are predominantly Islamic.

It is at the asselenkenaye that all the sections of the village congregate to celebrate religious holidays. This space also provides an arena for the competition between individuals as moral leaders of the village. During
the celebration of Tabaski, which I attended in 1989, prayers were led by Malang Bodian, the official imam. Yet a short distance away sat Bas-sirou Sagna (Arlang Kemo Sagna’s son), who was vying for the imamate. Members of sections displayed their loyalties by giving tribute to him whom they considered the legitimate religious leader.

Now let me return to the period when Arfang Kemo Sagna was establishing his position.

THE EXPANDING WEB OF COLONIAL POWER

By the 1920s, Bignona was still a small colonial post with only three French and six Senegalese employees. In addition, a French Commandant du Subdivision and a local interpreter were stationed at Diouloulou (ANS 2G 20 23: 16). Despite the light French presence, buttressed only by the political activity of Sherif Mafoudh, the 1929 Rapport Politique Annuel of the Circle of Bignona was able to boast that “the security of travelers, even in the isolated regions, is complete” (ANS 2G 29 83: 45). Inter-village warfare and large-scale resistance to taxation had decreased dramatically. Much of this increase in French control was achieved through immigrant Islamic marabouts. It was adherence to Islam, a novel religion, rather than French bureaucratic rationality that served as the agent for the transformation of local economic and political institutions.

Even though the Boulouf lacked a network of roads connecting the villages (the road between Bignona and Ziguinchor would not be complete until the 1930s), and even though a hazardous two-day overland trek was required to collect taxes at Mandégane, taxes collected in the subdivision of Bignona between 1897 to 1909 increased from 1500 to 232,722 francs. In 1920, the French collected 604,340 francs; a mere three years later, this amount had risen to 809,000 francs. With this demise of local resistance, the French turned to other concerns. Now that their security was insured and local resistance to outsiders of all kinds had dissipated, the French began focusing on developing institutions that forged closer ties between villages and the French administration.

On September 30, 1920, a second school was opened in Bignona. By 1924, it had two instructors and forty students, and schools had also opened in Diouloulou (forty-eight students) and Bai’la (fifty-three students) (ANS O23). As well as expanding the region’s educational facilities, the French encouraged trade, the cultivation of peanuts, and improvements in transportation. Upset that the trade of cloth and gunpowder for rubber and palm nuts was still subject to barter through the Dioula and Manding, the French set about exacting greater involvement of the local peoples in the cash economy (ANS 2G 2 20: 2). In addition to replacing these mistrusted traders, the French hoped to expand what they perceived as a limited Jola taste for goods.

With the region’s low quality rubber unable to compete with rubber from French Indo-China, the rubber trade rapidly faded (see Mark 1977), making the pressure for the French to shift the region’s economic base even more acute. The French eyed enviously the Boulouf’s ample rice surpluses, but they never succeeded in enticing the sale of this staple. Despite a belief that the region was more suited to rice production, the French turned their attention to the growing trade in peanuts—in part because they were encouraged by the influence that marabouts such as Sherif Mafoudh had in the villages. Though peanuts had been cultivated in the Haute-Casamance since the mid-1800s, at the turn of the century the crop was still rare in the Basse-Casamance. In the early years of the century, it was slow to be accepted. Between 1900 and 1909, peanut trade increased from two thousand to only three thousand eight hundred metric tons (ANS 1G 343: 177). In the second and third decades of the twentieth century, however, peanut cultivation expanded rapidly. By 1927, the Subdivision of Bignona alone exported between ten thousand and twelve thousand metric tons (ANS 2G 27 94).

To further promote peanut production, by 1929 the French had established a Société de Prévoyance at Bignona (ANS 2G 29 83: 52). In the now peaceful political climate, and in light of the shift from rubber and palm oil to peanuts, European traders became increasingly interested in the region. By 1929, the agents of six French commercial trading houses,
four of which were in Bignona, together with nine Lebano-Syrian traders, worked in the subdivision (ANS 2G 29 83: 41).

With the arrival of these European merchants a wider range of consumer goods became available. Though French administrators questioned, perhaps not without reason, credit arrangements negotiated by European traders in the villages (see ANS 2G 29 83: 41), older people in Mandégane I spoke with reflected longingly on this period. European traders introduced what was virtually a credit-barter system under which goods were exchanged for future peanut crops. For the first time, a reliable supply of goods appeared in villages, some of which had never before been available, and others of which previously had been in short supply. With the door now open for the extension of the cash economy, the material needs of the local peoples—needs for which the French had a few years earlier longed—followed these trade paths into virtually every village of the subdivision.

To facilitate the increased trade, the French improved the transportation network. Although routes between Ziguinchor, Bignona, Sedhiou and Diouloulou were seasonal, public transportation carried people by vehicle between Tobor and Bignona, by boat between Tobor and Ziguinchor, and by boat between Affagnet and Ziguinchor. By 1929, the French reported that the road network throughout the circle was sufficient and that many villages, of their own volition and resources,21 had constructed and now maintained some of the routes (ANS 2G 29 83: 8, 45).

CASH CROPS AND THE NAVETAINE

During the depression, French administration changed little. Government reports reveal a steadily increasing peanut production, expanding to twenty-four thousand metric tons by 1933. They also reveal an interest on the part of some villages in building schools and improving roads (ANS 2G 33 138: 28). By this time, a small number of primary school graduates (modernized young men) had moved to the escales, the French administrative and trade towns, in search of employment with French trading houses (ANS 2G 30 73).

Increased mobility, however, was not restricted to men. A 1932 annual report mentions groups of young girls migrating to Bathurst (Banjul) in the Gambia in search of employment (ANS 2G 32 96: 22). Mandégane, which would not have a school until 1963, seems to have been largely unaffected by the emerging urban migration of young men and women, though the village certainly felt the effects of the expanding cash economy. Perhaps spurred by cultivating peanuts for Arfang Kemo Sagna or the allure of the newly available goods, young men became increasingly involved in peanut production.

As a strategy to increase agricultural production,22 the French encour-aged labor from neighboring British and Portuguese colonies to enter the Casamance during the agricultural season (ANS 2G 32 96). When the people in Mandégane entered peanut production, they, too, preferred to leave the village and cultivate elsewhere instead of creating peanut fields from the forests on the highlands surrounding the village. During interviews, I was given several reasons for the advantages of the navetaine, the French word for this system of tenant farming. First, by leaving the village to earn a cash income, farmers could conceal their earnings from their neighbors. Second, working a fixed number of days for a single landowner was less demanding than working in Mandégane’s collective work groups. With the navetaine, one had greater control over the timing of agricultural tasks, and men could apply themselves more completely to their fields on the days they were not working for the landowner. Finally, most informants simply commented that, as everyone else in their age group was doing it, it would have been foolish not to have done the same. The navetaine was conducted primarily by young unmarried men. They must have gained a certain amount of prestige, not to mention increased self-esteem, from their short forays away from Mandégane’s structures of domination.

Under this system, young men left Mandégane to work as tenant farmers in the Fogny. But participation in the navetaine did not preclude rice cultivation. As the two were concurrent, these young men made frequent trips between peanut fields in the Fogny and rice fields at Mandégane. In early May, they walked, kajendou on shoulder, from village to village looking for prospective hosts. When they found one, they cleared and cultivated his fields. Then, they went back to Mandégane to cultivate rice fields. After going back to the Fogny to weed peanut fields, they returned again to the village to tend to tasks there. In December, they returned to harvest their peanut crop, collected at the field by the merchant with whom they carried a debt. In principle whatever money remained, the young men rendered to their fathers. Unlike the situation in the Gambia described by Swindell (1978), all informants with whom I spoke told me that they cooked their own food, washed their own clothes, and even provided their own rice.

Peter Mark (1976, 1977, 1978) and Jos van der Klei (1985) both argue that the domination of the youth by the elders is central to Jola involvement in the navetaine. Each, however, arrives at a different conclusion. To explain, until World War II, cattle were central to the domination of youth by elders. Men could not marry until they had entered the sacred forest by way of an initiation ceremony requiring the slaughter of large numbers of cattle. (A massive slaughter of cattle occurred, as well, at the funeral of a male elder: the deceased elder’s prestige, and that of his patrilineal group, were expressed through the number of cattle slaugh-
This suggests that surplus labor was used to purchase cattle held in the elder’s name.

Mark, whose argument, he admits, is speculative (see Mark 1976: 162), maintains that youth engaged in the navetaine to undermine their elders’ authority. During their sojourn in other villages, they converted to Islam to circumvent the local prohibition against marrying before entering the sacred forest. In contrast, van der Klei maintains that it was precisely because of these local forms of domination that youth engaged in the navetaine. Only by participating in the navetaine could boys render to their fathers the cattle through which they would become men. Using a neo-Marxist model (see van Binsbergen and Geschiere, 1985), van der Klei argues that the navetaine, which involved trade between three pre-capitalist modes of production, was the mechanism through which traditional economies of the Boulouf articulated with the capitalist economy. The migrant laborers cultivated fields in the Gambia, and they bartered their peanuts with Peul pastoralists in Manding fields in the Gambia for cattle that were then brought back to Mandégane and presented to their fathers.33

The relationship between the navetaine and local systems of domination is far more complex than that suggested by each of these two interpretations. Mark’s reconstruction rests on assumptions about how marriage prohibitions were enforced. When I asked an informant in Mandégane if converting to Islam freed the youth of village marriage prohibitions, he claimed that the religious orientation of the groom made little difference. The religion of the prospective bride’s father, he said, was much more important. After all, it was the bride’s father, not the young man, who decided whether the marriage would take place. If Islam had indeed caused the demise of this form of gerontocratic domination, this would not have happened until the following generation, that is, when the children of these initial converts were ready to marry.

Although van der Klei correctly argues that much of the revenue derived from the navetaine was converted into cattle, he seems to overestimate the youths’ discipline in rendering their earnings to elders. In two interviews I conducted, with a father and his son, a discrepancy emerged. The son maintained that he, like any good son, ceded his navetaine earnings to his father. His father, however, insisted that he had received very little, if any, of it. According to the father, the son had saved the money, expending it later in a failed attempt to find work in Dakar. Although this young man participated in the navetaine as late as the 1960s, my interviews with him and his father illustrate how an individual’s vested interest can influence his rendering of the past. Van der Klei conducted his research in 1976. One wonders if he had the opportunity to interview those who had been elders during the 1930s.

Van der Klei focuses on how the navetaine reproduced the subordin-
colorful, flowing robes (boubous) and paraded them through the village. In the evenings they stopped in each of the sections and chanted. The youth of Mandégane quickly took to this, literally changing their clothes as they changed their beliefs, in the process creating new expectations about personal presentation. By infusing apparel with religious and productive overtones, Sagna and youth gave new meaning to cloth. Although some of the money earned in the navetaine was spent on cattle, at least some was almost certainly spent on clothes.

The navetaine was a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it reinforced the gerontocracy by allowing the accumulation of cattle by elders; on the other, it undermined this structure by providing youth with an income. Because the amount of money youth earned was not public knowledge, we can speculate that youth probably kept at least some for themselves. In addition, the incomplete control exercised by elders over these young men did not prevent youth from moving into the orbit of Arfang Kemo Sagna. Islam was primarily a youth movement that allowed the elaboration of cultural styles—including prayer, clothing, sobriety, and a prohibition against eating pork—through which youth expressed their difference from and resistance to their elders. To youth, Islam represented progress, sophistication, and personal empowerment as opposed to their elders’ traditionalism and the subordinate position relegated to youth within this system. Islam opened the door for sweeping changes in local styles of attire, producing a “need” that could only be satisfied through increasing involvement in the expanding cash economy.

In the 1930s the Subdivision of Bignona was on the margins of the world economy, and the depression surely slowed the development of the regional infrastructure. Still, the developments mentioned above continued to unfold. By 1934 more schools had been established in the Boulouf at Thionk-Essyl (two classes), Bassire (one class), and Kartiak (two classes). Roads connected all villages. Trading points were established in Kartiak, Thioban, Kanioban, and Balingore. Although the French administrators owned no vehicles, they had use of a car and two trucks owned by the Société de prévoyance. French trading houses and French administrators owned no vehicles, they had use of a car and two

\[ \text{received a stack of cloth as high as the slave was tall. By trading one slave, they claimed, they could clothe the whole lineage.} \]

3. For a historical discussion of the political situation in the Basse Casamance in the early years of the twentieth century, I point the reader to Christian Roche’s *Histoire de la Casamance* (1985). Of particular interest are pages 91–96, 180–188, and 267–294. Primary sources in the National Archives of Senegal in which the problems of pacification are discussed are ANS 13 G 379, ANS 13 G 375, and ANS 1 G 343.

4. To avoid confusion, I will refer to the subregion as the Boulouf. Informants told me that they were not aware that the French once referred to this region as the Djoogouttes. They did, however, point out that in Jola this means “Do not say.”

5. Peter Mark (1976) has documented the migration of the Jola for the collection and trade of rubber.

6. In the government reports from the early years of the century there is an overriding concern with the collection of taxes. The French believed this would be possible only after the region had been “pacified.” For primary information on这些问题，the reader should consult documents in the National Archives of Senegal—in particular, ANS 1G 343, ANS 13G 379, ANS 13G 380, and ANS 2G 2 20.

7. In many of the government reports from the turn of the century and well into the 1920s, an intense interest is expressed by the French in the potential for the Boulouf to become a rice exporting region. For instance, in a paper on the Casamance written in 1913, the anonymous author remarks that “in the Djoogouttes the large beautiful rice fields assure an annual harvest which is sure to surpass their needs, and one which will allow them to even sell rice in the region of Ziguinchor and Oussouye” (ANS 1G 343, my translation).

8. The French saw the potential for an alliance between the Mandégane, Bagaya, and Balingore. To break this alliance they occupied Balingore. In response the people of the village took refuge in the forest. Rather than using force, the French decided to wait. In the meantime the French went to Bagaya and Mandégane. These villages quickly complied and paid taxes. The people of Balingore eventually acquiesced, returned to the village, and paid their taxes (see Roche 1985: 290–293).


10. Unless otherwise indicated, all subsequent translations are mine.

11. Information not cited, particularly that which pertains to the history of Mandégane, was collected through either formal or informal interviews conducted with members of this community.

12. Some maintain that Koregouraye Goudiaby was named Yamaye’s adjunct while others claim that he was chief in his own right.

13. A *jihad* is a holy war waged on behalf of Islam as a religious duty.

14. They included two Mandings: Fodé Kadialy and Sidi Hai’dra; two Maures: Mafoudh and Bekkai; and Younousse of Ouara (see Arnaud 1908).

15. A marabout is someone who is learned in the Koran.

16. The French were far from unanimous in pursuing this option. An inspection of amulets found in the homes of some Kartiak rebels hinted that they were...
written by Mafoudh’s adapts. Citing this, in 1917 the French administrator and
Islamic scholar Paul Marty strongly urged the French to abandon their alliance
with his organization (Marty 1917).
18. The Toucouleur, Manding, Wolof, and Sarakole are ethnic groups primarily located north of the Gambia.
19. No archival documents I consulted indicated that the French authorized Mafoudh to make such appointments. However, the people of Mandégane perceived him as having had this authority.
20. In Linares’ (1986) discussion of the Islamization of the Casamance, she mentions that Muslim Mandings were appointed by the French to serve as chiefs of Jola villages. While this might be true for the Fogny, in the Boulouf members of local communities were appointed as village chiefs. There might be some confusion on this issue if we rely only on French documents. What “Manding” meant to the French might not correspond to what it meant to the local population. Informants in Mandégane maintained that “Manding” referred not only to an ethnic category but to all Muslims, regardless of their origin. This applied even to those from Mandégane who had converted to Islam.
21. Although in Mandégane it is maintained that there was no friction between early Muslims and the animists, animists did require Muslims to move to an area between Mandégane and Bagaya. One version of Koregouraye Goudiaby’s conversion mentions Mafoudh advising him not to convert because of the problems he would have with his co-villagers. It is held that Koregouraye was pressured by co-villagers to break the Islamic prohibition against eating pork and drinking palm wine.
22. A notable exception to this was the celebration of the bukut (male initiation ceremony). The villages of the Boulouf are part of a circuit. Each year one village in the circuit initiates its youth. Currently, and I would imagine that this was also the case in the past, members of other villages are invited to take part in the festivities surrounding the bukut. More information about the initiation ceremony can be found in The Wild Bull and the Sacred Forest by Peter Mark (1992).
23. Disagreements over who converted first, Ansoumana Goudiaby or Daouda Sagna, are contentious. Recently, teachers at Mandégane’s school abandoned a government-sponsored program to teach local history because of the divisiveness of this issue.
24. The following figures are provided for 1923: Bignona: five French, ten Senegalese; Dioulouieu: one French, four Senegalese; other: one Senegalese (ANS 2G 23 55: 11).
25. In part this increase can be explained by increases in taxes. In 1906 the head tax was doubled to two francs. By 1920 the head tax had reached ten francs (Mark 1985: 95, 105).
26. Other schools in the Casamance included Carabane (sixty students), Oussouye (sixty-three), Diembering (sixty-five), Adeane (eighty-two), Soutou (forty-two), and Balandine (illegible) (ANS O22).
27. See Mark (1976) and Hamer (1983) for discussions of the rubber trade.
28. Other products the French began experimenting with were mango, banana, guava, and citron. They also made an aborted attempt to introduce sisal, rich, soybean, cotton, chickepea, gumbo, and tobacco (ANS 2G 29 83: 8).
29. In the Boulouf there was some peanut cultivation in the villages of Diagnou, Kanioban, Diangki, Kartiak, Thioibon, Bodé, Affignam, and Diatock (ANS 1G 34 158).
30. The primary objective of the Société de prévoyance was to encourage the cultivation of cash crops. To this end, among other activities, they distributed seeds and provided millet to villages that hosted seasonal agricultural workers. They were also authorized to provide grain to villages during droughts. Most of the grain they used was collected (purchased) from local producers (ANS 2G 44 86: 15).
The Société is mentioned in most of the annual reports on the Subdivision of Bignona from around 1920 until 1940. These reports can be found in the National Archives of Senegal, series 2G.
31. This of course reflects the French perception. Many of the roads were built through the use of forced labor. It is hard to gauge the extent to which this labor was voluntary and to what extent it was exacted under duress by powerful local leaders.
32. As another strategy the French introduced animal traction. Although this technique was adopted in the Fogny, it never became popular in the Boulouf. In 1934 the bulls used in demonstration plots in the Boulouf died (ANS 2G 34 56: 22). For reasons that are not entirely clear, even today animal traction is not used in the Boulouf. Some informants claim that there is a religious prohibition against working bulls, others claim that there are too many tree stumps in the highland fields. When asked, most informants said that they would shift to animal traction if given the option.
33. While interviews confirmed van der Klei’s observation that money earned from the navetaine was sometimes used to purchase cattle, I doubt youth went as far as the Gambia and then bartered directly with Peul pastoralists. To establish this, van der Klei relies on an incidental comment in Pelissier’s massive study of peasants in Senegal (see van der Klei 1985: 86). Although Pelissier’s survey is impressive, I question the reliability of such a minor point in so ambitious a work. Furthermore, Pelissier does not tell us where these Jola were from. There is no reason to believe that they were from the Boulouf, or more precisely Diatock, as van der Klei would have us believe. As I detail above, in Mandégane participation in the navetaine did not preclude rice cultivation. During a single season laborers made several journeys on foot between the peanut and rice fields. In Mandégane, no one I interviewed journeyed as far as the Gambia or the Central Casamance on the navetaine.
34. The French reports, while they document the goods exported from the Casamance, provide less information on goods imported into the region. I collected some information on the history of consumption in Mandégane, but for these early dates this information is highly speculative.
35. In interviews and archival sources the depression did not figure as a remarkable event. Although it surely had an economic impact on the region, evidence I collected provided no clues as to what this impact might have been.
Prior to World War II, although Mandégane was decisively linked to the global economy, the geographic scope of movements of people from Mandégane remained highly circumscribed. The demands of rice production served as a tether that limited how far young men could travel on the navetaine. Significantly, women would begin to accompany their brothers on the navetaine in the 1940s. Even those who chose to take up residence in other villages remained as linked to the rural economy as those who remained in Mandégane. After World War II the tether that attached youth to rural communities was dramatically severed. In large part this was the result of events that were taking place far from the village of Mandégane, and perhaps none was more consequential than the changing political relationship between France and her colonies. Prior to the war, most Africans were accorded the status of French subject, not citizen. As subjects, they were subjected to the indigénat, under which their civil rights were highly circumscribed. Not only were they alienated from electoral politics, they could also be subjected to forced labor and summary justice. Only the inhabitants of Senegal’s four communes, the originaires, were politically enfranchised as French citizens. In 1946, when the French National Assembly passed the First Lamine Gueye Law, all inhabitants of French West Africa were granted French citizenship.

