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EDITORIAL:

In Volume 14 1 2010, the ASR published Isabela de Aranzadi's brilliant ethnographic piece on the Annobonese and the Fernandinos musical culture (*A Transatlantic drum's Journey after the slavery from Africa to America and Back: Annobonese and Fernandinos musical culture*). It was a study of a transatlantic drum's journey from Africa to America and back. The piece, we gathered, was very much welcomed by scholars of returning ex-slaves to Africa and anthropologists interested in the rituals, dance and music of this group of Africans. We follow this up, in this volume, with another of such work with Aranzadi's engaging piece on the Ñañigos of Fernando Po. The Ñañigos were members of Cuban society who were deported to Fernando Po in the nineteenth century. Aranzadi discusses this group of Cuban deportees to Fernando Po, using a combination of reports in Spanish newspapers of the period, archival documents and interviewing those that could be referred to as carriers of history (oral historians). She highlights the historical reasons for the presence of the group in Fernando Po, pointing to their cultural (music, dance and rituals) resistance to colonization. It was the resistance that spurred the Spanish government to use Fernando Po to harbor them: the resisting group was sent off to the island. Aranzadi developed a narrative of memory embodied in music, songs and dance. In the narrative, the thread in the movement out of Africa through slavery and the movement back as ex-slaves and anti-oppression fighters is laid bare thus giving the piece its strength and in a way connecting it to her earlier piece in the journal

Olajide Oloyede

Managing Editor

Dans son volume 14 1 2010, la RAS a publié le travail ethnographique brillant d'Isabela de Aranzadi sur la culture musicale des Annobonese et des Fernandinos (*A Transatlantic drum's Journey after the slavery from Africa to America and Back: Annobonese and Fernandinos musical culture*) Ce fut une étude sur le voyage, aller-retour, transatlantique d'un tambour de l'Afrique à l'Amérique. L'article a été très bien accueilli par les intellectuels d'anciens esclaves de retour en Afrique et par les anthropologues qui s'intéressent aux rituels, à la danse et à la musique de ce groupe d'Africains. Dans ce présent volume, nous poursuivons ce qui précède, avec un autre travail similaire et captivant d'Aranzadi sur les Ñañigos de Fernando Po. Les Ñañigos étaient des membres de la société cubaine déportés à Fernando Po au XIXe siècle. Aranzadi traite ce groupe de déportés cubains à Fernando Po, en utilisant une combinaison de rapports dans les journaux espagnols de l'époque, des archives et des entretiens avec ceux qui pourraient être considérés comme des porteurs de l'histoire (des historiens oraux). Elle éclaire les raisons historiques de la présence du groupe à Fernando Po, en mettant l'accent sur leur résistance culturelle (musique, danse et rituels) face à la colonisation. Ce fut la résistance qui avait poussé le gouvernement espagnol à utiliser Fernando Po comme lieu de déportation : le groupe des résistants a été envoyé sur l'île. Aranzadi a développé un récit de mémoire incarnée dans la musique, les chants et la danse. Dans le récit, le fil dans le mouvement hors de l'Afrique à travers l'esclavage et le mouvement de retour comme anciens esclaves et combattants « anti-oppression » est mis à nu donnant ainsi à l'article sa force avec une connexion, en quelque sorte, à l'article précédemment publié dans la revue.

Olajide Oloyede

Managing Editor/ Redactor En Cher

Cuban heritage in Africa: Deported Nānigos to Fernando Po in the 19th century.

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the 19th century deportation of Nānigos (members of Abakuá, a Cuban secret society) to Fernando Po (Bioko). I argue against the widely held negative image of this group as portrayed in the news and press information in Spanish newspapers from 1865 to 1950 that document the Cuban heritage in Africa. I highlight the point that the deportation of Nānigos to Africa was, in part, due to their association with, in part, due to their association with rebel groups in the decades and years prior to and during the War of Independence. Further, I pointed out the need of the Spanish Government to colonize the African island and use it to harbor expelled groups from the Caribbean island prosecuted for their rebellious character against the colony. As a result, many emancipated slaves¹ and Cuban people were deported to Fernando Po in the second half of the nineteenth century, which explains their presence on the island. I discuss, in details, their memory, which has been maintained through some cultural elements – rituals, body attires, and musical and dance elements..

Keywords: Nānigos, slave heritage, Bonkó ritual dance, Nānkue ritual dance, initiation societies, Cuban deportees

Résumé

Ce document met l'accent sur le 19^e siècle de la déportation de Nānigos (membres de Abakuá, une société secrète cubaine) à Fernando Po (Bioko). Je soutiens contre l'image négative largement répandue de ce groupe comme dépeint dans les nouvelles et les informations de presse dans les journaux espagnols 1865-1950 qui documentent le patrimoine cubaine en Afrique. Je souligne le point que l'expulsion du Nānigos à l'Afrique était en partie en raison de leur association avec des groupes rebelles dans les décennies et les années avant et pendant la guerre d'Indépendance. En outre, je l'ai souligné la nécessité du gouvernement espagnol à coloniser l'île africaine et l'utiliser pour héberger des groupes expulsés de l'île des Caraïbes poursuivis pour leur caractère rebelle contre la colonie. En conséquence, de nombreux esclaves émancipés et peuple cubain ont été déportés à Fernando Po dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, ce qui explique leur présence sur l'île. Je discute, dans les détails, leur mémoire, qui a été maintenu à travers quelques éléments culturels – rituels, atours corporels et des éléments musicaux et de danse ..

Mots clés: Nānigos, patrimoine de l'esclave, Bonko danse rituelle, Nānkue danse rituelle, les sociétés d'initiation, déportés

Introduction

The dance and music of certain communities in Africa represent a living memory that can be considered in terms of a history that speaks of African voyages across the Atlantic during the slave trade, and after abolition. In some cases, this memory was maintained through some cultural elements that served as a form of resistance in the American continent; such cultural elements returned to Africa transformed by the slaves and their descendants. In an earlier paper on the music of Fernandino² Creole people, I studied the influence of a secret Cuban society, -called *Abakuá*- in Bioko and Annobón (Equatorial Guinea). I examined its ritual dance, named *Bonkó* or *Ñánkue* that is now performed during Christmas time on the two islands. Cuba was struggling for independence and hundreds of Cuban *Ñáñigos* were deported to Bioko (formerly Fernando Po) at the end of the nineteenth century. This paper documents³ the presence of *Abakuá* members, also called *Ñáñigos*, in Fernando Po. I gathered news and press information in Spanish newspapers from 1865 to 1950 that document the Cuban heritage in Africa.

The wealth of this Cuban legacy survives today among the Fernandino Creoles, the Annobonese, the Bubi and the Fang of Equatorial Guinea. This legacy adds an element of “Africanness” to the otherwise rather European customs of the black Fernandino Creole community. For example, the ritual dance, *Bonkó* or *Ñánkue*, has spread to other groups due to the influence that the Fernandino Creoles exerted because of their economic power on the island in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. *Bonkó*, or *Ñánkue*, was incorporated into the rituals and dances of some Bubi villages, and this ritual-dance was also brought to the island of Annobón where it is known as *Mamahe*. It is also practiced by the Fang in Rio Muni mainland under the name of *Abakuya*.⁴

During my fieldwork in Bioko⁵ and on the island of Annobón, I witnessed the ritual dance of *Bonkó* or *Ñánkue*. There, I compared the Cuban *Abakuá* with the Fernandino *Ñánkue* [that both form] part of a cultural legacy of slavery. I will argue that the *Bonkó* or *Ñánkue* performances are cultural expressions of African groups that –in spite of having been deprived of their dignity because of their enslavement – paradoxically have enriched African culture with their legacy on their return. I took the results of my research carried out in Equatorial Guinea to Havana in May 2011.⁶ *Abakuá* members recognised the strong link in the audio visual documents that I showed them. In San Miguel de Padrón, Havana, I attended an *Abakuá* initiation ceremony (*plante*) in which, together with others outside the temple, on the *patio* or *isaroko* (courtyard), I heard the sound of the friction drum inside the temple or *fambá*. This penetrating and mysterious sound, with a deep spiritual meaning among the *Abakuá* and among the Efik of Calabar, is called “*crai Egbo*” today in Malabo (Bioko), as it is used to mourn members of society during *Ñánkue* funeral rites. I witnessed an *Abakuá* procession in Old Havana on one of the few occasions that it was performed since 1880, when the Cuban government banned these parades.

The historical relatedness of these three ritual performances – the *Ekpe* in Calabar, the *Abakuá* in Cuba, and the *Bonkó* in Bioko – is of great interest as a testimonial bestowal of cultural identities. The relationship that exists between many of their rituals, body attires, and musical and dance elements has remained fully evident, even after their return trip across the Atlantic to Africa. The comparison between the two Atlantic borders or colonial Hispanic scenarios, allows us to ponder the strength of culture as a fundamental element of African identity that has been transported across the black Atlantic, and there preserved and camouflaged.



Image 1: Ekpe in Calabar, Abakuá in Cuba, Bonkó in Malabo and Annobón (Equatorial Guinea).

The data collected in the archives, especially in newspapers – although they largely depict the image, linking *ñañiguismo* to crime, that the Spanish society projected on Africans at the time – confirm this undeniable reality of the *Abakuá* presence on the island of Fernando Po (today Bioko).

Spanish colonies on opposite sides of the Atlantic: Cuban deportees in Fernando Po.

The *Abakuá* society emerged from the *Ekpe* society of Calabar (Nigeria). It has preserved many of its rites, ceremonies, masks, instruments, and music and language features in songs.⁷ In the two Hispanic colonial scenarios of Cuba and Fernando Po this legacy is an expression of resistance⁸. The deportation of *Ñáñigos* to Africa was in part due to their association with rebel groups in the decades and years prior to and during the War of Independence, so that their image is presented with the negative characteristics that led to their isolation by the colonial society.

In 1862, two hundred emancipated Cuban slaves were sent to Fernando Po. Until the end of 1897, many more ships with Cuban deportees were sent to this African island. In 1898 most of these deportees were granted amnesty, but the Royal Order excluded “*Ñáñigos*, rustlers and anarchists”, until these were finally also pardoned after the declaration of Cuba’s independence in December of the same year. In January 1899, there were still unpardoned deportees in Fernando Po. In Cuba, the name *Ñáñigos* was given to members of the *Abakuá* society, with connotations of criminality. The use of the term *Ñáñigos* also spread to the academic field,⁹ although members of the *Abakuá* society nowadays prefer the term *Abakuá* because of the discriminatory connotations of the term *Ñáñigo* (as many *Abakuá* members in Havana said to me). The Spanish press of the nineteenth century reflects this negative image of the ritual association in Spanish society.¹⁰

Hundreds of *Ñáñigos* were deported in many boats to Fernando Po. The great numbers of Cuban *Abakuá* members at that time – a large proportion in relation to the population of the city of Santa Isabel (today Malabo), allows us to sense its legacy and influence on the African colony. The government decided not to send more anarchists there since, “in Fernando Po there are already many *Ñáñigos* [...] and the number of dangerous people should not increase further”.¹¹ A letter published in 1897 reflects the malaise in the colony by the high number of *Ñáñigos* on the island:

“WHAT IS GOING ON IN FERNANDO PO?”¹²

“[...] the arrival of Cuban deportees, who mostly are not politicians but *Ñáñigos* [...], has changed completely the quiet life in the colony.”¹³

Scholars have studied the linguistic aspect of the Cuban legacy (Granda 1985), and the aspects of the cultural heritage; for example, Aranzadi’s (2009) study of the influence of *Abakuá* on many rituals and musical elements of the Fernandino *Bonkó* or *Ñánkue*. During the period that Malabo was becoming multiethnic and creolization was in progress (this is a process of the past two centuries), this heritage has become a symbol of Fernandino Creoles or Crió people and is recorded by the popular saying, “in Malabo there can be no Christmas without *Ñánkue*”. The term *Ñánkue* has been used in many different ways in

Calabar, Cuba, and Fernando Po (now Bioko). It was given different meanings and uses, even within these regions, and has been used to denote the dance, the procession, the masks, a funeral ceremony or a degree in the hierarchy of this society.¹⁴

In the Spanish colonies, both in Cuba and in Africa, there has been a phenomenon of camouflage in which music and celebration represent the public face of a secret ritual that was preserved for 160 years in Malabo (according to oral tradition)¹⁵ and 175 years in Cuba. It was preserved since the foundation of the first *Abakuá* lodge (*juego, tierra, potencia, or logia*) in Havana. Both the Cuban *Abakuá* and the Fernandino *Nánkue* or *Bonkó* have two types of performances that are found also in other African initiation societies such as the *Ndowe Mekuio* (Aranzadi 2009:96), the *Galoa Ukuyo* (Perrois 1976:47), the *Só* and the *Ngil* among the Fang (Alexandre and Binet 1958:63).¹⁶ One of the two performance types is private and the other public. One is related to the initiation and to degrees of secret knowledge, while the other enables the participation of the entire community. The *Ekpe* society¹⁷ in Calabar, from which the secret *Abakuá* society derives (Martín 1966:68), also had such judicial and regulating roles. The associations that carry out these rites normally also maintain social control and act as courts. It is rare, however, that the entire community participates in *Abakuá* ceremonies.¹⁸

Abakuá originated as a purely male society in an environment that was uprooted because of slavery. However, in the *Ekpe* society in Calabar older women are present (Miller and Ejong 2012:3)¹⁹ and the *Abang* dance can be considered a female counterpart of *Ekpe* (Onyile 2000:6).²⁰ Usually, each *Ekpe* house had at least one female title-holder (Röschenthaler 2011:119). In Africa, it is more common to grant older women beyond reproductive age access to societies or rites of male membership.

Regarding the creolization processes in the city of Santa Isabel (now Malabo), the Sierra Leoneans who arrived in Fernando Po in 1827 and the following decades, formed the nucleus of the Fernandino Creole community. The majority of Fernandino are descendants of Sierra Leoneans (in addition to some recaptured slaves and Africans from the West Africa coast. They were the first to arrive into a social space that was soon to become multiethnic and in which an intense process of creolization took place. The Cubans joined this group later and some of them even became landowners²¹ in the 1880s (Ibarra, 1887:188; Sundiata, 1996:231). The Fernandino belonged to the upper classes (Garcia Cantus 2004:175) and the Cubans were, according to the few existing documents, “they were incorporated [by 1873], in the group of those who spoke English (Díaz Matarranz 2005:118). Clarence-Smith (1994:491) also confirms their assimilation.

The contribution of Cubans to the Fernandino *Nánkue* is confirmed by oral tradition and recorded ethnographically. It clearly invites us to support the idea of assimilation of the Cuban deportees into the group of Creoles. In Santa Isabel, two African American Creole identities met. The Fernandino are descendants of African Americans who have “returned” to Africa to found the city of Freetown. The Fernandino who had already arrived from Freetown earlier became the hosts of the



GRUPO DE DEPORTADOS.

1. Federico Leplero;—2. Fernando Casillas;—3. Pedro de la Cruz;—4. Avelino Díaz;—5. Florencio del Valle;—6. Emilio V. Infante;—7. Dr. Emiliano Núñez;—8. José Ignacio Alfonso;—9. Enrique Carrillo;—10. Carlos González;—11. pardo, Celestino Silveira;—12. pardo, Ventura González;—13. moreno, José de la M. Arasco.

Harvard University. Collection Development Department, Widener Library, HCL/Valdés Infante, Emilio. Cubanos en Fernando Poo. Habana Impr. Espit. El Fíguro Espit., 1898.

Image 2: Cuban deportees in 1897 in Fernando Poo (Valdés Infante 1898)

African Hispanic group of Creoles from Cuba. The Cuban Creoles brought along with them their ritual dance *Bonkó* or *Nánkue* which influenced the African British Creole culture of the Fernandino who had considered themselves as British subjects since long. In other words, they brought an African cultural element that they had developed as a form of colonial resistance in Cuba and preserved with strength and

pride as an element of their identity. Although there is no memory of their origins, many Cuban surnames have been conserved among Creole families in Bioko such as Brown, Castillo, Riquito, Mata, Rivas, Balboa, Valcárcel, etc. until today.

The *Ñánkue* ritual dance and the *Cumbé* drum-dance are manifestations of African American influences (Aranzadi, 2009:36-7). They are quintessentially African customs among the Fernandino, a community of black African Creoles with European habits. The African elements of their culture have barely been mentioned in colonial sources,²² because its consideration as “hybrid” groups [without interest]. However, African Creoles played an important role in the early days of colonization and are an important part of African history. In this African-American heritage, the element that was brought by Cuban *Ñáñigo* deportees represents the memory that returned to the continent from which they originated. It therefore provides an identity to a Creole group and a legacy that can still be observed today.

The conservation of these cultural expressions in Cuba and Bioko has been more or less concealed from the eyes of the members of the dominant cultural group. Different from the introduction of *Abakuá* in Cuba, the *Ñánkue* camouflage on the island of Bioko has occurred without many hurdles. Although Protestants complained of African rites and forbidden drums (Lynn 1978:161) under Spanish rule, their performances were allowed and the Annobonese *cumbé* (a square drum inherited from the Jamaican Maroons via Sierra Leone) regularly practiced (Aranzadi 2010:21). The few sources in the Catholic Spanish colony that mention the Nankue or *Bonkó* consider the Fernandino musical culture as the remains of “indigenous” performances that are “harmless” or “childish” acts that were “permitted” by the authorities and generically called *baleles* (dances). This interpretation made it easier for people to continue practicing them in Catholic colonies (including Cuba). An article from 1828 in *La Guinea Española*, however, advises the abandonment of this Fernandino funeral ritual with a moralizing tone of caution, but this is rather the exception:

“News from the Colony Santa Isabel” [Malabo]

Christmas: It is over, thank God, and with it also the uproar of incoherent and annoying noises that characterize the people still to be educated. [...] There has been a waste of joy among people of color [...] the traditional *mamarracho*,²³ that, as in previous years, has been wandering through our streets, especially late at night and in the early morning, and during the day, and to the cemetery to make a series of nonsense there, that if it wasn't a desecration of those who rest there and prohibited by law, would make laugh sarcastically about those who carry it out. We are not enemies of the *mamarracho*, but we believe his appearance should be restricted [...] To go to the cemetery and do what they have done there for years on Christmas Eve and New Year is a forbidden act by law [...]. We believe the time has come that our Fernandino canalize this custom that is foreign. They should replace them by others activities more in harmony with civilization because now they have received education and they are so proud of it. We think that the next years all must be under control without the action by the authorities.²⁴



UNA MÁSCARA

Image 3: Mask of Ñánkue in the first decades of twenty century in Santa Isabel

(today Malabo). Bravo Carbonell 1925

Ñánkue rituals in cemeteries on Christmas Eve constitute the opening of the ritual dance that lasts for the Christmas period in Malabo, during which the procession with masks (*Ñánkues*), accompanied by the women's choir and the musicians, cross the whole city every afternoon. At the gates of the cemetery,²⁵ the blessing of the ancestors is requested and the friction drum is beaten for the *crai Egbo*. The only other occasion that this drum is used is when a member of the society dies (Aranzadi 2009:166).

In Cuba, it was only possible to preserve the rites and the *Abakuá* music because they remained hidden from the discrimination and prejudice that led to surveillance,²⁶ persecution and prohibition of members. Resistance encouraged members to preserve the memory that passed from generations of African slaves born in Africa (*bozales*) to those born in Cuba (Creoles), before this memory was lost between both generations.²⁷ The first lodge (*juego*) of the secret *Abakuá* society in Cuba was created in 1836,²⁸ and three years later the first members were arrested (Deschamps Chapeaux 1964:98). These arrests continued in the following decades,²⁹ and one of the consequences was deportation to Spain, the Canary Islands,³⁰ Ceuta, Chafarinas, or Fernando Po.

***Abakuá* society in Cuba: African memory as a support for spirituality: The Bonkó or *Ñánkue* Fernandino**

The *Abakuá* secret society was founded in Cuba with the social objective of financially aiding their members, and also for giving them secret spiritual protection (Cabrera 1975:5). *Abakuá* originated in the ancient *cabildos* (brotherhoods) of Carabali slaves. *Abakuá* is a male initiation society that recreated the *Ekpe* association of Calabar and, with its ritual and communal memory, confronted the imposition of the European culture and the social uprooting that occurred after their forced deportation. In the words of Lydia Cabrera: "Those Carabali who came to the land of the whites to serve as their slaves, brought in their mind the memory of the Ecué voice" (1975:342).³¹ Andres Flores stated the same in an interview with Ivor Miller (2009:44): "We brought the *Abakuá* in our minds."

The *Abakuá* society only emerged in the port areas of Havana, Regla, Guanabacoa, Marianao, Cárdenas and Matanzas.³² However, in 1880, the arrest of a lodge of *Ñánigos* in Santiago de Cuba was recorded in two newspapers.³³ The slaves who arrived in Cuba were able to group themselves into associations of people with the same ethnic identity,³⁴ the *Cabildos de Nación* (Ortiz 1921:8-12). Through these groups, they were able to preserve multiple cultural and religious expressions and created secret societies such as *Abakuá* for their protection. The name *Abapkwa* or *Abapka* was a settlement of the Qua community located in Calabar between Duke Town and Old Town.³⁵ According to Sosa, it was linked to the Duala ethnic group³⁶ when there was no border yet between Nigeria and Cameroon (1982:32, 62). Many words of the *Ñánigo* vocabulary are also

found in the Duala language (Martin, 1966). In Fernando Po in the late nineteenth century, there were drums of the “Duala type”, as Mary Kingsley mentioned (1897:67), and Fernando Ortiz stated,³⁷ that they were similar to those of the *Ñañigos* of Cuba, introduced by Afrocubans in Fernando Po (1996[1952] Vol. I: 322). The testimony of Mary Kingsley in 1897 coincides with the arrival of hundreds of *Ñañigos* discussed earlier. We can compare the Ndowe instruments (Aranzadi 2009) with those of *Abakuá*. The Duala are a Ndowe subgroup as many others like the Eshira or Mpongwe in Gabon, the Kombe and Benga in Equatorial Guinea and the Batanga and Duala in Cameroon, all these ethnic groups have similar drums to the *abakuá* drums.³⁸

In August 1876 a decree was issued in Havana that stated: “*Ñañigo* meetings are completely prohibited” (Sosa, 1982:379). It applied the law of banditry the following year (Roche y Monteagudo (1925 [1908]) :51). In 1880, the performance of *íremes* or *Abakuá* masks in the streets was prohibited, and four years later all processions of *Cabildos* during Epiphany. “The one in 1884 was the last one: January 6, 1885 was the first silent epiphany that Cuba ever had” (Ortiz 1921:20).