Changes in the political status of Africans were accompanied by changes in France’s colonial economic policy. Prior to the war, France mandated that her colonies become self-sustaining. Moreover, they were directed to achieve this goal sooner rather than later. After the war, France yielded to international pressure, and rather than aim immediately to reduce the financial burden of her colonies, began investing in their economic development. Dakar, the capital of French West Africa,
became the chief beneficiary of this new policy, and this coastal city quickly consolidated its position of economic primacy over Senegal’s hinterland. Under this new policy, France improved the transportation system. The Senegalese urban system, with its locus at Dakar, quickly encompassed even Senegal’s most remote rural villages. Senegal’s urban system blanketed the landscape with economic and political institutions dominated by authorities in Dakar. In light of changes in the political status of Africans, more so than prior to the war, positions of authority in these institutions were held by Africans.

In 1920, because of its location and the fact that it had a natural harbor, the French chose Dakar as the capital of French West Africa. At the time, the choice was not self-evident. The city of Saint-Louis was economically more important, but the French based their decision to locate the capital on the Cap-Vert peninsula not on Dakar’s current economic importance but on its potential. In addition to other advantages, Dakar was positioned on the far west tip of the continent, at the confluence of the ocean currents. French colonial administrators noticed that almost everyone traveling to or from West Africa passed through Dakar’s port. They reasoned that Dakar was the best location from which to communicate with colonial administrators stationed in and throughout France’s West African possessions (Seck 1970: 296–297).

Although Dakar had been chosen as the administrative seat of French West Africa, during the first decade of the century the city of Saint-Louis remained the economic heart of Senegal. The volume of peanuts that passed through Saint-Louis’s port equaled the combined total exported from the cities of Rufisque, Dakar, and Cayor. It was not until shortly before World War II that Dakar would surpass Saint-Louis in economic importance. Saint-Louis did not have a natural harbor while Dakar did. With this in mind, the French chose Dakar as the hub of a rail system that would run north to Saint-Louis, south to the Sine Saloum, and east as far as Bamako. Henceforth the colony’s most important export crop, peanuts, would follow these rail lines from the fields directly to Dakar’s port. Consequently, the volume of goods passing through Senegal’s other ports declined rapidly.3

Although the port continued (and still continues) to be a defining feature of its economy, during the war Dakar’s economy diversified. Before then, France had placed tight restrictions on the development of industry in Senegal. Even peanuts had to be sent to France before they could be refined into oil. Confronted by the turmoil of the war and economic blockades in Europe, France used Dakar as an industrial base from which to provision its colonial possessions with manufactured goods. In 1940 France increased the annual quota on Senegalese peanut oil exports from fifty-five hundred to twelve thousand metric tons. Shortly thereafter, French officials increased this annual quota to forty-five thousand tons.

In 1942 they began construction of a cement factory, which was to supply the entire West African market (Peterec 1967: 86, 97). After the war, France continued to develop Senegal’s industry through the newly created Fonds d’investissements pour le développement économique et social (FIDES). Between 1948 and 1957 FIDES invested 38 billion CFA in Senegal with Dakar as the principal beneficiary (Seck 1970: 82).

This heavy investment in Dakar fueled the growth of its population. The growth was due in part to natural population increases and in part to the fact that Dakar had become the destination of choice for most of Senegal’s urban migrants. At the turn of the century, Dakar was a town of eighteen thousand. By 1926, it had grown to forty thousand, and in 1936, it had reached ninety-three thousand. Propelled by these postwar projects, by 1945 the population arrived at 132,000. Over the next decade it doubled to 268,000, five times the size of Kaolack, Senegal’s next largest town (Seck 1970: 211, 223; Senegal, n.d.: 123).

By midcentury Dakar had decisively become the hub of Senegal’s urban system. Regional cities, such as Diourbel and Saint-Louis, mediated between Senegal’s capital and its remote rural areas. In the Casamance, Ziguinchor benefited more than other towns from the expansion of Senegal’s urban system. Yet Bignona still managed to expand into a town of 2,392 inhabitants by the 1950s. Of these inhabitants just a few were French. Changes in the local economy were not hindered by the light European presence. By the war’s end, cash cropping had become widespread. Peanut production, the mainstay of the local economy, arrived at twenty thousand tonnes in the region of Ziguinchor by the early 1940s (ANS 2G 43 67) where it would remain level until the 1950s. Concomitantly, the town had become home to traders who were actively involved in the lucrative business of exporting peanuts and importing European manufactured goods. By 1950 the Subdivision of Bignona hosted eight-nine Lebano-Syrian and a handful of “Senegalese” traders. The expansion of the peanut trade allowed for some diversification of the local economy. Several sawmills were established (in 1944 there were six), and OSSEUDE, a construction company, opened an office at Bignona. In 1944, these interests employed three hundred salaried workers, almost all of whom had come to work in the subdivision from elsewhere in Senegal (ANS 2G 50 115; ANS 2G 45 72).

Despite the increased activity in and around Bignona, the construction of the Bignona-Tobor road in the 1920s placed Bignona squarely in Ziguinchor’s shadow. While the location of administrative and trading interests in Bignona made Bignona the central location of the subdivision, after the war, Ziguinchor, a mere thirty kilometers to the south, consolidated its position as the most important town south of the Gambia and west of Sedhiou.

As was true of most Senegalese towns (Bignona included) peanuts
were the fuel behind Ziguinchor's growth. Unlike Senegalese towns north of the Gambia River, however, Ziguinchor's port remained vigorous well into the postwar era. The roads and rails that funneled goods out of the hinterland of northern Senegal had not found their way across the Gambia River. Until the late 1950s, Ziguinchor's port provided the easiest route for the export of peanuts from and the import of goods into the Casamance. With Ziguinchor's economy sustained by the port, the town's population grew rapidly. Until 1926, Ziguinchor would not exceed two thousand inhabitants. In the following five years, however, the population tripled to six thousand. It then increased to ten thousand in 1945 and fifteen thousand in 1951 (Trincaz 1984: 58).

Much of this population growth was due to urban migration. Some of these migrants found employment in the town's burgeoning informal and formal economy. By the end of World War I, Ziguinchor's economy kept some craftsmen, unskilled workers, boat-hands, domestics, and cultivators busy. By 1950, the formal sector had become large enough for six unions to have offices in the town. Africans comprised the greatest portion of this growth. Yet despite Ziguinchor's location deep in the Casamance, close to the border with Portuguese Guinea, almost half of these migrants were from northern Senegal (Haut Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française 1953: 16).

By the end of the 1950s urbanism had begun to filter from Dakar through the regional capitals into even the most distant recesses of the colony. Although the vectors for this diffusion of urbanism were many, particularly important for the Casamance was the increasingly African civil administration. In addition to granting Africans French citizenship, the second Lamine Gueye Law of 1950 intended that African civil servants receive the same substantial benefits as the French. While it is highly unlikely that the second Lamine Gueye Law intended that African civil servants receive the same substantial benefits as the French. While it is highly unlikely that the second Lamine Gueye Law achieved equality between the French and Africans, it did create conditions under which new and more opportunities were opened up to the Senegalese. This increased incentives for Africans to work in the expanding civil administration, some of whom were appointed to positions of responsibility at regional administrative posts. Many of the Senegalese who moved south to the Casamance worked in the colonial administration (Trincaz 1984: 67).

The migration of "Senegalese" south to Ziguinchor, the growing importance of Dakar, and the political empowerment of Africans had political ramifications. The extensive economic and political changes occurring throughout Senegal, linking all Senegalese into a centralized system of power, forced rural and urban Casamançais to move beyond a parochial understanding of colonial power that focused on the relationship between local communities and local political authorities. They had to confront the cosmopolitan web of power that now surrounded them. Thus, as the seeds of urban migration were being planted by the spread of urbanism and the opening up of greater possibilities for urban employment, Africans in the Casamance were grappling with the idea of "the Casamance" and the place of the Casamance in what soon would become the nation of Senegal.

**FADING AUTONOMY AND GROWING RESENTMENT**

Not all of Ziguinchor's European residents were pleased by the number of "Senegalese" migrants. They were particularly concerned about the "Senegalese" administrators assigned to the Casamance. For them it was indicative of Ziguinchor's political and economic dependence on Dakar. They were particularly worried that their local autonomy was eroding, and long-standing grievances that European Casamançais had against the colony of Senegal quickly returned to the fore.

Dating from the 1830s, when the French first took an interest in the Casamance, the administrative status of the region was fraught with ambiguity. When the French began to move into the Casamance, they did not foresee its attachment to Senegal. In 1859, though, France reversed this policy, placing all French territories north of Sierra Leone under the authority of the governor of Senegal. Even with these official policy changes, it was not until World War II that the Casamance was administered as a district. Even then it was not administered in the same manner as were Senegal's seven other regions. Until the waning years of colonial rule, the problem of how best to administer the Casamance and the question of the extent to which it should be autonomous continued to be festering issues between colonial authorities in Dakar and colonial administrators in the Casamance. Separated from the rest of Senegal by the Gambia, the Casamance was isolated from the political and economic structure of the rest of Senegal. Having to contend with region-specific problems in the expansion of French control such as those presented by having two foreign colonies in such proximity, many administrators in the Casamance felt that the colonial governments in Dakar and Saint-Louis were not sensitive to their needs (ANS 2G 44 106).

One advantage of the region's geographic isolation was that it afforded the Casamance a great degree of de facto autonomy. Many Europeans in the Casamance not only valued this autonomy but also hoped to have it officially recognized. In 1908, when the capital of the Casamance was officially transferred from Sedhiou to Ziguinchor, the Casamance's administrator superior unofficially had the powers of a vice governor—that is, he had powers equal to those of the Senegal's highest colonial official. One of the first people to hold this position, Niorot, apparently proposed that the Casamance become independent of Senegal. Even at that early date support for this position was not limited to officials of
the colonial government. In 1914, Casamansais activists opposed the military recruitment policy of Blaise Diagne, Senegal’s first African deputy to the French Assembly. During the same year, European protestors demanding a split from Senegal greeted William Ponty, Senegal’s governor, in Ziguinchor. The protests were organized by Mr. Arcens, a European trader and member of a French municipal commission that promoted the position of financial autonomy for the Casamance. Governor Ponty met similar demands during a 1918 visit to the regional capital (Roche 1985; 323).

By 1950 the sentiment for autonomy had not waned. The improvements in the communications and transportation infrastructure linking the region with Dakar did not inspire Ziguinchor’s European residents to identify with the colony of Senegal. To the contrary, many resented the increased control authorities in Dakar now exercised over the local economy and local politics (see ANS 2G 44 106 and 108). Ironically, Casamansais often complained that too little was invested in this infrastructure, particularly as compared to the improvements made in Senegal’s other regions. Yet it was precisely this lack of infrastructure that, to an extent, insulated Ziguinchor from the web of domination Dakar was casting over regional capitals north of the Gambia. Railroads, such as that which connected Saint-Louis to Dakar and the one that ran between Dakar and Bamako, were never constructed in the Casamance. Though roads in the Casamance improved greatly during the first half of the twentieth century, it was not until 1958 that the Transgambian Highway connected Ziguinchor overland with Dakar. Even after this highway was built those who traveled on it had to traverse the Gambia and take a ferry across the Gambia River. Still, although the Casamance was not as economically integrated with the Senegalese urban system as were the towns of northern Senegal, the region did not escape the feeling that it was losing its de facto autonomy and was becoming politically dominated by the colonial capital.

The erosion of the region’s political and economic autonomy raised questions about the Casamance’s administrative future. In 1944, the Casamance administrator, Colonel Sajous, who advocated greater autonomy, commented:

It is now perhaps time to consider the proposition read in the dossiers at Saint-Louis, of giving the Administrator of the Circle of Ziguinchor, part, if not all the powers of the Administrator Superior of Upper Côte d’Ivoire. He could be delegated responsibility for the nomination of canton chiefs. . . . All the same, the commandant of the Circle of Ziguinchor should have the power to pronounce changes in the assignments of all the local agents. (ANS 2G 44 103: 6)

Similar to the earlier wave of protests, debates over how to administer the Casamance were informed by popular discontent. Now, however, these protests were voiced against an increasingly African ("Senegalese") colonial government. In the face of an increasing number of resident "Senegalese" traders and civil servants, the Europeans’ (French and Lebano-Syrians) claim to a Casamansais identity now articulated a difference, a difference between themselves and recently empowered Africans who symbolized the internal colonization of the Casamance by the "Senegalese" colonial government. For example, in the Subdivision of Bignona most of the fifty "Senegalese" who lived there were colonial officials. Colonial documents suggest that French and "Senegalese" colonial administrators had different visions of the Subdivision’s political future. Apparently by choice, the "Senegalese" lived separately from the Europeans, and by the end of the decade, these African-French citizens had formed groups to discuss authors such as Léopold Senghor and Aimé Césaire. While the European-French supported the enfranchisement of the local peoples, they claimed that the "Senegalese" questioned the policy of extending voting rights to the local peoples (ANS 2G 50 115; ANS 2G 45 72).

By 1944 Casamansais resentment of Senegal had risen to the point that administrator Claude Michel was compelled to address the issue directly in his annual report. In this report Michel complains that the regions of Tambacounda, Thies, and Diourbel fared much better than the Casamance in securing funds from the colonial government. The same report even makes a strong defense of the civil rights of Casamansais who travel north to Senegal. Claude Michel presents in this report—alongside observations on agricultural production, education, the youth, and local religious leaders—an "opinion" that might be viewed as an early tract on Casamansais nationalism.15

In this "opinion," Michel alludes to four social categories: the administration, traders, Africans in the escales, and the rural population. According to Michel, the administrators and traders resented the increasing control of Senegal’s colonial government over the economy, as well as the lack of government investment in the region. In Michel’s opinion, arguments between local European interests and the central colonial government were not the concern of African Casamansais. He acknowledges that some Africans in the escales were occasionally drawn into the fray, in his opinion because of their compromised position with traders. But he claims that the debates were not the concern of rural populations and even most urban Africans. Though Michel may very well have been out of touch with the sentiments of the villages, as he intimates, his tract suggests that around and independent of the rural populations, the Europeans’ resentment of Senegal’s central government informed a
strong regionalist sentiment, a sentiment now shared by many African Casamançais.16

Relations between the Casamance and northern Senegal continue to be clouded by the perception that Senegal is a foreign colonial power. Although Casamançais irredentism has a long history, arguably dating to the Portuguese establishment of Ziguinchor in 1645, if not earlier, the postwar era was crucial in shaping current expressions of Casamançais separatism. Father Diamacoune Senghor, current leader of the separatist movement, bases his argument for independence on the idea that the French never intended for the Casamance to be administratively joined with Senegal (see Lambert 1998). Postwar efforts by French and Europeans to separate the two lends currency to his argument. Similar to the concerns of the European residents in the Casamance of the 1940s, current Casamançais resentment is informed by the perception that the region's political and economic institutions, ranging from the government to informal trading networks, are largely controlled by "Senegalese."17

Concomitant with the entrenchment of Senegal's Dakar-centered urban system that inspired the reemergence of Casamançais separatism was the development of urban migration. The growth of Senegal's urban economy led to more urban employment opportunities. Political reforms led to improved working conditions for Africans. And the construction of schools led to more educational opportunities for students in the Casamance. Shortly after the war young men began leaving Mandégane and other villages in the Casamance to search for their fortune in urban Senegal. It was then that links between Mandégane and urban Senegal started becoming personalized. They would no longer be mediated by religious institutions, peanut traders, or the French colonial administration. Coinciding with the difficult questions that were being asked about the place of the Casamance within Senegal, the people of Mandégane were beginning to refigure their position, and that of the village, on the Senegalese landscape. The paths that they traced across Senegal provided the starting point for these migrants to reflect on political relations between the Casamance and Senegal and to appropriate grievances first articulated by their European predecessors.

NOTES

2. The Marshall Plan stipulated that some of the money given to France be used for the economic development of the colonies.
3. Assane Seck (1970: 349–500) describes in detail the competition between the various Senegalese ports and the port of Dakar. He argues that the ascen-
dancy of Dakar was achieved through improvements in rail lines that funneled most goods through Dakar.
4. Due to war-related delays this plant was not completed until 1948 (Petroec 1967: 97).
5. Manning (1988: 126) remarks that much of the French investment in the colonies after the war was derived from taxes paid by Africans. Private funds were appropriated for public expenditure, and the net effect of this was the expropriation of resources from rural areas to urban centers. Until 1994 50 CFA could be exchanged for one French franc.
6. Seck (1970: 82) points out that 13 billion CFA of this was used to improve transportation (rails, roads, and ports), furthering the ascendency of Dakar as a regional center.
7. This growth was not due to an increased French presence, which never exceeded twenty-seven. Most of these French worked in the colonial administration and only one was a trader.
8. In the Casamance, a distinction is often made between the Casamançais and the Senegalese. According to this usage, the Casamançais are those persons who are originally from the Casamance. Senegalese refers to persons from north of the Gambia. When Senegalese appears in quotation marks, it refers to persons from northern Senegal. When the term appears without quotation marks it refers to persons of Senegalese nationality, inclusive of the Casamance.
9. There were also changes in religion and education worth noting. More Africans were converting to Islam. By 1944, out of a total population of eighty-five in the subdivision, fifty-five were Muslims. The French educational system had also expanded. By 1950 eighteen hundred students were enrolled in seventeen schools (ANS 2G 44 86).
10. These included those of construction workers, auxiliaries of the Société de prévoyance, navigation and [cabotage] workers, chauffeurs, domestic workers, and EMCIBAN (ANS 2G 50 29).
11. In 1944 Ziguinchor's European population was 175, while in 1951 it was 530 (ANS 2G 47 80; Haut Commissariat de l'Afrique Occidentale Française 1953: 14).
12. The choice plots now controlled by these "nordists," and their importance in local politics is a current theme in the Casamance independence movement. Not only do official (Senegalese) narratives of resistance leaders cite grievances against the city's prominent non-Casamançais leaders, in 1990 the Mouvement des Forces Democratiques Casamançais carried out a terrorist attack in Ziguinchor against a Lyenne (a religious brotherhood based in Dakar) prayer meeting.
13. In 1950 the Casamance passed from military to civilian rule (ANS 2G 50 115).
14. Upper Côte d'Ivoire is now known as Burkina Faso.
15. The following is the text of this opinion:

Particularism and regionalism dominate in all domains. One is Casamançais and French first, Senegalese with reluctance. One says the Casamance; Senegal.

In the past we wanted the Commandant of the Circle to encourage local
chiefs to adopt this point of view and we reproached him for doing otherwise. For now, we have not forgotten this.

Very certainly we think ourselves ignored. We want an attachment with Dakar and we hear from Dakar certain favorable echoes.

Now we compare ourselves with Kaolack and we believe that what the Casamance will become is almost complete, but our neighbors (The Gambia separates us) have arrived at their level!

Casamançais enterprises, of origin Casamançais, always have this theme at their lips. Here I am not speaking for the administration.

Regionalism:

And a touchy regionalism. The Casamance (for those of whom I just spoke) in putting themselves in contradiction with themselves, want to remain herself and cultivate her relative isolation. Naturally strong and occasionally generous she has a complex of having grievances—even of recrimination.

It is in the heart of Senegal, the Côte d'Ivoire in French West Africa. She is full of promise and knows it...

In sum, the private enterprises have a jealous conservatism concerning rights they have acquired and they want to reaffirm these rights. In the black world some leaders are happy to follow this example, all in conducting this battle in poverty.

There is very little colonial solidarity. Occasionally there is an ostentatious display of it, but without engagement or a sense of national solidarity.

But we must distinguish between blacks and whites. Many whites have reserve, if not hostility, for the Republic's provisional Government.

Does this come from idealism? I doubt it! They do not want a controlled economy and they cling to rights created in the past...

The blacks show no hostility for the Government. Quite to the contrary...

So much for the trading posts (escales).

In the bush are brave people who schemers want to outwit so as to steal money from them under a variety of pretexts. Our rural populations put all their confidence in the Commandant and I regret not being able to be with them more often. (ANS 2G 44 106)

In this text Claude Michel's use of pronouns is curiously inconsistent. He begins with the impersonal on, by which I assume he means the first person plural (inclusive of all people in the Casamance). At other times he uses the third person plural masculine—apparently to distinguish between the administration and other Europeans and Lebano-Syrians. And finally, he uses the third person singular feminine (at times also masculine), which carries connotations of a higher level of social identification.

16. In a study of the politico-administrative problems of the Casamance, Dominique Darbon (1984; 1988) arrives at a different conclusion. He traces the origin of contemporary Casamançais regionalism not to Europeans but to villagers. He roots his explanation in popular stereotypes of ethnic differentiation in Senegal, arguing that the Jola have a cultural predisposition against authority that renders their social organization incompatible with centralized administration. While Darbon's focus on the administration points in a fruitful direction, he fails to give sufficient attention to the different and conflicting interests of actors within the French colonial administration.

A number of factors inspired the men and women of Mandégane to begin considering the option of urban employment. The development of Senegal’s urban system, more employment opportunities for Africans, and improvements in the education system all contributed to redirecting Mandégane’s labor out of agricultural production. To this list must be added the swelling supply of manufactured goods in the Casamance. From the outset the French considered the Dioula and Manding traders an impediment to the expansion of a cash economy in the Casamance and set out to displace them. The French lamented that the Dioula and Manding traders preferred barter over the use of currency. Moreover, these African traders had limited access to manufactured goods. By World War II, the European traders had wrested most of the market from the Dioula and Manding, and manufactured goods had become widely available. Once Europeans had secured their monopoly over trade, the local demand for manufactured goods had few bounds, and the European traders used their access to European producers to introduce a wide range of goods. Peanuts, by then the mainstay of Senegal’s cash economy, had become the export crop of choice for Casamançais farmers. Europeans could make goods readily available to local farmers by extending credit in exchange for advance claims on the following season’s peanut harvest.