Despite the repression, *Abakuá* membership constantly grew (Palmié 2007:282). Between 1920 and 1950, *Abakuá* culture was gradually considered part of Cuban culture (Brown 2003:130). The revolutionary government promoted the expression of Afro-Cuban roots, although it prosecuted *Abakuá* intermittently and prohibited the initiation of new members in 1967 (Lavarreres 2012:19).³⁹ In fact, these prejudices and inadequate evaluations were hardly fully overcome in Cuba during the last half of the century.⁴⁰ The ban was only lifted in 1996, in the “special period”, with its new openness to religion (Camacho 2011:36).⁴¹ Only then, Afro-Cuban folklore became a sign of national identity (Brown 2003:130) and was revalued as important in the context of globalization (Routon 2005:374). Today, *Abakuá* society in Cuba has more than 20,000 members as *Abakuá Buró* members in Havana told me in 2012.⁴²

The *Abakuá* society attracts growing interest and has influenced the language, music and arts of Cuba, despite its being a religious association.⁴³ We find its influence in the key rhythms of rumba and son,⁴⁴ the dance moves⁴⁵ of the Columbia (León 1964:48), the repertoire of current performance groups,⁴⁶ the fusion of music in jazz,⁴⁷ in literature, theater and paintings of artists such as Belkis Ayllon, or even in movies (Torres Zayas 2011).

Among the items that I observed in the *Bonkó* or *Ñánkue* in Malabo during Christmas, which can be compared with those in the *Abakuá*, are the sacred instruments. In the *Abakuá* rites, there are two orders of instruments: musical and symbolic drums (Ortiz 1994:7). The musical drums are always shown in public but not other symbolic instruments: the *Ekue* drum in Cuba and the so-called *crai Egbo* in Malabo are both friction drums that are only used in private ceremonies. In both Cuba and Bioko the drums are played slung over the drummer’s shoulders during the procession or on the ground when stationary. Some drum builders in Cuba place a metal ring in the mouth of the drum (Neira 1991:8) as in Malabo where the instruments can only be touched by

the member of the society that is responsible for them. In each *juego* (lodge) an *obonekue* guards the drums (Orozco and Bolivar, 1998:226). When a member infringes a rule of the society, the punishment is carried out at the drum (Aranzadi, 2009:174) in Malabo as well as in Cuba (Trujillo and Monagas 1882:366).

In the colonial period, at Epiphany the Governor used to give the “aguinaldo” (Christmas bonus) to the association in Havana (1882:365) as he did in Fernando Po. At Christmas many ethnic groups used to show their dances, but only the Fernandino penetrated the building of the governor and they were flattered when they received [from the Governor] a large sum of the money [...]” (Moreno Moreno 1948:84).

After independence in 1968, this Cuban colonial legacy continued to be alive in Equatorial Guinea; the parade began to stop in front of the palace to congratulate President Francisco Macías Nguema, and it still continues to do so for President Teodoro Obiang.⁴⁸ The influence from *Abakuá* and *Ekpe* in Calabar continues to be of importance. For example, the Fernandino bell *kon-kon* is the same as the *Abakuá ekón* (bell), and both keep the rhythmic key. Both terms derive from the Efik term *a-Kan-Kan* (bell).⁴⁹ The missionary Goldie lists this term in his Efik-English Dictionary (1862: 7). Performers wear the same dress with a pointed hood as the *Abakuá* masked dancers (*íremes*). In Malabo some ornamental “tentacles” have been added to the head along with many handkerchiefs around the waist. In Cuba, the *íreme* or *Abakuá* mask called *Enkrikamo* also wears handkerchiefs around the waist (Ortiz 1950:83), as recorded by Lydia Cabrera:

“Often at a celebration in Matanzas [...] a woman at the height of excitement, spears at the foot of his flamboyant best dancer a silk scarf. Often we can see handkerchiefs testifying female admiration to the *íreme*” (1975:47).





Image 4: Abakuá in Habana2011. Bonkó in Malabo 2013. Photos: Isabela de Aranzadi

There were similar scenes in Fernando Po in the early twentieth century, where “often ‘yanques’[*Ñánkues*] jockeying to see who danced better, and the girls gave away large silk handkerchief to the single ‘yanques’; the more admirers one had the more silk handkerchief [were] around his waist“(Jones 1962:246).

The handkerchief is in both cases an element of value. It has been an object of trade between Africa and Europe, like brandy, tobacco, gunpowder and iron (Guillemar de Aragon 1852:82; Iradier 1887:240). The *Ñánkue*, called *Mamahê* in Annobón, where it arrived a hundred years ago (Aranzadi, 2009), has fewer handkerchiefs in its dress and is less evolved because of the isolation of this small island. It rather resembles the Cuban *íreme* nowadays and the *Ñánkue* attire in southern Bioko in the early twentieth century as it is described by Jones (1962:243).⁵⁰ The outfit in Malabo also resembles the higher grade of *Ekpe*, called *Nyamkpe* in Calabar.⁵¹ In both societies, in the *Abakuá* in Cuba and the *Ñínigo Ñánkue* in Bioko, there was a hierarchy with different roles and positions, and a regulatory structure with punishments for those that did not obey. Other elements are the decorated walking stick, the “escoba amarga” (sour broom, a bunch of herbs) and bells or cowbells in varying numbers, which *Ñánkues* carry on their waist in Malabo. The *Ekpe* in Calabar and the *íremes* in Cuba wear these bells, named *nkaniká* (Ortiz 1996[1952] Vol.I:290), the same term as in Calabar (Miller, 2005: 25; Goldie 1862: 35, 115).

The movements of the Cuban *íreme* named *Anamangui*⁵² are identical with the performance of the *Ñánkue Sekonmunin* of the Creoles in Malabo who both perform at funerals. They drag themselves and mourn with movements writhing on the floor to ‘cry’ for their ancestors. Before dawn every 1st January I witnessed the brief appearance of *Sekonmunin* to mourn it’s ancestors, rolling on the asphalt covering the site of the

ancient cemetery that was firstly in the town of Santa Isabel (called today Malabo). This *Ñánkue* masked dancer plays a mourning role also on two other occasions, on 24th and 25th December.



Image 5: Funerary mask Sekonmunin in Malabo. Photo: Isabela de Aranzadi.

The central figure of the ancestors, represented by masks, means that there is an African spirituality present in Cuba and the Bight of Biafra, in which the community brings together the two domains: that of the living and of the ancestors. The sound element is placed in the doorway and acts as a hinge that connects both worlds.⁵³

Deportations to Fernando Po: Expelling the Ñáñigos from Cuba

The presence of Cubans on the island of Fernando Po is due to certain historical reasons, such as the dual need of the Spanish Government, first to colonize the African island and second, to expel groups from the Caribbean island prosecuted for their subversive character against the colony. As a result, many emancipated slaves⁵⁴ and Cuban people were deported to Fernando Po in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The lack of a Spanish colonial project since 1828, after the arrival of the British in Fernando Po spurred in Spain the idea of making Fernando Po a prison, as an alternative to the British presence on the island (Castro, 1996:43). After a first attempt by the Spanish, which failed because of the high mortality rate, in a second attempt black Cubans were used more successfully to create a civil population with a Hispanic language and culture (Holt 33; Granda 1988:216).

There were many deportations cited in newspapers, which have not been absorbed in major academic sources. The political deportations in 1866, 1869, 1881 and 1896 were documented but without any details, and furthermore, the Cubans were described as mostly white, having their own means.⁵⁵ Ñáñigos are not mentioned. But we already know from the press that in the first deportation of 1866 at the time of the governor of Cuba, Lersundi, many Ñáñigos were sent to Fernando Po.⁵⁶

In 1878 Cuban deportees in Fernando Po received an award at the Amsterdam Exhibition of tobacco plantations, (Unzueta 1947:231) for making cigars that were “better than those of the Canary Islands” (Borrajo Viñas 1902:156). It is noteworthy that the Cubans who were deported to Fernando Po were experts in growing tobacco. Prior to the 1895 war, most of the workers in the guild of tobacco growers were *Abakuá* and “there where the cigar factories in which only *Ñáñigos* would work and even the foremen were initiated *Abakuá* members” (López Valdés 1966:10).

In 1881, 267 deportees arrived from the “abortive conspiracy of Santiago de Cuba”⁵⁷ or “Guerra Chiquita” (Small War), most of them were black (Montes de Oca 1883:47). Some of these deportees paradoxically accompanied Ossorio and Montes de Oca in 1886 on the Muni expedition to expand the Spanish territories. They were remembered in the Ateneo of Madrid for “the great service they provided to Spain; nine Cuban deportees in Fernando Po [...] responded in Africa to the intimate and common sense of Spanish nationality”.⁵⁸

The official documents on Cubans in Fernando Po rarely mention the Ñáñigos. Therefore, the data found in the press is a significant testimony of the presence of *Abakuá*. We have the stories of six Cubans who were deported to Fernando Po,⁵⁹ together with descriptions of nineteenth-century colonial scenes. One of these six deportees speaks about the presence of Ñáñigos (Miranda, 1903). These stories are valuable documents for a socio-historical and linguistic analysis.⁶⁰ Apart from oral memory in Cuba where especially members of *Abakuá* know about the deportations of Ñáñigos to Fernando Po,

there are very few written records from Cuba. We have a testimony made by the ex-slave and maroon Esteban Montejo who lived in Cuba before independence. He was the main informant of Barnet in his book *El Cimarrón* (The Maroon):

“I remember a criminal [...] Polavieja [...] He was Governor in the nineties. Nobody wanted him [...] he started sending blacks to Fernando Po. [...] The Nñáñigos also went to that island. [...] He said they were anarchists. Workers who had nothing to do with ñañiguismo or revolution remained in Cuba” (Barnet 1966:90).

José Luciano Franco recorded deportations to Fernando Po between 1812 and 1835, during the Aponte conspiracy, but this does not appear in any other source, and the island of Fernando Po (today Bioko) was colonized only in 1827, so deportations during that period are unlikely. Even the many Cubans, who returned to Cuba from Fernando Po between 1878 and 1892, provided African cultural elements well-known “among *Abakuá* or Carabali” and those who returned after the war, as Franco says, “brought to Cuba songs and legends that were widespread among youth during my childhood” (1976:8).

The number of deported Nñáñigos and the time periods during which this happened is intrinsically related to Cuban history and the desire of Cubans for independence. During the ten years of war between 1868 and 1878, many Nñáñigos were prosecuted and deported. The general consensus of the time was that the Nñáñigos should be persecuted. This view is reflected in the press of 1865 in a letter from Havana, and also in 1876, after the arrest of 150 Nñáñigos, which states “everybody hopes that Captain Jovellar sends them to Fernando Po,⁶¹ the “right” place to establish a “system of colonization by convicts”.⁶²

Many newspapers speak about the presence of whites among the deported *Nñáñigos*. The *Abakuá* Society founded the first lodge in Cuba in 1836 and it only admitted black people. They formed the first white *juego* in 1863 (Trujillo y Monagas 1882:369). In 1882, there were already 83 lodges in nine districts of Havana, Regla and Guanabacoa, of which five had a white male membership.⁶³

The criminalization of movements considered subversive such as *Abakuá* began in Cuba with the influence of the slave revolts in Haiti, Louisiana, and Jamaica. Jose Antonio Aponte, a free black Creole led the first national conspiracy in Cuba in 1812. He planted the seeds of rebellion against the colony among the African families such as the Carabali (who transmitted the *Ekpe* legacy of Calabar to the Cuban Creoles) (Franco 1963:17-37). The slave traders thought that the gradual growth of the free black Creoles represented a risk to their interests because of their rebelliousness and their readiness to fight which was more determined than that of the slaves (Sarracino 1988:108). Media reports also reflect such danger in 1894 and 1896:

“The masters of black men prevented their slaves from going to jail because they would be deprived of the work of ‘one of their beasts’.”⁶⁴ “When the ñañiguismo sprouts, and banditry grows, it means that work is not rife and the plantation not productive.”⁶⁵

The image created around the *Náñigos* was partly due to the economic interests in the colony and the thirst of political control. One of the prejudices against the *Náñigos* was their hostility towards “la patria” (“the Spanish Fatherland”).⁶⁶ In 1880, we read in *El Gallego* (a newspaper published in Buenos Aires):

“*Náñigos* are currently natural allies of those raving for Antillean independence [...] The *Náñigo* society was discovered in time of General Concha,⁶⁷ and [...] over two thousand prisoners were arrested, many of whom were brought in chains and distributed among the islands of Fernando Po and Annobón.”⁶⁸

In 1888, a number of *Náñigos* were arrested and the press revealed information of the signs painted on their bodies.⁶⁹ Months later, Rodríguez Batista seized their sacred objects, called *atributos*, such as scepters, itones (staves), etc.⁷⁰ Madrid requested that the sacred objects must be sent to the Ultramar (Overseas) Museum.⁷¹ Some of these are now housed at the National Museum of Anthropology in Madrid.⁷² In 1901, Fernando Ortiz, when he was in the Ultramar Museum, admired the costumes of *íremes* or *diablitos*, the liturgical drums⁷³ and other sacred objects,⁷⁴ that were “judíos” (unbaptized), built very quickly to keep the real ones hidden” (1996 [1952] Vol. I: 49). Later, Ortiz began research on Afro-Cuban religion, which he considered as one of the roots of Cuban identity (1939:86).

From 1889 to 1897, the press praised politicians who prosecuted the *Náñigos*⁷⁵ and the demand for their total extermination appeared repeatedly:

“At the time of General Lersundi, something was done against *Náñigos*, deporting some, later Rodríguez Batista wanted to finish them, but he was deceived by the *Náñigos* [...]. Now [with General Porrúa] is when the campaign really has been done [...]. 76 “[...] The deserved ascent of La Barrera [...] to which we owe the complete disappearance of the *Náñigos*.”⁷⁷

In the last years of the war for independence the elimination of pro-independence forces became urgent and many *Náñigos* were deported to Spain and to Fernando Po. As recorded by the *Diario de Tenerife*, on August 29, 1896, “24 criminals who belong to the association of the white and colored *Náñigos*” were sent from Havana by Porrúa. This was welcomed with approval and satisfaction by colonial society in Cuba.⁷⁸ From epistolary documents and news in the press, we know that infantry forces in Fernando Po were increased and considered “necessary for the great number of deportees in that place and for the] ones soon to come.” The Spanish government in Madrid then asked the Ministry of Ultramar about the capacity of the colony, having in view to send more deportees.⁷⁹

After several *Náñigo* deportations, the first shipment of hundreds of them took place in October 1896 when they came out of Cuba in the steamboat *Buenos Aires*. 181 *Náñigos* were deported to Fernando Po⁸⁰ and, as recorded by *El Imparcial*, 230 *Náñigos*

were already in the colony in Africa at that time.⁸¹

“[...] the steam boat had prepared a steam pipe of 180 pounds of pressure that would fall on the *Ñáñigos* if these rebelled.” “Here we have a high morality campaign applauded in Havana⁸² [...] by all honorable men [...] That Epiphany celebration [in which the *ñáñigos* took the opportunity to meet and all slaves of the same origin made parades of dances], and other freedoms that were allowed were a disguise of intention to hold them.”⁸³

The *Abakuá* society, which initially allowed only black people into their lodges, accepted progressively from 1836 to the end of the century, black Bozales and black Creoles, white Creoles and Chinese Creoles,⁸⁴ Cubans and Spaniards,⁸⁵ poor and rich, bringing together different sectors of society (which made up the Cuban nation), thereby increasing its influence, and the urgency of its dissolution.⁸⁶

“The black and white *Ñáñigos* [have] an influence as great as, or bigger than, many of the highest characters [...] I’ve seen in the offices, persons of high position asking for the release of these people ...”⁸⁷.

For 175 years, this society resisted the pressure on it and its prohibitions by law in Cuba; their members however left their traces and legacy in the African colony, which we can now attest to, using the data collected in the press on the living archive (collected previously in orality and ethnography). No information on *ñáñigos* can be found in colonial documents. The presence of the Cuban *Abakuá* in Fernando Poo has been invisible in scholarly sources on Fernando Po.⁸⁸ Oral tradition records that “Cubans brought a drum” [...] “a Nigerian [Efik] brought three drums and later Cubans brought another one.” Ethnography speaks clearly of a memory that remains alive, and the similarities between Ekpe-*Abakuá*-*Bonkó* in Calabar, Cuba and Bioko are evident on both sides of the Atlantic. .

In June 1896, the Governor General of Fernando Po awaited the arrival of Cuban deportees and intended to replace the “less intelligent” Kroo workers by the deportees in public works to “improve the development of Santa Isabel”, saving costs and reducing their daily rate to “3 pesos monthly”.⁸⁹

On December 1st, 1896, according to the press,⁹⁰ 278 *Ñáñigos* left Havana and were deported to Fernando Po.⁹¹ According to a letter from the Governor of Fernando Po –in which he expressed his satisfaction with the order and discipline during the voyage – 269 deportees reached their destiny. This is the ship on which Manuel Miranda (1903:3) traveled, together with Cuban deportees (including many *Abakuá*)⁹² Miranda describes in the first person the journey from Havana. He mentions the chants of the *Ñáñigos* on the boat and how they arrived at a prison in Cadiz which was crowded with deportees waiting to be brought on different ships bound for Ceuta, Chafarinas, and Fernando Po. On January 4th, 1897, three hundred deportees arrived at the port

of Las Palmas (Márquez Quevedo 1998:111).⁹³ After a terrible trip, on January 17th they were received by the Governor of Fernando Po with a speech from the balcony of the Government House, in which they were accused of being rebels and unpatriotic and threatened in case they would try to escape or bother any Spaniard (Miranda 1903:27).⁹⁴ Once again, it is the political cause and the rebellion against the colonial power exercised for centuries in Cuba that defined their position, this time before the eyes of the Governor of Fernando Po. In the city of Santa Isabel (today Malabo), as Miranda recounts [reports], the Cubans participated in a *balele* (dance) with the Sierra Leoneans [the Fernandino] (1901:31), and, as the Governor of Ultramar states in his letters, they had a variety of jobs, and professions.⁹⁵

On 30 March 1897, the “Larache” sailed from Cádiz to Fernando Po with 206 *Ñáñigos* aboard.⁹⁶ This boat reached the Canary Islands on 2 April 1897, as has been reported in the *Diario de Las Palmas*.⁹⁷ Among the deportees was Emilio Valdés Infante, who, however, did not mention the presence of *Ñáñigos* in his account. The boat arrived on the African island (1898:26)⁹⁸ on 16 April 1897. Subsequently, hundreds of *Ñáñigos* were deported from Cuba to the “Península” (Spain).⁹⁹ On 28 June was announced the deportation of 80 *Ñáñigos* from Cádiz to Fernando Po, accompanied by the marine forces to maintain order to maintain order.¹⁰⁰ They arrived a week later in the Canary Islands (Márquez Quevedo 1998:111).¹⁰¹

This information causes us to reflect upon the *Abakuá* presence in a city where the number of inhabitants was 1,500 at the end of the nineteenth century. The large number of *Ñáñigos* was a heavy burden, and this was emphasized in articles, letters and even poetry:

“[...] from Cadiz it is notified [to the Ultramar Minister] that there, there are a lot of *Ñáñigos*, and there is no place for them”¹⁰²

Around the time of the amnesty in June 1897, further deportations to Fernando Po were cancelled,¹⁰³ and in October more deportees were granted amnesty,¹⁰⁴ but *Ñáñigos* were excluded.¹⁰⁵ In 1898, the transfer had not yet taken place. In October, the minister of Ultramar declared that there were about 600 *Ñáñigos*¹⁰⁶ in different parts of the Peninsula (Spain), who would be sent to Cuba in due course.¹⁰⁷ Finally, on 5th January 1899 a Royal Order was issued¹⁰⁸ which states:

“ [Those who are not included in previous amnesties remain still in the Peninsula and Fernando Po] due to their being *Ñáñigos*, rustlers or anarchists, [they now will be included in this Real Order] [...] We (the King), authorize their return to the island of Cuba [...] Madrid, January 4, 1899.”¹⁰⁹

Paradoxically, on the eve of Epiphany, the most important feast of Africans in Cuba, the subjugation of the colony ended. The Cuban *Abakuá* society, left their influence in

the Bonkó or *Ñánkue*. This ritual dance is still performed today in Equatorial Guinea as a symbol for the Creoles and as I mentioned earlier, for the Christmas festivity in the city of Malabo nowadays. Some deportees were set free in Fernando Po, in February 1898,¹¹⁰ but only in January 1899, the Cuban deportees that had remained in Fernando Po learned of their complete freedom] (Miranda 1903:49, 54).

In the first decades of the twentieth century, the Spanish press continued the prevailing idea from the nineteenth century, in which *Ñáñigos* are synonymous with crime and witchcraft,¹¹¹ or masonry.¹¹² The Europeans have, for centuries, associated “blacks” with being “savage” and “obscene”. With regards to tango, it is said that in Cuba “only blacks and mulattoes and especially *Ñáñigos* [...] have danced it and that tango was an obscene dance”.¹¹³ In 1903 the American dance cakewalk was labeled as a dance of *Ñáñigos*.¹¹⁴ In the media, the anti-Spanish attitude was repeated, using the term *Ñáñigos* to insult “intellectual eunuchs, [...] *Ñáñigos* leash and poets [criticize] the Quintero Brothers (patriotic writers).”¹¹⁵ In 1949, *La Vanguardia* printed a poem that stated: “Girl do not leave home, be careful that the *Ñáñigo* does not take you.”

Still in 1922, in Spain the island of Fernando Po was considered to be a place of deportees:

“With regards to Fernando Po, there was just the notion [...] that it was a very bad place’ and that many Cubans and *Ñáñigos* had been sent there never to return [...]”.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

Living memory becomes a document when it is narrated, embodied in performance or recorded. This memory that is reflected in abakuá and bonkó invokes African spirituality in rituals, songs and dances. The Cuban Abakuá that was taken to Fernando Po has brought an element of Africanity, an African memory, into a group of black African Creoles that was added to their African American heritage and European manners and who had considered themselves for decades as British subjects. This experience shows that paths across the Black Atlantic existed not only during slavery but also after the abolition of slavery. This resulted in two black African American Creole cultures joining in a space of creolization in which a community with different provenance and roots has been created and developed, but with African (slaves’ ancestors in all cases) that took place on the island of Fernando Po (Bioko). In this way, a British and a Hispanic Creole identity came together on this island; we have also analyzed how two cultures meet in two Hispanic regions, one in America (Cuba) and the other in Africa (Bioko).

The African identity that bestowed these cultural expressions has been preserved through the voyages of the slave trade, the deportations of Afro-Cubans and the resettlement of Afro-Americans who later had returned to Africa. This constant flow of people and cultural elements has contributed to the maintenance of the ritual and musical culture. We

have also noted the paradox that these African people have been deprived of their dignity; however, their cultural practices have come back to enrich African culture.

The Fernandino ÑÑÑkue or *Bonkó* has been influenced by those who returned to Africa, bringing cultural expressions that, once they were transformed by the slaves and their descendants, have continued to be alive as elements of identity and as a form of resistance. The comparative between these three areas on both sides in the Atlantic (Calabar, Cuba and Bioko) is a testimony of an element of identity providing memory. This article documents this influence, examining previous ethnographic work on the music of the Fernandino Creoles, the influence of the Cuban *Abakuá* secret society (which finds its roots in the *Ekpe* society in Calabar, Nigeria) and in the *Bonkó* or *ÑÑÑkue* in Equatorial Guinea. The data in the Spanish press from 1865 to 1950 provide sound evidence of the presence of *Abakuá* (also called the ÑÑÑigos) in Fernando Po (now Bioko) and again confirm the Cuban heritage in Africa.

The hundreds of ÑÑÑigo deportees sent to Fernando Po in the late nineteenth century make up a large proportion of the population of the African island; they have influence on the language, culture and musical rituals. We see this in the performances (a living archive) of the Fernandino *Bonkó* and the Annobonés *Mamabe*, which in present-day Bioko and Annobon begin on December 24th and continue through Christmas. This confirms the oral report through which the *Bonkó* or *ÑÑÑkue* received influences from both Calabar and Cubans who were on the island of Fernando Po. The wealth of this Cuban Creole legacy survives today in different ways among Fernandino, Annobonese, Bubi and the Fang of Equatorial Guinea.



El ñÑÑkue en Annobón llamado Mamabe.
Navidad 2009. Foto: Isabela de Aranzadi.

Image 6: Bonkó dance (named Mamahe) on the little island of Annobón. Photo: Isabela de Aranzadi.

The *Abakuá* society exists for 175 years. It represents resistance and has conserved the African legacy, despite the experience of slavery and the difficulties of living in a society that has been keen to work on their repression and dissolution in Cuba. This resistance eventually resulted in the deportation of *Abakuá* members (Ñáñigos) to Fernando Po. However, this memory has endured even in a scenario of exile. In this way, the *Bonkó* or *Ñánkue* has become a tradition that has been practiced for 160 years in Bioko. In a double-crossing of the Atlantic, the African culture (the Calabar *Ekpe* society with Carabalí slaves) became African American and is preserved today in Cuba as *Abakuá*. This African culture has returned back to Africa in the nineteenth century and the members of this secret society of *Abakuá* have brought their memory and their musical ritual to Fernando Po, where it remains today in the Fernandino *Bonkó* or *Ñánkue*.

Endnotes

1. In 1862, two hundred emancipated people reached Fernando Po. They lived in the “village of the *Congos*” (Balmaseda 1869:149), a neighborhood in the city of Santa Isabel, the majority belonged to this ethnic group (Castro 1994:36), and provided very cheap labor in the making of public works (Serrano 1985:80). By R. O. 1865, 105 blacks caught between San Cristóbal and Pinar del Rio, were transported to Fernando Po, they chose to stay or to go elsewhere on the African coast (Roldan Montaud 2011:185). According to Franco, the R. O. is 1867 (1976:8).
2. Named by the Spanish because they were the people who had been born in Fernando Po, they considered themselves British, until well into the twentieth century.
3. Official documents and epistolary and news stories in the press in addition to the tales from the deportees themselves published at the time.
4. See the similarity with the Cuban term *Abakuá*. Thousands of Fang people went from Rio Muni in the Continental Region of Equatorial Guinea to the island of Fernando Po to work on cocoa plantations, on termination of the agreement with the government of Liberia in 1926. Some of them returned to their villages later where they continue to practice this dance with some adaptation in the rhythms and masks.
5. Bioko was named Fernando Po, the island where I was born.
6. I was invited to the *IV Coloquio sobre religiones afroamericanas* (dedicated to *Ekpe* and *Abakuá*) organized by Jesus Rafael Robaina, director of the Cuban Institute of Anthropology, with a lecture on the Cuban heritage in Africa.
7. *Ekpe* society emerged in southeastern Nigeria as an association that allowed a better control of commercial networks and that provided prestige. It has a number of hierarchical grades that function as a governing body, make laws, sort out debts, etc. The villages were part of the social tissue, which eased the relationships in a network or *Ekpe* ecumene, uniting people with the “same spirit” although they did not know each other (Röschenthaler 2011:99-101). *Ekpe* has also become a dance association. For a comparison between *Ekpe* and *Abakuá*, see Miller (2012). According to the old informants, there were few changes in the making of the *Carabalí* instruments used by *Abakuá* musicians compared to those of their ancestors in Africa (Elí 1997a:223).

8. Ramón Torres Zayas Zayas (*Abakuá* member and academic known as “Mongi”), he raises suggest [he is the one who raises? Raise resistance?] the binomial secret society-resistance [I do not know what this means, maybe drop it, since the text must be shortened] (Torres Zayas Zayas 2010).
9. Among the leading scholars of *Abakuá* society stand Rafael Salillas (1901), Fernando Ortiz (1921, 1924, 1939, 1950, 1951, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996[1952]), Lydia Cabrera (1969, 1975, 1988, 2005[1959]), Deschamps Chapeaux (1964), Martín (1930, 1966), López Valdés (1966), Martínez Furé (1998), Enrique Sosa (1982, 1998), Argeliers León (1964, 1984, 2001), Jesús Guanche (1983, 1997, 2007), Lino Neira (1991), Tato Quiñones (1994) and recently David H. Brown (2003), Ivor Miller (2005, 209, 2012), Stephan Palmié (2005, 2006, 2007), Ramón Torres Zayas Zayas (2010, 2011) and Odalys Pérez Martínez (2011).
10. According to Martínez Furé, it is not a religion but a secret society (1998:150).
11. *La Vanguardia*, May 6, 1897.
12. “Lo que pasa en Fernando Po”. *El Imparcial* 4 mar. 1897; “Ecos políticos”. *La Correspondencia de España* March 2. 1897 “De Fernando Po. Santa Isabel de Fernando Po. 3 de febrero de 1897”. *La Correspondencia de España* March 3 1897.
13. *El Imparcial*, March 4, 1897; *La Correspondencia de España*, March 3, 1897.
14. The *Ñánkue*, means the masked dance, the ritual-dance, or the Christmas procession in Malabo and also means the society itself (*Ñáñigo Ñánkue* is the name of the society which appears in their rules) (Aranzadi 2010:36). In Cuba, it means funeral ceremony among the *Abakuá* (*Ñánkue* in *ñáñigo* language means dead) (Ortiz 1951:338). The *Ñánkue* is the deceased *abanekue*, the member who has died in the *Abakuá* society; it is *nlloro* or funeral ceremony (Cabrera 1988:426-427; 2005[1959]: 9). In the southeast of Nigeria is a pidgin term for *Ekpe* (Röschenhaler 2011:520). In Calabar *Ñánkue* is one of the degrees of *Ekpe* society. It is written *yampai* (Holman 1834:393), *nyampa* (Hutchinson 1858:141), *nyampe* (Goldie 1862:117), *nyampke* (Talbot 1926:192, 278). According to Malcom Ruel, it is a degree of *Ekpe*, both among the *Èfik* and the *Ejagham* (Miller 2009:228). *Ñangué* is the woman sacrificed in the legend that gave birth to society and the moan of *Sikanekue* emitted while the *Ekueñon* oppressed her neck (Cabrera 1988: 424); *ñangüé* is *ñáñigo* (Martín 1946:16). *Ñangüé* is the figurehead in the Fernandino and the remembrance of cubanism *ñanguio* or *ñáñigo* (González Echegaray 1959:47). *Yangüé* is the dance of the Fernandino

in Santa Isabel and is the mask dancing (Álvarez 1951:222; Moreno Moreno 1948:94). *Yanque* is the main character of the dance and Christmas procession in Fernando Po (Jones 1962:247). *Ñampe* is *Ñánkue*, the dead (Sosa 1982:409). The grade *Ekpe* *Ñámpkè* has been used by law and as a jury, *nyánpké* is the term for the *Ekpe* society in Cameroon (Miller 2009:271,129). *Ñánkue* in Annobón is the ritual-dance though the local name is *mamabe* (Aranzadi 2009:147). The first time the *Bonkó* is documented in Bioko is in 1880's (Sundiata 1972:206).

15. The Fernandino Creole people agree to state that Daniel Nathaniel Kinson is the Fernandino that brought the *Ñánkue* from Calabar by marrying an Efik dancer who belonged to *Ekpe* (it is said his brother brought the rite *Ekueñon*, or that his son bought the degree *Ñánkue* in Nigeria). There is a document granting the medal of Isabella the Catholic to this Fernandino (Archivo del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, C, Sig. 297 exp. 0). Inside we can read that he was born in 1829, which would confirm, by the approximate date of his marriage, the oral tradition according to which the ritual-dance of *Ñánkue* has been in Malabo for one hundred and sixty years.
16. All these societies have a mask bearing the representative of the highest authority when the ritual or dance is celebrated. Both the *Mekuio* as the *Ukuyo*, similar to the *Ukuku* society gathered by Mary Kingsley referring to it as a society with judicial function (1897:563), hold a ceremony with a white mask with black and red paint (Aranzadi Instruments 96). They are societies of initiation with different degrees and with a public function. Women and children they participate singing and the initiated deal with the secret rites in a private closed space as a temple, located in the same sacred space where the dance is held. Women do not know who the mask carrier is and he plays a role of judge regulatory of adultery or other unlawful acts considered by their society. The *Só* society of the Fang, now disappeared, has influenced others like *Ngil* (also extinct nowadays) or the *Biwiti*, exogamic society with Christian elements (Alexandre et Binet 1959).
17. There was also this function of imposing order *Ekpe* society (Röschenthaler 2011:101).
18. An older woman called "La Ñata" witnessed the oaths in the juramentos (initiation) of the *juego* (group) *Usagaré Mutanga* (Cabrera 1975:6).
19. As also happens with the Fang (Aranzadi 1998).

20. The Efik *Abang* dance has influenced ritual Fernandino *Bonkó* (Aranzadi 2010:35). *Ntimi* is a type of non-public dance *Abang*, an adaptation from the *Nyoro* of the procession *Ebonko* (*Ekpe*). It represents the interests of women and involves memory of female participation in the *Ekpe* cult, at some point in the history of the Efik (Onyile 2000:7).
21. Archivo General de la Administración (AGA), Caja 81/07 636, exp. 1. One of the deportees requested hectares to work on agriculture (letter to the Governor in October 1899) in the eighties (Ibarra 1887:188; Sundiata 1972:231).
22. Except *Nánkue* descriptions which are included in Álvarez García, Arija, Jones and Sialo. On the Fernandino customs, see Morgades.
23. As well as the term *balele* it is a generic term used in the colony for any mask, ignoring the wealth of culture of each ethnic group and with a pejorative meaning.
24. *La Guinea Española*, January 10th 1928, nº 656:13. This text was written in 1928 and shows that the Catholic mission did not approve of the fact that they were dancing to the cemetery. They had to be civilized. And it allowed because not considered “dangerous”. These dances were “nonsense” (trifle), but the missionary warned that if they continued to do so, they would have to notify the authorities to prohibit them.
25. Only members of *Egbo* (English word for *Ekpe*) Council can participate. Previously on Fernando Po was only one *Egbo* (*Big Egbo*). Today the council is made up of ten people *Egbo*. These rituals are performed inside the cemetery. President Macias Nguema, fearing witchcraft, barred it from entering the cemetery.
26. Even dance academies were surveyed in La Havana (Deschamps Chapeaux 1964:106).
27. During a break in an *Abakuá* function, court officials were surprised that “all detainees being Creoles and free, try to imitate the *bozales* on their uses and customs” (Deschamps Chapeaux 1964:100-101).
28. We find valuable information in the field of police work and criminology with existing prejudices at the time. Trujillo and Monagas publish a pamphlet published in 1882 in *La Correspondencia de Cuba* showing a report of Rodriguez Arias (Brown 2003:145) with many data *Abakuá* society. Other works are Landaluze (1881) and Roche y Monteagudo (1925 [1908]).

29. There was a crackdown in 1844 in the so-called “Conspiración de la Escalera” (Palmié 2007:282).
30. Cuban deportees were also sent to the Canary Islands (González Rodríguez 1993:711; Márquez Quevedo 1998:115).
31. The sacred voice sounds in the *Ecué* drum inside the temple. It represents the voice of the spirit. In the legend, the voice emerged from the water [add: through a sacred] fish. It also represents the voice of the leopard (Miller 2009; Röschenthaler 2011:100).
32. There is unanimity about *Abakuá* areas (Ortiz 1950:79, 1986:13). However, Nuevitas and Cienfuegos had sporadically the presence of *Abakuá* (Guanche 1983; Elí 1997a:420, 222). Many *Abakuá* population lived along the docks controlling recruitment and the foremen were Nánigos (López Valdés 1966), which also happened in the guild of tobacco producers (10), and in the public markets and slaughterhouses (Guanche 1983:443). In 1867, the *Abakuá* society is established in 1927 in Matanzas and Cárdenas (Palmié 2006: 103).
33. *El Siglo Futuro*, February 10, 1880; *El Gallego*, March 14, 1880.
34. The first name of the *Cabildo* was the [cut: pier; add: embarking point] in Africa as in the case of Calabar who named the *Carabalí*, named first by the slave traders and later by the slaves themselves. The second name was the ethnonym nation, ethnic or linguistic, as in the case of *Carabalí Ibo* or *Carabalí Orú* (Guanche 1983:416).
35. According to Goldie (1901:15, 50, and 1862: 359). *Abak* is an ethnic subgroup of the Ibibio, as Leon Argeliers classification (preface to Neira). “The term *Abakpa* was used by the British for Ekoi subgroup of Kwa” (Sosa 1998: 314). As Ute Röschenthaler told me (personal communication), “*Abakpa* is a neighbourhood in Calabar, in which Qua-Ejagham live, but the intonation of *Abakuá* is quite different from *Abàkpà*, and among the Ejagham, *Abakpa* usually also means a Hausa settlement. There were also settlements of mobile fishermen who settled all over the coast, and were then made to settle further inland along the Cross river as Biase. They have linguistic relationship with other coastal people such as the Duala”.
36. The Duala belongs to the Ndowe ethnic group who live in the coast of Gabon, Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon. Different Ndowe groupes have similar instruments. The *Abakuá* drum *Ekúé* photographed by Fernando Ortiz in Balaguer Museum of Vilanova and Geltrú (1996[1952] Vol.I:408) and also by

Cristina Bordas Ibáñez (1999:334) at the National Museum of Anthropology in Madrid, have the same shape and dimensions of the *mosomba* drum among the Ndowe of Equatorial Guinea, with ropes, wedges and three legs, described in Aranzadi (2009:199).

37. Ortiz quotes Moreno Moreno, judge stationed at Fernando Po. Moreno was the first to suggest the link between Fernandino *Yangüé*, Cuban *Ñáñigos* and members of *Ekpe* in Calabar, in a two-page article from 1948.
38. Ndowe people are classified in A´Bodjedi (2008). Instruments of some ethnic Ndowe sub-groups in Gabon and Equatorial Guinea and its comparative analysis are in Aranzadi (2009).
39. Nowadays it is also necessary to have permission to hold a *plante* or *juramento* (initiation) and police monitors courtyard setting where public ceremonies are held. I was able to observe that on May 28, 2011 in Havana, when the first *plante* (initiation) of the *juego* (group) named *Efi Entumá Enyuaó*, was celebrated at the *Temple House of Uriabón Efi Brandy Masongo*, in San Miguel de Padrón.
40. Guancho (preface to Torres Zayas Zayas, *Relación Barrio*). Since the triumph of the Revolution in 1959-1990, only one *juego* was created in Cuba (Orozco and Bolívar 1998:262).
41. It initiates an “institutionalization” of religions at the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party in 1991 and the establishment of the Supreme *Abakuá* Council in 1996, representing 73 *juegos* (Torres Zayas 2010).
42. As *Abakuá Buró* members in Havana told me in 2012. In 1998, there were 12,000 *Abakuás* (Orozco and Bolívar 1998:262).
43. For a distribution of religious expression and musical expressions, see Elí (1997b).
44. Conference by Gregorio Hernández El *Goyo*. IV *Coloquio sobre religiones afroamericanas*, Havana, May 2011. El *Goyo*, a key figure in Cuban music and *Abakuá* member, died in January 2012, when we were expecting his presence in a conference organized by Casa Africa in Havana.
45. In Cuba, the rumba, conga and popular religions of African ancestry are stronger together by the thread intergenerational according to Guancho (prologue to Torres Zayas Zayas 2010).

46. For an analysis of *Abakuá* influenced music, see Miller (2005, 2009) and Truly (2009).
47. I attended a musical project performance named *Anamafimba*, a Latin jazz fusion group with *Abakuá* songs at the National Arts Theatre, January 7, 2012 in Havana.
48. They have been the only two presidents since the independence in 1968.
49. Ortiz proposed this term for the Cuban *ekón* (1996[1952] Vol.I: 272).
50. Daniel Jones was the son of Maximiliano Jones, a very important Fernandino landowner in San Carlos, in the south of the island. The first *Náñkue* picture I have been able to document is “a mask in Santa Isabel” dating from 1910-20, in Bravo Carbonell (1917:20)
51. According to the picture provided by Ekpo.
52. As I have seen in the documentary *Asere*, a brief approach to the life of *Abakuá* in Cuba today. *Afrokuba Project*, directed by Miguel Angel Garcia Velasco, premiered at the IV Simposio de Religiones.
53. The instruments are prepared, encouraging the spirits of ancestors. Although festive, all *Abakuá plante* (initiation) is a ceremony for the dead, for they are called and must participate (Elí 1997a:221).
54. In 1862, two hundred emancipated people reached Fernando Po. They lived in the “village of the *Congos*” (Balmaseda 1869:149), a neighborhood in the city of Santa Isabel, the majority belonged to this ethnic group (Castro 1994:36), and provided very cheap labor in the making of public works (Serrano 1985:80). By R. O. 1865, 105 blacks caught between San Cristóbal and Pinar del Rio, were transported to Fernando Po, they chose to stay or to go elsewhere on the African coast (Roldan Montaud 2011:185). According to Franco, the R. O. is 1867 (1976:8).
55. Especially in the deportation of 1869 (González Rodríguez 1993:710).
56. *El Imparcial*, November 20, 1896. Also in (Brown 2003:135)
57. *La Iberia*, May 5, 1881.
58. *Revista de Geografía Comercial*, June 15 and 30, 1886:347-62).

59. Four authors describe the deportation of 1869: Balmaseda, Siffredo y Llopiz, Saluvert and Bravo Senties. Miranda and Valdés Infante describe the ones of 1896 and 1897.
60. Susana Castillo (2011) examines the linguistic legacy of the Cuban Spanish emancipated and deported. Susan Martin-Márquez (2011) emphasizes the sociopolitical aspect through an analysis that reflects the Cuban Creole perception of the Castilian colonizer, highlighting socio-racial stratification among the deported themselves.
61. *La España*, May 18, 1865. *La Época*, April 2, 1876. *El Imparcial*, April 3, 1876; *La Iberia*, April 4, 1876.
62. *La Época*, July 21, 1895. Signed by Fernando Cadalso.
63. *La Vanguardia*. August 22, 1882.
64. *El Imparcial*, November 20, 1896.
65. *La Vanguardia*, August 11, 1894.
66. *El Imparcial*, November 16, 1896.
67. Concha ruled in the periods of (1850-52), (1854-59) and (1874-75), sending Nãñigos to Fernando Po, from which we do not know anything.
68. March 14, 1880, signed by Cisneros Luces and entitled "Nãñigos".
69. *El Correo Militar*, July 26, 1888. Such symbols are plotted with yellow (in the *plante*) or white plaster (in funeral ceremonies) and comprise three categories: the *firmas* or *Anaforuanas*, the *sellos* (stamps) and the *gando*, representing each *plaza* or hierarchy, each *juego* or *potencia* and some actions or situations that allude to the legend (Guanche, 1983:442).
70. *La Vanguardia*, February 6, 1889. Rodriguez Batista caught the Nãñigo chiefs (total 15) who took two days to reveal the constitution of their *juegos* and deliver books, records, documents, stamps and emblems. *El Correo de Madrid* publishes a facsimile of some stamps. According to Ortiz, Rodriguez Batista lived in Regla and it could be that when he was young he would have been initiated so that would explain the peaceful success of their work because of their knowledge of *Abakuá* (1996[1952] Vol.I:50). According to Roche y Monteagudo the seized *juegos* were, *Macaro Ecorio Efó 1st, 2nd and 3rd* and *Ebion* ((1925 [1908]):43).

71. *La Monarquía*, March 9, 1889. On leaving to the Peninsula, he took some of *atributos*, including a Diablito *saco* or suit (Roche and Monteagudo (1925 [1908]):49).
72. Photographed in Bordas Ibáñez (1999:333-4).
73. Anything that is worshiped, because it incorporates a god or spirit, is a *fundamento* (Cabrera 1969:149).
74. Objects and signs make an objectual corpus bearing symbolic content (Guanche 2007:67).
75. *La Vanguardia*, February 6, 1889, *El Día*, January 15, 1892. Notes 63 and 64.
76. *El Imparcial*, November 20, 1896.
77. *La Correspondencia de España*, July 6, 1897; *La Época*, July 7, 1897.
78. *Gedeón*, September 17, 1896.
79. A.G.A., Caja 81/07636, exp. 1. *La Unión Católica*, September 24 1896. Reinforcements were also sent in 1897 (*El Liberal*, June 28, 1897).
80. *La Correspondencia de España*, November 16, 1896. Out of the 234 prisoners, 180 are Ñáñigos. *La Época*, November 15, 1896. October 30, 1896 in *El Siglo Futuro* and in *La Unión Católica*; *La Dinastía*, October 31, 1896; *Diario de Tenerife*, November 23, 1896.
81. *El Imparcial*, November 20, 1896. According to Barcia many of the deported were falsely accused of being Ñáñigos (2003:11).
82. *Diario de Avisos de Madrid*, November 16, 1896.
83. *El Imparcial*, November 20, 1896. Signed in Havana by Domingo Blanco. Lengthy article entitled “*Los Ñáñigos*” (origin oath ceremonies, extermination, reassured society, a *Ñáñigo* released by the U.S. consul).
84. Between 1847 and 1875, about 142,000 Chinese workers immigrated to Cuba. They replaced the reduced availability of Africans due to blockages of trafficking and the fear of another revolution occurring as in Haiti. They were officially

“contracted workers”, but in fact, they lived and died as slaves. Many Cuban of Chinese descent joined *Abakuá* groups by the end of the century (Miller 2009:117). In Regla there is a plaque that commemorates the arrival in 1847 of the first shipment of Chinese (Orozco y Bolívar 1998:257). It is located very near the plaque commemorating the founding of the first *Abakuá juego* in 1836, where I attended on January 6, 2012 to homage in honor to the *Abakuá* persecuted: the deported *Ñáñigos* to Fernando Po were remembered in the words of Orlando Gutierrez, secretary of religious affairs of Supreme Council of *Abakuá* in Cuba.