For better or worse, farmers in Mandégane took advantage of this opportunity. They even sought to increase peanut production by allowing young women to accompany their brothers on the navetaine. Men cultivated, and their sisters planted. But, as was also true of when they were in the village, during the navetaine these women also tended to household chores for themselves and their brothers, such as cleaning...
saw clearly, even prophetically, the impact that education would have on urban migration. They feared that a school would lead to a labor flight from Mandégané and hence to a precipitous decline in agricultural production.

Sagna, the imam, and the elders might have been able to dissuade the French from building a school in Mandégané, but they were helpless when confronted by other changes sweeping through the region. Bignona had become a town, Ziguinchor had a burgeoning economy, and many Lebano-Syrian traders lived in villages. The region had been opened to foreign and, in particular, Western influences. Village youth had become aware of other ways of living, and they began to look beyond the limited range of goods to which they would have access through the arduous labor of rice and peanut cultivation. In the 1940s a small group of young men stole away against the wishes of village elders. They enrolled in the recently built school in Balingore, a village just five kilometers from Mandégané. According to their own accounts they were drawn into urban migration by the allure of adventure. Village elders, fearing the loss of their children to the city, met and prayed that the aspiring students would fail. But these prayers were futile, and in 1951, with primary school certificates in hand, this small group of young men ventured to Ziguinchor and Dakar.

These young men were not the first urban migrants to trace descent to Mandégané. Among other migrants were several who had been reared in Kaguith, a village that had been founded by a man from Mandégané and lay thirty-five kilometers from Mandégané. In the 1940s children in Kaguith began attending school. Several of these early Kaguith migrants had joined the French army. Some of those who came directly from Mandégané, often frustrated in their efforts to find secure employment in Dakar’s nascent industries, followed suit. Having arrived in Dakar at a time that the colonial administration was Africanizing, particularly at a time when the French military had opened its doors to these recently enfranchised French citizens, none of these early migrants failed to find employment.

Most of Mandégané’s first urban migrants settled in Fass, a residential section of Dakar, and from there they began to form migrant associations. The first such association was formed sometime in the late 1940s. This was primarily a mutual aid society that pooled the resources of its members to send the bodies of deceased migrants back to their villages. As a secondary activity, with the help of the Senegalese government, this association attempted to control the migration of women from the Casamance to Dakar. (Soleil, 4 September 1989, p. 14).

Until the late 1950s, the only reliable means of transportation between the Casamance and Dakar was by boat. Boats would leave Ziguinchor and travel north on the Atlantic Ocean to the port of Dakar. To control the flow of women to the city, the association’s members met the boat...
at Dakar’s port. They checked to make sure that the parents of all disembarking young women and girls approved of their daughter’s decision to migrate. The members of this association I spoke with claimed that their efforts to control female migration were unsuccessful. They claimed that some women slipped by their not-so-vigilant surveillance of the port. Other women managed to get their parents’ approval, and still other more adventuresome women disembarked at Banjul and traveled overland to Dakar. Although most men now regard their own efforts as having been ineffective, even comical, the lack of an overland route between the Casamance and Dakar, combined with the threat of surveillance, most likely did deter most women from attempting the journey. Moreover, the ocean route was long and expensive, particularly when compared to the buses that now travel the Transgambian Highway.

The Transgambian Highway was completed in 1957, and with it, the efforts of regional men’s associations in Dakar to control the female migration were forever undermined. Buses began providing inexpensive daily transportation between Dakar and the Casamance on a route that defied surveillance. Young women began exploiting this route en masse, which, of course, had a dramatic and irreversible impact on the village in the space of a decade. Mandégane’s rural-urban links expanded from a few men who lived in the city to a generalized movement of people from Mandégane to urban areas. In the few years after the road had opened, the stream of migrants moving from Mandégane to Dakar was overwhelmingly female. Unlike women, men did not respond immediately to the opportunity that this highway presented. Until the early 1960s, most young men who did not have the opportunity to study in schools remained in Mandégane, deriving their cash income either by participating in the navetaine or, and increasingly, by cultivating peanuts on lands surrounding the village.

Although these urban migrants were living far from the village, they did not sever their ties with their rural-based kin. Almost all initial migrants to Dakar married spouses who traced descent to Mandégane. Yet more than labor and marriage partners moved between urban and rural locations. Although urban-based men and women devoted most of their earnings to maintaining their urban households, they still managed to send some money and goods back to their rural-based relatives. Increasingly, manufactured items such as tin roofing, bicycles, mosquito nets, beds, and kerosene lamps, once construed as luxuries, were coming to be seen as essential items in the inventory of any rural household.

The flow of money and goods from urban migrants to rural households challenged the position that foreign traders had established for themselves during the interwar period. As well as having cornered the peanut trade, these traders had become cultural gatekeepers who made decisions as to which goods would be available in Mandégane. Urban migration changed this, opening up a new avenue for manufactured goods to enter the village. Moreover, the people of Mandégane quickly realized that more goods could be acquired through forging personalized links to urban Senegal than through selling peanuts. The material advantages of urban employment became clear, and local opposition to formal education dissipated. Education, heretofore seen as a challenge to the position of the imam, came to be seen as a legitimate means through which to secure urban employment, and hence, economic security. In 1962 Mandégane opened the doors of its own school, and the men of Mandégane began eyeing the prospect of urban employment even more intently. By the early 1960s urban migration had changed from a daring choice usually made against the wishes of village elders into an expected life-course event.

It should be pointed out that by then Senegal’s education system and employment opportunities had become more competitive. A primary school diploma no longer guaranteed a job, and there were more prospective students than there were openings in Senegal’s high schools. Moreover, historically Mandégane’s students have not performed well enough on the national high school entrance exams to continue their studies beyond primary school.

While the economic success of Mandégane’s small cohort of original male migrants provided a point of comparison for the second generation of male migrants, the achievements of the latter were more varied and, in general, less impressive. Now that most government positions required a high school diploma, this second wave of male migrants began turning to other employment options; most spent their first few years in Dakar learning a trade, such as carpentry, in the city’s informal sector. Once they had mastered a trade, these migrants often tried to parlay their skills into a job in one of the city’s industries.

Despite the fact that it had become much more difficult to secure urban employment, after 1960 urban migration became even more compelling to the youth of Mandégane. I interviewed many men and women who came of age in the 1960s. All except one had at some point lived in Dakar or Ziguinchor in the hope that they would, in the case of men, secure urban employment, or in the case of women, marry a man employed in the city.

WOMEN, GOODS, AND MIGRATION

Although a handful of men had initiated migration to the city of Dakar and other locations on the Cap-Vert peninsula, women became one of the driving forces of urban migration and one of the reasons that it would become so important to the next generation of men in this com-
Mandégane. This institution was so new that when I tried to learn the items comprised a trousseau, which is a relatively new institution in manufactured items before and in anticipation of their marriages. These locally produced household items, now they were expected to procure such as cooking and water pots. Mandégane’s women could and did weave baskets for their conjugal household. Even so, these women did enter their marriage. That is, they were not expected to bring material goods with them into their marriage. As the woman cited above told me, women of her generation entered their households “empty-handed.” The difference between this generation—women who married in the 1940s and 1950s—and subsequent generations is that this earlier generation was not expected to bring anything with them into their marriage. As the woman cited above told me, women of her generation entered their households “empty-handed.” That is, they were not expected to bring material goods with them into their conjugal household. Even so, these women did enter their marriages with skills. Mandégane’s women could and did weave baskets that they planned to use in their new household. They also traded these baskets with women from the Fogny for household items made of clay, such as cooking and water pots.

By the late 1950s manufactured items had become common in many rural households. Just as women previously had been expected to obtain locally produced household items, now they were expected to procure manufactured items before and in anticipation of their marriages. These items comprised a trousseau, which is a relatively new institution in Mandégane. This institution was so new that when I tried to learn the Jola term for the trousseau, I was told that there was not one. During interviews women used the French word bagage to describe the goods they were expected to collect. It is not a coincidence that the trousseau was institutionalized at the same time as the Transgambian Highway undermined male efforts to control female migration. In addition, more married women were living in urban locations. As a result a network of women spanning rural and urban locations emerged, facilitating the migration of young women.

Ideally, village mothers sent their daughters to live with maternal aunts. As one woman explained to me, these urban women provided young girls with lodging and employment. Many received their nieces’ salaries directly from the girls’ employers. They saved the earnings until the girls had earned enough to purchase their trousseau. The aunt then helped her niece choose the goods she needed for her marriage. The goods were stored in the aunt’s house until the girl was ready for marriage, at which time the goods were sent to the village. On the eve of the girl’s marriage, the goods were displayed to her mother and maternal aunts. If the goods revealed that the girl was successful the women prayed for the future of the marriage. After the wedding the goods were stored with the bride’s mother. Then, over time, as needed, the goods were quietly transferred into the young bride’s household. The village-based mothers of these young migrants not only enjoyed the use of these goods before they entered their daughters’ conjugal households, but also they accrued prestige when their daughters succeeded in accumulating their trousseaux.

In contrast to the first male migrants who settled permanently in Dakar, most of the early female migrants did not stay long in the city. The expectation and the reality was for these women to collect their trousseau in two or three years. At the same time, most of these women returned to the village during the wet season to help transplant and harvest rice. Over the next few generations, the number of trips that women made to urban locations increased, as did the length of their stays. By the late 1980s most women were making multiple journeys to the city. Some of these journeys spanned fifteen years or longer.

Women described their migration as circular. They claimed that their migration was short term and directed toward specific targets, such as the collection of the trousseau. Most women I spoke with claimed that, once they had collected their trousseau, they would return to the village. But the perception, particularly on the part of men, was that most, if not all, women sought to remain permanently in the city. These targets, they implied, were simply a ruse that women used to soften potential opposition to their migration. When pressed, almost all the women I spoke with admitted that they would prefer to marry a man employed in the city and to settle there. By the early 1970s, it was clear that marrying an
urban-based man was not just preferable but was, in fact, a critical hidden agenda of many women (see Lambert 1999).

Informants claimed that in the late 1950s and early 1960s more women than men from Mandégane were in Dakar. One informant even claimed that this was why he and other men of his generation decided to leave for Dakar in search of urban jobs. By that time, young unmarried men, even those who had not attended school, had all but abandoned seasonal agricultural migration in favor of securing a salaried position in urban Senegal. This second wave of male migrants was inspired, on the one hand, by the success of the earlier generation of male migrants, men who provided Mandégane with a taste for and vision of urban life, and, on the other, by the perception that having such a job was the best way to increase their marriage options. While many women would eventually agree to village-based marriages, it was already known that an urban marriage was the best way for women to escape the rigorous labor demands that are placed on village-based wives. Although urban employment has made it possible for these women to prolong their "bachelorettehood," most hope to marry. I came across few women over forty who had never married. As might be expected domestic labor in Dakar is poorly paid. Women view marriage as the most viable path for improving their economic situation.5

As for men, who once proved their ability to raise a family by their skill with a kajendou, now they had to prove their viability with a paycheck. By then the question was not whether men would make the journey to the city. Instead, the question was when they would leave for Dakar and if they would secure employment that would make it possible for them to remain permanently in the city. At the outset, men may have viewed migration as strategy by which they could strengthen their hand in choosing a marriage partner. By the late 1980s, though, migration had come to be seen as the only way that they could ensure that they would be able to marry at all.

THE INSTALLATION OF MANDÉGANE'S MIGRANTS IN DAKAR

Most migrants from all parts of rural Senegal went to Dakar because it was there that most employment opportunities in the country were located. In 1961 and 1962, of sixty thousand non-administrative salaried workers, two-thirds lived in the Region of Cap-Vert; and one-half, in Dakar. In 1964, 90 percent of the 114 industries in Senegal were in Cap-Vert, of which 63 percent were located in Dakar (Seeck 1970: 81). By independence Dakar had become a magnet, attracting people from throughout the country. Between 1946 and 1966, the city's population more than doubled from 190,000 to 480,000 (Seeck 1970: 146).

As the city's population grew, the city's informal residential section, marked by, as the government put it, "unsightly" wooden barracks, came to envelop the city's administrative section. Before and after independence the government was anxious to make Dakar look like a modern city. They were also anxious to find a solution to the housing problems presented by the increasing numbers of migrant workers (see Cooper 1987). For this purpose, in 1952 the French used FIDES funding to establish the Société Immobilier du Cap Vert (hereinafter referred to as SICAP). Its primary objective was to provide Dakar's expanding population with affordable housing in planned neighborhoods and to replace the neighborhoods of wooden barracks surrounding Dakar with concrete housing (Seeck 1970: 97, 105-107).

This modernization project was the latest expression of a pattern of urban development that can be dated to the city's establishment at the end of the nineteenth century. From the outset of the French contact, the Cap-Vert peninsula has been besieged by a two-pronged expansion of Dakar's population. While the French were moving off the island of Goree and pushing their way inland, Africans were moving to the coastal city from the rural hinterland. The French and the Africans came to the Cap-Vert peninsula with different ideas about land tenure and household construction. The French favored legal land titles and cement con-
They would not return to the Casamance, the value of real estate had left Dakar. Unfortunately for these men, by the time they accepted land in Dakar. By 1990 virtually all men aspired to own real estate in Casamance were slim to none. Only then did they begin investing to realize that, given their situation, their chances of returning to the Casamance, the value of real estate had increased dramatically. It was no longer feasible for them to purchase SICAP homes or homes in the informally constructed areas immediately beyond the SICAPs, such as Grand Yoff. They had to settle for land in areas twice as far from the city center as the SICAPs, land that the Lébou, the traditional inhabitants of the Cap-Vert peninsula, as it turned out, were anxious to sell.

In the early 1970s the Lébou feared that the government would appropriate their land under the laws of the domaine nationale for future housing projects (Vernière 1977: 159). To cut their potential losses, the Lébou began selling their land. Despite the distance of this land, which was in an area now called Yeumbeul, from Dakar, its low cost proved attractive to many men from Mandégane. When Seydou Sagna purchased his home in Yeumbeul in 1972 for 20,000 CFA, he became Mandégane’s first landowner in this part of town. Initially, many from Mandégane were skeptical about the advantages of owning a home so far from Dakar. Over time, however, they became receptive to the idea, and as they acquired the financial resources, they followed his example.

By the 1980s all the land in this area of Yeumbeul had been sold, and a good number of migrants from Mandégane had built homes there. Currently, twelve homeowners from Mandégane live in Yeumbeul. Eventually even the price of land in Yeumbeul would exceed the means of Mandégane’s urban workers. Then they would start buying land even farther from the city center, primarily in Malika. It is here that many of the current generation of migrants are building homes. In 1990 six had already built homes there. Roughly half of Mandégane’s homeowners, in fact, live in Yeumbeul and Malika.7

The pattern has been for Mandégane’s migrants to find housing increasingly distant from the center of Dakar. How far they live from the city center, though, depends largely on whether they are renters or homeowners. Renters compromise between distance and rental cost. During the 1950s most renters lived in Fass. Now a large number live in Grand Yoff where (in 1990) they can rent a modest room for about 10,000 CFA/month (US$40). Grand Yoff is easily accessible to most of Dakar.

Most renters live in single rooms with their wives and children. Unlike homeowners, they do not have room to house younger and more recent arrivals from the village. Still, they often provide unemployed migrants with a place to eat, to have their clothes washed, and to have other domestic services performed. These migrants might live nearby in another single room shared with other youth of their age and gender. Usually, but not always, these youth are responsible for paying their own rent. Many of these attached youth rooms are in Fass and Grand Dakar. Many youth, particularly women, prefer to live there because of its proximity to where, for women, they work as domestics, and for men, where they serve their apprenticeships. On weekends and holidays, these youth

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tend to visit friends and relatives who live farther out in Yeumbeul, Malika, or Thiaroye.

**MANDÉGANE'S URBAN ASSOCIATIONS**

Curiously, as members of Mandégane moved out of the village and into urban Senegal, they did not sever their ties with the village. One expression of the continuing affiliation of these migrants with their sending community was the tremendous effort they put into establishing and maintaining countless village-based urban associations. These ranged from women's collective savings groups, of which there were many but which had just a handful of members each, to the Union de la Jeunesse de Mandégane, an association that encompasses all the youth of Mandégane throughout Senegambia. The wide array of associations can be classed into two types. The first type are those that correspond to the geography of the sending locations. The most obvious example are the ubiquitous village-based associations that derive their membership from migrants who trace their origins to the same rural village. The second type are the associations that also draw their membership from migrants from Mandégane but define their membership in terms of the geography of the receiving locations. Thus while descent from Mandégane is a necessary condition for membership, it is not sufficient. One also has to live in a given location in urban Senegal. These two types of associations are discussed in the following pages. Because they derive their membership from migrants from the same village, it might be assumed that one of their primary objectives would be to work for the well-being of the village. This indeed was the rhetoric used by some association leaders to describe their goals. Actions of association leaders and members, however, indicated that other objectives, ones that were diametrically opposed to the stated objectives, were at work. I end this chapter with a brief discussion of this reality, particularly as contrasted with a rhetoric that highlighted association members' intentions to work for the rural village.
Processes of Sub-division

When the first migrants from the Casamance arrived in Dakar in the late 1950s, few people from the Casamance lived in Dakar. Because of their small numbers, associations during this era were based on the region, not the village, of origin. Despite efforts to form an association of all migrants from the Basse-Casamance, those from the Fogny decided not to join with those from the Boulouf. Still, migrants from the Boulouf did form an association, the primary objectives of which were to prepare for the funerals of migrants in their village of origin, organize social events in the city, and control the movement of women to the city.

When efforts to control the movements of women unraveled in the late 1950s, women began moving to Dakar in large numbers, and shortly thereafter, large numbers of young men began following. It was not long before the number of migrants from the Boulouf region in Dakar was so large that the Boulouf regional association was rendered unmanageable. At some time in the early 1960s, this association divided into associations based on its constituent villages. Through the 1960s and into the 1970s, the village association of Mandégane was the most important association for people from this village. Yet the migration of people from Mandégane did not abate; the same population pressures forcing the dissolution of the Boulouf association would also cause the division of the village association into associations with an even narrower geographic base.

During the 1970s, the village-based urban association continued to change. The leaders and the most active members of Mandégane’s association were criticized by other members for using the organization to achieve little more than organizing parties for those in the city. Other more recent arrivals sought to involve the association more directly in activities of the village. During the early 1970s a dynamic leader was elected president of the association. Under his leadership, the association attempted several development projects. His most successful project, the one for which he is remembered, is the construction of a school in Mandégane. This was largely financed through the contributions of migrants living in Dakar. Other collective efforts to improve conditions in the village, however, did not match this success. After several failed projects, the association fell into disarray. The first failure was the purchase of an electric generator for the village mosque. After the generator had been installed and lights had been placed in the mosque, the system seemed to have worked for a short period. But the generator was too powerful for the small number of lights in the mosque; now it remains in disuse and disrepair near the mosque. The second failure was the purchase of a minivan to be used as a commercial public transportation vehicle between Ziguinchor and Dakar. The profits were to be reinvested in the village. But after several trips the car broke down; apparently it remains on the side of the road somewhere between Dakar and the Casamance.

With these failures, migrants from Mandégane became increasingly disillusioned with their village’s urban association. Its final failure occurred in the late 1970s upon the death of a migrant from Fungesaf. When the association failed to attend to the burial of one of its members, the section of Fungesaf split from the main organization to form its own association. Soon after that, other sections followed suit, rendering the village association merely a collection of ceremonial posts. In the late 1980s the village association was still officially in existence, though inactive. Although some people could identify its current leaders, no one could tell me what they had done.

Currently, the section associations are not much more active than the village association. The first Sunday of each month is left open by migrants from Mandégane so that each section can hold its monthly meeting. For the section with which I was most familiar, meetings were primarily attended by young unmarried men and women. Married men were also expected to attend and to make a financial contribution, but they rarely did. However, there was considerable competition between the more senior migrants to host meetings. Attended primarily by young, unmarried, and at best marginally employed men and women, the meetings focused on how the association might increase attendance and induce compliance to paying dues. Although dues were low (100 CFA/month [US$0.25]), they were a burden for most unmarried men and women, particularly since most men were unemployed and nearly all women had low-paying jobs. Although meetings provided a forum for old childhood friends to socialize, many youth avoided the events because they could not afford to pay the dues.

Like the village association, the explicit goal of this section association was to prepare the funerals of kin who had died in the city. This indeed was one of the most frequently discussed topics at meetings. It was also felt that the association, as was previously true of the village association, should become more active in improving the material conditions of the village. As true of the village association, section associations rarely achieved this goal.