85. In the newspaper, it is said that there is a *Ñáñigo* from Cadiz. *El Imparcial* November 20, 1896.
86. “Today *Abakuá* are settled in all sectors of Cuban society” [in 1998] (Orozco and Bolívar 276).
87. *El Imparcial*, November 20, 1896.
88. A *Ñáñigo* is mentioned in a letter from the Governor in Fernando Po to Cuba government in July 12, 1897, regarding a sentence by the Court of Matanzas. In all other documents they appear as deportees and while there is mentioned some social-racial “classes” among them, no one speaks about *Ñáñigos* in the colony.
89. A.G.A., Caja 81/07636, exp. 1. Letters of the government of Fernando Po, June 18, 1896 and March 3, 1897.
90. *La Unión Católica* and *La Iberia*.
91. A.G.A., Caja 81/07636, exp. 1. A total of 269 deported arrive according to the January 27 letter to the Minister of Ultramar manifested in contentment for order and discipline during the voyage.
92. In some sources, there are 73 *Ñáñigos* (December 14, 1896 in *El Liberal*, *La Iberia* and *El Imparcial*). These sources coincide with Roche y Monteagudo ((1925 [1908]):53), who also mentions two other *Ñáñigo* deportations from Cuba to Fernando Po in September and October 1896.
93. *Diario Las Palmas*, January 4, 1897.
94. In the story of Miranda, there is a mistake in the arrival date to Fernando Po on December 17, 1896.

95. A.G.A., Caja 81/07636, exp. 1. Letters from the governor in Fernando Po, October 31 and December 17, 1897.
96. *El Día*, March 30, 1897. 68 deportees were sent. March 31, 1897 in *La Iberia* and in *El Día*.
97. *Diario Las Palmas*, April 5 and 8, 1897.
98. 8 Valdés Infante left Cuba in the “Buenos Aires” and although he did not mentioned it in his story, with him traveling 10 Nñáñigos (*La Correspondencia*, 20 March 1897). It is assumed that the remaining Nñáñigos embarked in Cádiz.
99. Between January and June, there are reports of around 300 Nñáñigos leaving Cuba as deportees and transferred among ports of the peninsula. Sources: *El Globo*, January 5, 1897; *El Imparcial*, January 10, 1897; *El Imparcial*, January 24, 1897; *La Época*, January 25, 1897; *La Correspondencia de España*, January 21, 1897; *El Imparcial*, January 22, 1897; *El Globo*, January 29, 1897; *El Imparcial*, February 27, 1897; *La Dinastía*, March 25, 1897; *El Imparcial*, March 27, 1897; *El Día*, March 31, 1897; *El Imparcial*, May 2 and 17, 1897; *El Imparcial*, June 10, 1897; *El Liberal*, June 28, 1897. Of which, and non-documented in the press, 36 Nñáñigos are deported to Fernando Po, February 28, May 10, and June 10, 1897 (Roche y Monteagudo (1925 [1908]):53).
100. *El Liberal*, June 28, 1897.
101. *Diario de las Palmas*, July 5, 1897.
102. *El Globo*, June 27, 1897.
103. *La Vanguardia*, June 29, 1897. *La Correspondencia de España*, June 30, 1897. In Ceuta, there are 400 deported and large “ñañiguería” (*El Imparcial*, August 29, 1897).
104. A.G.A., Caja 81/07636, exp. 1. In a letter of November 1897, the deported, after being pardoned, requested al Governor of Fernando Po to reside in Barcelona. They are Included in the list of Valdés Infante (1898:84-5).
105. A.H.N., Ultramar, Leg. 5007, exp. 832. There are several transfers among peninsular prisons, but two hundred Nñáñigos are denied to be shipped to Cuba, because of the state of war. In May of 1898 Arturo Sotolongo Limendoux is the only ñáñigo deported remaining in Chafarinas.

106. *El Correo Militar*, October 6, 1898. This is a list of names kept in the AHN, Ultramar, Leg. 5007, exp. 832., with 640 deportees of which 581 Nñáñigos are excluded in previous pardons, appearing Miranda as “anarchist”, which coincides with his story. According to Aline Helg “Over 580 Nñáñigos were deported during the war and their fate, until the end of September, 1896 was Fernando Po, ironically the island was located just off the Cross River estuary, in the Niger Delta, where society *Abakuá* originated “(1995:83).
107. A.H.N., Gobernación, Leg. 597, exp. 2-4. List of names to be sent to Cuba in October: 290 political deportees from Ceuta (including 22 Nñáñigos) in December, 33 Nñáñigos from Santander and 237 Nñáñigos from Figueras (also published *El Imparcial*, December 22, 1898). For this purpose, twenty thousand *duros* are destined (The Liberal, October 4, 1898). (*El Liberal*, October 4, 1898).
108. A.H.N., Gobernación, Leg. 597, exp. 2-4. On December 15, 1898 in *El Día* and in *El Siglo Futuro*.
109. *La Época*, January 5, 1899; *El Nuevo País*, January 6, 1899.
110. A. G. A., Caja 81/07636. Letters of February 13, and September 18, 1898. According to the Governor only the rustlers remained. In February 1898, following the departure of 140 deportees (Serrano 81), there remained deportees seeking pardon, and finally they left in September 1898. In *El Bien Público*, July 22, 1898, it is published from New York, that Commodore Watson was to go with his squad to pick up the Cuban deportees to Fernando Po. The names of those who left in September match Valdés Infante list (1898:84).
111. *Alrededor del Mundo*, January 10, 1916.
112. *La lectura Dominical*, November 27, 1909.
113. *El Heraldo de Madrid*, December 20, 1913.
114. *El Imparcial*, January 22, 1903.
115. *La Correspondencia Militar*, June 4, 1908.
116. *La Acción. Diario de la Noche*, June 3, 1922.

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Essential Medicines in Nigeria: Foregrounding Access to Affordable Essential Medicines

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Abstract

Within every functional healthcare system, access to quality and affordable essential medicine stands out as one of the building blocks. However, its significance has been underrated due to poor advocacy and research. The implication is that access to quality and affordable essential medicines remains a challenge to many people in low / middle income countries and could create difficulty in the attempt to reform healthcare systems and save lives if not given ample attention. This paper presents a critical discussion of the Nigerian health system with special focus on access to essential medicines as a component of the Nigerian healthcare system by drawing upon primary data, using qualitative research method.

Keywords: *Access to medicines, Essential medicines, Healthcare, Public health facilities, Counterfeit medicines, Traditional medicines, Health systems, Systems theory*

Résumé

Au sein de chaque système de santé fonctionnel, l'accès aux médicaments essentiels de qualité et à prix abordable se distingue comme l'un des blocs de construction. Cependant, son importance a été sous-estimé en raison de la mauvaise sensibilisation et de recherche. L'implication est que l'accès à la qualité et aux médicaments essentiels abordables demeure un défi pour de nombreuses personnes dans les pays à faible revenu / moyennes et pourrait créer des difficultés dans la tentative de réformer les systèmes de soins de santé et sauver des vies si pas donné une grande attention. Cet article présente une enquête sur le système de santé du Nigeria avec un accent particulier sur l'accès aux médicaments essentiels en tant que composante du système de soins de santé du Nigeria en tirant sur des données primaires, en utilisant la méthode de recherche qualitative.

Mots clés : *Accès aux médicaments, les médicaments essentiels, la santé, les établissements de santé publics, les médicaments contrefaits, des médicaments traditionnels, les systèmes de santé, de la théorie des*

Introduction

Over the past 30 years, the issue of access to affordable essential medicine in a healthcare system has been a matter of worldwide concern¹. In fact, since the 1976 Alma Ata, it has become part of the health system discourse.² literature survey revealed that the health of a country's general population is significantly affected by the access to health care and availability/affordability of medicines^{3,4}. Consequently, it is not surprising that policy makers, practitioners and other stakeholders in the health sector should be concerned about poor access to essential medicines.³

However, little has been written on this issue, especially in Nigeria where the government and healthcare policy makers are trying to ensure greater access to medicines (ATM) through the introduction of programs such as 'the revolving drug fund' (Sambo et al, 2008). It is worth mentioning that according to WHO 30% of the world's population, (ranging between: 1.3 and 2.1 billion people), are estimated not to have regular access to essential medicines (EM).⁴. This paper discusses access to essential medicines in Nigeria with the simple aim of bringing the issue to wider attention. It is a product of a current study of access to essential medicine, which aims generally to contribute to filling the gap on this subject. The discussion in this paper includes a critical look at the notion of essential medicines and provides a contribution to the basis for the analysis of access to medicines within a health system. The paper is drawn from an ongoing study of access to essential medicines in Nigeria

Underlining Rationale and Conceptualisation of Essential Medicines

The essence of making the essential medicines (EM) list flexible, according to the World Health Assembly,⁵ was to increase the collection and availability of medicines for areas with poor access⁶ and also, to ensure that countries create their own lists to suit their primary healthcare needs as affirmed by the 1978 Alma Ata declaration on primary healthcare. The declaration states, "the provision of essential medicine is a vital and dominant part of primary healthcare".⁷ In 1977, the WHO established an Expert Committee on EM to

1 *World Health Organization (2000a). WHO medicines strategy: framework for action in essential drugs and medicines policy 2000–2003. Geneva, World Health Organization.*

2 *World health organization (2000b). The world health report 2000. Health systems: improving performance. Geneva, World Health Organization.*

3 *World Health Organization (2010). Key components of a well-functioning health system. World Health Organization, Geneva-Switzerland.*

4 *World Health Organization (2004). World medicines situation. Pp.61–74. Geneva, World health Organization*

5 *Laing R, Waning B, Gray A, Ford N, 't Hoen E. (2003). 25 years of the WHO essential medicines lists: progress and challenges. Lancet 2003 May 17;361(9370):1723–9*

6 *Stop stockouts initiative (2013) what are essential medicines? <http://stopstockouts.org/stop-stock-outs-campaign/what-are-essential-medicines/>*

7 *World Health organization. (1978) The Alma Ata declaration http://www.who.int/hpr/NPH/docs/declaration_almaata.pdf*

help member countries in the selection and procurement of medicines. The report of the expert committee marked the 'formal launch' of the concept known as essential medicines (EM) given the fact that it established the criterion for medicines classification as well as the introduction of the first EM list abbreviated as 'WHO-EML', which comprised approximately 200 medicines. The list was subject to revision every two years. The Model List of EM is currently being used by countries as a guide for the development of their own national EML⁸ which serves as: the basis for procurement and supply of medicines in the public and private sector, development of schemes that reimburse medicine costs, medicine donations and to guide local medicine production⁹.

The conceptualisation of EM was predicated on the fact that medicines are fundamental parts of the health care and the idea of present day health care systems are inconceivable without the availability of EM. Medicines do not only save lives and promote health, but prevent epidemics and diseases too. Therefore, the notion that medicines are undeniably one of the means for controlling diseases makes it the fundamental right of every human being. This further implies that accessibility to medicines is equally the fundamental right of every one. The issue of 'rights' in the field of health dates back to the WHO constitution of 1946, as part of social rights which details the progressive realization of the rights to health through four concrete steps, which includes access to health facilities, goods and services¹⁰.

Furthermore, the 22nd session of the United Nations¹¹ Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights often referred to as 'the general comment' affirmed rather authoritatively, the principles of ATM as accessibility, availability, acceptability and assured quality to goods and services which includes not just EM but other medical diagnostics, supplies and consumables²³⁻¹². These pronouncements marked the confirmation that access to medicines was a global issue. However, the debate on 'Access to Essential Medicines' started in the late 1970s and 1980s when strong pressure from public health advocates led the pharmaceutical industry to accept the concept, which is now back on the international health policy agenda¹³.

The clear identification of EM and the consequent provision of a list helped in firming up the notion of ATM due to concerns. These concerns were also intensified by the prevalence of very toxic or ineffective medicines and difficulty in treating patients due

8 Ruxin J, Paluzzi J, Wilson P, Tozan Y, Kruk M, Teklehaimanot A (2005). *Emerging consensus in HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, and access to essential medicines*. *Lancet* 365, 618–621.

9 Stolk P, Willemsen M, Leufkens H (2006). "Rare essentials": drugs for rare diseases as essential medicines. *Bull. World Health Organ.* 84, 745–751.

10 World Health Organization (1946) "Constitution". <http://apps.who.int/gb/bd/PDF/bd47/EN/constitution-en.pdf>

11 United Nations (2000) "CESCR: *The right to the highest attainable standard of health*". 08/11/2000. E/C.12/2000/4. (General Comments) Geneva, 25 April–12 May 2000 <http://www.unhcr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/%28symbol%29/E.C.12.2000.4.En>.

12 *Ibid*.

13 Ralyn S. Ritter O (2010) "Bridging the Gap in Access to Medicines". *The Lancet Infectious Diseases, Volume 10, Issue 8, Pages 514 - 515, August 2010*

to the fact that the required medicines are too expensive or no longer manufactured¹⁴.

Oliver and Mossialos¹⁵ are of the view that there is no universally accepted definition of the term 'Access'. Peters et al. (2008)¹⁶ however, posited that 'access' might be considered as 'the timely use of services according to needs'..., reflecting a general concept that sums up a set of more precise dimensions adjusting between the patient and the health care system (Penchansky and Thomas, 1981)¹⁷.

ATM is influenced by several factors out of which the demand and supply side features prominently (Penchansky and Thomas, 1981; Ensor and Cooper, 2004)²⁹. These dimensions¹⁸ are; availability, accessibility, affordability and acceptability otherwise known as the 4As. The 4As was first suggested by Penchansky and Thomas in 1981 and years later adopted by WHO³⁰. The application of the demand and supply dimension to the understanding of ATM incorporates the ability of individuals', households' and communities' to use services vs aspects of health services and the health sector that hinder service utilization.

Globally, medicines and diagnostic products are costly, non-existent, difficult to get or of low quality¹⁹. However, in Africa, more than 70% of the population are affected²⁰ by EM issue which were available to 30% of all public and private health facilities in Africa²¹. Conceivably, the current state of global healthcare²² prompted WHO and African leaders under the platform of African Commission Resolution on the Right to Health and Access to needed Medicines in Africa²³ into contextualising the 4As of ATM thus:

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- 14 Butler C (2007). "Human Rights and the World Trade Organization: The Right to Essential Medicines and the TRIPS Agreement". *Journal of International Law & Policy* 5: 1–27.
 - 15 O'Donnell O (2007). *Access to health care in developing countries: breaking down demand side barriers*. *Cadernos de Saude Pùblica* 23: 2820–34.
 - 16 Peters D, Garg A, Bloom G (2008). *Poverty and access to health care in developing countries*. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 1136: 161–71.
 - 17 Penchansky R, William T (1981). "The Concept of Access: Definition and Relationship to Consumer Satisfaction" *Medical Care* Vol. 19, No. 2 (Feb., 1981), pp. 128–139
 - 18 Maryam B, Bart J, Goran T, Richard L, Abdul G, Bruno D and Wim V (2012). *Access to medicines from a health system perspective*. *Health Policy and Planning* 2012;1–13 doi:10.1093/heapol/czs108. <http://heapol.oxfordjournals.org/>
 - 19 World Health Organizations (2007). *Medicines strategy: countries at the core 2004–2007*. Geneva; http://whqlibdoc.who.int/hq/2004/WHO_EDM_2004.5.pdf
 - 20 (NA) (2008) "Health Systems and the Right to Health: an Assessment of 194 Countries". 2008. *The Lancet*, Volume 372, Issue 9655, Pages 2047 – 2085, 13 December 2008
 - 21 World Health Organization. (2010) *Monitoring the Building Blocks of Health Systems: A Handbook of Indicators and Their Measurement Strategies*. Geneva: World Health Organization; 2010.
 - 22 Pecoud B, Chirac C, Trouiller P. (1999). *Access to essential drugs in poor countries*. *Journal of the American Medical Association* 282: 631.
 - 23 African Union (2008). "Resolution on the Right to Health and Access to Needed Medicines in Africa". *The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, meeting at its 44th Ordinary Session held in Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, from the 10 th to 24 th November 2008* http://www1.chr.up.ac.za/images/files/research/ahrru/news/ahrru_news_15_resolution_access_health_needed_medicines_africa.pdf

Table 1 - : The Right to Health and Access to needed Medicines in Africa (WHO, 2000).

| | |
|---------------|--|
| Availability | The availability in sufficient quantities of needed (essential) medicines, including existing medicines and the development of new medicines needed for the highest attainable level of health |
| Accessibility | The accessibility of needed medicines to everyone without discrimination. It includes; Physical accessibility of needed medicines to all. |
| Affordability | Affordability or economic accessibility of needed medicines to all; Information accessibility about the availability and efficacy of medicines. |
| Acceptability | The Acceptability of medicine supplies, being respectful of cultural norms and medical ethics. |
| Quality | The quality of medicine supplies, ensuring that available medicines are safe, effective and medically appropriate. |

World Health Organisation: 2000 & Penchansky et al: 1981

In the context of Africa therefore, Access to Medicine - ATM is based on the notion that it is the “percentage of population who have access to a minimum list of 20 essential medicines, which are continuously available and affordable at a health facility or medicines outlet, within one hour’s walk from the patient’s home”²⁴. Besides, rational use and the quality of medicines are also in the definition of ATM, as contained in WHO policy document of 2007. This is in understanding and acknowledging the fact that the concept of access goes beyond the general understanding. This definition proposes that in order to guarantee full access to medicine, countries and health systems must ensure that their strategies include but not limited to what would be regarded as the four *As*²⁵ of access: Availability, Affordability, Accessibility and Acceptability with its associated demand and supply aspects as proposed by Penchansky²⁶. These four dimensions of ATM would allow a critical engagement with the access to essential medicines in Nigeria and an examination of its significance as a critical factor in the functioning of the Nigerian health system.

Access to Medicines as part of a Health System

Theoretical and empirical studies of access to health care have emphasized the importance of ATM^{27,40} and how this affects healthcare outcomes⁴⁰. This was alluded to

²⁴ *opcit*

²⁵ Penchansky R, Williams T. (1981). *The concept of access: definition and relationship to consumer satisfaction. Medical Care* 19: 127–40.

²⁶ *ibid*

²⁷ Robde J, Cousens S, Chopra M. (2008). *Alma-Ata: Rebirth and Revision 30 years after Alma-Ata: has*

in the introduction. ATM and access to health care are closely intertwined given the fact that the commonest constraints in access to healthcare facilities, either public or private, affect ATM. Furthermore, availability of medicines has been cited in literatures^{28, 29} as a key factor in access to healthcare as well as utilization³⁰ of healthcare. When assessing a health system from a holistic perspective, the WHO and other stakeholders in healthcare have used availability of essential medicines as a measure of quality of care³¹. However, irrespective of the significant progress made by the WHO in advertising the EM list and publicising the concept of EM, the benefit has not been far reaching³², especially, in Africa and Asia. This raises the question of access to EM; what are the demand / supply constraints regarding ATMs? Can one say the global community is equipped to tackle the complexities surrounding ATM if countries do not understand the importance of ATM as a part of the health system? The issues being highlighted in this paper becomes also critical in terms of achieving goals four, five and six of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This is because the number of preventable deaths; under five mortality rate, maternal mortality, and diseases; resistance to malaria etc. could be reduced if quality medicines are accessible, affordable and equitably distributed in time. In as much as it is generally argued that the high mortality rate in Africa could be reduced by access to quality medicines the term, access, has often been mistaken for entry and or use of a healthcare facility/ services. Whereas, Access to Medicine as a concept, as earlier discussed, comprises distinct dimensions³³, which are influenced by an array of specific relationships among availability, accessibility, quality, affordability and acceptability (Penchansky³⁴ and O'Donnel³⁵).

primary health care worked in countries? Lancet 372: 950–61.

- 28 Chukwuani C, Olujobi A, Ugbene E. (2006). *Improving access to essential drugs for rural communities in Nigeria: the Bamako initiative re-visited. Pharmacy World and Science 28: 91–5.*
- 29 Kiwanuka N, Ekipara E, Peterson S. (2008). *Access to and utilisation of health services for the poor in Uganda: a systematic review of available evidence. Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene 102: 1067–74.*
- 30 Pariyo GW, Ekipara-Kiracho E, Okui O. (2009). *Changes in utilization of health services among poor and rural residents in Uganda: are reforms benefitting the poor? International Journal for Equity in Health 8: 39.*
- 31 Ameli O, Newbrander W. (2008). *Contracting for health services: effects of utilization and quality on the costs of the Basic Package of Health Services in Afghanistan. Bulletin of the World Health Organization 86: 920–9.*
- 32 Quick J, Hogerzeil H (2002). *Perspectives: twenty-five years of essential medicines. Bulletin of the World Health Organization 80: 913–4.*
- 33 *Center for Pharmaceutical Management. (2003). Defining and Measuring Access to Essential Drugs, Vaccines, and Health Commodities: Report of the WHO-MSH Consultative Meeting, Ferney-Voltaire, France, December 11–13, 2000. Prepared for the Strategies for Enhancing Access to Medicines Program. Arlington, Va.: Management Sciences for Health. http://www.msh.org/seam/reports/Access_Meeting_Ferney_Voltaire_1.pdf*
- 34 *op cit*
- 35 O'Donnell O. (2007). *Access to health care in developing countries: breaking down demand side barriers. Cadernos de Saude Publica 23: 2820–34.*

Access as Availability

As a dimension of access to medicines, availability is defined by the relationship between the type and quantity of product or service needed, and the type and quantity of product or service provided³⁶. It is highly dependent in the location of the service provider and also the location of the household. This dimension of access takes into account, the WHO and UNDP's definitions³⁷ of having medicines constantly available and affordable at public or private health facilities or medicine outlets that are within one hour's walk from the home of the population. For example, Goddard & Smith³⁸, described availability as increasing the number of facilities, in order to reduce the time it takes to reach the closest facility, an important first step. However, greater provision of facilities that can deliver effective care is necessary but is not, in itself sufficient. Availability of a healthcare facility does not necessarily guarantee care as proven by Florence Nightingale³⁹ during the Crimean War, where she discovered that access to a hospital actually increased the chance of dying, primarily because of the failure to address the risk of infection since the required medicine was not obtainable. Availability of medicines is a supply side dimension of ATM because it indicates the level of service which the health system offers the individual.

Penchanky's taxonomy⁴⁰ distinguished availability as the relationship of the volume and type of existing services (and resources) to the clients' volume and types of needs. It refers to the adequacy of the supply of physicians, dentists and other providers; of facilities such as clinics and hospitals; and of specialised programs and services such as mental health and emergency care. This suggests that if a patient suffers certain ailment, and in the case of any emergency, he or she should be able to obtain the right treatment at first call. The demand and supply aspect to this dimension of access simply means that bio medical healthcare workers, medicines and diagnostics would be the supply side while the demand for the services would remain the demand side.

Access as Acceptability

Within ATM, acceptability as defined by Penchansky and Thomas⁴¹ is "the relationship of clients' attitudes about personal and practice characteristics of providers to the actual characteristics of existing providers, as well as to provider attitudes about acceptable personal characteristics of clients"⁴². In his work, the term appears to be used most often

36 CPM/MSH -Center for Pharmaceutical Management/ Management Sciences for Health. 2011. *Center for Pharmaceutical Management: Technical Frameworks, Approaches, and Results*. Arlington, Va.: CPM

37 UNDP (2003) *Human Development Report*. 2003

38 Goddard M, Smith P(2001). *Equity of access to health care services: theory and evidence from the UK*. Centre for Health Economics, University of York, Heslington, UK. *Soc Sci Med Nov*;53(9):1149-62

39 *Journal of Nursing*. (1998). Florence Nightingale: Her Personality Type *J Holist Nurs* June 1, 1998 16: 202-222

40 *Opcit* : Penchansky pp. 127-40

41 *Ibid*.

42 *Ibid*, pp128

in reference to specific consumer reaction to provider qualities such as age, sex, ethnicity, type of facility, neighbourhood of facility, or religious affiliation of facility or provider. However, other authors also refer to it as consumer disposition to medicines with respect to safety, efficacy and side effects⁴³.

Similarly, providers have attitudes about the preferred attributes of clients or their financing mechanisms. Providers might either be unwilling to serve certain types of clients (e.g. poor people who rely on charity) or, through accommodation, may make themselves more or less available. Therefore, acceptability as a dimension of access to medicine is distinguished on grounds that the efficacy of a particular medicine has been proven, it is considered safe for use by all and consumers are satisfied which further compels utilization⁴⁴.

Access as Accessibility

Here, accessibility is determined by the relationship between the location of the medicine and the location of the eventual user. While physical accessibility to medicines matter, there is also social accessibility, which is often ignored but plays a major role. Social accessibility comprises class structure, income, age, education, gender or ethnicity. The relationship between the location of supply and the location of users (demand), takes account of client transportation resources and travel time, distance and cost. Therefore, while the location of the service is considered the supply side, the household location becomes the demand side⁴⁵. Again, if one has to look at accessibility from the demand and supply angle, the characteristics of the health services would represent the supply side while the attitude and expectations of patients would speak to the demand side⁴⁶.

Access as Affordability

Affordability of medicine is the relationship between prices of the medicine or diagnostics and the user's ability to pay for them. It is relationship of prices of services and providers' insurance or deposit requirements to the clients' income, ability to pay and existing health insurance. The clients' perception of worth relative to total cost is a concern here, as is their knowledge of prices, total cost and possible credit arrangements⁴⁷. Costs and prices of services fall under the supply side while household resources and willingness to pay falls under the demand side of affordability.

While the outlined conceptual understanding of *access* is quite useful given the occasional misunderstanding, it is even more useful when *barriers to access* are part of the

43 Osemene P, Ilori O, Elujoba A, (2013). *Generation and acceptability of herbal medicines research and development outputs in Nigeria. Research Journal of Pharmacy and Technology Year : 2013, Vol : 6, Issue : 3*

44 *Opcit* –penchansky et al (1981).

45 *Opcit* (see peters et al (2008)

46 *Ibid*

47 *Opcit*. pp56

conceptualisation. As noted in the literature, there is no ultimate definition of *barriers to access*, nevertheless, the following is somehow widely accepted.

Barriers to Access

Peter et al.⁶⁴ stating that ‘the timely use of services according to need’; and the other given by Penchansky and Thomas (1981)⁶⁵ ‘as a fit between the clients and the health system clearly captures the different dimensions of what constitutes access to medicines as outlined in the WHO report. These definitions of access indicate that there is a demand and supply side to ATM. Therefore, when we talk about barriers to ATM, it also raises the issue of the different sides of ATM. Ensor & Cooper⁴⁸ suggested that the demand side barriers to access at the individual, household and community levels are influenced by factors such as; ‘Perceived quality of medicines and health services, Cost of medicines and services, Irrational health-seeking behaviour: Management staff efficiency, technology, household expectations, community and cultural preferences, attitudes and norms; demand for and use of medicines; waiting time, wages and quality of staff, price and quality of drugs and other consumables, information, education; Social and cultural barriers - stigma related to poverty, ethnicity and gender’⁴⁹. All these factors contribute to reduced access to medicines.

The supply side constraints to ATM focuses on the healthcare service provider/facilities; According to Cameron et al., (2009)⁵⁰, the supply side barrier to access has to do with service location, quality of the medicine: counterfeits / sub standards, affordability and availability⁵¹. Other scholars⁵² also cited unqualified health workers, staff absenteeism, opening hours, Information on health care services/providers, waiting time, Education/ Motivation of staff, irrational prescription and dispensing⁵³. Essential medicines play a major role in healthcare delivery given the fact that the interaction between medicines and services yield positive health outcomes. However, there are numerous other multifaceted constraints to ATM which led to the underperformance of a lot of healthcare systems, especially in Low-income countries. How do we therefore understand access to essential medicines in light of the conceptual discussion so far?

48 Jacobs B, Ir P, Bigdeli M, Annear L, Van W (2012). *Addressing access barriers to health services for the poor: an analytical framework for selecting appropriate interventions in low income countries. Health Policy and Planning* 27: 288–300.

49 Atun R (2012). *Health systems, systems thinking and innovation. Health Policy and Planning* 2012; 27:iv4–8.

50 Cameron A, Ewen M, Ross-Degnan D (2009). *Medicine prices, availability, and affordability in 36 developing and middle-income countries: a secondary analysis. Lancet* 373: 240–9.

51 Kotwani A (2009). *Availability, price and affordability of asthma medicines in five Indian states. The International Journal of Tuberculosis and Lung Disease* 13: 574–9.

52 Holloway K, van D (2011). *Rational Use of Medicines. The World Medicines Situation 2011. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization*

53 Shankar P. (2009). *Medicines Use in Primary Care in Developing and Transitional Countries: Fact Book Summarizing Results from Studies Reported between 1990 and 2006. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization*

Access and Barriers to Essential Medicines in Nigeria

ATM might not have been extensively researched in Nigeria as earlier noted, it is, however, an issue that draws the attention of policy makers and health professionals in the country. The significance attached to it is evident in various laws and organizations that have been established over the years in Nigeria to eliminate or reduce the barriers to it.⁵⁴ As part of its efforts and commitment towards the equitable and timely distribution of quality and essential medicines, Nigeria adopted the enlisting procedure 'WHO EML'¹⁷ of EM and set up legislation to back it up in 1989⁵⁵. Yet, decades later, over 60%⁵⁶ of its population still lack access to medicines. The primary goal of the Nigerian Medicines Policy is to ensure the availability of effective, quality and affordable medicine to all Nigerians at all times and in all sectors of the health care system. Yet, the population of people with access to essential medicines required for the treatment of acute and chronic sicknesses such as malaria and HIV is estimated at 40%⁵⁷. While, from 2002 to 2012, the median availability of selected generic medicines in public facilities was 26.2% while that of the private sector was 36.4%⁵⁸.

The policy cuts across the four dimensions of ATM and each of the 4As have two constituents relating to demand and supply. On the other hand, the constraints to ATM in the country could be summed up as a lack of affordable healthcare coverage or long waiting times before innovative medicines are approved or made broadly available. The Nigerian government and other stakeholders in the health sector have made attempts at tackling the constraints of ATM in the country. Nevertheless, ATM in Nigeria still remains a big challenge. Statistics from Demographic and health Survey⁵⁹ of the country between 2004 and 2011⁶⁰ indicated poor medicine availability, particularly in the public sector. The WHO report stated that although basic medicines were generally more available in all outlets, a range of 34 priority medicines was particularly low within the public and private health facilities in Nigeria⁶¹. The survey also revealed that patients in Nigeria pay more than international reference prices for medicines in public and private facilities.

In addition, although medicine costs in the public facilities were almost same with those in the private facilities, private health clinics were shown to charge up to 184% more than the

54 Ransome O (1992). *National Drug Policy in Nigeria*. *Journal of Public Health Policy* Vol. 13, No. 3 (autumn, 1992), pp. 367-373. Published by: Palgrave Macmillan Journals. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3342734>

55 *ibid*

56 World health Organization (2014) *World health statistics*. Geneva, Switzerland

57 Federal ministry of health (2006) *Baseline Assessment of the Nigerian Pharmaceutical Sector*. A publication of the Federal Ministry of Health in collaboration with the World Health Organization, DFID and HAI

58 *ibid*

59 *National Demographics Survey (2008) Measure DHS*. Federal ministry of health.

60 *ibid*

61 Federal Ministry of Health. (2004) *Medicines Price Survey - the prices people pay for their medicines in Nigeria*. Federal Ministry of Health in Nigeria and sponsored by the World Health Organization -WHO and Health Action International -HAI.

public health facilities and 193% more than private retail pharmacies⁶². WHO statistics have shown that medicines are too expensive to 90.2% Nigerians who live below 2 US dollars a day and these also included government employees who earn a minimum wage of 1.4 US dollars daily⁶³. Affordability in Nigeria, as indicated in the survey report, was essentially dependent on the choice of therapeutic class, product or sector from which the medicine was bought. This further confirms the estimation that the percentage of Out-of-Pocket expenditure as a proportion of private expenditure on health is about 94.5% in Nigeria⁶⁴.

Another baseline survey⁶⁵ of the Nigerian Pharmaceutical Sector, showed that due to unavailability of key medicines in public health facilities (Only about 46% of a basket of key medicines were found in all facilities both public and private), patients in Nigeria utilize private healthcare facilities (private clinics, retail pharmacies, chemists, and mobile medicine sellers) resulting in over 95%⁶⁶ of the populace using inappropriately prescribed drugs. Given the condition they find themselves, it would not be out of place to say that medicine sellers, local chemist shops (often untrained and unlicensed) and private pharmacies /clinics provide healthcare more than public facilities.

ATM in Nigeria has been constrained by healthcare expenditure, which has been regarded as abysmally low when compared to the WHO standard. The Total expenditure on health as a percentage of gross domestic products in 2010 was 5.42% while general government expenditure on health as a percentage of total expenditure on health in 2011 was 36.69⁶⁷. The total expenditure on health care as percentage of GDP is 4.6, while the percentage of federal government expenditure on health care is about 1.5%⁶⁸. Although the Nigerian government spends about 70% of its healthcare budget⁶⁹ in urban areas where 30% of the population live, there is no record of how much of this allocation goes into the procurement of medicines within these areas.

A *Business Day* publication reported that: "The 2013 budget allocation to the healthcare sector is 239 billion and on a per capita basis, comes to N1, 680 as against a WHO recommendation that governments spend a minimum of N6, 908 per head, on providing healthcare services to their citizens". The report added that the 2013 budgetary allocation to healthcare delivery is made even worse by the fact that 77 per cent or N77 of every N100 allocated to the Ministry, would be spent on paying personnel employed in the sector, leaving just N20 of every N100 spent, for capital expenditure incurred by over 50 Federal Medical Centres and Teaching hospitals across the federation and just N3 of

62 *Ibid*, pp6-7

63 *Ibid* pp63

64 *opcit*

65 Federal Ministry of Health (2002) *Baseline assessment of the Nigerian pharmaceutical Sector, a publication of the Federal Ministry of Health in collaboration with the World Health Organization*

66 Federal Ministry of Health. (2003). *Situation of Antiretroviral Drug Use in Nigeria. Federal Ministry of Health in collaboration with WHO, November 2003*

67 World Health Organization. (2013). *Global Health Observatory Data Repository. WHO, Geneva*

68 Rais A(1991) "Health Care Patterns and Planning in Developing Countries", Greenwood Press, 1991. pp 264

69 Ronald J. Vogel; *Financing Health Care in Sub-Saharan Africa Greenwood Press, 1993. Pp 9 - 18*

every N100 budgeted for healthcare to cover overheads incurred. The gap of N5, 224 per head at the Federal government level is too wide to be filled by autonomous spending from state government allocation. A closer look at the 2013 budget shows that out of the total budget, a low sum of 32,258,446 (thirty two million, two hundred and fifty eight thousand, four hundred and forty six naira) was allocated to drugs & medical supplies.

The availability of EM in all sectors within Nigeria is also low especially, at 22.6% with half of the generic medicines found in 5.4% to 45.2% of the private pharmacies⁷⁰. The average availability of all medicines in the three dominant sectors in Nigeria is represented in Table 2 below:

Table-2: The availability of EM in different health sectors of Nigeria.

| Public facilities | Private clinics | Private Pharmacies |
|--|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Innovator brands – 2.4% | 21.6% | 5.1% |
| Lowest Priced Generic medicines – 2.6% | 34.1 % | 16.7% |
| Most Sold Generic medicines- 2.4% | 13.6% | 2.6% |

Source: Baseline Assessment of the prices people pay for medicines in Nigeria, 2006, published by the Federal Ministry of Health in collaboration with the World Health Organization.

From the Table above, it is evident that the public and private health clinics stocked almost entirely lowest priced generic equivalent products while the private pharmacies had a mix of all products. Also, the availability of all medicines was lowest in private health clinics. The table also showed that availability of both innovator brand and generic medicines are mostly in private pharmacies.

Approximately half of the generic medicines are found in both public and private health facilities and about a quarter of the innovator brands are found within the same facilities. For example, in terms of affordability, the survey⁷¹ specified that the most sold generic medicine was obtained at the lowest price in public health facilities but cost as much as 143 times in private clinics. Also, the lowest price for a generic medicine known as Meprasil was found in private pharmacies but cost about 840% higher in private clinics.

The minimum and maximum prices for the same medicine were more expensive in public facilities than in private pharmacies. This implies that all medicine prices are

⁷⁰ Federal ministry of health (2006) Baseline Assessment of the price people pay for Medicines in Nigeria. A publication of the Federal Ministry of Health in collaboration with the World Health Organization, DFID and HAI

⁷¹ Federal ministry of health (2006) Baseline Assessment of the price people pay for Medicines in Nigeria. A publication of the Federal Ministry of Health in collaboration with the World Health Organization, DFID and HAI

higher in private clinics but there is no pattern in the pricing of the same medicines in public facilities and private pharmacies. While some medicines are higher in public facilities, others are higher in private pharmacies. Generally, the prices of the same medicines are not so different in public facilities and private pharmacies, but show a large difference when compared with the cost in private clinics.

A further look at the components of medicine prices in Nigeria shows that the import cost of most medicines is less than half of what the patient eventually pays. The rest is spread out over government tariffs and cost of distribution. Thus, it is evident that government levies, charges and supply costs make up a large part of the amount people pay for medicines as portrayed by a study of medicine pricing structure in Nigeria⁷². If that be the case, would a new pricing policy improve ATM and eliminate all pricing variations across all sectors? Presently, there is no standard medicine pricing policy in Nigeria- this perhaps explains pricing disparities in similar facility types within a particular geographical location. And, most importantly, it could probably account for high mark-ups by importers and other pharmaceutical supply chain stakeholders. Nigeria's 1989 legislation on essential medicine contained protocols on how to control the production and importation of counterfeit / sub-standard drugs as well as harmful advertisements of health products⁷³. However, despite the effort of the government, drug counterfeiting has remained an obstacle that has prevented people from having access to quality medicines.

The high cost of medicines in private pharmacies and healthcare facilities coupled with scarcity of essential medicines in public facilities compels consumers to use inappropriately prescribed medicines. And, often times, these inappropriately prescribed (inappropriately prescribed medicines are those prescribed without due adherence to clinical guidelines such as proper diagnosis by a certified personnel) medicines are bought across the counter from unauthorised but cheap and easily accessible sources. Furthermore, counterfeits and substandard medicines are often supplied through various distribution networks such as public/private healthcare facilities (out of greed and other unspecified factors which could possibly be due to irregular supplies by the government; most bio medical healthcare personnel purchase medicines from the open market and sell to patients), private pharmacies, local unauthorised drug stores, and the Internet. And, they often have instant effect on patients who do not receive the necessary treatment as well as increasing their resistance to treatment for severe ailments. What does this mean for ATM? What is being suggested here is very simple: that medicines are available but what seems to be a problem is the access to medicines that are listed as essential generally, and adopted in Nigeria as such. The quality of these medicines, one would like to assume, is one of the reasons why there is still the resort to the use of traditional medicines in the country. In fact, the resort to and use of traditional medicines

72 *Ibid.*

73 Ransome O. (1992) "National Drug Policy in Nigeria". *Journal of Public Health Policy* > Vol. 13, No. 3 (Autumn, 1992), pp. 367-373

is prevalent in LICs. For example, data from the WHO shows that 80% of Asians and Africans depend on traditional medicine for primary health care due to their inability to access or afford essential medicines⁷⁴ Statistics show that in many developed countries, 70% to 80% of the population has used some form of alternative or complementary medicine (e.g. acupuncture)⁷⁵. According to the WHO Traditional medicine has been defined as "the sum total of knowledge, skills and practices based on the theories, beliefs and experiences indigenous to different cultures that are used to maintain health, as well as to prevent, diagnose, improve or treat physical and mental illnesses"⁷⁶.

Studies conducted in 2004 and 2010 show that traditional medicine remains the most affordable and accessible form of healthcare for most Africans, especially, the rural dwellers⁷⁷. Having recognised and acknowledged the role of traditional medicine within the continent, the African Union declared 2001 to 2010 'the Decade for African Traditional Medicine' with the aim of producing "safe, effective, quality, and affordable traditional medicines accessible to all"⁷⁸. Traditional medicine was considered primitive and backward in the past; however, its undeniable role in the delivery of healthcare and the threat of counterfeit which is associated with its relevance has compelled more than 100 countries⁷⁹ into setting up regulations for traditional/ herbal medicines.

The importance of traditional medicines cannot be overemphasised given the fact that beyond its easy reach and affordability, it has been reputed to treat different kinds of infectious and chronic conditions⁸⁰. Moreover, the WHO discovered that the new antimalarial drugs were developed from the discovery and isolation of artemisinin from *Artemisia annua* L., a plant used in China for almost 2000 years⁸¹.

Although the general utilization ratio of traditional medicine in Nigeria is not totally documented, research has shown that there is a strong evidence of use by pregnant women¹⁰⁷⁻

74 World Health Organization (2008). *Traditional Medicine Fact sheet*

75 I. A. Oreagba, K. A. Oshikoya, and M. Amachree, (2011) "Herbal medicine use among urban residents in Lagos, Nigeria," *BMC Complementary and Alternative Medicine*, vol. 11, pp. 117–125, 2011.

76 World Health Organization (2002) *Traditional Medicine Strategy 2002–2005*, WHO, Rome, Italy, 2002

77 Stanley B. (2004). "Recognition and Respect for African Traditional Medicine", <http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Resources/Publications/Pages/ArticleDetails.aspx?PublicationID=713>

78 *ibid*

79 *Opcit* :WHO 2002

80 Helwig D (2010). "Traditional African medicine". *Encyclopedia of Alternative Medicine*.

81 World Health Organization, (2000d). *General Guidelines for Methodologies on Research and Evaluation of Traditional Medicine*. Geneva: World Health Organisation; 2000.

⁰⁹[⁸², ⁸³ & ⁸⁴], hypertensive⁸⁵ and asthmatic people⁸⁶, children⁸⁷, and cancer patients⁸⁸.

The use of traditional medicine is not new in Nigeria. Traditional / herbal Medicine has been the first choice of treatment for illnesses in Nigeria before the advent of western medicine. Most people who used traditional medicines in Nigeria always alluded to; the fact that it is organic and safe, easy to access, cheap as compared to the high cost of conventional healthcare and medicines, effective when used for prolonged illnesses that had defied conventional medicines⁸⁹. Other motivating factors have been religious or cultural beliefs as well as the fact that traditional medicines do not come in strict doses⁹⁰.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the issues surrounding ATM in Nigeria range from an uncoordinated medicines supply chain to lack of price regulation resulting in shortage of essential medicines in primary healthcare facilities across the country. These issues are all indicative of poor health system governance and weak coordination between health system leadership and operations. Therefore, there is need for the government to introduce strict and uniform medicines pricing mechanisms not just in the public sector (as evident in the NHIS medicines pricing list) but in private facilities as well to ensure that all citizens irrespective of their locations or income have timely access to essential medicines at all times.