An example of the failure of associations to meet this expectation occurred during an effort by Fungesaf’s association to provide a water pump for the section’s cooperative garden in the village. The association collected dues from all its members and a considerable contribution from members living in the village. In 1985, it purchased a used pump in Dakar that remained in Dakar for five years before being transported to the village. The leaders of the association said that they did not have the money to pay for the transportation of the pump to the village. This excuse is not entirely convincing, however, given that the cost of trans-
port was but a fraction of the amount collected for its purchase. When the pump was finally moved to the village in 1990, it did not work. Apparently the pump was reversed; instead of drawing water, it pushed it. Members of the Dakar association promptly passed responsibility for its repair to Fungesaf's association in Ziguinchor. By the time I left Senegal later that year, though, nothing had been done.

Despite the failure of the section association to assist relatives in the village, meetings continued to be held regularly. During my research, meetings were moderately attended. I do not expect this association to divide soon, although some of my informants believe otherwise. Having observed the gradual division of the regional association into section associations, some informants believe that eventually, section associations, too, will divide. In the opinion of most informants, section associations will be replaced by lineage associations.

Another type of association is not based on social formations found in the village, such as the village, section, or lineage, but on the geography of the receiving community. This was how the youth association was organized. In the village, elders attempted to use the boundaries between village sections to prevent the youth from increasing their power by forming a unified youth association. Once a critical mass of youth was living in the city it would no longer be possible for the elders to resist youth efforts to organize in this way.

In the 1970s, at the time Mandégane's urban association was unraveling, urban youth began forming their own association. They organized dances and a soccer league. In the late 1980s, this urban youth association, principally through the efforts of students at the University of Dakar, was formally organized into the Union de la Jeunesse de Mandégane (UJM). UJM is an umbrella organization that unites all Mandégane's youth associations in Senegambia. The sections of this association are not based on the village sections. Instead they are based on various locations throughout Senegambia, wherever a significant concentration of people from Mandégane live. In 1990 UJM had sections in Mandégane, Dakar, Kaolack, Ziguinchor, and the Gambia.

UJM's division into sections based on different cities in Senegal and the Gambia, and, in Dakar, into four subsections (Fass, Grand Yoff, Yeumbeul, and Thiaroye) based on the geography of Dakar, reflects the fact that it was organized according to the geography of location in the receiving, not the sending, community. This organization holds dances in the city and the village. It also organizes a yearly celebration in the village (semaine culturelle) during which many of the youth descend upon Mandégane. There they sponsor an athletics and football tournament, nightly dances, wrestling matches, and theater. Every second year, they convene a village congress at which village problems and potential projects are discussed.

The Localization of Interests

Ethnicity is not as salient a social category in Senegal as it is in many other Sub-Saharan African countries. It is rare to find the pan-ethnic groups so characteristic of other African countries. Moreover, in Senegal, political alignments are rarely interpreted in terms of ethnic affiliation. Instead, localism, an identity emerging through the textured interweaving of personal and collective histories, is given priority. The urban landscape in Dakar is marked by a proliferation of groups based on their members' identification with particular villages. Mandégane is no exception.

Migrants have a strong identification with the village. Despite the fact that most people from Mandégane do not live in the same part of the city, social interaction between members of the village is intensive. When they have time off, women working as domestics often spend it with relatives in other parts of the city. During most of my visits with friends from Mandégane in Dakar, I happened upon groups of people from the village visiting each other. Even many born in the city are socialized into Mandégane's urban social network. This is not surprising given that they probably grew up in their fathers' households where most likely there would have been a constant flow of relatives from Mandégane.

This deep identification with the village does not necessarily mean that the economic interests of those who live in the city are the same as those who are in the village. This became clear during a meeting of the UJM that took place in Mandégane during the summer of 1990. That year Mandégane held a village congress concurrent with the semaine culturelle. This biannual event, organized by UJM, is meant to provide a forum in which the problems of the village can be discussed. After a general meeting in which the congress was officially opened by the préfet, the participants broke into sections in which more specific village issues were discussed. I was invited to participate in the section on socioeconomic issues.

During the session several interesting suggestions emerged. In particular, participants strongly felt that the village should be more active in marketing its own agricultural and orchard products, such as vegetables and fruit, rather than relying on middlemen who extract a substantial profit. The village already had such a substantial productive capacity. Even the middlemen could not transport all of it to market. A good portion of village production rotted in the village instead of being either sold in urban areas or locally consumed.

What the village lacked were people with the experience and time to transport and sell the produce in the city. Many of the youth who had attended the congress were unemployed in the city and lacked prospective employment opportunities. The suggestion was put forward that
these unemployed youth put their otherwise idle time to good use by doing this work. Not only would this provide income for agricultural producers in the village, it also had the potential to provide a viable income for these youth. This suggestion was rejected out of hand. When the socioeconomic committee made its final presentation to the general assembly, it was recommended that someone living in the village transport these goods to the city for married women in the city to sell.

Although the congress was held in Mandégane and was ostensibly at least partially about improving material conditions in the village, only UJM members were invited to most sessions. As only youth, most of whom live in urban locations, are members of UJM, the project was planned by those who had no intention of participating in its implementation. Though the final general assembly of the congress was open to the public, it fell on a day when most of those living in the village were busy with agricultural tasks.

Many elders hold a cynical attitude to the UJM's *semaine culturelle*. The celebration often falls in the middle of the agricultural season. Many participants descend on the village the day before the celebration begins and return to the city when it ends. Each night dances are organized, and UJM leaders make a display of their urbanity through their dress. Each evening they use the organization's money to pay for an elaborate meal of fish and rice. Meanwhile, most people of the village confront one of the most nutritionally deficient periods of the year. That only a handful of youth remain in the village long enough to help their rural-based families cultivate exacerbates the tension between the youth and their rural kin. Some men told me, in what was probably an empty threat, that, if their sons returned to their household during the *semaine culturelle*, they would waste no time chasing them back to the city.

Intergenerational differences, even conflicts, are common in the history of the village (see chapter 7). In the current generation it is apparent in expectations of work. While the village is seen as a place for elders, who continue to engage in agricultural production, youth have located their ambitions elsewhere. They do not aspire to follow in their parents' footsteps. Instead, they aim for salaried employment in the city, a dream to which many youth adhere until their options run dry and their only hope for marriage is to return to the village. During the meeting of the congress that I attended, the proposal for marketing agricultural products seemed to offer an alternative to youths who were unable to secure urban employment and who did not want to return to the arduous labor of agricultural production. Such a proposal may not have been dismissed so quickly and thoroughly by urban youth from villages in other parts of the nation. Elsewhere in rural Senegal, trade is considered a viable and lucrative occupation (see for example Diop 1965 on the Toucouleur). In Mandégane, however, this is most definitely not the case.

Few people from the village, excepting a few married women, earn a living from trade. For most Jola, trading carries with it a certain stigma, a stigma that some people explain in terms of a Jola preference for hard physical labor, such as working in factories. Others cite a Jola timidity that is said to render them poor bargainers. Whatever the reasons for this aversion to trade, this case reveals how the personal ambitions of the members of UJM diverged from what even they perceived to be the economic interests of the village. Though they felt comfortable with their self-appointed role of deciding in which direction the village should move in order to best promote its economic interests, they realized that their personal ambitions lay elsewhere. This was essentially the problem behind most of the failures of the urban association’s interventions in the material well-being of the village. While those who proposed the ideas and even initiated the project did so out of concern for and genuine identification with the village, as well as for a good deal of personal promotion among their cohorts, they lacked the commitment to pursue the project to its end.

Despite their rhetoric, these urban associations are essentially about and for those people from the village who live in cities. Almost all of Mandégane’s urban associations claim that one of their mandates is to aid relatives who remain in the rural village. None, however, has been consistently successful in this regard. They have been moderately suc-
cessful in attending to the needs of urban residents. As discussed earlier, historically they have divided when they could no longer serve the interests of their urban members. The village association, for example, divided into section associations when the former failed to arrange the funeral of one of its urban members: in sum, when it could no longer meet the immediate concerns of its urban-based members, it segmented. While the many failed projects that these associations have undertaken to improve conditions in the village have inspired cynicism, they have not, in any instance I am aware of, undermined the leadership or the organization of the association.

While there are many reasons for the failure of the projects designed to improve conditions in the village, the root reason seems to be this divergence between the interests of those members who live in urban areas and those who live in the village. To be sure the efforts made for the village and the concerns expressed by urban migrants reflect the deep connection of urban migrants to their rural roots. Their failure to follow through on these efforts, however, is a consequence of how little they have at stake in these projects. In essence, the persistence and continual production of a variety of urban migrant groups based on a common village of origin, groups whose members express their solidarity through a common concern for the rural village, are understandable in terms of the ways by which identity and social networks are configured in urban Senegal. For now and the immediate future, however, it remains to be seen what will happen to these associations. What we can expect is that the continual movement of individuals between the village and city will produce and perpetuate close ties between these associations and their corresponding social units in the Casamance.

NOTES

1. Many lineages in Mandégane have significant branches in the Gambia, but none of my informants could tell me how or why they came to live there. Even with the most leading questions they would not confirm the hypothesis that they left for the Gambia to avoid conscription during World Wars I and II (see Echenberg 1991: 70-87). Some of my older informants did say that they worked in the Gambia during World War II. They claimed that they did so not because they wanted to avoid conscription, but because of the shortage of food and manufactured goods in the Casamance. Many worked in construction and were paid with "tickets" that could be exchanged for cloth.

2. Today Bathurst is known as Banjul, the capital of the Gambia.

3. Kaguith is southwest of Ziguinchor near the border with Guinea-Bissau. According to local lore, Kaguith was founded around the turn of the century when Bacary Dabo, his father having only a limited amount of land for his children, ventured out of Mandégane in search of rice fields. First he went to Diatock, where he was lent land on which he cultivated for several years. Then, while on a hunting trip, he dropped his rifle which fired, killing a friend. Although he knew he was innocent, Bacary decided to move on rather than face the village's accusations. His journey took him to a small piece of uninhabited land southwest of Ziguinchor, close to the border with Portuguese Guinea. There he and his wife battled against the aggressions of Efok and Youtou, two villages that claimed the land on which he cultivated. Nevertheless, he persevered. Eventually, a stream of migrants from Mandégane followed, founding the village of Kaguith. To the present, social ties between people in Kaguith and Mandégane remain close with frequent visiting between members of the two villages.

In addition to the migrants from Kaguith, Mandégane's first wave of urban migrants found two other men from Mandégane in Dakar who had taken idiosyncratic paths to the city. Daniel Goudiaby was born in Ziguinchor and had left for Dakar in the 1920s to be raised by a Manjack family. After a career working at a hospital, he died in Dakar in 1989. Ousmane Sagna was raised by a childless uncle in a village neighboring Mandégane. Frustrated by living under the hand of his uncle and yearning for greater control over his earnings, Sagna set out on a journey of some twenty years during which he enjoyed extended stays in Ziguinchor, Banjul, Kaolack, and Mali. During his travels, he encountered one person from Mandégane at Banjul and one at Kaolack. His travels ended at Dakar several years after the end of World War II. Another man from Kaguith, whom Ousmane Sagna had met in Kaolack, also continued on to Dakar. During an interview with Ousmane Sagna I learned of yet another early migrant who lived in Dakar and worked in the military.

Concurrent with the migration of people from Mandégane to Dakar was the migration to other smaller Senegalese cities. The largest number moved to Ziguinchor, the regional capital of the Casamance. One of the first to live in Ziguinchor was Karemé Sané. His mother had taken him to Bodé, and from there, he went to Ziguinchor (probably in the late 1940s) to fish. In the early 1950s he was joined by Baboucar Badji, who had been among the first students in Balin-gore's school. Badji found work at the peanut oil factory where he is still employed.

4. Among its members were migrants from Djinobon, Balin-gore, Kagnobon, and Mandégane. According to my informants, migrants from the Fogny chose not to affiliate with this association.

5. Interestingly, 1978 proved to be a year when many women returned from Dakar to Mandégane. These women subsequently married men based in the village. These women had to return to celebrate the 1978 bukat (male initiation ceremony), which proved to be the most disputed ceremony in the memory of the village. The ritual, which takes places every thirty years, is a large occasion for the entire region. In addition to all members of participating patrilineal groups, the ritual draws many spectators. Hosting the ceremony entails a considerable outlay. The village must stock rice and cattle for several years to host the ceremony. The rice crop had not been sufficient in the preceding years for the village to host the ceremony. For a couple of years the men met and decided to postpone the ceremony. Some maintain that Sagna, because of his adherence to Islam, was opposed to the ceremony and sought to delay its celebration indefinitely. However, historian Peter Mark, who interviewed Arfang Kemo Sagna...
shortly before the initiation, had the impression that Sagna did not oppose the ceremony (personal communication).

In 1978, the women of Fungesaf and Ebunaw, tired of waiting for the ceremony, told the men of the section to go back to the other men of the village to tell them that they would go ahead and celebrate the initiation that year. If they did not have the courage to do it, the women informed them, the women would put on pants and initiate the young men. The men of the sections of Fungesaf, Ebunaw, Boulacan, and Fatouck conceded to the women's demand. Against the wishes of the men of the other sections, they celebrated the initiation in 1978.

The timing of the initiation produced conflicts in the village: men of the celebrating sections slept by their wells to guard against possible poisoning, and the army was called in to insure that the initiation would not be interfered with. As a result of this conflict, the sacred forest of the section of Jilaban was separated from that of Fungesaf. For their part, the other sections refused to participate in that year's celebration. They did however, initiate their youth the following year.


6. They live near a section of Grand Yoff called Khar Yalla. I have been told that this section is called Khar Yalla, or "waiting for God," because many of the residents were relocated there from elsewhere in Dakar. Having been subjected to one relocation they were determined to remain in their current homes until they "met God."

7. Of the others, four are as or more distant from Dakar than Malika. Three areas with comparatively high concentrations of people from Mandégane have emerged: Grand Yoff (five home owners and six renters), Yeumbeul (twelve home owners and one renter), and the currently expanding area of Malika (six home owners). There has also been a move of some renters to Thiaroye, which has the advantage of remarkably cheap rent, less congestion, and a convenient location on the auto-route directly into the city center. The only other part of town with a concentration of people from Mandégane is the Fass-Geulé Tapee area with a combined total of two owners and eight renters.

8. The *préfet* is the government representative to the *arrondissement*, an administrative unit.

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### PART III

**THE VILLAGE AND THE CITY**

When I first arrived in Mandégane, my assistant and I kept busy by assembling a census of the village section where I lived. We collected a variety of data, ranging from date of birth to occupation. Instead of limiting our survey to people who lived in the village, we asked informants to include all their relatives regardless of where they lived. Soon it became clear that village residents maintained an impressive range of knowledge about relatives who lived outside Mandégane. With ease, villagers were able to run off a long list of names. They knew detailed information about the age, employment history, marital status, host of a migrant, and whether he or she had become a home owner. Later, when I checked this data with informants in Dakar, I marveled at its accuracy. At times when I met people in Dakar I astonished them by detailing their relationships to various people in the village.

Although the information collected through the census was useful, I found it more remarkable that such a census could be collected at all. The volume of data collected revealed that vast amounts of information about people was quickly shared between people who lived in different locations. Information about where distantly located kin and friends worked and lived and who they had married proved engaging material for the rumor mill. From this it became clear to me that members of this community took a keen interest in what friends and relatives were doing in other locations, even if years had passed since they had last seen them.

People have a variety of reasons for seeking this information, ranging from curiosity to assessing the amount of remittances they may reasonably expect. More generally, though, this information is one expression of the extent to which lineages and other groups in this multilocal community have become delocalized. At one time lineages were localized around land, their most important resource. Although land remains a
valued resource, access to urban locations has become increasingly important. Today urban employment is a much more profitable venture than farming. Curiously, when its members began moving out of the village, the lineage did not break apart. Rather, it became a template for understanding relationships that span space and time (see chapter 1). In the several decades that have passed since the beginning of urban migration, the kinship idiom has extended its domain from defining claims on agricultural land to defining rights and responsibilities in disputes over urban resources such as the rights of residence in urban homes and rights to urban employment opportunities. In the census we collected, only 23 percent of lineage members lived in the village. Another 23 percent lived in Dakar, and the rest were divided between other rural (23 percent) and other urban (30 percent) locations. Indeed, the constant flow of individuals between locations makes it difficult for many to identify a principal place of residence or "home." Of course the dispersion of this community predates urban migration, and some authors (see Linares 1992) have argued that rural-rural migration has been central to the long-term expansion of Jola from the Cara into the Boulouf and Fogny. It could be argued that the delocalized lineage existed long before urban migration began in the 1940s. At the very least its roots can be traced to the long-standing and regular movement of people out of the village to other rural locations. When patrilineal groups became too large for their land holdings, elder sons were expected to leave the village in search of land in other villages. If they were not fortunate enough to find virgin land, land not yet under cultivation, often they managed to borrow land in established communities. Their children would be able to inherit this land not as their own but also on loan. In these host communities neither migrants nor their descendants were allowed to own this land, and migrants were careful to remind their children that Mandégane was their home: in Mandégane, at least in principle, the children of out-migrants had inalienable rights to land. This was most clearly expressed by their continued participation in Mandégane’s initiation ceremony through which the children of out-migrants were formally initiated into Mandégane’s patrilineal groups. These migrants usually retained close ties with kin in Mandégane until the conditions of the land loan had been forgotten, a process that often took several generations.

Before the turn of the century, maintaining close relationships between different locations, even over a distance of only a few kilometers, must have been difficult. The challenge of maintaining ties without access to paved roads was made more difficult by inter-village hostilities that rendered traveling not just arduous but dangerous. I spoke with many elder men who remembered when few dared to venture as far as the rice fields surrounding Mandégane unarmed. The region’s pacification and the development of its infrastructure made it possible not only for people to move freely but also for dispersed lineage members to reinforce their personal ties through frequent visits and extensive information sharing. Out-migrants were not alone in working to maintain these relationships. Those in the village were proactive in insuring that those who left the village did not lose touch with the people they left behind. Slowly, Mandégane’s patrilineal groups began to take on the characteristics of a delocalized social formation. That is, material claims were not made only by out-migrants on lineage members in Mandégane. Those in Mandégane, too, pursued claims on those who had left the village. Their obligations, responsibilities, and affiliations were dispersed throughout the Basse-Casamance, a legacy that continues to the present through mutual visits between those who live in Mandégane and those who are the descendants of relatives who left for other villages as early as the 1920s. By that time, Mandégane’s social network resembled the hub of a wheel: Mandégane was the axis, and the social network of each lineage was a spoke extending from the center beyond the geographic boundaries of the village into other rural villages.

Rural-rural migration came to a virtual halt in the 1960s. By then young men lost interest in establishing rights in new agricultural land. Instead of continuing to set their sights on opportunities in other rural locations, they turned their attention to Dakar and the apparent wealth of opportunity in the industrial and public sector.

Since the 1960s, few of my informants—male or female—have aspired to remain in Mandégane. Those youth who do express a desire to remain in the village usually qualify what they mean by the village. For example a young man told me that he wished to settle in the village "but there is no work there." The village in which some people say that they want to remain is not the village of the present. Either it is a village of an imagined future in which jobs, cash, and mass-produced items are abundant, or it is a village of an equally imagined past where rainfall is abundant, and the rice harvest, bountiful. Youth seem to find the prospect of remaining in Mandégane attractive only if and when they imagine Mandégane as having some of the characteristics of Dakar, particularly employment opportunities and a well-developed cash economy. Alternatively, some find the image of Mandégane attractive if clothed in the utopian characteristics of a nostalgically reconstructed past.

It goes without saying that neither of these visions, the nostalgic reconstruction nor the modernist city, describes the current situation in Mandégane. Indeed few would argue that living in the village is easy. As I described in chapter 3, the social organization of the village is experienced bodily through arduous agricultural labor. The household, as well as the age/gender groups, hold rights on the labor of most people living in Mandégane. Every time a man thrusts his kajendou into the
ground and a woman bends to push a seedling into the mud, they are reminded of these multiple claims. This experience of work, a somatic emblem of membership in various village social groups, contrasts sharply with urbanity. The city provides a repertoire of other meanings, most of which are also intimately linked with economy and work. Moreover, the city is where individuals can strive to find refuge from the web of social obligations that bind the individual to the soil.

Relationships of economic dependence between rural and urban households overlay this experiential and symbolic construction of place. Almost every rural household depends on remittances from urban households not only for luxury items, such as soap and oil, but also for the very means of survival—that is, for the rice on which every household depends (see chapter 3). Though with the approach of the agricultural season, members of rural households do indeed strategize to secure labor by cajoling members in urban areas to return for a few months, longer-term household strategies are oriented toward forging personalized links to urban locations. The unavoidable fact is that the arduous agricultural labor of the village simply does not produce much of a cash income, much less a salary.

While those who move to the city maintain links to the village through remittances sent back to the village, through children who return to the village for the summers or to attend school, or through hosting visitors to the city from the village, they also maintain close ties to other migrants from Mandégane living in the city. Urbanization has promoted the de-localization of Mandégane not only at the level of the lineage but also at the level of the wider community. Relations between rural and urban locations have not simply been maintained. There has been a transposition of the social relations of the village onto the urban environment. As discussed in chapter 6, section- and village-wide associations were formed in urban locations. Beginning with the first arrival of migrants from Mandégane to Dakar in the mid- to late 1950s, the social relations of the community of Mandégane has been growing with and into Dakar’s emerging urban landscape.

Regardless of the many ways by which migration has socially and culturally changed Mandégane, there has been continuity in the idea of the “village.” This is probably true of many of Senegal’s local communities, especially when we consider that many of Dakar’s inhabitants are first- or second-generation migrants. Virtually everyone I knew in Senegal knew their village of origin, and most maintained relationships with relatives in rural locations. Dakar’s social landscape is marked by a proliferation of associations whose memberships are based on descent from common rural villages. Social identity in Dakar is embedded in tightly drawn social networks that are defined by relationships to rural locations. This social fact invests localism with a salience that, for many, wholly overshadows their encompassing ethnic affiliations (see Lambert 1991).

Similar to the way by which rural villages help ground urban experience in localized groups, what it means to live today in a West African village cannot be seen as independent of the meaning of urbanity. Everyone in the village of Mandégane is aware of so-called urban ways of living. Local knowledge of urban locations extends deeply into the heart of social life in the village. Knowledge of the city is locally enacted and embodied in dress, speech, and consumption, which are just a few of the many local expressions of urbanity.

Once while walking on a path in Mandégane with some friends, a young man passed some distance in front of us. He was sharply dressed in trousers and a neatly pressed shirt. In his right arm he carried a daughter, and he held the hand of another daughter with his left hand. Both of these young girls were finely attired in Western style dresses. The young father walked beside an older man, possibly his children’s grandfather, who stood in sharp contrast to this ideal of young urban success. Wearing an old torn robe, the grandfather looked as though he could have just returned from the fields. For the young men who were with me, the contrast was striking. Just as other youth have remarked on similar visual object lessons, my companions were quick to comment longingly on the younger man’s success. Later, I learned that he was an officer in the Senegalese military. For the youth of Mandégane, this fact conjured up notions about how this man lived that were highlighted by their stark contrast to the man beside whom he walked. Although the facts about the young father’s life and work in Dakar could be disguised in the village, his demeanor, the way he casually strolled through the village smartly dressed with his daughters in hand, conjured up images of a life of ease or at least of one of much higher prestige than the life of hard agricultural labor lived by the grandfather. The contrast of his dress to that of his older rural-based companion offers an allegory on migration and its meanings. Together the two men struck a contrast in consumption patterns and ways of earning a living. The contrast even suggested different household arrangements: this was the only time that I had ever seen a man strolling through the village while cradling his daughter in his arms. Young children were usually wrapped tightly onto the backs of their mothers.

The contrasting images presented by these two men was but one of the many ways by which urbanity has been brought back to the village. Though this man may have performed the urbanité in the village unwittingly, he provides an apt example of the ways by which knowledge of the urban has become embedded in daily village social interaction. In some sense, this symbolic opposition between the rural and the urban
has come to define what it means to live in the village. Even when people fail to emulate models of urbanity, the meaning of their engagement in a rural life is overwhelmed by the lower status ascribed to it by many, particularly by the youth in daily social discourse and interaction.

In Mandégane, the rural and the urban are new ideas about how life might be lived, opposing ideas that have reoriented the life ambitions of even those who are born and raised in the village. The local meanings associated with these terms, as well as their symbolic juxtaposition, are indeed a cultural artifact of multilocality. The behavior of the military officer described above illustrates how the idea of the urban is transposed to the village, then read by those living there. Visual contrasts such as these provide examples of how local knowledge of urban and rural life informs the ways by which actors make sense of and orient their actions. Also evident in this example is how these contrasts redefine the ways by which status is evaluated.

This is not to say that the rural-urban dichotomy has the same meanings for all regardless of age, gender, or socio-geographic position. Instead, this dichotomy has become an axis around which turn various tensions between gender and age groups. Referring again to the above example of the army officer, different categories of people read the rural-urban contrast differently. The grandfather and the officer were invested in different geographic locations, the village and the city respectively. It is plausible that they would have different and contradictory readings of the contrast created by their images. In addition, styles of urbanity tend to be seen and understood as synonymous with the styles of youth; the opposition of rural and urban styles often reflects intergenerational tensions. The perspective of these two men on their embodiments of the rural-urban juxtaposition differs, as well, from that of the young men who accompanied me. The young men who were walking with me hoped to find work in the city, but as they had not yet found employment, it remained to be seen whether they would commit to the village or the city. Women might understand this display differently still. Indeed the impact of the rural-urban dichotomy cannot be understood without understanding how it has become central to gender and age relations. Both of these issues will be explored further in the following chapters of this book.

First, I want to clarify certain ideas that were revealed to me about the distinction between rural and urban locations. Curiously, many ideas of rurality commonly held in Mandégane would strike a familiar chord to many Americans. As should be apparent from the materials presented in part 1 of this book, rurality suggests a life of intense labor, meager earnings, and a social atmosphere of conformity. Entangled with these negative depictions, however, are the equally powerful positive associations of social familiarity and economic reciprocity. Similarly, urban locations provoke ambivalent associations that combine positive ideas about economic success with negative ones of impersonal social relations.

Irrespective of this ambivalence, the rural-urban opposition has enveloped the rhetoric and practice of local actors such that personal identity has become intimately tied to place or to where one lives. Because the young officer lived and worked in Dakar, assumptions were made about how he lived. My young companions made inferences, which may or may not have been accurate, about whom and how this man had married, what he owned, where he worked, and the content of his relationships with other members of the community. This is the type of life to which these young men aspired. For them living in the city was not just a choice. It was an achievement. Few would disagree that successful urban migrants attain higher status than their rural counterparts, especially in the context of the village. Not only are the city and village different, but the people inhabiting these different locations are understood to be different types of people. Success and failure are among the traits that distinguish these two types of people.

Place has become more than just a geographic location. It has become central to the strategies by which personal identity is constructed and communicating. As one might expect of a situation in which identity has become irrevocably linked to place, migration has become an overwhelming feature of Mandégane and of most other communities of the region. Migration for Mandégane is both conceptual and physical. Because personal identity is so closely linked to migration, men and women alike are expected to do leave the village for urban areas. Though nearly all migrants aspire to economic security, it is not just any form of security they seek. Migrants seek a security that translates meaningfully into local understandings of personal identity. The making of personal identity in Mandégane now flows like a stream in the direction of an economic dependence on the world economy, the course of which passes through the city of Dakar (cf. Gardner 1993).

NOTES

1. The lineage has also become a means for those in urban areas to retain rights to resources in rural locations.

2. Olga Linares (1992: 145-203) provides a detailed ethnography on a “pioneer” community near Bignona. One aspect of this village is the sharp distinction between village founders and immigrants. Central to the asymmetrical relations that hold between these two social categories is that only founders can own land. Compared to non-pioneer villages, this pioneer village is also largely exogamous. Although we do not learn where marriage partners for members of this community are from, data I collected suggests that migrants find marriage partners in their village of origin. In Mandégane immigrants to pioneer villages often marry someone who traces descent to Mandégane.
3. Ironically this image of the past contrasts with the recollections of elders. They reflected on it as a time of food insecurity, danger, and scarcity of goods.

4. A small number of people, however, did manage to earn enough money from nonagricultural activities to free them from local labor demands. They include a construction contractor who works on government-financed projects, a Guinean who runs a boutique, Imam Malang Bodian and his rival Bassirou Sagna, and several schoolteachers, all of whom are from other villages. The village chief is compensated for his services, but this compensation is not enough to free him from labor demands.

5. While the adoption of urban styles should not be considered a natural process of modernization, it must be explained. Its meaning does not lie in how it is situated within universal processes but in the processes by which it emerges and becomes relevant in the context of an already present system of meaning.

7

Muslims and Migrants

These strategies did not exist in the 1940s when the first cohort of young men enrolled in Balingore's school and initiated their journey to Dakar. Rather than being directed toward affecting what was considered in Mandégane to be a modern urban style, public performances were directed toward emulating the local imam and the styles of Islam. Fashion centered on the long colorful flowing Islamic robes that were then seen as a stylistic advance on the black swaths of cloth worn by the remaining animists. At the time, Arfang Kemo Sagna was emerging as a regional Islamic leader. Muslims in surrounding villages had already begun converging on Mandégane for Friday prayers, reinforcing Mandégane's preeminence as a regional Islamic center.

Although the styles of Islam clearly knitted the village into a wider religious community, the political and social formations of Islam that developed in Mandégane were focused inwardly on the village. Islam permeated Mandégane's political organization, defining the way by which each of the village's eight sections understood its relationship with the larger village. Each section had its own imam, all eight of whom were loyal to Sagna who presided over Mandégane's Grand Mosque. As the number of the faithful increased, Islam eventually replaced the traditional shrines that once expressed the common unity of the village's eight sections.

In contrast to today's migrants, the first urban migrants were lured by a vision of experiences that were not available to those who remained in the village. As I mentioned earlier, these men told me that they left Mandégane because they wanted to broaden their experience. They wanted to know what it was that lay beyond the channels and rice fields of the Boulouf. They said that once they had satisfied their curiosity,
they expected to return to Mandégane, marry, and settle into life as a subsistence rice producer.

When these migrants were young, social, political and economic institutions based in Dakar and France were making their way into the Casamance. Quickly and easily, information about life beyond the confines of the village permeated the smallest recess of the region. Ziguinchor was a growing town; Bignona, an active administrative post. Many Europeans and Middle Easterners traded and lived in villages. A Syrian is alleged to have had a store on the main road in Mandégane. In the wake of the newly constructed schools were teachers, many of whom were not from the Casamance and all of whom were educated. As children, this small group of young men in Mandégane had watched these changes and learned that, by attending school, they, too, might taste their fruit. When Mandégane declined the government’s offer of a school, Bal­ingore, only five kilometers away, gladly accepted it. When the school was completed in 1944, these men took advantage of the opportunity.

What captivated the imagination of these young men was vague, and it was uniquely focused on their cohort. Their elders had gained some understanding of it, but rather than moving closer to it, they resisted it. As I discuss in chapter 5, these elders, quite possibly with the encouragement of Sagna, prayed that these aspiring students would fail.2 They did not. Their accomplishments gave specific form to what for them previously had been only a vague allure to exotic urbanity. Their success forced a reevaluation of what success meant. The avenue they opened to urban locations became a vector through which the urban styles they had improvised returned to Mandégane, redefining that to which the people of Mandégane would aspire.

Markers of urbanity outlined a style that youth wore to proclaim their modernity. Through them, youth appeared to loudly claim something about themselves, specifically that they were of a world much larger than the village. Placed in striking opposition to their elders’ Islamic style, they declared that style as provincial and traditional. More than echoes of this remain in the comments that today’s youth make about men in their forties, men who have studied the Koran and who still proudly wear their robes and conscientiously practice their daily prayers. These markers are unambiguous markers of an individual who has never attempted to find work in the city. In contrast, the youth who venture to the city proudly wear western trousers; many affect an indifference to Islam. To be sure, these stances are about more than style. They mark opposing, almost incompatible, patterns of sociability. The sites of Islam’s sociability—the daily prayers, the weekly meetings at the mosque, and the rejection of dancing—make the styles of Islam a rejection of the sociability of urbanity. While active Muslims gather at the mosque and make it the site of sociability, or a place where older men gather to pass each Friday afternoon, urbanity has found its site of sociability in the dance hall.

The juxtaposition of the dance hall to the mosque, of urbanity to Islam, and of insularity to migration are three overlapping expressions of intergenerational tensions. These tensions, previously expressed in other forms, are now poignantly expressed through conflicts between elders and youth over the dance hall. Conflicts such as these do not seem to be unique to Mandégane. Francis Snyder (1978) discusses a similar case in a village south of the Casamance river. This village was not a Muslim village, and the idioms of the conflict would not have turned on the Islam/urban dichotomy. Nevertheless, in the village of “Gasumay,” Snyder describes urban migration as central to intergenerational tensions (p. 244).

The establishment of Mandégane’s youth dance hall in the late 1950s and early 1960s almost ended in bloody confrontation. Previously halls had been located in each of Mandégane’s eight sections. They were constructed of thatch and provided places where youth could congregate in relative freedom from their elders. When the youth were divided into these smaller units, they did not threaten the elders’ hegemony, a hegemony that was expressed through the village mosque, over the village polity. When the youth decided to consolidate themselves in a single hall for all the youth, however, elders took action against the elaboration of forms of sociability. They proclaimed them incompatible with those proscribed by Islam.

The unification of the youth marked the beginning of an alternate model for understanding what the village was about, a model that was at odds with the elders’ Islamic model. Shortly after the hall was built, some elders returned from a night of religious chanting and prayer. Filled with pious fervor, they burned the hall to the ground. The ensuing period was tense. At one point, the youth and elders of the village section of Karak faced off, armed with clubs, and would have fought had not another section intervened. In an unrelated incident, after the death of a young man, the village elders (presumably led by Sagna) refused even to provide instructions about how to perform a proper burial. Finally, the tensions culminated when the elders confiscated the youths’ record player. At this point the government intervened to protect the rights of youth to establish an officially recognized association. The record player was returned, the youth were authorized to build a hall, and the elders who had confiscated the record player were arrested.

Although these incidents occurred some thirty years ago, and although the then young protagonists are now elders, similar idioms of intergenerational conflict persist. Today, though, these conflicts are admittedly less heated. The youth association still hides its equipment. They frequently point out that their activities are sanctioned and protected by
the government, and they make sure to secure governmental approval for their major events. This is done as much to protect themselves from the government as it is to assure that the government will intervene on their behalf should elders attempt to curtail their activities.

When I lived in Mandégane, there was tension over the use of the dance hall. What happened in the hall tended to be left to the discretion of the youth. The elders were more concerned about controlling when the hall was open. The elders claimed that dancing was disrespectful and that seven days should pass after someone died before the hall should be reopened. They also wanted the hall closed on Thursday nights so that dancing would not extend into Friday morning, the Islamic day of prayer. For the youth, these were not minor inconveniences. In a large village such as Mandégane, which has roughly one thousand resident and three thousand nonresident members, deaths are frequent. Youth argued that three days was a sufficient length of time to mourn a death. Moreover, Friday, because it was a day of rest and prayer, was one of the few days youth could sleep late. They cherished Thursday as one of the rare nights that they could socialize into the early hours of the morning. Had the youth followed the rules preferred by the elders, the hall would have remained closed for much of the summer that I lived in Mandégane.

After the youth followed their preferred rules for a few weeks, Bassirou Sagna, in an effort to enhance his legitimacy as the village’s religious leader, convened a meeting with the youth. Through an appeal to the precepts of Islam, he called upon them to follow the rules preferred by the elders. Several elders also attended. After Bassirou had had his say, these elders reiterated his demands. Most of the youth sat silently and listened, but a few of the older ones (some of whom were well into their fortieths) had the courage to speak up against the demands. After the meeting the youth cautiously continued to use the hall according to their rules, as they had done before the meeting. Later that summer, however, leaders of the youth association contested Bassirou’s legitimacy by refusing his request to speak at a youth-organized village conference. I suspect that they did this in retaliation of his attempt to curtail their activities.

Incidents such as these display some of the ways that urbanity has become opposed to Islam and entangled in intergenerational tensions. Ironically, fifty years earlier, another generation had expressed these tensions and their opposition to their elders through the styles of Islam. Just as urbanity today provides a powerful symbol for youth, the same was once true of Islam. Mandégane’s history has progressed through the successive demise of hegemonic structures, first animism and now Islam, which have dissolved under the weight of time as one dying generation is replaced by its newly empowered successors.

Narratives I collected on Mandégane’s conversion to Islam are similar to those I collected on the beginnings of urban migration. Both movements were initiated by a small group of young men (most of whom are known) who acted in defiance of local opinion. Urban migration began when a small cohort enrolled in Balingore’s school. Similarly, conversion to Islam began when a small group of young men shifted their allegiances from the village elders to Sherif Mafoudh. The example provided by these “rebels” was then followed by other youth. Very simply, they were attracted by styles that had become symbols of youth unity and a vehicle for voicing opposition to elders.

I had the chance to speak with some of the now elderly converts. These converts claimed that they had decided to convert because their friends had converted. By the time they were mature, Islam had already found its way throughout the community. Arfang Kemo Sagna had returned to Mandégane and was well on his way to establishing his now esteemed position. By converting to Islam, young men created social distance between themselves and their animist elders. Islamic prohibitions against eating pork and drinking alcohol prevented them from sharing festive periods with the elders. The elders with whom I spoke claimed that, by converting, they could again affiliate with other people their age who had already adopted the new faith. By converting, then, these men made public display of the fact that their allegiances remained with other youth, not with their elders.

Conversion for these men was a way of choosing their friends. With this choice came a redefinition of what it meant to be young. Their cohort enveloped and isolated themselves from their elders by practicing Islam and adopting its styles. Everyone, the local religious leaders included, claimed that Sagna succeeded because he understood these intergenerational tensions. As I have previously discussed, Sagna focused his efforts on youth, enticing them through the promise of new colorful flowing robes. His strategy was to make a show of Muslim clothes which, he hoped, would lure young men and women into the new faith. Resonances of this are visible today with urbanity when, for example, young preteenage girls are lured from school to work in Dakar. They hope to wear the clothes—specifically to don the urbanity—to which they are exposed every summer night in the dance hall. Then, the village is awash with stylishly dressed young women who have returned to Mandégane from Dakar for the summer.

The conversion to Islam had a profound impact on Mandégane. Not only were changes internal to the village’s economic and political organization wrought through Islam, it also informed a redefinition of the village’s relationship with external political and economic institutions (see chapter 4). The changes that accompanied Islam, though, pale in comparison to those that followed urbanity into Mandégane. The latter
changes included not only shifts in the village’s relationship to regional economic and political institutions but also redefinitions of the location of the village. Through them, Mandégane passed from a village into an extended and delocalized community. With them, members of the village moved into places as distant as Dakar, into lands previously foreign to this large Casamance village.

A crucial difference between the two movements is that Islam was accompanied by few changes in how livelihoods were made. Initially, animists were wary of Islam. Anxiously they noted that marabouts, the most visible Islamic figures, did not cultivate. Instead they derived a livelihood by selling amulets. Some elders assumed that their children would also abandon agriculture if they converted. Only after elders had been assured that their children would not abandon rice and peanut cultivation did they reluctantly accept their children’s decisions. Perhaps their only privation was that they would then be required to tap their own palm wine. Very possibly, the direct economic impact of Islam in the village was limited to collective cultivation of the imam’s fields.

With the intrusion of styles of urbanity, people began aspiring not only to live in urban areas but also to pursue a different way of earning a living. Underlying urban migration was the effort to escape from reciprocal labor demands into a salaried position. The first cohort of migrants achieved this with apparent ease; their success opened the eyes of Mandégane to new possibilities. The difference between the standard of living achieved by urban migrants and those who lived in the village became clear to everyone. Moreover, those who remained in the village became very well aware of the benefits garnered by migrants’ relatives, benefits that included, among other items, tin roofing, rice, and bicycles. The increased availability of manufactured goods, which can be attributed only in part to urban migration, set in motion other processes of migration, processes that rendered the understanding of Mandégane as an extended, not localized, community increasingly salient.

The 1950s are important not only because mass urban migration began during this decade but also because this migration initiated a reverse flow into the village of new manufactured plastic and metal goods. While these goods were not of superior or even very good materials, they were ascribed higher status than those locally produced from clay, reeds, and palm leaves. Migrants aspired to obtain these goods by laying down their kajendous and searching for jobs that called upon them to work with pens. The now pervasive performances of urbanity are directed toward expressing that the actor has achieved this shift.

The first urban migrants were not pushed from the village to Dakar. Instead, they were pulled by the allure of being young and looking for adventure. The option has remained for them to return; when they first left Mandégane, this was apparently their intention. Yet over time, their economic success has translated into symbolic victory. The growing number of youth who aspire to emulate their way of life reinforces their desire to remain in Dakar. It was their success that renders their return, at least in the short term, unlikely.

WOMEN

As these men established themselves in Dakar, the aspirations of young women changed as well. The trousseaux that women were expected to bring into their conjugal households started becoming more elaborate. Plastic and metal manufactured goods started replacing locally produced household goods such as calabash tubs and clay pots. Just as men had begun reevaluating their father’s achievements in light of new possibilities, the ways by which women began to project their worth also changed. Women had already begun seasonal migrations to Ziguinchor and Banjul. When men established households in Dakar, women soon turned their sights to Senegal’s largest labor market.

Through their frequent movements between the village and the city, these women helped reincorporate male migrants into the community. Almost all young women went to Dakar under the tutelage of urban-based men. During this period, by which I mean from the 1950s to the early 1970s and for some women to the present, women moved frequently between the village and the city. Initially the expectation and likely reality was for them to work in the city between January and August and to work in the village for the rest of the year. Their frequent rural-urban oscillations served as a constant reminder of the mutual obligations of kin, regardless of the distance between their residences. Young men would soon follow these women, embarking upon more extended stays in urban locations.