The issues and challenges that characterise access to essential medicines in the country are multi-dimensional; On the supply side, constraints such as poor coordination of medicines procurement and supply to public facilities leading to stock outs and shortage of medicines; a poorly regulated and laissez-faire market where wholesalers and distributors add high mark ups without due consideration or regard for the purchasing power of poor consumers results in high cost of medicines in the private sector; poor

82 Fakeye T, Adisa R, Musa E (2009). *Attitude and use of herbal medicines among pregnant women in Nigeria*

83 Gharoro P, Igbafè A (2000). *Pattern of drug use amongst antenatal patients in Benin City, Nigeria. Med Sci Monit. 2000 Jan-Feb;6(1):84-7*

84 Tamuno A, Omole O, Fadare J. (2010) *Use of Herbal Medicine Among Pregnant Women Attending A Tertiary Hospital In Northern Nigeria. The Internet Journal of Gynecology and Obstetrics. Vol. 15 No. 2*

85 Nwako S, Fakeye O (2010). *Evaluation of use of herbal medicines among ambulatory hypertensive patients attending a secondary health care facility in Nigeria*

86 Adeyeye O, Onadeko B, Ogunleye O, Bamisile T, Olubusi A (2011). *The use of complementary and alternative medicine by asthma patients receiving care in an urban tertiary centre in Nigeria. <http://goo.gl/MU8iw4> accessed 09/09/13*

87 Oshikoya K, Senbanjo O, Njokanma O, Soipe A (2008). *Use of complementary and alternative medicines for children with chronic health conditions in Lagos Nigeria: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/19113999>*

88 Ezeome E, Anarado N (2012). *Use of complementary and alternative medicine by cancer patients at the University of Nigeria Teaching Hospital, Enugu, Nigeria*

89 Collins D, Oakey S, Ramakrishnan V (2011) *Perioperative use of herbal, complementary and over the counter medicines in plastic surgery patients. Eplasty 2011, 11:e27.*

90 Obi E, Akunyili D, Ekpo B, Orisakwe E (2006) *Heavy metal hazards of Nigerian herbal remedies. Sci Total Environ 2006, 369:35-41*

medicines financing by the government-effects are visible in delayed treatments /poor access to most innovative and lifesaving medication in public facilities; low performance benchmark for professionals as a result of the weak monitoring system-evident in absence of qualified personnel in both public and private facilities; neglect of village dispensaries by local and state governments, lack of synergy and information gap between the three tiers of government and other stakeholders- undermining the role and importance of medicines vendors in access to essential medicines, information gaps between supply and demand side; and poor poly-pharmacy practice(prescribing and dispensing practices). There are other remote issues, but those issues are summed up in the highlighted ones.

On the demand side: low education, low purchasing power, irrational use of medicines appear to be a direct factor of poor prescribing and dispensing practice. Even though there are policies and standard practice guidelines in place as evident in the national EM list, the challenge appears to be that of implementation, regulation, monitoring, synergy among stakeholders and sustainability of initiatives/projects.

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Rationalités nomades : Variabilité socio-écologique et résilience des Peuls pasteurs du Burkina Faso

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Résumé

Combinant recherche empirique et état de l'art sur les pratiques pastorales comme les régimes de propriété animale des sociétés pastorales d'Afrique et du Burkina Faso en particulier, cet article explore les dispositifs de résilience des Peuls pasteurs du Gourma rural dans un environnement marqué par des variations écologiques, des conflits d'usage des ressources naturelles et l'insertion de l'élevage dans l'économie de marché. En effet, pour tempérer les effets des aléas écologiques et du changement socio-économique, les Peuls pasteurs recourent à la mobilité pastorale, à la vente circonstancielle d'animaux au profit d'investissements alternatifs dans le foncier et l'immobilier locatif urbain tout comme la dévolution inter-générationnelle de la propriété animale. La multiplicité des formes d'adaptation à la vulnérabilité écologique et socio-pastorale témoigne de la flexibilité de la rationalité pratique des Peuls pasteurs du Gourma rural.

Mots clés: Peuls pasteurs, variabilité écologique, vulnérabilité, résilience, Burkina Faso

Abstract

Combining empirical research and state of art on pastoral practices and regimes of animal ownership of pastoral societies in Africa and Burkina Faso in particular, this paper explores the strategies of resilience of Fulani pastoralists of rural Gourma in an environment marked by ecological variability, uses' conflicts of natural resources and the integration of pastoral economy in global market. In order to cope with the effects of environmental imbalance and socio-economic change, Fulani herders react within strategies like pastoral mobility, commodification of animals through target selling for alternative investments in urban land property and rental housing as inter-generational devolution of animal ownership. The multiplicity of forms of adaptation to the vulnerability of ecological and socio-pastoral change reflects the flexibility of the practical rationality of Fulani pastoralists of rural Gourma.

Keywords: Fulani Pastoralists, ecological variability, vulnerability, resilience, Burkina Faso

Introduction

Il existe une littérature riche et variée sur les modes de vie, l'organisation de la propriété animale et l'adaptation aux variations écologiques des groupes pastoraux d'Afrique en général et d'Afrique de l'ouest en particulier (Bonfiglioli 1988, Dupire 1996, Evans-Pritchard 1940, Herskovits 1926, Monod 1975, Riesman 1974, Schareika 2003, Scoones 1995, Swift 1977). Selon James Ferguson (1985), deux courants théoriques significatifs s'y dégagent. Le premier courant – l'économie duale (*dual economy*) – soutient que le bétail a une double fonction : la fonction socio-religieuse et symbolique (*grosso modo* la fonction culturelle), d'une part, et la fonction économique, d'autre part. Le bétail est ainsi perçu comme une métaphore de la vie des sociétés de pasteurs ; ses usages y révèlent l'interconnexion entre l'écologie et les idiomes socioculturels et économiques (Comaroff et Comaroff 1990, Evans-Pritchard 1940, Herskovits 1926). C'est dans cette perspective qu'Edward Evans-Pritchard a énoncé les relations entre les Nuer et leurs bovins en ces termes : « *Nuer tend to define all social processes and relationships in terms of cattle. Their social idiom is a bovine idiom* (1940: 19) ». Suivant cette vision substantiviste, l'adjonction du concept d'« économie » à la pratique pastorale obéirait à une pudeur morale ou éthique : imaginer le fantôme de l'*homo œconomicus* dans l'économie émotionnelle des Peuls (ou Fulbe) pasteurs⁹¹ africains.

Le second courant – utilitariste – révèle à contrario que derrière l'apparente irrationalité des pratiques pastorales se cachent des choix économiques rationnels opérés par des individus ou des groupes d'acteurs stratégiques dans des écosystèmes spécifiques (caractérisés par des opportunités et des contraintes socio-spatiales et temporelles). Suivant ce paradigme, l'investissement dans l'élevage bovin (malgré les conjonctures ou le faible niveau de retombées économiques) est corrélatif à l'absence d'opportunités concurrentes de capitalisation en milieu rural. Dans ces conditions, le bétail – qui est un bien usuel dans le troc ou convertible en numéraire – y représente la banque.

Sur la base de ce précède, cet article vise à réfuter – à la suite de James Ferguson – la thèse de la « mystique bovine⁹² » qui est présentée par certains anthropologues ou sociologues comme la clef de voûte de la vie des Peuls pasteurs. En lieu et place, il propose une lecture situationnelle de la perception et de la valeur des bovins dans les groupes pastoraux du Gourma rural. Ce qui revient à comprendre la valeur sociale

91 Ici, le terme *pasteur* (ou *pastoraliste*) est préféré à *nomade*. Selon Claude Reynaut et Philippe Lavigne Delville « [...] it is appropriate to avoid the usual amalgam between pastoralist and nomad. Pastoralism designates a form of production in which the material existence and the social reproduction of a human group are organised around the appropriation, exploitation and circulation of herds. The term nomad applies to a mode of existence and occupation of space that is based on mobility (Reynaut et Lavigne Delville 1997 : 113) ».

92 « In place of the vague formulae of dualism, which posit 'two economies' or two 'autonomous sectors', the precise issue is rather a socially created 'one-way barrier' between cash and livestock, and a prestige complex centring on the 'livestock' domain so defined. This 'mystique', which makes livestock such a special sort of property, in fact owes its continued existence to a whole range of social forces and interests which transcend the dualist division, as described below (Ferguson 1985: 649) ».

des bovins et à explorer les changements intervenus dans les rapports de propriété des animaux dans un contexte d'intégration au marché international (Amanor 1995, Bonfiglioli 1985). Aussi, je fais l'hypothèse selon laquelle les stratégies économiques des Peuls pasteurs sont enchâssées dans une rationalité pratique dynamique⁹³ mêlant des facteurs éthiques, socio-économiques et écologiques. Mon étude n'a pas la prétention d'être approfondie ou exhaustive ; mais elle a le mérite d'explorer à nouveau frais des mutations intervenues dans l'élevage, les formes d'appropriation des bovins tout comme les stratégies de résilience – à travers les nouvelles formes d'investissement économiques – des Peuls pasteurs du Burkina Faso.

Méthodologie

Cet article se veut une étude de cas centrée sur des données qualitatives collectées à l'aide de l'entretien semi-directif et libre comme de l'observation ethnographique. Les cas de terrain qui en constituent la trame empirique sont perçus comme des *chain of evidence* qui permettent d'explorer les caractéristiques communes et significatives des événements de la vie réelle (Yin 2009) des éleveurs peuls du Gourma. Les données empiriques ont été collectées entre 2005 et 2007 à Baléré et à Nabouri, deux hameaux de culture de la région du Gourma. Située à l'est du Burkina Faso, cette région est frontalière au Bénin et au Niger où vivent des migrants gulmanceba⁹⁴, installés depuis la période coloniale (Korbéogo 2013, Madiéga 1995).

Les entretiens ont été menés en moore (langue des Moose qui est l'une des trois langues représentatives du Gourma après le gulmancema et le fulfulde) et en fulfulde (la langue des Fulbe) selon le niveau de compétence linguistique et la préférence des informateurs. Ils ont été enregistrés dans un dictaphone. À l'issue des enquêtes, tous les entretiens ont été transcrits (par mon assistant de recherche peul) et ordonnés de façon thématique aux fins d'analyse de contenu. Pour les entretiens menés en fulfulde, j'ai bénéficié de l'aide d'un formateur dans cette langue – présent à Baléré pendant l'enquête – pour le contrôle de la qualité des transcriptions. Son assistance a été d'une précieuse utilité pour l'affinement de certaines questions comme le décryptage de codes linguistiques et sémiotiques peuls. Les observations ont été faites dans les parcs animaliers, sur les aires de pâture comme lors des interactions entre les groupes pastoraux peuls et les autres groupes ethniques locaux.

93 Il s'agit – pour emprunter une expression chère aux hellénistes Marcel Détiéne et Jean-Pierre Vernant – d'une sorte de *mêtis* ou ruses de l'intelligence peule. La ruse ou la capacité d'évitement et d'adaptation font partie des valeurs idéal-typiques que les Peuls perçoivent comme valorisantes ou légitimes, ce que les autres groupes sociaux leur reconnaissent. Ces qualités sociales sont contenues dans le *pulaako*, le code de conduite peul.

94 Il s'agit des originaires du Gourma. Le singulier est Gulmance. Leur langue est le gulmancema.

Les Peuls dans l'histoire du Gourma

L'historiographie des rapports sociaux entre les Gulmanceba et les Peuls révèle des épisodes de luttes violentes et de conquêtes impérialistes. En témoignent les projets de mise en servitude politique et culturelle – à travers notamment le *jihâd* réalisé dans les années 1810 – du royaume gulmanceba par l'émirat peul du Liptako, situé au nord du Burkina Faso (Lund 1999, Madiéga 1974, Ouédraogo 1997a, Remy 1967). Les communautés peules, selon Angelo Bonfiglioli, doivent leur union politique et culturelle aux effets des croisades et *jihâd* islamiques. Avec son fondement islamique, le *jihâd* constitue un ciment idéologique et politico-religieux qui oriente la coopération ou la rivalité entre les Peuls et les autres groupes sociaux (Bonfiglioli 1988 : 65).

Aux incursions et razzias pratiquées par les Peuls, les Gulmanceba ont opposé des répliques guerrières. Les séquelles de ces péripéties politiques continuent de marquer l'histoire et les interrelations sociales de ces deux groupes ethniques (Korbéogo 2013, Madiéga 1995). Les stigmates sur les mémoires collectives sont perceptibles à travers des potins dépréciatifs entre ethnies – également révélées par des études antérieures sur des groupes peuls et leurs voisins (Bonfiglioli 1988, Bovin 1985, Schareika 2004, etc.) – et l'interdiction de mariage entre les Gulmanceba et les Peuls au Gourma (Korbéogo 2013).

Cette bouillante expérience socio-politique informe certes les séquences de fission et de fusion entre les deux groupes ethniques, mais elle n'a pas pu empêcher l'affleurement de leurs intérêts au sein de commandements territoriaux communs. En effet, la quête de champs écologique (proximité géographique et mobilité pastorale) et socio-économique (échange ou troc des biens de consommation ou de prestige) d'articulation les oblige à négocier un *modus vivendi* pour la gestion des ressources naturelles locales. La mobilité pastorale ou le nomadisme commande d'ailleurs que les groupes pastoraux peuls soient conquérants et/ou coopératifs en fonction des configurations sociales dans lesquelles ils s'inscrivent. Marguerite Dupire (1996) souligne que la « spécialisation outrancière » oblige l'économie pastorale à être dépendante d'autres activités socioprofessionnelles telles que l'agriculture et l'artisanat. Cette interdépendance fonctionnelle permet aux Peuls nomades du Burkina Faso (les *Duroobe*⁹⁵) de vendre ou d'échanger les produits dérivés de l'élevage comme le lait pour avoir en retour les céréales et autres produits agricoles (Diallo 2010, Riesman 1974).

Au niveau de l'organisation sociale, chaque groupe pastoral peul est dirigé par un *ardo*. Selon Angelo Bonfiglioli, la légitimité du pouvoir de l'*ardo* repose sur la reconnaissance sociale de ses compétences dans les domaines des sciences des animaux et des pâturages. Il doit maîtriser la qualité et la quantité des pâturages comme la qualité et la valeur de l'eau dans le but d'assurer la bonne corpulence et la reproduction optimale des troupeaux

95 Malgré leurs conversions professionnelles, certains Peuls sont restés des pasteurs nomades. Ceux-ci se déplacent en fonction de l'accessibilité de l'eau et des pâturages comme pour la sécurité de leurs animaux qui représentent leur richesse culturelle et économique. Ces éleveurs professionnels peuls sont les *Duroobe* (Diallo 2010).

(Bonfiglioli 1985 : 51). L'autorité pastorale de l'*ardo* est doublée d'une autorité politique dans la mesure où il est l'interface entre son groupe, les groupes sociaux voisins et l'extérieur. Les Peuls pasteurs du Gourma rural disposent donc d'une organisation sociale complexe dans laquelle s'encastrent les pratiques pastorales. L'imbrication entre les logiques de parenté, l'éthique et la circulation des biens animaliers dans les sociétés peules du Gourma est mise en évidence dans le point suivant. Comme le souligne Philip Gulliver (1955), les Peuls ne peuvent être étudiés en tant que société sans une analyse profonde de la question de la propriété animale (in Bonfiglioli 1988).

Ethique et propriété animale

L'éthique protestante et l'esprit du capitalisme, écrit par Max Weber, fait date dans la théorisation du lien entre l'éthique et la rationalité économique. Dans ce livre, l'auteur s'est attaché à décrypter l'influence des croyances et des pratiques spirituelles sur les conduites économiques ainsi que leur reproduction au sein des groupes protestants européens à partir du XVIII^{ème} siècle. À sa suite, Amartya Sen⁹⁶ (1993) soutient qu'un contact plus étroit entre l'éthique et l'économie serait bénéfique pour les domaines de l'activité humaine. C'est à partir de ce paradigme que les relations entre les croyances et les valeurs éthiques peules – le *pulaako*⁹⁷ – et l'organisation de la propriété animale au Gourma sont interprétées.

L'élevage ou « épargne sur pied » est de coutume dans la vie économique du Gourma parce qu'il s'inscrit dans une « perception globale des risques par les chefs de famille » (Ouédraogo 2006: 43). La possession du bétail permet aux ménages de faire face aux crises céréalières et aux obligations rituelles, sanitaires et dotales. En outre, les revenus générés par l'élevage permettent d'acquérir des biens de prestige comme les vêtements et les mobylettes à vitesse. Par ailleurs, la propriété du bétail représente pour les catégories sociales dominées (les femmes⁹⁸ et les cadets sociaux), soumis au contrôle social des aînés, un capital économique tout comme un moyen discrétionnaire pour disposer conjoncturellement de numéraire pour les dépenses pressantes. L'ancrage historique des pratiques pastorales et leurs perceptions comme dispositifs de sécurité sociale est une évidence empirique au Gourma. Cependant, la valeur de l'élevage varie suivant les

96 « Nombre de problèmes éthiques comportent des aspects « mécaniques », et certains font même appel à des relations économiques. Cela revient à explorer les interconnexions entre les comportements prévisionnels utilitaristes dans leur forme spécifique de « décompte conséquentiel » avec les valeurs morales (ou « non intéressé ») de l'action » (Sen 1993 : 73).

97 Selon Paul Riesman, *pulaako* (ou *fulanité*) est une expression abstraite formée de la racine *ful* – dont proviennent le nom *Pullo* ou *Fulbe* ou *Peul* et leur langue le *fulfulde* – et *pulaade* qui veut dire « agir comme un Peul ». Cette expression renvoie donc aux qualités appropriées (« clair, fin rusé, responsable, cultivé, doté de sens de la pudeur, maître de ses besoins et de ses émotions ») au Peul. Ces qualités qui leur sont reconnues par les non-Peuls et pensées « naturelles ou innées » par les Peuls constituent leur code de conduite. Ils se comportent de façon mécanique sur cette base ou s'en servent pour jouer leur rôle de Peul (Riesman 1974: 118-138).

98 Selon des informateurs *gulfanceba* et *moose*, l'élevage du gros bétail par les femmes était anciennement mal perçu par les hommes qui y voyaient une forme d'insubordination à l'autorité de leur époux.

différents groupes ethniques.

Pour les unités domestiques peules, la propriété des bovins est nécessaire voire indispensable parce qu'ils y jouent une fonction sociale totale. « Le bœuf est tout pour les Peuls. C'est leur premier champ et il est une importante source de sécurité. Les bœufs nourrissent les Peuls, et en cas d'urgence, ils s'en servent pour résoudre des problèmes (entretien avec Bandé, Nabouri le 13.3.2005) ». Il existe des usages multiformes du bétail au sein des groupes de pasteurs peuls. Les deux cas suivants illustrent cette situation.

Deux cas significatifs

Bandé est un riche éleveur peul de Nabouri, situé à environ 15 kilomètres de Fada N'Gourma. Il possède un troupeau de près de 2 000 bœufs dont une grande partie se trouve dans les prairies sauvages du Togo. Il est le chef d'une famille nombreuse de 30 membres qui consomment environ 20 « assiettées » de céréales par jour, soit environ 100 kilogrammes tous les deux jours. En temps de pénurie céréalière, Bande investit près de 1 500 000 francs CFA (environ 2288 euros) – à peu près la valeur de six taureaux – dans l'achat du mil et du maïs. Annuellement il vend près de 50 animaux (bovins et ovins) pour honorer les dépenses en céréales, en soins de santé, en vêtements de sa famille ainsi que pour l'achat de compléments nutritionnels du bétail. Depuis l'implantation en avril 2003 de la « Laiterie de Fada » à laquelle Bandé vend une importante partie de la production laitière de ses vaches, il a réussi à réduire de moitié les dépenses relatives aux nutriments animaux. Malgré les fréquentes ponctions d'animaux, Bandé affirme que, selon une norme locale, une partie du bétail doit être réservée pour le paiement des dots et l'héritage de ses enfants.

Le second cas illustratif a été observé à Baléré, distant d'environ 20 kilomètres de Fada N'Gourma. Durant mon séjour dans la famille de l'*ardo*, j'ai assisté à une dispute entre lui et l'un de ses fils de 30 ans à propos de la gestion d'animaux. Quatrième garçon de l'*ardo*, Sambo est propriétaire de cinq bœufs, acquis par suite de donations faites à sa naissance et à son mariage. Suite à d'une maladie grave qui lui a laissé des tâches corporelles, il a vendu deux taureaux pour faire face aux longs soins itinérants. Il ne lui restait alors que deux veaux et un taureau. En quête de numéraire pour régler un problème familial, son père a voulu vendre le taureau de Sambo. Mais il a été confronté à un évitement astucieux de son fils qui a refusé de céder son animal. Devant l'insistance d'*ardo*, son fils a choisi d'échanger discrètement son taureau contre sept moutons. Ayant appris la nouvelle et se sentant désobéi, son père a piqué une grande colère et s'est mis à poursuivre son fils avec un gourdin tout en le menaçant de bannissement tant que l'animal ne revenait pas. Devant cette course-poursuite à laquelle des membres de la famille assistaient impuissants, je suis intervenu pour demander l'indulgence du vieil *ardo*. Si la tension a baissé d'intensité après que des vieilles femmes et des sages voisins

peuls soient intervenus après moi, l'affaire a altéré les rapports entre l'ardo et son fils durant des jours car l'échange effectué par celui-ci et un paysan moaga est irréversible.

Interprétation des cas

L'exposé sur les deux cas permet de décrypter quelques codes éthiques de l'économie pastorale chez les Peuls du Gourma.

Circulation de la propriété animale

Au Gourma rural, à chaque naissance le chef de famille peule attribue au moins un bœuf ou un mouton au nouveau-né, suivant une norme locale. Quoiqu'elle facilite la circulation inter-générationnelle de la propriété animale, la dévolution des droits animaliers aux enfants revêt souvent un contenu symbolique car ces droits sont encadrés par des clauses fonctionnelles. Avant l'âge de la majorité ou le mariage, les ascendants conservent des droits d'usage des animaux spécifiquement pour les situations d'urgence sociale. Par exemple, les animaux dévolus aux enfants peuvent être compris dans des transactions socio-économiques ou vendus à des proches parents ou sur marché local ou à Fada N'Gourma en fonction des offres financières⁹⁹. Cette dérogation normative permet de sauvegarder « l'honneur¹⁰⁰ » – le *semteende* (Riesman 1974) – et la reproduction de l'unité domestique. Dans le système de représentation peul, le don d'animaux aux enfants traduit la transmission du bâton de bouvier, le passage rituel de la houlette des mains des aînés à celles des cadets sociaux. Ce « rite de passage » engendre des implications éthiques et pratiques.