These women initiated a flow of young men and women to Dakar. The circular migration of youth provided a vector through which new expectations could be transmitted to younger generations. Images of urbanity moved quickly through Mandégane. The symbolic work of all involved, from the initial migrants to the young women working as domestics, elaborated and transformed these expectations. Migrants, anxious as to how they would be viewed by their neighbors, entrenched these expectations by exaggerating the extent of their economic success during return visits to the village. Never again would it be good enough for a man to settle easily into the life of a hardworking farmer; he had to be salaried in the city. Similarly, women encountered an imperative to prove their worth by amassing a sizable trousseau. Mass urban migration and styles of urbanity became features of Mandégane through the central place they now have in the ways by which success is evaluated.
The growing number of migrants from Mandégane in the 1960s made it possible for original migrants to have their cake and eat it too: they could remain in Dakar and still be integral members of the geographically expanding community. Although they have yet to return (an event that has become increasingly unlikely), the example that they provide about what is possible has returned to Mandégane in a very persuasive and almost forceful way, invading the life aspirations of nearly all youth of the village.

The example provided by initial migrants intoxicated the cohort immediately succeeding them. The initial migrants displayed to Mandégane what it meant to work in factories, in offices, and for the military. They displayed what it meant to derive a livelihood in an arena not dominated and defined by personalized social relationships. Their checks arrived regularly each month from people whom others in the community of Mandégane most likely did not know. These men enjoyed a standard of living that matched that of the village's religious leaders. They too achieved their wealth without having to cultivate. Those with city jobs freed themselves from sharing the labor of the field with kin. They also freed themselves from living at the mercy of nature. Earlier seasonal migrants had left Mandégane to cultivate peanuts in other villages. In so doing, they broke partly their productive activities from the demands of reciprocal labor relationships. Even so, these migrants still were required to return to those demands when they cultivated rice. In terms of productive relationships, initial urban migrants had achieved that which seasonal migrants could only dream of having. That was the opportunity forever to revoke the obligation to toil in their neighbor's dirt.

NOTES

1. While there is no prima facie reason that Islam and the styles associated with this faith would not be considered urban (see van Santen 1998), among the people of Mandégane this was not the case. This is probably due to the fact that as Islam was spreading through rural Senegal, the French, who are overwhelmingly not Muslim, were in control of and establishing Senegal's major urban centers, in particular Dakar. I would imagine that the connection between Islam and rural locations could be generalized to most peoples of Senegal. The Mourides, perhaps Senegal's best-known Islamic brotherhood, whose spiritual and economic roots are planted in the rural peanut basin, exemplify this association (see Cruise O'Brien 1971). Dakar and the other colonial cities are secular, despite the fact that the population of these cities is now overwhelmingly Muslim. Senegal's sacred Islamic sites such as Touba, Tiovouane, and even Yoff, are seen to have developed independently of, even in opposition to, French urbanism and urbanity.

2. This widely held opinion may not match the historical facts. Mandégane has seen many people move through schools on their way out of the village.

3. An as yet unanswered question for many of these men is whether or not they will return to Mandégane to be buried. While I do not have any extensive data on where individuals are buried I know that, at the time of this research, much of the rhetoric in support of the village section associations stressed this issue. The strongest argument in favor of these associations was that they allowed for the establishment of a fund to pay for repatriating bodies. It might be telling that the association meetings were poorly attended. They were hardly attended at all by older members of the community who, it seems, would be most concerned with these issues. Based on a casual reflection on some burials that occurred while I was in Senegal, some members of the community were buried in Dakar and other burials took place in the village. I do not have enough information to draw any conclusions as to why some burials were in the village while others were in Dakar.
Ciré Diatta was roughly seventeen and still in Mandégane when I arrived. Most of the other young women her age were working in Dakar. Female migrants sometimes return in August to help transplant rice and stay until January when the harvest is complete. But once this work is done they return to Dakar to their work and their friends. Time passed through the following summer, and Ciré had still not left. Moreover, she had no apparent reason to be in the village. She was neither married nor engaged. She was in good health and had no history of psychological disturbance. Several years earlier she had left school after failing to gain entrance to high school. It was not long before people started to talk. Older women were quick to comment on her presence in the village with derision. They remarked that the village was for infants and the married, not for a young unmarried girl such as Ciré. The place for her, they made it clear, was in the city: now was the time for Ciré to be amassing a trousseau in Dakar rather than passing her premarital years “unproductively” in the Mandégane. In the middle of the following summer, Ciré quietly left. I was told that she left to live with an uncle in Fatick, a town roughly midway between Mandégane and Dakar, where she could begin looking for work as a domestic.

Men experience similar expectations. Karemo’s father vehemently had objected to the idea that his son might leave the village for Dakar. Karemo had abided by his father’s wishes. By the time I met Karemo, he was in his late thirties. He had never attended school and had no reasonable chances of finding urban employment. Apparently he had come to terms with his position. Shortly after I arrived, his relatives negotiated a marriage for him with a woman who was not considered an ideal marriage partner. Besides having a deformed foot she entered the marriage with an infant. Men younger than Karemo considered him an odd-
ity. Of Karemo’s decision to remain in the village and not to attend school, it was said that his father, who was now in his eighties, had simply wanted his son to remain near him and that the father claimed to be proud that his son had never ventured to Dakar. Other villagers explained Karemo’s behavior differently. Karemo, they said, was a “Peul.” The Peul are a cattle-herding people considered by many Jola to be traditional and parochial. Though remaining in the village seems to have won Karemo the favor of his father, it hardly impressed his cohort. To them it was a foolishly simple choice that limited his options and rendered him painfully provincial—almost an anachronism in this age of urban migration.

Kosinski and Prothero (1975: 12) have pointed out that “it is assumed that migrants are different from non-migrants.” Much research has been directed toward identifying who of a given population will be most inclined to leave their village (see White and Woods 1980; Galtung 1971; Hart 1973). In the case of Mandégnane, it could be argued that, in the 1940s, long-term urban migrants were indeed different from others in the community. To start with, the first urban migrants were overwhelmingly young and male. Over time, however, the situation has changed. Rather than distinguishing a segment of the population as different, the propensity to migrate has become generalized to everyone in the village. This has rendered the categories of migrant and non-migrant wholly useless. Any such distinction now seems artificial and arbitrary. Almost everyone leaves the village at some point in their lifetime. The question is not who will migrate and why. The question is who will succeed.

Curiously, the fact is that migrating is not really a choice anymore: in Mandégnane migrants do not carefully consider their options in light of economic and social considerations, then, with trepidation, choose to leave the village. Instead, most people enter the migration stream as an expected life-course event. Migration might be seen as an experience through which the perilous passage from childhood to adulthood is negotiated. The symbolic and economic stakes of gaining urban employment have found their way into almost all village institutions, from the household to the gender/age groups. They are reflected in social facts ranging from the dependence of village households upon remittances from urban dwellers to the logistical discussions that peer groups have about organizing their migration. It can be seen in the schools where young children, as much as they learn their French, learn their tastes for urban clothes. And it can be seen in the trousseau that women are expected to bring into their marriage. If there is a decision to be made, then, it would be to fight this inertia toward migration. To remain in the village and not to gamble for urban employment is a calculated and deliberate choice. Migrating is not.

Without question, this rolling momentum to the city has been abetted by changes in the socioeconomic context of Mandégnane. Much of the effort of the colonial and postcolonial administrations has been directed unwittingly to the establishment of what to the people of Mandégnane have become institutions of migration. Very simply, migration would not have been possible if not for the development of urban centers, and it would have been more difficult if not for the roads built by the French and now the Senegalese government. Institutions such as these have played an important role in integrating this community into the social, economic, and political institutions that were being developed throughout Senegal. This integration was achieved largely by making it possible for individuals to cross between urban and rural locations while maintaining a strong footing in each of these only apparently distinct social worlds. Even successful migrants, despite their affiliation with groups outside of the community (such as those of the workplace), move beyond neither the community nor the orbit of its meaning system. They remain active in village-based associations, and they host more recent migrants, for example. While their migration has been informed by what success means in Mandégnane, through their success they transform, along with those who fail, the meanings of that success and of migration more generally. In so doing they help define what migration will come to mean for future generations, meanings that apply as much to those who live in the village as they do to those who live outside it.

The impact these institutions of migration have had in blurring the boundaries of rural and urban space can be seen in the lives of Demba and Ismael, two brothers of the same father who were not reared together. Demba was reared in Mandégnane, studying at the Koranic school rather than the “French” school. Ismael was reared with another family in Ziguinchor (an urban environment) where he attended school. Ismael failed his entrance exam to the university. (Eventually he entered the military.) Demba, despite only a rudimentary knowledge of French, went to Dakar anyway and tried to learn a trade. Though their upbringing was different, and though they were reared in different locations, once in Dakar they began moving in the same circles and, until recently, even shared a room. I knew both of these men well, and they confided their fears and frustrations to me. Demba’s decision to learn a trade and Ismael’s to enter the military centered on the same themes. In the background hovered the village, which each knew he could always fall back on, and each pursued his occupational choice to ensure that he would not have to return to the village. Difficult as were their lives in the city, and different as were their childhoods, each sought to ensure his status by not returning to the village. They were bound together by the same life-course dilemma. Unmarried and unemployed, both occupied the
same liminal space between the village and city, however different their prospects may have been.

The above examples and discussion point to the fact that the people of Mandégane recognize specific qualitative differences in rural and urban locations. First, they point to differences in how livelihoods are made in urban and rural locations (industry versus agriculture). They remark upon the prevalence of a cash economy in urban locations and its absence in the rural village. In the interlock between rural and urban in Mandégane, these and many other differences have been brought to the attention of and have been rendered meaningful by and for the people of Mandégane. They have become so meaningful, in fact, that the rural-urban dichotomy has become part and parcel of the experience of childhood. Children are reared with the expectation that they will leave for the city. This expectation is so strong that often young girls initiate a migration to the city when barely teenagers. Schools have been one of the most important institutions in grounding the rural-urban distinction so thoroughly in the experience of childhood.

Initially, many in Mandégane resisted the introduction of schools. Although originally viewed as a threat to both agricultural production and the authority of local Islamic leaders, schools were openly embraced in the 1960s. The rapidity with which they were embraced marked a dramatic reversal of earlier views on urban migration. Sending boys to school in the 1960s was an admission that migration was Mandégane’s future. In the late 1970s, girls began entering the school. Now, rather than bemoaning the pernicious consequences of school, many (if not most) complain that the school is not rigorous enough to produce competitive students who are able to compete with students in other parts of the nation. Precious few students from Mandégane pass the national exam for entrance into high school.

It is not that schools have caused urban migration but that they have become a poignant instance of the diffusion of expectations into Mandégane’s social institutions. Not only are schools perceived as integral to migration, they are where the intentions of parents converge with the emerging expectations of their children. No parent discounts the importance of education for securing government employment or as preparation for other types of urban employment. What schools mean for children, however, does not always coincide with the meanings (and hopes) that their parents have for their young scholars. Many girls, for example, leave school long before they sit for their high school entrance exam. For them, school is more a first step into the market for domestics than it is a way to secure a position in Senegal’s civil administration. Most parents I knew claimed that they would have preferred that their girls finish school. Indeed, girls often left school against the wishes of their parents.

Louis-Vincent Thomas (1968, see also Thomas 1965b) predicted that schools would have a profound impact on the Jola and that they would be an important vehicle of change. But what he attributes to schools is the ability to create in youth a “critical spirit” for the purposes of promoting the ideals, among others, of justice and equality. This assumes a certain quality of instruction that my research suggests did not exist in Mandégane. For example, by the end of their sixth year most children whom I knew had at best a rudimentary knowledge of French, the language of instruction. How, under these conditions, could anyone expect these children to learn anything substantive in school? The quality of the school is so poor, in fact, that many have complained. In 1990, a lively confrontation unfolded between the youth and the members of the local school board. Even when compared to schools that are similarly situated, students in Mandégane’s school have a low success rate in Senegal’s national exams. In any given year, no more than two or three students out of a class of roughly sixty pass the high school entrance exam. At the time of my research in Mandégane in 1990, only one female student had ever passed the exam.

While Thomas suggests the impact of schools is to be found in the content of the lessons, I would argue that the lessons that children teach each other have become at least as important, if not more important. What Thomas fails to consider is that schools provide children with a forum, a forum beyond the control of village elders, for the elaboration of youth culture. In many ways the school is analogous to the youth dance hall. In the school, as in the dance hall, youth from throughout the village congregate. But unlike the dance hall, the elaboration of youth culture unfolds in the school with the elders’ tacit approval. Located outside the section, the school brings youth into contact with youth from other sections. Here, as in the dance hall, dress codes are maintained. Still, many families cannot afford to clothe their children. For boys the problem is often solved by sending them to visit maternal kin in Dakar during the Easter vacation. Since children have claims on the property of maternal kin in the village, those in the city are expected to provide schoolboys with clothes. Karamba joked with me about the recent visit of one of his nephews. After listing all of his personal items claimed by his nephew during the visit, he warned me to be careful when I returned to Dakar or he (the nephew, Karamba and I had a fictive kin relationship) would claim everything I owned, even the watch off my wrist.

For reasons unknown to me, girls do not obtain clothes through this strategy. Instead they are expected to earn clothes by working. Each summer all female students from about thirteen years and older work as domestics in Dakar. During these initial journeys girls learn how to live in the city. Often, after several summers, they elect to forego their education and remain in Dakar with their older sisters. Boys, on the other
hand, often remain in school until they either fail to advance or their family can no longer afford their education. It is then that these boys seek urban employment.

Although schools have been central to migration, schools have not led many children into government employment. Instead they have become the first step boys take into the informal sector, and girls, into the domestic labor market. Though parents willingly enroll their children in school, they frequently grumble about their flight to the city. Rarely do children end up following a path of their parents’ choosing. Parents often complain of a migration process that has slipped slowly out of their control, a process in which children answer to expectations of neither their parents’ nor their teachers’ making but rather to expectations made by the children themselves.

Schools underline how youth cohorts define and establish for themselves what is important. I was always struck by the tender age at which girls decide to go to the city. What their parents wanted did not seem to inspire these children. More often than not, parents simply had to reconcile themselves with what the girls had decided. Rather than learning, as Thomas suggested, a “critical spirit” of the purposes of promoting the ideals of justice and equality or even learning the skills necessary to get jobs with decent salaries, children take home from schools the lesson of urbanity. They learn to perform urbanity, and they learn the arts of consumption and self-presentation. They learn to rehearse these lessons not at the blackboard but at evening dances. Children learn how to work in the city so as to afford the cost of dresses, bowls, and other objects required for their “success,” success as they themselves have chosen to define it.

To be sure, the performance of urbanity does not end in the classroom or the dance hall. Other performances—more difficult ones into which the children will pass (also without the aid of parents)—are to be had. Children expect, and will be required, to establish their own networks into urban economic resources. They will be called upon to reach for what they were originally sent to school for: a life in the city. They will be expected to make a claim that their migration was successful, whether through employment or marriage. Finally, as will become clear in the final chapter, they will be expected to settle down and marry. Marital strategies, as will be seen, have become very closely tied to urban migration.

NOTES

1. Most unmarried men in the village had experienced an episode of mental illness while in Dakar. I witnessed one instance of this. The man was taken back to the village where he marched repeatedly around the village shouting and throwing sticks. Eventually he was taken to Ziguinchor for treatment. Many attributed his condition to marijuana. The condition of another man, who displayed similar symptoms, was attributed to the witchcraft of an unidentified fellow student at the University of Dakar.

2. The one common characteristic of migrants is their age. At marriage people are expected to remain in either the village or the city. Migrants make their initial journeys when they are young. I know of no married men who have left in search of long-term urban employment. Some women leave for Dakar after marriage, but this is either for seasonal work or after divorce. Although some elderly never, even in their youth, searched for urban employment, the same cannot be said for younger men and women. Virtually everyone, regardless of educational level, who was born after 1955 has attempted to secure urban employment.

3. The Senegalese state requires that students adhere to an informal dress code. For instance, all students are required to wear shoes. In the section and household these same children often do not wear shoes.

4. Students who fail entrance exams can attend private schools, but this presents a financial burden to the family. Students I knew of who were in private schools were supported by urban-based relatives. For instance, Demba, whose father lived in impoverished conditions in Ziguinchor, remained in school until his university entrance exams (which he twice failed). A relative in France had left his rented house under the care of Demba’s father. Rather than depositing the rent in a savings account, as he was instructed to do, Demba’s father used it to pay for his son’s education.
Though the original migrants from Mandégane to Dakar forged their way into veritable uncharted territory—that is, territory not previously occupied by people from the village—over time Dakar and other urban areas became incorporated into local notions of the community. Migration was folded into the life-course expectations of men and women. Rural households had come to depend on the earnings of relatives working in urban areas; women, even those who eventually married back into the village, earned their trousseaux in the city; and young men began yearning for an urban life radically different from that lived by their fathers.

The social networks that span the divide between the village and the city became a resource through which these goals could be achieved. While the original migrants who ventured into the city in the 1950s had moved into a strange land in which they had built new social networks with people from different parts of Senegal, later migrants moved into a socially familiar terrain, a terrain inhabited by hundreds of kin and friends who also traced their genealogies—and often their individual migration paths—back to Mandégane. Despite the large number of people from other parts of Senegal and the fact that people from Mandégane made up but a tiny minority of the population of Dakar, rare are those migrants who lose themselves in the city. These urban migrants do not fit the stereotypical image of the lone man or woman venturing with all they own into a lonely city where they will forge their individualism. Instead, the reality was that, by the 1960s, though migrants were uncertain as to what the outcome of their objectives in leaving for the city would be, particularly regarding marriage and employment, the social terrain of the city was well mapped out for them. They knew where they would live, who their friends would be, and where they would eat. To-
day parents send their children on preliminary trips to the city in part so they may learn about this terrain, easing their later urban migration. Though friends and business contacts are found among the many strangers in the city, the most important social ties are those defined by the commonality of lives traced back to the Mandégane. These kin, particularly the ones who have been successful, can be counted on to provide housing and food as well as companionship.

As might be expected, most successful migrants want to be seen as generous, and generosity has become part and parcel of a migrant’s self-presentation. This can be seen when they return to the village, whether they perform their success subtly when they arrive in a taxi or not so subtly when they lavish gifts or finance a village feast. What is communicated through these performances is that they live differently from the people who live in the village. They live in concrete homes, wear “Senegalese” clothes, support several wives if they are successful, eat different foods, have enough money to send remittances to relatives in the village. Through contrasts such as these, migrants realize a personal identity at the heart of which location, wealth, and style converge.

In the city, unlike the village, it is difficult if not impossible to fake these performances of urbanity. Mandégane’s urban community is close. People know who is employed and who is not. It is easy to confirm a person’s claim that he owns his home. Those who have not yet secured a job cannot disguise or escape the hard, cruel fact that they are able to remain in Dakar only because of the generosity of wealthier kin. In the village, however, I have seen even those who do not have jobs garner enough resources for a limited performance of success. For example, they might use the limited cash that they have to make sure their family has a healthy serving of fish. Those who cannot garner even these resources do not return to the village. Such was the case of Omar, a self-employed electrician who wanted to return to Mandégane. With his meager earnings, he was able to save enough money to pay his fare, but he confessed that he could not save enough to pay for the gifts that he felt that he would have to give to his friends and family in the village. For this reason, he chose not to return.

Notwithstanding the higher status that is ascribed to urban-based members of Mandégane, those successful migrants I spoke with in Dakar described village life with much nostalgia. For example, with a sense of pathos and a twinge of jealousy, many sighed when they claimed that one does not need money in the village. In so doing, they implied that they had come to see cash as a burden. It was, they suggested, simply something one had to live with in the city. In the village, they suggested, one does not need money. Oranges, mangoes, rice, and fish can be had freely from the land. With this discourse, they erased the labor needed to produce these items, which was, ironically, the very labor from which so many were trying to escape through and by their urban migration. Alongside this romanticization of rural life, through which many, if not most, express a longing to return to the village, there is also a certain tacit understanding of other, less favorable, discourses on rurality, discourses that waft close to the surface. These play a significant part in defining what people do as opposed to what they say. Older men who were established in Dakar, most of whom owned houses and lived comfortably on pensions, often claimed to have vague plans to return to Mandégane. One dream that several people mentioned to me was that of retiring to the Casamance and living on a fruit tree plantation where they would be able to idle out their lives, living off the considerable earnings of their plantation into which they would not have put much effort.

So far, only Younousse Badji has even come close to acting upon these plans. In the mid-1980s, he purchased land in the Casamance on which he planned to establish a commercial farm. But instead of buying land in Mandégane, Younousse chose the neighboring village of Niamone. He was familiar with this village, but, unlike in Mandégane, he did not have close personal ties there. Younousse understood that, had he located his project in Mandégane, he would have risked losing his investment. To explain, several people have tried to open shops in Mandégane. All of these efforts have failed, however, as a result of the fact that their stock was depleted by “gifts” made to kin and friends. The retail trade now rests firmly in the control of “stranger” peul traders.

Had Younousse located his farm in Mandégane, no doubt he probably would have faced similar entanglements, entanglements that would have presented a significant risk to his investments. Unlike the situation Parkinson (1972) describes in Kenya, where Islam has provided young entrepreneurs with a means to create social and economic distance from poorer neighbors, no such mechanism exists in Mandégane. First, everyone in the village is already converted to Islam. Second, social inclusion and equality are often stated through this religious idiom. If Younousse were to return to Mandégane, then, most likely, he would have to recognize his “equality” with other men his age who are less financially secure by sharing his wealth with them and by toiling alongside them in the fields. To date, physical distance is one of the only available strategies for maintaining social distance.