D'après Nikolaus Schareika, la transmission du bâton de bouvier est un acte hautement symbolique de la « doctrine pastorale » :

Receiving this gift is a long-term process of living in the bush with animals that has practical and moral implications. The practical implication is that by becoming a headman a Bodaado [or a Fulani] forfeits the very ability to

⁹⁹ Contre les préjugés attribués aux éleveurs africains – particulièrement sous la période coloniale – qui auraient un attachement plus émotionnel et symbolique plutôt que rationnel et économique au bétail (le *cattle complex* de Melville Herskovits ou le « complexe du bétail » de Robert Chambers (1990)), R.M.G Miterwa (1978) soutient que ceux-ci vendent leur bétail, notamment les bovins, en fonction des demandes les plus bénéfiques sur le marché. En cas, d'absence d'achats financièrement rentables, ils préfèrent différer la vente en attente d'opportunités. Les ventes sont surtout observées lorsque les éleveurs font face à un problème financier pressant. Ce que que Miterwa appelle *target selling* (vente ciblée). Dans le même sens Kodjo Amanor (1995) note que le marché des bovins a connu un important développement à l'échelle de la sous région ouest-africaine au cours du XVIème siècle, avant la pénétration coloniale. Ce commerce bovin a permis la connexion économique entre l'Afrique de l'ouest sahélienne et le Maghreb comme avec les pays forestiers et côtiers. À titre illustratif, se référant à Shapiro (1979) il montre que dans les années 1970 les revenus générés par l'exportation bovine représentaient près de la moitié des revenus de l'ensemble des exportations.

¹⁰⁰ Pour plus d'informations sur ce sujet se référer à Christian Lund (1999) qui a traité de la question chez les Peuls de Dori auxquels sont apparentés plusieurs groupes de pasteurs peuls du Gourma.

pursue any other enterprise apart from raising animals. He cannot acquire the knowledge and mentality of those who cultivate or trade or steal. The moral implication is that he establishes an intimate relationship of mutual confidence and responsibility with the family herd (Schareika 2004 : 173).

Par ailleurs, certains groupes peuls établissent un système d'analogie entre l'univers humain et celui des animaux. À Baléré, à la naissance de jumeaux – qui n'y ont jamais survécu, selon les enquêtés locaux – deux animaux sont désignés en leur nom ; de la sorte, si un malheur (la maladie, la cécité ou le décès) devait arriver aux humains (notamment les géniteurs) les deux bêtes l'interceptent mystérieusement. Dans ce cas, l'animal joue le rôle de bouc émissaire, de victime expiatoire du désordre social induit par l'évènement malheureux. À l'inverse, l'avènement du « bonheur » des parents tel que l'accroissement de la taille du troupeau est perçu comme un corollaire de l'accouchement gémellaire.

En outre, en matière de succession, après le décès d'un père de famille, chacun de ses fils reçoit une part d'héritage du troupeau familial qui reste toujours groupé tant que n'advient pas des rixes ouvertes entre héritiers qui imposent le fractionnement du patrimoine animalier. Autrement dit, l'émiettement du cheptel familial – à travers le partage des bestiaux entre les ayants droit – est révélateur du développement de l'esprit individualiste ou mercantile en milieu peul comme il est porteur des signes de fissure de la cohésion et de recomposition sociale.

Usages multifonctionnels du bétail

Des études ont montré que le bétail remplit plusieurs fonctions sociales dans la vie des Peuls pasteurs (Baroin et Boutrais 2009, Bonfiglioli 1988, Herskovits 1926). Il sert entre autres de source de génération de l'alimentation humaine et de revenu, de réserve pour les compensations matrimoniales et pour les prélèvements rituels (*du'aarwu*). À titre illustratif, lors de la crise sociale survenue à Baléré en 2004 suite à des affrontements sanglants ayant causé neuf victimes peules (Korbéogo 2006), la communauté peule a offert deux bœufs à un marabout de la région « pour exorciser les mauvais esprits », d'une part, et une dizaine d'ovins à des agents de l'administration publique pour bénéficier de leur soutien dans l'arbitrage du contentieux, d'autre part. Sur le plan matrimonial, le bétail permet d'honorer les obligations dotales des familles, ce qui permet aux prestataires d'étendre socialement et spatialement leurs réseaux de connexions socio-politiques. En outre, c'est à partir des revenus du lait des vaches que les femmes peules achètent des précieuses parures comme les bijoux en argent qu'elles portent ostensiblement pendant les fêtes ou les jours de marché de Fada N'Gourma. Pour ce faire, lorsqu'elles constatent que la taille du troupeau familial décroît certaines sont enclines à abandonner leur époux pour autre éleveur peul plus nanti ou « capable ». Deux enquêtés témoignent :

Quand une femme peule est chez son père elle boit du lait, si elle va chez son mari et

il n'y a pas de lait, elle n'a pas d'animaux, la vie est dure pour elle. C'est le lait qu'elle vend, elle fait du savon avec le beurre du lait, avec cet argent elle peut s'acheter des animaux pour elle-même et faire face à ses besoins. Donc si elle vient trouver des bœufs et du lait chez toi et après il n'y a plus rien, elle va aller chez un autre homme qui a des animaux hein ! Si par exemple quelqu'un hérite du bétail de son père qu'il gère mal, ses femmes peuvent le quitter pour d'autres hommes capables (Entretien avec Sondé, homme peul, le 15.11.2007).

Si tu as connu un homme avec une fortune avant le mariage et après il devient pauvre tu peux partir. Ce n'est pas spécifique aux femmes peules, on peut voir ça chez les Gulmanceba ou les Moose aussi. Pour les femmes peules, le bétail et surtout le lait des vaches sont indispensables dans leur vie (entretien avec Habi, femme peule, 20.11.2007).

L'absence de statistiques interdit-t-il de mettre en évidence les divorces et les remariages comme leur lien avec la propriété bovine chez les Peuls du Gourma ? Assurément non ! Car la posture méthodologique de cette étude est qualitative, les thèses se fondent sur des analyses de cas plutôt que sur l'interprétation causale. En effet, j'ai observé plusieurs cas où des femmes peules se sont remariées ou ont abandonné leur domicile conjugal pour revenir vivre dans leur famille d'origine. Hormis les veuages, les raisons des dissensions ou des ruptures matrimoniales évoquées sont principalement les disputes conjugales et « l'incapacité de l'époux à prendre son épouse en charge », le déclin du « pouvoir pastoral » du mari (exprimé en nombre de têtes de bovins). Le milieu pastoral étant caractérisé *mutatis mutandis* par la comparaison et la compétition permanente¹⁰¹, la taille du bétail est l'étalon de mesure de la position sociale ou de la chance des rivaux dans le jeu matrimonial.

Les analyses révèlent la polyfonctionnalité du bétail, l'ancrage historique de l'élevage, l'attachement des éleveurs au bétail (en particulier les bovins) comme l'affinement des schèmes culturels de production pastorale dans les formations sociales peules du Gourma. Par ailleurs, les ponctions imposées par les besoins de commercialisation¹⁰², les obligations rituelles et matrimoniales ou pour atténuer les pertes animales dues aux aléas écologiques (épizooties, déficit de nutriments et d'eau, etc.) réduisent la taille du cheptel, et par conséquent, restreignent ou ralentissent la circulation inter-générationnelle de la propriété animale. Cette situation génère des conflits intra-familiaux et inter-générationnels comme

101 Selon Nikolaus Schareika: « *Comparison and competition are the permanent stimuli to the refinement of pastoral performance (2004: 175)* ».

102 Si l'on admet la thèse de Georg Simmel (1987), on soutiendra qu'il n'existe pas de faits dont le contenu soit exclusivement réduit à leur image économique. Ce qui implique que les échanges – opérés par le truchement des animaux – revêtent des aspects psychologique, esthétique comme ils sont marqués par l'histoire des mœurs. À ce titre, le pulaako contient des dispositions qui imposent des limites rédhitoires à la commercialisation du bétail.

le relâchement relatif de l'attachement des cadets sociaux à l'activité pastorale.

Pour comprendre les mutations sociales qui s'opèrent dans les sociétés pastorales contemporaines, il faut alors démêler les relations entre leur système de parenté et de représentation et leur régime de propriété animale qui configure les rapports sociaux entre les individus et les groupes stratégiques.

Variabilité écologique et résilience socio-pastorale

Variabilité écologique : vulnérabilité structurelle ou vulnérabilité contingente ?

Les systèmes pastoraux africains diffèrent suivant la typologie des écosystèmes – plaines arides ou semi-arides, parcours montagneux, savanes, steppes, etc. – (Bassett 1998, Krätli et al. 2013, Krätli et Schareika 2010, Scoones 1995, Sullivan et Rohde 2002). Au regard des variations environnementales et des rapports entre les espèces humaines et animales et la Nature, deux approches théoriques ont été élaborées. En premier lieu, l'approche *equilibrium system* – inspirée par les études pionnières de Marsch et de Haeckel sur l'*Ecologie* conduites respectivement en 1864 et en 1866 (Scoones 1999) – soutient que la Nature a une aptitude d'adaptation aux intempéries géologiques comme une capacité de restauration de son potentiel et de sa diversité écologiques. Cette force de régulation homéostatique de la Nature justifie les fondements de la théorie de l'« équilibre ». En second lieu, le *non-equilibrium system* atteste que la végétation varie suivant les climax écologiques. Ce qui implique qu'il y a des variations dans la Nature suivant les rapports entre la densité des espèces vivantes et la disponibilité des ressources naturelles dans l'espace-temps. Selon plusieurs auteurs, la théorie de « non-équilibre » est la mieux adaptée pour comprendre les dynamiques pastorales des milieux arides africains. Sullivan et Rohde notent : « *Pastoral societies operate continually in a 'non-equilibrium' mode (Thébaud, 1998) where flexibility and mobility remain vital for optimal and efficient use of scattered and unpredictable resources (2002 : 1612)* ».

Pratique fonctionnelle et dynamique, la mobilité pastorale du Sahel vers les pays du sud de la sous-région (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, etc.) permet aux Peuls d'adapter périodiquement les trajectoires des parcours aux variations environnementales, de protéger leurs bêtes reproductrices comme les vaches, d'enrichir leurs expériences pastorales en fonction des écosystèmes ; ce qui favorise l'exploitation optimale des opportunités en nutriments et la mitigation des effets des contingences écologiques (Krätli et Schareika 2010, Thébaud 2002). Au Burkina Faso, 70% de la population bovine sont gardées par des Peuls nomades ou transhumants (IIED et SOS Sahel, 2009) (in Krätli et al. 2013). Selon la typologie proposée par Thomas Bassett (1998), le modèle pastoral dominant chez les Peuls du Gourma est la semi-transhumance. La faible fréquence du premier type (*cattle-entrusting*) – le confiage du bétail d'agriculteurs à des bouviers professionnels peuls – s'explique par l'érosion de la confiance inter-communautaire suite aux récurrentes

accusations de détournement de bétail par des Peuls.

Le développement de la transhumance nationale et internationale (en Afrique de l'ouest) est, selon Thomas Bassett (1998), inhérent à des facteurs historiques comme le changement social intervenu au nord-ouest du Burkina Faso. En effet, suite à l'invasion coloniale, l'abolition des rapports esclavagistes entre les Peuls et leurs anciens captifs *rimaïbe* – qui rechignent désormais à assurer la garde du troupeau, creuser les puits et cultiver les champs de leurs ex-maîtres – a incité la migration internationale d'éleveurs peuls des zones arides du Burkina Faso vers la Côte d'Ivoire (Bassett 1998, Riesman 1974), d'une part, et l'institution du salariat au profit de bouviers venus du Burkina Faso et du Mali, d'autre part (Bassett 1998). De plus, la sécheresse des années 1970 a accéléré le rythme de la transhumance saisonnière des éleveurs des régions arides comme le Sahel burkinabé. Loin de se laisser réduire aux clichés d'un poétisme ou d'un romantisme écologique, la mobilité pastorale des Peuls du Burkina Faso s'inscrit ainsi dans des dynamiques socio-historiques et écologiques complexes. Dans le même sens, Jean-Bernard Ouédraogo – à partir d'une étude de cas de la Comoé située au sud-ouest du Burkina Faso – souligne : « Les migrations peules correspondent à une puissante restructuration de la société peule qui interdit de confondre leur présence dans cette région [la Comoé] avec la légende de la mobilité « naturelle » des Peuls (1997b : 115) ».

Interrogés sur les causes de leur mobilité, deux éleveurs peuls du Gourma rural répondent :

La transhumance est une tradition pour nous. Nos parents sont originaires de Dori, actuellement nous sommes à Baléré, on ne sait pas encore où nous serons demain ! C'est ça la vie du Peul. Avant il y avait la brousse partout et les bœufs broutaient à volonté. Mais avec le développement de l'agriculture et le manque de pâturage, on est obligé de conduire les bœufs au Togo entre février et mai et on les ramène quand la saison pluvieuse s'installe. De nos jours, c'est difficile de pratiquer l'élevage ici avec les multiples champs un peu partout. En saison pluvieuse, les bergers sont battus par les agriculteurs, on leur jette des mauvais sorts (entretien avec des jeunes peuls, Nabouri le 16.1.2005).

Les conditions d'élevage se sont dégradées, il y a 20 ans de cela la garde des animaux était plus facile, il y avait des herbes partout autour des concessions. Mais de nos jours il faut garder les animaux tout le temps et il faut aller très loin pour éviter qu'ils ne dévastent les champs. C'est le bétail qui nous fait bouger. Si les conditions d'élevage sont bonnes on s'installe pendant longtemps, mais quand ça se dégrade on est obligé de changer de localité. On ne migre pas parce que ça nous plaît. C'est pour la prospérité du bétail [...] Comme le gouvernement n'aide pas assez les éleveurs, ils sont obligés d'être solidaires, de s'entraider pour s'en sortir. C'est l'agriculture qui les préoccupe pourtant l'élevage rapporte beaucoup aussi au pays (entretien avec l'*ardo*, Baléré, le 15.11.2007).

Les politiques et les pratiques foncières de l'État – en dehors des discours officiels et d'actions sporadiques – n'accordent pas suffisamment d'intérêt à l'insécurité socio-foncière

des Peuls nomades (Diallo 2010, Thébaut 2002). Ce relatif désintérêt s'expliquerait par les perceptions négatives des systèmes pastoraux mobiles par certains États africains (Nori et al. 2008). Ce qui expose les pasteurs peuls à l'insécurité d'accès aux ressources et à la vulnérabilité (Nori et Taylor 2006). Au Burkina Faso, selon la loi de Réorganisation agraire et foncière (RAF) de 1984, les droits pastoraux sont assujettis à des procédures formelles qui délimitent les terroirs de pâturage ; si non les autres aires pastorales sont considérées comme des terres vacantes et libre d'accès, ce qui induit des usages concurrents et des conflits entre agriculteurs et pasteurs. La faible reconnaissance légale des droits pastoraux par les anciennes lois agraires et foncières fit que les surfaces pastorales étaient la propriété de l'État, l'administration publique avait la charge d'allouer des droits de pâturage aux éleveurs ou de les verbaliser en cas d'usage inapproprié des droits qui leur sont temporairement délégués (Burkina Faso 2003¹⁰³). La logique foncière générée par la politique de Gestion de Terroirs pratiquée en Afrique de l'ouest depuis les années 80 (sous l'impulsion de la Banque mondiale), exclue l'élevage surtout le pastoralisme dans l'équation foncière nationale et locale (Marty 1993, in Thébaut 2002). La priorisation de l'agriculture par rapport à l'élevage dans les politiques publiques de développement a légitimé les inégalités d'accès aux ressources entre agricultures et éleveurs et fragilisé la gestion collective et concertée des territoires villageois. Cette situation favorise l'émergence et la prolifération des conflits d'usage et d'appropriation des ressources naturelles entre par les membres des deux groupes socioprofessionnels. En conséquence, la transhumance s'explique entre autres par la « marginalisation écologique » des pasteurs peuls induite par la « capture des ressources » (Homer-Dixon 1999) par les agriculteurs et agro-pasteurs comme par la faible capacité des institutions étatiques et locales à réguler la compétition foncière au Gourma rural. Cette situation rend obligatoire la mobilité et la solidarité intra-lignagère et inter-lignagère chez les éleveurs peuls (Dupire 1974, Riesman 1974). Enfin, les variations temporelles et spatiales des ressources pastorales – mises en perspective par les *non-equilibrium systems* – imposent, selon Scoones (1999), la résistance et la résilience de la part des groupes pastoraux.

Stratégies de résilience des Peuls pasteurs

Les variations écologiques, le déficit de légitimité socio-politique et la faible capacité assistancielle de l'État constituent des facteurs de vulnérabilité des Peuls pasteurs. Ce qui impose la mise en œuvre de dispositifs sociaux d'adaptation et de socialisation de la Nature par les groupes pastoraux peuls. Ces contraintes socio-écologiques amenuisent la viabilité de l'élevage et provoquent la désaffection relative des cadets sociaux vis-à-vis de l'élevage semi-transhumant. Certains se détournent progressivement de cette activité professionnelle – devenue physiquement exigeante et économiquement précaire – au

103 Cf. *Cf. Titre III du chapitre I de la Loi n°034-2002/an portant loi d'orientation relative au pastoralisme au Burkina Faso, in Journal Officiel, No. 01-2003.*

profit de l'insertion dans le marché de travail urbain ou d'autres formes de débrouillardise comme l'économie criminelle.

Avec les difficultés les enfants d'aujourd'hui ne veulent plus s'occuper des bœufs. Le monde a changé, les jeunes ne s'occupent plus des animaux, or si tu n'aimes pas quelque chose comment peut-elle prospérer ? Q : qu'est ce qui explique ce manque d'intérêt des jeunes pour les animaux ? R : Avant tous les enfants d'éleveurs ne s'occupaient que des bœufs, maintenant c'est tout à fait le contraire, les enfants préfèrent aller se promener en ville que de s'occuper des animaux. Ça fait que les éleveurs sont obligés de vendre souvent les bœufs pour investir dans d'autres activités. Il y en a qui achètent des parcelles en ville et construisent des maisons pour mettre en location (entretien avec Sondé, éleveur peul, Baléré le 16.11.2007).

Les reconversions socioprofessionnelles des jeunes Peuls mettent en relief deux dimensions de conflits sociaux : la différenciation de la valeur sociale de l'élevage et les contradictions de l'héritage entre les générations (aînés et cadets sociaux). Parmi les causes de la déqualification socio-pastorale des jeunes, on peut retenir entre autres la précarisation des conditions de pâturage et l'évolution de leur perception de la réussite qui ne se borne plus à la propriété animale ; certains valorisent davantage des professions et des biens de consommation modernes. Face aux contraintes de l'élevage, des personnes enquêtées préconisent les conversions professionnelles ou la diversification des investissements économiques :

On ne dit pas de vendre tous les bœufs mais comme certains périssent au Togo et qu'ils ne peuvent pas non plus s'épanouir ici, c'est bon de vendre une partie pour acheter des parcelles à usage d'habitation à Fada et y construire des maisons. En ce moment certains d'entre nous y habiteront et mèneront des activités génératrices de revenus tels que le commerce. Nous aurons ainsi plusieurs sources de revenus et non seulement l'élevage qui n'est plus une garantie. C'est devenu de plus en plus risqué de dépendre exclusivement de l'élevage des bœufs (entretien avec des jeunes peuls de Baléré, le 17.11.2007).

La floraison des investissements alternatifs d'éleveurs peuls est observable au Gourma. Certains vendent des animaux pour investir dans de projets urbains. À titre d'exemple, l'ardo de Baléré a acquis en 2006 deux parcelles loties dans le secteur 2 de Fada N'Gourma. Ces deux parcelles lui ont coûté 740 000 francs CFA (1128euros), en raison de 370 000 francs CFA (564 euros) chacune. L'ardo a vendu « quelques maigres bœufs » pour l'achat des terrains urbains, il compte en faire autant pour la construction des logements locatifs. Pour l'achat des parcelles et les démarches administratives pour l'obtention du permis urbain d'habitation, il a bénéficié de l'intermédiation de son tuteur foncier – le chef de terre de Lorgo – fonctionnaire à la retraite résident à Fada N'Gourma. À l'image de l'ardo, d'autres éleveurs peuls sont enclins à acquérir la propriété immobilière dans la ville de Fada N'Gourma et dans les villages abritant d'importants marchés comme Namungu, Natiaboani ou Diabo. Dans ces localités, l'urbanisation et la montée

consécutives de la demande de logement par l'élite urbaine émergente (fonctionnaires, salariés du privé et entrepreneurs économiques) encouragent l'investissement foncier et immobilier qui joue le rôle sécurisant que le bétail seul ne peut plus accomplir à cause des risques liés à la variabilité écologique et de la concurrence exercée par des nouveaux acteurs du secteur de l'élevage (cotonculteurs, commerçants ou anciens émigrants Gulmanceba et les Moose).

En outre, mes enquêtes révèlent que la déviance sociale des populations peules est une conséquence de la crise socio-pastorale. Soutenir cette thèse impose avant tout une distanciation ou une précaution épistémologique dans un contexte où la polémique sur la « fulanisation ¹⁰⁴ » du banditisme cristallise les discours populaires et journalistiques au Burkina Faso¹⁰⁵. Je me démarque de ces controverses ethnocistes dont il est question dans des articles de presse. Je n'affirme pas non plus que le banditisme social est plus développé chez les Peuls car certains campements moose du Gourma sont aussi qualifiés de « zone d'insécurité » par des populations locales.

Selon Eric Hobsbawm 1999¹⁰⁶, pour mieux comprendre l'émergence et le développement du « banditisme social » il faudrait l'inscrire dans une perspective historique marquée par la transformation des rapports de pouvoir et des conditions socio-économiques de la production pastorale. Ce phénomène social est expressif de la contestation de l'ordre socio-économique et politique dominant dans les sociétés paysannes. Les bandits émergent souvent dans les groupes sociaux qui échappent au contrôle de la société du fait de leur isolement relatif et de leur faible niveau d'intégration sociale (le faible niveau de scolarisation peut en être l'une des causes). Eric Hobsbawm souligne que pour mieux apprécier la composition sociale du banditisme – phénomène plus fréquent dans les économies pastorales, les régions montagnardes et les sols pauvres – il convient d'interroger la « frange mobile de la société paysanne ». Des fragments de discours de personnes enquêtées accréditent la position théorique défendue par Eric Hobsbawm.

Ah, ici en tout depuis des trois dernières années on est constamment angoissé par les vols de bétail et surtout les attaques à mains armées sur les routes et même dans des concessions. En tout cas nous avons des problèmes parce que les Gulmanceba ont perdu sept troupeaux de bœufs, près de 70 bœufs en deux ans.

Q : Avez-vous pas signalé ces pertes aux autorités de Fada N'Gourma ?

R : Oui, mais il n'y a pas de suite [...] Ah, on vit avec les voleurs mais qui ose parler

104 Ce mot est un néologisme proposé par moi. Cependant, le terme Fulani est une traduction anglo-saxonne de Fulbe qui serait, à en croire des spécialistes, le plus approprié pour désigner ces populations dénommées peules.