In Dakar, the virtues of reciprocity can be safely contemplated, even admired, and espoused, without having to bear their financial burden. In the city, successful migrants can exercise some control over the composition of their cohort. Or rather, those who remain in the city are by definition successful and thus are those who are unlikely to make overwhelming demands on others’ resources. Migration is a process of attrition. While all members of a cohort begin their adulthood by going to
Dakar, not everyone succeeds in the single-minded quest for the golden chalice of migration, a good job. Almost all who return to Mandégane will have failed to find work. The process bifurcates cohorts into the successful and the unsuccessful. In Dakar, successful men, and their money, can feel safe. While they do help support younger (i.e., not yet successful) migrants, they are elders to these younger men and thus they are able to maintain distance from them.

These younger migrants do, however, maintain reciprocal relationships with one another. The first few years are difficult. Many men spend these years working as apprentices. They receive a small living allowance, if they receive any at all. They know that their situation is precarious and that, suddenly and without notice, a good apprenticeship might be lost. Lamine, for example, had an apprenticeship as a welder at a fish processing plant. Several years before I met Lamine, his master craftsman died unexpectedly. The company decided to rehire some of the apprentices and to release the others. Lamine failed to convince a brother who worked in the same company to argue on his behalf, and subsequently Lamine was released. While this apprenticeship once provided him with a modest living, he suddenly found himself unemployed, and due only to the good will of friends, he managed to remain in Dakar. Lamine was lucky: Saloum, an older brother, agreed to pay his rent, and Mohammed, another brother, allowed him to eat with him. But even this did not provide him with the security he needed. Shortly after that, Saloum quit paying his rent. This forced Lamine and his friends to find new living arrangements.

Lamine moved in with other friends. In principle, they split the rent. As it turned out, though, one of the other tenants, Karemo, who worked as a plumber and had a steady income, paid most of it. Karemo had not held his job for long. He was still single, and despite the burden of paying most of the rent, he saved some money by living in a modest single room. At the time, it seemed that only Karemo would achieve the success to which he and his friends had aspired. What this meant, among other things, was that soon things would change. Most likely Karemo would marry, and when he married, his status would change. He would move from being a bachelor who shared lodging with friends to being a husband who shared lodging with a wife and children. As a household head, he would also be responsible for feeding at least some young migrants who were sure to become attached to his household.

Most married men were responsible for feeding young single unemployed men. The youth with whom Lamine shared a room were attached to various households. Lamine, for example, had been attached to Mohammed’s household before Mohammed had withdrawn his support. What happened is that Ousmane, another of Lamine’s brothers, had fled the country. With him, he took most of Mohammed’s savings. In addition, Ousmane left his children and wife in Mohammed’s care. Eventually, Mohammed was forced to send all the women and children in his care back to the village. What this meant was that, besides being freed from the financial burden of providing for Ousmane’s wife and children, Mohammed was freed from the responsibilities of feeding single men attached to his household. Without women in his household, he could no longer be expected to be a benefactor for young single men.

While Lamine, like other migrants, could depend on other men roughly his age to help him pay for his lodging, he needed the support of older, economically secure kin for food. When Mohammed withdrew his support, Lamine was left in a precarious situation. Soon he began approaching Saloum’s wife, Awa. She was a logical choice. Saloum, Awa’s husband, had been reassigned to Ziguinchor, but Awa had remained in Dakar. Because Saloum had taken a second wife in Ziguinchor, Lamine felt that Awa would welcome whatever contact she could maintain with her absent husband’s family, even if it meant taking responsibility for Lamine.

It was generally believed that Lamine had come to the end of his stay in Dakar. He had been in Dakar for some time and had failed to find work. He had already pursued several apprenticeships, none of which had yielded permanent employment, and he did not intend to learn yet another trade. To exacerbate his situation, he had fathered three children. By withdrawing his support, Mohammed seemed to present a clear message that Lamine had overstayed his welcome in Dakar. It was time for him to return to Mandégane.

In general, only those men who secure employment remain in the city. They are generally financially secure or at least eager to present themselves as such, which they can do without too much difficulty. Although such men take responsibility for feeding kin of the descending generation, they also maintain social distance from their financially less secure juniors. The distance that they maintain from such youth was illustrated by the behavior of Younousse Badji and Seydou Sagna at section association meetings. There was a good deal of prestige to be gained by hosting these meetings, and Younousse and Seydou, both successful migrants in their fifties, competed for this honor. The meetings themselves, however, were the business of the youth, and these men rarely attended, even when meetings were held in their homes. Instead, they maintained a shadow presence, attending to other chores after having made a brief appearance.

As one might expect, these men maintained different circles of friends, and in other ways, too, they kept social distance between themselves and the younger men they supported. Not all such men were of the same category, however. Younger successful migrants appeared to maintain closer relationships to those in their charge. They tended to be not nearly
as financially secure as older successful migrants. Like their juniors, they, too, rented and usually lived in single rooms where it was more difficult to create a separate space for themselves. Eventually, they, too, hoped to own their own home with multiple rooms where they could establish greater social distance from their juniors.

The general pattern for women is similar to that of men though with several important differences. First, young female migrants tend to have more autonomy than their male counterparts. Men usually choose to live close to their hosts. Women often do not have this option. Instead, they have been almost forced to live close to their place of employment. Second, many women and girls secure work shortly after arriving in Dakar, thereby gaining the means to support themselves. Unlike men, women are expected to tend to their own domestic needs, such as washing clothes. If they do live close to their hosts, women are often called upon to care for the domestic needs of other male relatives attached to the household.

Upon marriage, women follow the fortunes of their husbands. Most quit work and earn some extra cash in petty commerce such as selling peanuts. As the wives of household heads, they are responsible for all youth attached to the household. Often, women play a significant role in deciding what services will be provided for which migrants. Lamine’s decision to try to affiliate himself with Mohammed’s household rather than Ousmane’s was informed by the difficult relationship he had with Ousmane’s wife. Women’s role in the patron-client relationships in the city frequently make women the focus of criticism when support is withdrawn.

The ability of married women to control for whom they provide services, the distance that is maintained between generations, and the bifurcation of cohorts are all made possible by the anonymity that migrants are able to achieve in urban locations as compared to the village. Here it is important to point out that anonymity achieved in Dakar pales in comparison to the anonymity of urban life with which we in the United States are familiar. If nothing else, various age cohorts, from the youngest to the oldest, are afforded more independence from elder age cohorts than they would be able to maintain in the village. In the village, of course, household members and different gender/age groups are constantly within looking—if not shouting—distance. Many youth in the city take advantage of this distance to avoid following the fast during Ramadan. These same youth admitted that avoiding the fast would have been difficult, if not impossible, in the village.

This urban anonymity provides a welcome refuge from the scrutiny of the community. This is particularly important given the high value of urban success and the low probability of achieving it. The city provides youth a way to avoid people who might disapprove of their being unemployed and to share it only with others in similar situations. Ismael, Lamine’s brother, chose where he took his meals with care. He avoided houses where he would be looked down on for being unemployed. He also cringed at the thought of returning to the village. Once when I accompanied him to the village, he remained sequestered at his house for several days, refusing to visit anyone. He resisted the inquiries into what he considered his business, inquiries that could be sidestepped while in the city. In the village, his situation became public knowledge. Eventually, the chastising comments brought even him out to face his neighbors.
In the village, in the morning during the summer when everyone is deep into the labor of cultivating the rice fields, the sound of horns reverberates through the village calling the collective work groups to the fields. The path to some of the rice fields ran past the house where I lived, and shortly after the horns had made their call, I watched lines of men stream down to the fields. In the fields, working in their respective collective workgroup, these men attacked the work at hand. Some of them formed lines. They worked in unison, almost to a common cadence as they moved their kajendous down the field. They worked side by side with and under the gaze of their neighbors, as well as with and under the gaze of one another. At times these neighbors raced each other. The winner ended the day with the reputation of being the hardest worker secure.

In the city I lived on the edge of Dakar in a neighborhood called Liberty V. Each morning a stream of men and women made their way past my room. Like the stream that moved past my home in Mandégane, the men and women in this stream were also moving toward their places of work. Although I know of just a few people from Mandégane who actually commuted past my room, I am sure that Mandégane's other employed migrants in Dakar moved in similar streams, streams that swept laborers out from urban homes each morning. While in the village I watched members of the community move alongside one another to a common place of work, in the city I could see how communities dispersed as their members moved to widely separated jobs.

Karemo Badji, an elderly man, is of a generation that did not aspire to live in Dakar. Several youths encouraged me to interview him. They explained to me that village elders were reluctant to speak with youth. They said that because I was an outsider Karemo might feel more com-
fortable speaking with me. In particular, the youth wanted to learn more about a dance that is no longer performed in Mandégane, a dance that Karemo was old enough to have performed.

The first time I asked Karemo about the dance, he chuckled briefly and declined to respond. He appeared embarrassed, almost befuddled as to why I would ask an elderly man about a foolish youthful distraction. Behind the scenes, my younger friends urged me on. I pushed the topic with Karemo, and eventually he relented. He explained that young unmarried men of his generation would gather and dance in a circle. He said that this was a type of courting dance. Men used to do it to display their strength so as to attract possible wives. The way that Karemo had described this dance to me seemed strikingly similar to the competitions I witnessed during the cultivation of the fields during which men displayed their strength by racing with other men. Both of these performances seemed to fit a logic of marriage that was firmly rooted in the rural agricultural economy. Who, after all, would want a spouse or in-law who could not endure the arduous physical labor of rice production (cf. Schloos 1988: 118)?

Not long ago (certainly during this century), performances of identity were rooted in work and the ability to cultivate (men) and plant rice (women). Louis-Vincent Thomas remarked that, in the 1960s, he found that performances of strength, such as wrestling, were related to the central place of rice production in expressions of male identity. He also pointed out that, by the time he began his research in the 1950s, this was starting to change. By then, he remarked, the status associated with performances of strength were being replaced by the prestige associated with cash. Thomas claimed that the catalyst for this shift from strength to money was the practice of peanut cultivation, which was then rapidly spreading throughout the Casamance (Thomas 1963).

There is little question that the cash crop of peanuts played a crucial role in the expansion of the cash economy throughout the Casamance. But even by the time Thomas had begun to turn his attention to the Jola, individuals in Mandégane were already exploring other more lucrative types and sources of a cash income. More specifically, both men and women had begun to look to urban employment as a source of cash. Urban jobs would make it possible for individuals to establish their prestige in ways that would not require that they have the strength needed to carry out the grueling agricultural tasks of ensuring a successful rice and/or peanut crop. Moreover, as more men and women of Mandégane came to rely on urban jobs for cash, their productive activities were increasingly subjected to the view and scrutiny of the community. Even those who live in Dakar—in close contact with others from Mandégane—do not see where other people from Mandégane work. Work is performed in offices, workshops, and others' homes for audiences that are almost always quite distinct from the community of Mandégane. Now, work is performed for strangers. When this work returns to the community of Mandégane, it returns in the form of a salary or in the form of goods bought with such a salary. Members of this community in urban Senegal no longer witness a performance of strength. Instead, they encounter a performance of consumption.¹

One of the most ubiquitous types of employment in urban Senegal is trade. Yet this is not an occupation that the people of Mandégane see as an option for them. The Jola whom I knew expressed interest in working in an office, a factory, and even in one of the many trade shops that make up Dakar’s informal sector. They expressed little interest in trading. Soon it became clear that they saw trading as an economic niche for northerners. While I knew of some married women who sold peanuts and other similar items outside their homes on a very small scale, I knew of only one man who earned his livelihood through trade. After having lived in the village of Mandégane, I was not surprised. The people of Mandégane do not have much experience in trade. The closest market to Mandégane is in Bignona, roughly twenty kilometers away. The petty trade in fruit and fish with which people of Mandégane are familiar hardly compares with the large-scale trade from which people in Dakar and other urban centers derive a livelihood. The hazards of attempting to enter this occupation without having first had experience were brought home to me when I purchased in Ziguinchor some mats from a couple of aspiring Jola traders. They were apparently so embarrassed by the price they had offered me, which seemed reasonable enough to me, that they bargained their own price down without waiting to see if I would accept their initial offer. The only man from Mandégane who has become a successful trader that I am aware of was raised in Kaguith, a town that has become important for its black market trade between Senegal and Guinea-Bissau. He told me that he learned how to trade from the Manding traders who frequent the town.²

One of the favorite local explanations as to why the Jola do not like to work as traders is that they prefer the hard manual labor of factories. Some of my friends proudly asserted that the experience working in the rice fields has prepared the Jola for the manual labor and discipline that characterizes most work in industrial factories and trade shops. Usually my informants told me this with more than a hint of ethnic pride. The implication, of course, is that the members of northern ethnic groups, such as the Wolof or Halpulaar, who frequently work in trade do so because they cannot endure hard physical labor.

Notwithstanding the bold assertions my friends made about enjoying physical labor, I found it credible that they would feel more comfortable even working in a factory than they would in the bustle of one of Dakar’s markets. Senegal’s urban markets are vivacious places to say the least.
Traders usually begin their very aggressive negotiations with highly inflated prices, and it is incumbent upon both parties to haggle the price to a more reasonable level. Their confrontational and even combative style is also apparent in the vicious competition that takes place between bus drivers for customers. Young teenage apprentices who work for the taxi drivers roam street corners aggressively pursuing—even harassing—anyone who even appears to be looking for a ride. Unlike many other victims of these overtures, who aggressively engaged these apprentices, my friends moved quietly to the car, meekly shrugging off the groping hands. They shrank from these traders, doing all that they could to avoid them. Later, my friends commented on what they considered the undigested dress and demeanor of the apprentices. They were noticeably uncomfortable and appalled by this aggressive business style. My friends told me that a young man from Mandégane once ventured into this profession. They added that they and other members of the community ribbed him about it until he quit. Most people I knew from Mandégane would concur that hustling in the open like this was not a respectable way to earn a living.

In their opinion it was better to avoid public performances of work (such as those exhibited by the apprentices) and instead conceal these performances in factories or craft shops. However deftly concealed, labor still returns to the community in the form of earnings. It also returns in the form of the goods purchased from these earnings. This labor allows for an occupational identity that is built through consumption and styles of living and dress, styles that are often designed to express not just that an individual works hard but, quite simply, in light of the high rates of unemployment, that he is one of the successful ones.

The homes of Mandégane's early migrants to Dakar are scattered through the city. These, of course, are the homes of migrants who successfully pursued urban careers. The others of their generation who failed would have long since returned to the village. Those who have secured urban employment are, for the youth of Mandégane, icons of success. Almost all are homeowners. Many have several wives. Their homes are usually large enough to house not only the homeowner's wives and children but also recent migrants to Dakar. All of these men earn their living through salaried positions in the formal sector of the economy. Most of the youth who migrate from Mandégane to Dakar today can only aspire to the standard of living achieved by the eldest generation of migrants.

In contrast, opportunities in trade are almost always located in the informal sector of the economy. The aspiration of Mandégane's youth to careers in the formal sector was revealed to me during a summer in which the youth returned to Mandégane for a village conference and cultural week. Earlier (see chapter 6) I discussed how, at the conference, the youth recognized that it would be in the interest of the community for members of the community to take responsibility for marketing locally produced goods. At the same time, I noted that, despite the fact that all were unemployed, all made it clear that they would not have anything to do with transporting or marketing these goods. This attitude was consistent with the youth's general comportment. To explain, the youth association had all the characteristics of a modern bureaucracy. They had a president and committees. They used the association's funds to rent a bus so as to return to the village. The self-importance they communicated was unmistakable. Many members of Union dé la Jeunesse de Mandégane who were not members of the board, in fact, commented upon this reality. Throughout the week of their visit, the members of the organizing committee swaggered through the village in their finest clothes. Many carried briefcases. Each evening, they convened for dinners that were lavish by local standards. Rather than accompanying their fathers to work in the fields, they passed the day in a round of meetings during which they planned the conference and cultural week.

I could not help but feel that these youth were creating the trappings of having salaried employment in the city. During the conference I learned that none of these young men and women were gainfully employed. While they might have been able to convince their neighbors that they were employed, once inside their parents' homes they could not conceal the fact of their unemployment. Not without reason, many elders found the youths' behavior offensive. They swore that if their children had returned for a "week of noce," as they put it, they would have chased them from their homes. To add insult to injury, the youth had timed their return for the most arduous period of rice production. Most were so consumed by association duties that they had little time to help their parents cultivate.

While this is an extreme example of such performances, it underlines a constant theme in contemporary migrant youth culture in Mandégane. In a more muted fashion, performances are made during the return visits of most migrants when they don the dress, language, and gestures of the city. These migrants embody the desire for a certain type of urban migration. It is not just any type of urban migration but rather a migration that is successful and results in salaried employment. To understand these little performances of urbanness we need only reflect briefly on the performances of strength that my friends had begged me to extract from Karemo's memory. Curiously, just when the old performances of strength declined in importance, the new performances of urbanness have emerged and rapidly gained salience. This shift is no doubt related to the dramatic changes that have occurred in the ways by which marriages are negotiated.

Male "performances of employment" have become so important pre-
cisely because women have become so deeply involved in urban migration. While previously the focus for women was on rice production, now women, too, seek to live in urban areas. The explicit reason for their migration differs from that of men. While men seek to establish themselves as wage earners, women seek a trousseau. Older women I interviewed claimed that they entered their conjugal households empty-handed. Then, they said, there was little pressure to purchase expensive clothing or shiny new utensils for their new households.

Though it may be true that these older women did not bring purchased goods into their households, they did provide other locally produced goods. Even today women know the exchange value of goods woven from bark, such as baskets and fishing nets, and clay goods, such as cooking pots. Pottery was not made in Mandégane but was a specialty of women living in villages to the north on the border of the Fogny and the Boulouf (see Linares 1969). Before the introduction of manufactured goods, women made the daylong overland journey to these other villages, trading their woven goods for this pottery. Though women claimed to have entered their households empty-handed, there so-called empty hands possessed the skills to make these goods.

The emergence of the institution of the trousseau was not sudden; rather it entered Mandégane over time, gradually becoming increasingly elaborate. Chapter 6 of this book details how the roots of this institution can be traced to the era during which women started accompanying men on seasonal agricultural migrations. Gradually, women shifted their labor from their brothers to strangers in urban areas. The first women to do so probably did not consider the goods that they had collected a trousseau, and they did not consider working in urban areas as anything but voluntary.

One woman, who married in the 1950s, told me that she was once engaged to Baboucar Badji, one of Mandégane’s first migrants to Ziguinchor. During their engagement, she remained in Mandégane, and Baboucar sent her clothes each year. Eventually she broke off the engagement when she heard that her fiancé had already married another woman. Other women of that generation also told me that they did not experience pressure to amass a trousseau. Instead, they claimed that they depended on their husbands to provide them with the goods that now comprise most trousseaux.

Of course it was not only through men that women amassed goods. Other women worked in the homes of strangers rather than rely on men for these goods. As the job market for men became increasingly constrained, women’s demand for manufactured goods surpassed the ability of many men to provide them. As these two independent processes converged, female migration became a generalized phenomenon. Beginning in the 1960s, it began to be expected, one could argue required, that women work in the city and amass a trousseau in preparation for their marriages.

As should be clear from chapter 6, amassing a trousseau became a collective endeavor, an activity that became part of women’s relationships with one another (see Lambert 1999). The way by which a bride displayed her trousseau on the eve of her marriage gave the bride’s female maternal relatives an interest in ensuring that she succeed. Indeed young unmarried women often move to urban areas under the tutelage of their mother’s sisters.

Originally, women waited until their marriage was imminent before they began migrating. They were absent from the village only during the dry season and spent only a few years in seasonal migrations to the city. For these women, migration was focused and specific. They engaged in it with one principal objective—to amass a trousseau. To be sure, women did not engage in these migrations passively, and over time, they reworked female migration into other meanings.

Gradually their migrations became longer, and now they are central to the childhood experience of all girls. Visits to urban locations lengthened from a couple of years before marriage to six or seven years, that is, through the duration of the teens. As their visits became longer, control over their migrations passed from the migrant’s female relatives to
the migrant's own cohort. The goal of migration likewise generalized from just that of amassing a trousseau to the experience of living in an urban area. Return visits became less frequent.

Through to the 1970s, the expenditures made by many of these young women were oriented toward the future. Now they are made for the present. While it might have been appropriate for aunts to withhold the earnings for younger female migrants, older migrants receive their earnings directly from their employers. Girls still save money for their trousseau, but the length of their stays has allowed them to earn enough money to consume some of their earnings before marriage. Though some of their earnings are remitted to their families in the village, a considerable amount is spent on living in the city. Equal in importance to these daily expenditures are the lavish amounts spent on clothing.

It is hard not to notice the absence of young women in the village, a fact that does not escape the notice of other, younger girls. All know that they, too, will go to the city. When young female migrants return to the village, just as men do, they embellish their urbanity. The comparatively lavish amounts they spend on clothing are unabashedly revealed. Each evening, after returning from the fields, they often rest in front of their parent's home in their finest clothes. At night, they enter the dance hall, and through their clothing, they demonstrate their difference from those young women who still live in the village. The display that ensues is a virtual commentary on the differences between the village and the city. It goes without saying that the older girls living in the city outdress their younger, rural friends.

This contrast extends beyond the clothes girls wear to express a certain way of living that they have attained. They proclaim that these women are independent, that they are workers, and that they do not live in the domestic realm of their parents. Life in the village is not easy for most young girls. I witnessed some of the difficulties they face. Two young, school-age girls lived in the same house as I. Before going to school each morning, the girls had to draw water and sweep the courtyard and house. In the afternoons they continued with their household work until the late evening when dinner was finished, and the bowls and utensils were cleaned. Late at night, while everyone else prepared for bed, the two could be seen huddled together, trying to study by the light of kerosene lamps. More than once, I found them sleeping in the middle of their daily readings. One of the girls was once a promising student. I was not surprised that her school performance had begun to decline.

Most young girls never make it very far, and even fewer have continued their studies beyond primary school. Although girls began attending Mandégane's school in the 1970s, by 1990 only one had passed the high school entrance exam. To be sure, the impact of school on women has not been without its effects (see chapter 8). The school is located in the center of the village, a location that is public to everyone in the village. Inside the section, there is great flexibility in what people wear. There is a casual atmosphere in which people tend to feel comfortable and informal. Almost all dress accordingly. When one leaves the section, however, there are greater restrictions on dress. A certain decorum, it is believed, should be maintained in front of strangers. The school is one such location. These expectations are reinforced by state-imposed regulations on the dress of all students.

Mothers must find ways to dress their children. Their limited earnings from selling vegetables, though, has forced them to look for other means to clothe their children. In the past several years, women have begun sending their school-age children to the city to work during the summer. Although they are still too young to find permanent employment, they can still find work washing clothes for single men. At the end of the summer, they can proudly return to the village to display the fruits of their labor in the school arena. I know of one mother's anguish when her daughter returned empty-handed. She and her daughter were overcome with shame at having earned nothing, and each was horrified by the prospect of entering the school year with nothing new to wear. Apparently, the girl's employer had refused to pay her at the end of the summer.

These summer migrations expose girls to life in the city when they are still very young. One midsummer night, a bus rolled into the village and quickly filled with young girls, some of whom were barely teenagers. They had arranged for the bus themselves, although some girls had received their fares from their mothers. During these summer sojourns migrants are able to see firsthand how their older sisters live. More than that, they learn how to live in the city, and how to find work and a place to live. Many of these girls end their education simply by failing to return at the end of a summer, usually without first informing their parents about their decision. I interviewed an older girl whose father forced her to stay in school. She testified to the temptation she faced when she was young, how she sought to leave school and follow her older sisters into work as a domestic. Now she looks back on these experiences with amusement and not a small amount of relief, grateful her father's will prevailed over hers. At the time I spoke with her she was a student at the university.

Although distinctions between the rural and the urban for these young girls center on the elaborations of youth culture, particularly the freedom from the demands of domesticity it affords them, over time the rural/urban distinction takes more concrete forms. After living in the city for a few years, women begin reconsidering their long-term life options. They realize that eventually they will marry—indeed it was for marriage (at least in preparation for marriage) that women explicitly came to Da-
kar in the first place. But while in Dakar they begin looking forward to continuing to live in Dakar. In interviews, they consistently referred to the difficulty of life in the village. There, they do not have the convenience of running water and gas stoves, for example. They strive to mark their difference from their rural counterparts by establishing themselves in a domestic arrangement that is not as arduous as that of their rural counterparts.

One reason I chose to conduct this research in the Basse-Casamance was that here, unlike most areas of northern Senegal, women, as well as men, leave for the city. I mentioned earlier that, as a widespread social movement, women preceded men to the city. Sometimes the people from Mandégane claimed that men went to the city because that was where the women were. At first I took this as a flippant statement, but now I understand the importance of marriage in these decisions, events, and processes. The reevaluation of success in terms of urbanity has placed migration at the center of marital strategies. One reason men strive to secure urban employment is that it is the best way to strengthen their hand in choosing whom and when they marry. To a large extent women go to the city to increase their chances of marrying such a man.

The interlock between marriage and migration was driven home to me during an event that occurred shortly before I completed my fieldwork. A young man, Karamba Diémé, died after taking his midday meal. I spent the next few days speaking with informants, trying to piece together the facts surrounding his death. I learned that Karamba had only been married for six months. Like other men, before his marriage he had spent several years looking for work in Dakar. Awa, the woman he eventually married, had also worked as a domestic for several years in Dakar. Karamba’s father was old and unable to work effectively in the rice fields. One of Karamba’s brothers lived and worked in France and agreed to provide Karamba with financial support if he returned to the village to work for his father. Karamba agreed to the plan, provided that his father arrange a marriage for him. His father arranged for Karamba to marry the daughter of one of his friends. Though Karamba was pleased with the arrangement, Awa was not at all happy about leaving the city. Vigorously she protested the marriage while her sisters encouraged her to refuse the offer. Still, their father was insistent. Apparently, he literally beat his daughters into complying with his wishes.

Other women had also resisted marriage back into the village. Ramatou Sané is one such woman, and it was perhaps her final act of defiance that she entered her conjugal household pregnant by another man. And Mamadou Bodian’s wife, as a few other wives have done, secretly moved her belongings to the forest where she later collected them before continuing to Dakar.

While many men accept the choice that women make to leave for Dakar, many others fear it. Some mention the threat it poses to the biological reproduction of the rural community. Others lament the fact that it has rendered marriage more difficult to negotiate. In the past, there were collective attempts to control the movement of women. In the 1950s, a regional men’s association met the boat in Dakar and made sure that all women arriving from the Casamance had their family’s blessing. Later, in 1969, a village rule required that all women remain in the village. The first attempt to control the movements of women came to an end when the Transgambian Highway opened an overland route from the Casamance to Dakar (see chapter 6). The second attempt failed because some households in Mandégane depended on remittances received from their daughters working in Dakar (see chapter 3).

Although the exact circumstances of Karamba Diémé’s death remain unknown, the situation of his marriage, the circumstances of his death, and the fact that Awa left the village immediately after he died led many in Mandégane to conclude that Awa had murdered her husband. Many indirectly concluded that Karamba was killed, so to speak, by migration. The event, and the conclusion that Karamba died at the hands of his discontented wife, seem to reflect the tensions that have followed urban migration into the community and the way by which the patterns of urban migration have reached so deeply into the heart of this community, even into marriages, the institution by which community is reproduced.

The above discussion underlines the impressive impact that migration has had on this community. Not only has it become central to the economic survival of this community, it has reached down through the events of the migration of women into the very performance of male identity. It has woven itself through the community’s schools, religious institutions, lineages, and marital relations. Migration is not only a fact of the biographies of the many men and women who have moved from the village to the city (and perhaps back again), it is also constitutive of the history of this community. It has become arguably the most deeply experienced social fact, at the local level, of the larger scale transformations that have occurred in the politics and economy throughout the Senegambia. Indeed, I have little doubt that the path to understanding the future of this community begins by coming to terms with the profound impact migration has had, is currently having, and surely will continue to have on this community.

NOTES

1. Today, what is important is not how well one works, but how employment translates into leisure and the production of prestige through domestic consumption. At the same time, the boundaries between work and performance
remain blurred in a way that casts light on economic activities and performances of prestige. In this respect, one vexing conundrum is why, unlike so many other groups in Senegal, the Jola have not moved into the lucrative activity of trade.

2. There is also, of course, petty trade conducted by married women in the city, and seasonal trading activities of men and women in the village. These activities differ from the ambitions of migrants. They are ascribed the same low status as agricultural work. A successful migrant would not settle for work as a trader, although he would be willing to derive an income from it if his migration was unsuccessful.

3. Derived from French. In Mandégane noce refers to time spent in self-indulgence. I understood the threat elders made to “chase their children back to the city” to be empty. I did not actually know of any youth who were not received and hosted by their rural relatives. I did, however, know of some youth who were considered to be a burden on the rural household.

Conclusion

Wild River, a film about the Tennessee Valley Authority, tells of Chuck Glover's trials as he attempts to convince some people to leave an island before a dam is completed and the island flooded. Those who live on the island do not want to leave. The film depicts them as a vestige of the Old South. Headed by an elderly matriarch, the holdouts are her adult children and several African American families. Chuck, a TVA official, arrives in Tennessee believing that this will be a straightforward job. After all, he assumes, this is simply a question of security. Chuck believes that once the holdouts are made aware of the danger they face, they will surely move to safer land.

Chuck is quickly made wise to the situation. He learns that it is not just the land that these people hold dear: this land is rich with social relationships without which these people could not imagine living. When Chuck asks the matriarch's sons why they refuse to leave, they tell him, “Then we'll have to work.” They have grown used to living off the labor of the African American families. Chuck then approaches the African Americans and tries to lure them with promises of freedom. They, too, are unimpressed with the offer and they ask Chuck, “But who will take care of us?” Two ways of life are juxtaposed. That of the island is insular, local, and personalized; on the mainland, relationships are mediated by cash transactions. Eventually Chuck introduces an African American man to electricity, wage labor, and a home with running water. This allure of a commodified world proves too much. The African Americans begin to defect from the island, and the way of life that the island represents quickly collapses. The film ends triumphantly: an aerial view of the matriarch's burial on what remains of the island expands to a panorama of the river's length, including the completed dam.

When I saw this film, the situation in Mandégane immediately came
to mind. Central differences notwithstanding, in both of these situations mobility is arrived at through similar processes. Increasing political centralization is accompanied by an expansion in the availability of commodities, in particular, manufactured goods. Goods were the decisive factor that lured the African Americans in Wild River off the island. In Mandégane, goods are the lures that draw both men and women to urban locations in search of urban employment. In both, mobility is an outgrowth of the intersection of cash economies with other types of economic arrangements. In both, migration is the legacy that demonstrates the power of commodities.

Anthropologists have long had an interest in the impact that commodities have on non-Western peoples. In what is now a classic article, Paul Bohannan (1959) demonstrated how commodities can break down traditional spheres of exchange, resulting in social inequality and food shortages. More recently anthropologists have considered the ambivalence of non-Western peoples to cash transactions (Taussig 1980; Shipton 1989; see also Parry and Bloch 1989). The people of Mandégane are no exception. I happened on this community during a period when commodities were clearly altering social relationships. From the preceding chapters it should be evident that over the past half century the allure of commodities has drawn the people of Mandégane into urban locations, forever changing the texture of social life. This allure, for example, has transformed the nature of age and gender relations. I knew of no man or woman who was not aware of the impact that the creation of a trousseau—a trousseau made up of commodities—was having on their lives. Yes, the people of Mandégane were apprehensive and ambivalent about what was happening to the world around them. If anything, though, they were apprehensive about the possibility that they would be excluded from this expanding and increasingly important cash economy.1

Any trepidation that the people in Mandégane may have concerning commodities and cash has to do with the possibility that they will not have access to either. Male migrants are anxious as to whether they will secure salaried employment for themselves in the city. Women want to ensure that they will marry a man who is employed. Residents of the village encourage their male and female kin to migrate so as to improve the likelihood that these village residents will have access to cash. Even the strained situation between the Casamance and northern Senegal is interpreted as the product of efforts made by the Senegalese government to limit the expansion of capitalism south of the Gambia (see Lambert 1998).2

For the people of Mandégane, as was true for the African Americans in Wild River, commodities are objects of desire. The power of commodities to provoke deep anxiety and ambivalence is probably the product of their most immediately evident feature: they are things that people want. Commodities, and their ability to provoke desire, have been central to ways by which the literal and metaphorical locality of Mandégane has been linked into supra-local events and processes. This can be seen in the efforts made by the French to expand trade throughout Senegambia during the colonial era. In Mandégane itself over the past thirty years this enthrallment with goods and cash has fueled a longing for exile and directed and defined the movement of its population into urban areas. Whereas previously people moved out of the village into a variety of rural locations, now the stream is overwhelmingly focused on urban centers. This is not a community that has been forced into the free labor market, but rather a community that is attempting, against the odds, to force open the door of the urban labor market. This group of rural farmers is not resisting proletarianization. Rather, they are simply frustrated by the inability of Senegal’s underdeveloped industrial sector to absorb and capture their labor.

In Wild River, goods and a free labor force are features of a society in which the movement of people is possible and perhaps even inevitable. The official’s insistence upon paying African Americans and whites equal wages is portrayed as a way of breaking the dependence of the local African American communities on the white property owners. According to the assumptions on which the film is based, through this, African Americans will be transformed into a mobile labor force in which individuals make their own choices about when, where, and for whom they will work. Human mobility is facilitated by the expected erosion of economic inequalities between African Americans and whites that will attend the opening up to African Americans equal opportunities for income and goods. The desired goal is not simply to convince African Americans to move to a location where they will be free to sell their labor but to dissolve the boundary between the mainland and the island. The goal is to destroy the alternate socioeconomic system the island presents, to flood the system of the island into the past.

In Tennessee, lines of inequality were clearly drawn. In Mandégane, the emergence of possibilities for mobility has involved as more than just empowering the disenfranchised, making them increasingly a part of the modern economy, and eliminating non-monetized or pre-capitalist economic arrangements. The emergence of possibilities for mobility takes us to the heart of the processes by which a cash economy has become a significant feature of the region, and it highlights the fact that the full extent of these processes has not been realized. Whatever the intentions of the French, Senegalese, or even the people of Mandégane, the alternate economy of the village has proved resilient. For now and the foreseeable future there will remain a boundary to be crossed. The story of migration in Mandégane is as much about how the labor of this community has
attempted to make itself free as it is about the failure of some members of this community to achieve this goal. Far from being flooded into the past, the very location of Mandégane has been remade by these processes. It is a truism that migrants cross boundaries. People must cross a line of some type to become a migrant. These lines can be construed in a variety of ways. For instance, they might be defined as political, economic, cultural, or social boundaries. I hope to have cast a self-conscious light on the boundaries that are important to migration in Mandégane. The boundaries that make migration possible are not predefined; instead they are emergent. These boundaries and the places they delimit are products of the very processes by which the movement of people was made possible. Following in a long line of anthropologists who have examined the social construction of boundaries and location (Barth 1969; Gupta and Ferguson 1997), the challenge presented by the fact of migration is not just to understand how and why people choose to move between locations but also to understand how boundaries separating the locations between which people move are made. What are the boundaries across which people move, and how are these boundaries formed? In this book I have alluded to four types of boundaries that are important for understanding migration in Mandégane.

First there has been the making of objective differences between rural and urban locations. This ongoing process began when the French first arrived in the Senegambia region. Since then, wealth has become increasingly concentrated in urban locations, such as Dakar and Ziguinchor (see Bates 1981). The issue is not so much the amount of wealth concentrated there as it is the form that this wealth takes. In urban areas, wealth largely takes the form of commodities, cash, and manufactured goods. In rural areas, access to cash incomes and markets is limited. Wealth is achieved through agricultural production and depends on one's ability to mobilize labor. When the French linked rural villages to urban areas by roads and other means of communication, the possibility of the movement of people between these locations emerged. This movement is, of course, circumscribed by political boundaries, the most salient of which are international. Although Banjul in the Gambia is closer to the Casamance than Dakar, most people of Mandégane have chosen to bypass this location, a decision informed in part by the lack of economic opportunities there and in part by linguistic differences. Though many in Mandégane say that they want to move beyond Dakar, the political and geographical boundaries that separate Senegal from European and American countries have proved difficult to negotiate. Air fares and visas are not easily obtained.

When people began crossing the boundary between rural and urban locations, they set in motion a redefinition of social boundaries. These boundaries do not conform to economic and political boundaries. They bridge them. The first part of this book discussed how the movement of people has redefined lineage relations. In the past, lineage affiliations were used principally to secure access to land. Today they are also used to access urban resources. Young migrants follow relatives into urban locations. They use their relationships with urban-based kin to establish rights to resources such as housing, food, and employment. Those in the city send remittances to relatives in the village and retain rights to rural resources such as land. The lineage can no longer be considered a localized group but must be understood in terms of how it provides an idiom through which people living in many locations understand the rights they have on each other's property. But perhaps the institutions that best epitomize Mandégane's multilocality are the many village associations, such as the Union de la Jeunesse de Mandégane, that span rural and urban spaces.

In addition to the movements of people, the movement of things and knowledge must also be taken into account. Underlying most approaches to urban migration is an assumption that migrant groups have collectively held ideas about locations, that is, that there exists standards or a single standard against which locations are evaluated and compared. Usually economic conditions (income possibilities) are assumed to comprise the content of this knowledge. From this perspective migrants are assumed to measure their economic prospects in various locations and, based on this comparison, make a decision about where to live (see, for example, Harris and Todaro 1970). But how quickly can we assume that local peoples make such evaluations and that they do so in these terms, particularly given the difficulty that economists face in figuring out the comparative economic advantages of locations. The problem is all the more troubling when we address the movement of people between locations that have different types of economies. How can we quantify economic opportunities in such situations (see Ferguson 1992b)? Questions need to be asked concerning how differences between locations are locally understood and how these understandings inform the regular and systematic movements of people.

This book has explored how understandings of place have become embedded in the practices of a Senegalese community. While economic differences underlie how rurality and urbanity are understood at the local level, this opposition has not entered the community as a raw comparison of income possibilities. Rather it has become an idiom through which individuals express their position within the community. A high value is now placed on expressing inclusion in the community through the urban idioms of consumption rather than the rural idioms of work. Moreover, men and women have inserted themselves in urban locations...
in different ways. This has made the rural-urban opposition central to
gender relations.

By contextualizing migration in larger scale long-term economic
changes, I hope to have revealed some of the ways by which migration
is a dynamic process. In Mandégane migration has not been a process
fixed at any given time. It has taken different forms at different times
depending upon the internal and external circumstances of the village.
This is most clearly apparent in the ways by which the rural-urban op­
position has informed intergenerational relationships and tensions. Over
the past century, this rural-urban opposition has been central to how the
community's social boundaries have been redrawn to include a variety
of locations. It remains to be seen how this opposition will play itself
out in the twenty-first century as this community contends with the con­
tinually changing social, economic, and political situation in Senegal.

Ulf Hannerz (1987) has challenged us to develop a vocabulary for plac­
ing our field sites in a macro-cultural perspective. He presents a model
through which to interpret the flow of cultural artifacts from the met­
ropolitan center to the periphery. Rather than being accepted wholesale
at the periphery, in rural communities such as Mandégane, these artifacts
are ascribed new meanings as they are, in the words of Hannerz, "creo­
lized" with local meanings. It has long been recognized that knowledge
of other places and peoples, made possible by our own migrations, in­
forms Euro-American culture, knowledge, and identity (Said 1978;
Fabian 1983). Anthropology itself depends on these processes. Full con­
sideration must be made of the flows of information to the periphery.
Here we have seen how this process works in a location where goods
and money have made their way to the periphery, where they are locally
construed as objects to be desired, not only in unexpected ways but also
with unanticipated results. Hannerz (1987; 1992) himself was prompted
to rethink his understanding of culture by his own encounters with mi­
gration in Nigeria. Rather than dismissing as a minor annoyance the fact
that his Nigerian friends pestered him with requests for help in obtaining
tickets and visas to the United States, Hannerz decided that migration
indeed was part of what life in Kafanchan, Nigeria, is about (Hannerz

Based on what I have learned of migration in Mandégane and other
locations, Hannerz's conclusions also ring true for life in Senegal. In a
world in which people are increasingly on the move, the many issues
raised by the fact of migration are of particular relevance. The fact of
human mobility raises many questions, questions that cut deep, deeper
than simply asking how migration has reworked the ways by which
national and local cultures are represented and made in the collective
mind. Rather, the fact of human mobility demands that we reveal how,
specifically, material interests are culturally expressed and understood
and the ways by which they are embedded in local social, political, and
economic realities. How it is that "place" as a tangible social, political,
and economic reality is made? What role have commodities played in
putting our world into perpetual motion? In Senegal, by transforming
and joining, and even unifying, locations while casting them as different,
commodities have indeed helped to create a world in which motion itself
is possible.

NOTES

1. Francois Manchuelle (1997) found that Soninke migrants from northern Sen­
egal to Dakar and France were not coerced into leaving their home communities.
Rather these migrants embraced urban migration and the quest for a cash in­
come. I highly recommend the introduction to his book, Willing Migrants, to
anyone interested in a critique of theories of migration that argue that migrants
in West Africa have been coerced or otherwise forced into leaving their home
communities to seek their fortunes in urban locations.

2. Although the Senegalese government has made considerable concessions to
Casamançais separatists by improving the region's infrastructure, few new em­
ployment opportunities have been created. Though most migrants leave the vil­
lage with few regrets, many mentioned that, all things being equal, they would
prefer to live and work in Ziguinchor, the regional capital, rather than Dakar.
An undisguised resentment of the Senegalese government accompanies their
stated perception that government leaders intentionally impede the expansion of
capitalism south of the Gambia. Apocryphal conspiracy theories, frequently cir­
culated, focus on alleged American efforts to establish oil refineries and fruit
processing factories in the Casamance. Many claim that these efforts were re­
jected by the Senegalese government in a deliberate effort to impede regional
economic development.
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