105 « Conflits agriculteurs/éleveurs. L'État burkinabé serait-il anti-peulh ? ». Tel est le titre d'un article – écrit par un journaliste d'origine peule – paru dans le journal l'Évènement numéro 122 du 25 août 2007.

106 Hobsbawm (1999: 7) établit une distinction entre l'individu hors-la-loi des villes et le desperado des campagnes produit par les inégalités sociales et foncières. Il invite ainsi les historiens et les sociologues à une critique de l'amalgame contenu dans la définition juridique du bandit comme étant toute personne membre d'un groupe utilisant la violence et le vol comme moyen d'action.

et on va te tuer ! Dans la zone peule il y a des coupeurs de route qui se sont installés et ils attaquent les gens, ça fait que tout le monde a peur et on ne pénètre même plus leur zone. Rien que le mois passé ils ont violé une infirmière qui y allait pour la vaccination de enfants [anti-poliomyélite] et ils ont pris sa mobylette « Yamaha dame » [V 80 d'origine japonaise]. Même si ton animal rentre dans la zone peule tu n'oses pas y aller hein ! (entretien avec le chef de Nabouri, Gulmance, le 13.1.2005).

Depuis notre arrivée ici on les voit rentrer dans le village, c'est parce que les Gulmanceba ont peur sinon ils allaient vous dire beaucoup de choses. Ils ont volé plusieurs fois ici, 50, 40, 30, 10 bœufs, et plus. C'est ce qui a énervé les Gulmanceba et ils ont chassé les Peuls accusés d'être les auteurs des vols ; les seuls qui restent sont ceux qui sont installés depuis longtemps [37ans] Cette même année deux Peuls ont été arrêtés, ensuite deux autres, ça faisait quatre arrestations au total (entretien avec Dahali, agriculteur moaga, Nabouri, le 14.1.2005).

Ces deux témoignages ont été recueillis dans le hameau de culture de Nabouri. Suite aux accusations, les Peuls enquêtés ont nié les faits et rejeté la responsabilité des vols sur des nouveaux migrants moose. Un enquêté peul soutient : « Ce sont les Moose qui sont peut-être les coupables. La police a arrêté l'un d'eux avant de le relaxer ». L'arrestation du Moaga – ancien ouvrier agricole rapatrié de la Côte d'Ivoire – est due à la détention d'une arme à feu qu'il a ramenée au retour de sa migration. Il a confié avoir reçu le fusil de la part de son ancien tuteur ivoirien, en reconnaissance de ses services rendus. Toujours marqué par les souvenirs troublants de la crise sociopolitique ivoirienne au moment de l'enquête, a-t-il déclaré, l'arme lui sert de « moyen d'auto-défense ». Comme à Nabouri, les accusations de vol sont aussi portées sur des Peuls de Baléré. La victimisation de la population peule a atteint son paroxysme en 2004 avec l'assassinat du *big man* gulmance Sadjó. L'ardo local témoigne :

Le problème a commencé à Fongo par une histoire de vol dans laquelle on a tué le voleur. Q : ce voleur a-t-il été identifié? R : Ils ont dit que c'est un Peul de là-bas et depuis lors on n'est pas en paix. Même dans l'affaire d'ici, ils ont encore dit que ce sont des Peuls qui ont tué Sadjó. Or que nous-mêmes on n'est pas en paix, il y a des vols de bétail ou souvent les voleurs réclament l'argent ou des bijoux de nos femmes. Qu'est ce qu'on peut faire contre des gens qui ont des fusils (entretien avec l'ardo, Baléré, le 16.2.2005).

Ah, les gens disent que ce sont des Peuls! Il n'y a pas que des Peuls qui volent, il y a aussi des haaBe [non Peuls]. Personne n'a vu celui qui a tué Sadjó. Il y a même eu deux Peuls qui ont été tués au même moment [...] Ils ont prétexté que ce sont des Peuls qui l'ont tué pour aller tuer des Peuls comme il y avait déjà une tension entre eux et nous pour la terre, ils ont mélangé les choses (entretien avec Abou, éleveur peul, Baléré, le 20.2.2005).

Il y a au moins deux constantes dans ces propos: la récurrence de l'identité peule des bandits et celle du vol de bétail. Concernant la recrudescence du vol de bétail, Eric Hobsbawm (1999) soutient qu'il s'agit d'un acte baptismal des carrières délinquantes

dans les sociétés agro-pastorales. Quelques faits empiriques confortent la tendance à la déviance sociale de certaines populations peules. À titre illustratif, lors d'une visite de la maison d'arrêt et de correction de Fada N'Gourma le 16 novembre 2007 – à l'occasion de la seconde édition des « journées portes ouvertes » du Tribunal de grande instance (TGI) – il est ressorti des propos du personnel judiciaire et pénitentiaire que plus du tiers des 198 détenus sont d'origine peule. En outre, le répertoire des jugements correctionnels du TGI de Fada N'Gourma entre 1989 et novembre 2007 révèle que sur 59 dossiers relatifs à des contentieux fonciers, 23 cas ont concerné des Peuls. Dans les lieux d'enquêtes, la montée de la criminalité et du banditisme est attestée par des témoignages des populations victimes, parmi lesquelles on compte des Peuls qui déclarent certains campements peuls comme des *no man's land* (des lieux redoutés ayant connu des attaques répétées et des vols par des « bandits peuls »).

L'essentialisation ethnique ou la raison statistique ne suffisent pas à valider la victimisation peule. Outre les préjugés et les conflits interethniques – dénégaration pratique de leur disqualification socio-foncière – l'émergence du banditisme social au sein de la population peule ne peut être comprise sans que soient questionnés les contextes sociaux spécifiques (marqués par la dégradation des conditions pastorales) dans lesquels les populations incriminées vivent :

Nous on est ici depuis 37 ans et on vivait en harmonie avec les Gulmanceba. Maintenant, les Moose arrivent et on les installe jusqu'aux abords de nos enclos, on ne peut pas accepter. Et ce qui nous fatigue surtout ici c'est l'accès à l'eau et au pâturage. On nous interdit d'avoir accès à l'eau du forage et il y a des champs partout, si ton animal pénètre tu vas payer cher, il n'y a pas de pardon maintenant.

Q: Pour l'eau il paraît que vous aviez refusé de contribuer pour les frais de réparation du forage ?

R: Ce n'est pas vrai car on ne nous a même pas informés. Et pour les autres activités du village aussi on est à l'écart. Q: Pour quelle raison on ne vous associe pas ? R: Ah, je ne sais pas ! Si ce n'est par méchanceté en tout cas (entretien avec Sondé, éleveur peul, Nabouri, le 15.1.2005).

Le rétrécissement des périmètres de parcours du bétail provoque le mécontentement des populations peules qui refusent le confinement territorial imposé par les groupes d'agriculteurs et d'agro-pasteurs gulmanceba et moose. Le refus ou la négation de l'altérité construite dans le cours de l'histoire de l'inscription négociée ou forcée de ces trois groupes sociaux concurrents dans les deux fronts pionniers pousse à des dissensions et des affrontements physiques intercommunautaires permanents. Dans les affrontements, la coalition Gulmanceba-Moose – soudés par des liens de parenté (Korbéogo 2013, Madiéga 1974) et des intérêts agro-écologiques – affronte leurs concurrents peuls à travers des discours dépréciatif et préjudiciel comme par l'usage circonstancié de la violence physique.

Généraliser l'échelle de validité des études de cas est une imprudence épistémologique, car il ne faut pas ignorer la diversité des contextes sociaux qui donnent sens à ces formes de déviance sociale dans lesquelles s'engagent certains Peuls pasteurs du Gourma rural. Tout compte fait, dans un contexte marqué par la dépréciation de l'élevage transhumant et la désespérance économique inhérente, l'exaltation et l'usage de la violence comme du vol de bétail ont pour fonction sociale de réduire les écarts entre les groupes sociaux dont les liens ont d'ailleurs été historiquement structurés par des rapports de force. Sont plus enclins à recourir à la violence et au vol, des agents sociaux victimes du déclassement social dans les configurations socio-politiques de Baléré et de Nabouri.

On peut retenir que l'élevage transhumant est une pratique socioprofessionnelle dynamique qui s'adapte aux contextes sociaux spécifiques. C'est à juste titre que Krätli et Schareika (2010) soulignent que le pastoralisme ne peut être mieux compris que pris comme un système de production *sui generis*, un système qui s'adapte aux contraintes écologiques, institutionnelles et socio-économiques.

Conclusion

Les études de cas ont mis en relief l'enchâssement entre les valeurs morales et la rationalité économique chez les Peuls pasteurs du Gourma rural. Les processus sociaux qui produisent et organisent les pratiques pastorales et la propriété animale dans les sociétés peules s'adaptent aux changements écologiques et socio-économiques. En effet, la variabilité écologique ne saurait être l'unique facteur qui explique les mutations et la vulnérabilité de l'économie pastorale. Est à retenir également la thèse selon laquelle un environnement de grande mobilité et de régulation relativement rigide de l'allocation des ressources naturelles (en particulier pastorales) permet la ségrégation socio-spatiale des groupes d'acteurs à faible capital social et politique. Cette situation de fragilité et d'inégalité d'accès aux ressources traduit l'ambivalence – richesse matérialisée par le bétail et marginalisation socio-foncière – du statut socio-économique des Peuls pasteurs du Gourma. La dégradation du statut social des Peuls pasteurs suivant le changement social militent en faveur de leur classement dans la catégorie de ceux qu'Everett Hughes (2009) appelle *Marginal Men* (Hommes marginaux).

Toutefois, face aux contraintes écologiques, socio-économiques et politiques, les éleveurs peuls inventent des dispositifs de résilience socio-pastorale à travers entre autres la socialisation de la Nature. Ces stratégies de résistance et d'adaptation sociale s'articulent autour de la mobilité pastorale, la *commodification* conjoncturelle du bétail, les stratégies de dévolution intergénérationnelle de la propriété animale tout comme la diversification des secteurs d'investissements économiques. Ces formes de rationalité individuelle et collective – produites par l'arbitrage entre l'enracinement moral des individus, la maximisation des gains individuels et les interrelations de loyauté sociale –

renforcent la compétition et la coopération intra et inter-lignagère comme elles assurent la reproduction et l'ordre social au sein des groupes pastoraux peuls du Gourma rural.

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A Few Good Men in a World of Gangsters: Discourses of Respectability and Risk amongst Student Teachers in the Western Cape, South Africa

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Abstract

This paper considers the concurrent discourses of risk and respectability which are prominent in South Africa's Western Cape region and asks how one becomes a 'respectable' man in a community which values strong masculine role models and in which there are endemic levels of violence. Through a process of risk 'mapping' we explore the means through which a group of young male student teachers consciously 'locate' risk in their built environment. We look at the strategies these young men use to negotiate risk in their lives, and the close connection between risk and respectability which they articulate on an ongoing basis.

Keywords: *discourse; male, risk, respectability, violence, masculinity.*

Résumé

Cet article examine les discours simultanés de risque et de respectabilité qui sont au premier plan dans l'Ouest la région du Cap en Afrique du Sud et demande comment on devient un homme «respectable» dans une communauté qui valorise forts des modèles masculins et dans lequel il ya des niveaux endémiques de violence . Grâce à un processus de «cartographie» des risques , nous explorons les moyens par lesquels un groupe de jeunes élèves-enseignants de sexe masculin consciemment 'localiser' risque dans leur environnement bâti . Nous regardons les stratégies de ces jeunes hommes utilisent pour négocier le risque de leur vie , et le lien étroit entre le risque et la respectabilité dont ils articulent sur une base continue .

Mots-clés: *discours ; mâle, le risque , la respectabilité , la violence , la masculinité .*

Introduction

The greater Cape Town area, better known as the Cape Flats, carries the legacy of South Africa's apartheid past, namely "a violent social context characterised by high levels of unemployment, extreme differences in wealth and poverty ... easy access to guns and ongoing public and interpersonal violence" (Sass 2005:1). Whereas the common notion is to depict townships in this area as violent, and men with particular social behaviours as violent and abusive (Jensen 2001, Lindegaard & Hendriksen 2005), these characteristics are not pervasive (Sauls 2005). Van Wyk and Theron (2005) for instance have shown that social identities within the same township are quite diverse and provide space for several realities to live themselves out. Thus, in townships that may be stereotyped as violent and risky by outsiders, men on the 'inside' may be striving for identification as respectable men within their community (Kinnes 1995, Sauls 2005).

In an era of widespread sexual violence, studies of power and masculinity seek to understand the processes through which these are culturally produced and reproduced. Over recent years, the focus has shifted to gender relations, examining masculinity and showing the processes through which men are constructed and behave as gendered beings in relationships with other men, women and children (Hearn 2004, Gibson & Hardon 2005). While much of the literature has pointed to the conflicting aspects of masculine hegemony (Spronk 2005, Shefer *et al.* 2005), many of the young men in our study were found to behave contrary to gendered stereotypes of their community and as such could be seen as examples of the 'positive masculinity' referred to by Shefer *et al.* (2005). We argue that the men in our study were making genuine efforts to be good role models and 'respectable men', under sometimes difficult circumstances. We argue that while each gender takes on co-responsibility in confirming the hegemony of the other - reinforcing particular practices while vitiating others - the dominant discourses of risk and respectability reflect social values and concomitant labelling. In effect, these young men are in the process of negotiating a passage to 'respectable' adulthood in what is an inherently 'risky' environment. This paper traces the progress made by a group of young male student teachers as they consciously locate risk in their built environment, and navigate risk in their lived experience in order to attain the goal of respectability within their community.

Description of research setting

Gang activity is widely perceived to have embedded itself in the culture of the people living in the greater Cape Town area. A 1994 BBC documentary entitled 'The Cape of Fear' (Dan Reed) described the reign of terror that violent gangs exercised in Cape townships. News reports and documentaries continue to broadcast around the world the activities of Cape Town gangs (*BBC News*. Gangsters 'terrorise' Cape townships, (2003);

BBC News. Gang Violence in Cape Town, 2009; *Ross Kemp on Gangs: Cape Town – Numbers Gang*, 2007). Crime rates within the greater Cape Town area escalated in the mid-nineties (van Wyk & Theron 2005) with Kinnes (1995) reporting that more than half of all attempted murder charges in Western Cape townships were gang related. The Western Cape Anti-Crime Forum at this time reported that gang syndicates use members of street gangs to drive their illegal operations (personal communication, July 25, 1996). Pinnock (1982) described syndicates as more organised gangs who ran extortion rackets, payroll heists and large scale warehouse robberies. These syndicates ‘funded’ the gang wars by supplying the street gangs with guns and ammunition to drive out rival gangs within their neighbourhoods.

Much has been written about the breakdown in economic and social structures precipitated by forced removals and the resultant shifting employment patterns from subsistence living to commercial employment in factories in the greater Cape Town area (Pinnock 1985, Schärf 1990, Standing 2003). It is widely accepted that the resurgence of gang activity in the Coloured township of the Western Cape has its roots in these forced removals (Healy 2000, Pinnock 1985, Schärf 1990). While most of this literature refers to the greater Cape Town area, known as the Cape Flats, parallels can be seen to exist in the high density Coloured townships in the Winelands district as exemplified by the ethnographic description of gang activity in the Coloured residential areas of Stellenbosch (Van Wyk 2001). One key distinction between the gangs in rural towns and those of the Cape Flats is the status gang members have within their respective communities. Where studies have shown that members of gangs operating in the Cape Flats achieve a level of standing (albeit one based on fear and intimidation) as ‘real men’ within their communities, they are rarely seen as respectable men (Sauls 2005). This same status is not afforded to gang membership in the Winelands communities where our studies were carried out (Van Wyk 2001).

One such town is Paarl, situated approximately 80 kilometres outside of Cape Town. As with most of South Africa’s towns the legacy of apartheid planning remains clearly visible on the Paarl landscape, long after the laws have changed. After the implementation of the 1950 Group Areas Act, the western banks of the Berg River which flows through the town became the ‘white’ side of town. The central business district of the town rests on this side of the river, as does the recently opened mall. Coloured suburbs were established to the east of the river. Black residents were removed to the nearby township of Mbekweni on the eastern side of the river but some kilometres out of town, on the road towards Wellington. In the years since the abolition of apartheid some small changes have occurred in this pattern, mainly on the eastern side of the river where socio-economic forces have taken the place of race-based legislation. This is evidenced by one respondent who clearly indicated on a map of Paarl the ‘Black’, ‘White’ and ‘Coloured’ areas of his town, before pointing, without a hint of irony, to the two streets where different racial groups lived together, which he described as ‘the grey area’!

Methodology

This paper draws on ethnographic fieldwork that was conducted between 2002 and 2006 amongst 23 Coloured young men and women, who were student teachers at the University of the Western Cape. Each respondent participated in multiple extended one-to-one interviews which lasted anything from two to four hours. These were conducted in the language of choice of the participant (generally a mix of English and Afrikaans), transcribed in full and, where necessary, translated into English. Transcripts were subjected to a complete data analysis in which key themes and issues were identified, enabling a preliminary picture to emerge on the subjective experiences of participants, their views and opinions on certain key issues and the impact of all of these on their lived experience. Transcripts were also subjected to a narrative analysis which further developed this picture and gave a better understanding of the stories these students tell themselves about themselves. The findings reported in this paper are framed within the context of the greater Cape Town area being conceived as a place that is notorious for gang activities. This framework was drawn from the contextual review of gang and anti-gang movements in the Western Cape over three decades 1970–2000 (Van Wyk & Theron 2005).

Mapping Risk

During the initial interview each participant was asked to write down three places that they would consider 'risky', three types of people they would consider 'risky', and three situations they would consider 'risky'. During a second interview participants were asked to indicate on a town map 'risk' as they perceived it in their daily lives. This involved individuals (and later groups) indicating which areas were risky and for what reasons. In an effort to allow an open interpretation, no guidelines, criteria or definitions of 'risk' were given to the participants at this point. The responses from these two sets of interviews informed ongoing research questions. In analysis it became clear that the discourse of 'risk' was closely aligned to, and interlinked with, constructions of 'respectability'. This exercise gave a clear understanding about the physical landscape onto which the young men map their own ideas about risk and respectability.

The recurring theme emerging from these interviews was that of gang activity; in particular, areas where frequent muggings and where violent crime took place were identified by the participants. Various strategies were adopted to avoid such areas and to minimize their exposure to perceived risk. These strategies included leaving the train at an earlier stop to get a taxi because the environs of the train station were perceived as violent; ensuring that they travelled in groups in certain areas; not wearing conspicuous or expensive looking clothing, such as *tekkies* (sneakers), which were often targeted for robbery.

While each of these strategies may appear entirely reasonable in the context of gang activity, less comprehensible was the fact that each of the men independently pointed to those parts of town where prostitutes ply their trade, and informal sites of entertainment such as yards and shebeens. The yards and shebeens were residential properties where alcohol and other substances were sold and consumed. In many instances, these sites were also the focal point for recreational activities by various gang members. These sites were identified as 'risky' by the men despite the fact that they have never used the services of either. This begs the question of why these [sites] would be included in a discussion of personal risk and strategies to avoid personal risk. It became apparent that the threat from prostitutes was not a physical one, but was perceived as a risk to their status as 'respectable' men. Similarly, the yards and shebeens which were identified as risky could be seen as posing a dual threat because of the physical risk of alcohol-induced brawls and clashes with gang members, but also the risk to status which being seen in such a venue would pose. The risk of loss of face or loss of status within their community was of paramount importance to our participants.

There is a substantial body of literature that traces ideas of respectability within the Coloured communities of South Africa (Lewis, 1987; van der Ross, 1990; Ross, 1999; Erasmus, 2001; van der Spuy, 2004). Ross (1999:4) argues that the 'imposition of British ideas of respectability onto the Colony was particularly apparent in matters of gender [thus giving] those outside the inner core of society the opportunity to make a bid for acceptance, by adopting the behaviour and the outward signs of respectable society'. Those 'outward signs of respectable society' included everything from 'appropriate' dress to moral probity to Coloured temperance and regular attendance at church; and a failure to comply was inevitably equated with physical and moral degeneracy. The narratives of our participants suggest that the imperative of respectability still holds amongst Coloured communities throughout the Western Cape. In fact, given that our student teachers are from working class backgrounds and are the first generation of their respective families to attend university, it could be argued that the drive towards respectability is even stronger amongst them than it might otherwise have been.

This dual discourse of risk and respectability, although initially identified in relation to prostitution, and yards and shebeens, emerged emphatically as the issue of gangs was further explored. While a man may avoid visiting yards, shebeens or areas of known prostitution, avoiding gangs was less within his control. Gang activities were endemic in certain areas - often the very areas these men called home. Here, Claus describes the situation he is faced with on a regular basis:

'...for instance like I said, if you were to drive around say about that side of the river, you know...Paarl is situated that all the whites are staying on this side and the Coloureds are staying on that side and the blacks are staying on the way back on that side. If you go on that side [indicates one suburb known to have gang activity], then somebody will rob you or something.

Then people would just walk past you as if nothing happened. You know, it's so into the society. That's why I don't bother to walk around anymore, because it's not safe anymore. Even driving around - I normally say to my friends for me it's safer to drive around in a black township than in our areas where...I don't know. I just feel safer. There's a place called [names suburb] I don't know if you've heard about it?

F. Ja.'

'If you drive around there it's like you just feel like that, you know? There's something coming over you. At the time all your senses start to work, because you don't want to stop. You just want to go, you know, almost as if it's like that. That's the thing with me. You know the people...it's just getting tougher and tougher every day.'

(Claus, 21)

The threat from gangs is expressed in this narrative as predictable and inevitable (*'you will get mugged'*) but also, in Claus' view, as existing in the absence of community structures to act as deterrent or containment. So in this area no-one will help if you are the victim of violence (*'people would just walk past you'*) because society as a whole is implicated (*'it's so into the society'*). Claus' response to the threat has been to curtail his movements to the point that he prefers to drive rather than walk, isolating himself in his car even in *'our [i.e. Coloured] areas'*. In certain Coloured suburbs he is not even comfortable stopping his car and would prefer driving in the black townships (perceived by many as more dangerous). However, the key point emerges at the close of his statement - to *'know the people'* appears to make things *'tougher and tougher every day'*. These are people he has grown up with and can identify on a social landscape, but where this might be expected to make him feel more secure he expresses a heightened sense of awareness and unease - *'there's something coming over you. At the time all your senses start to work...'*

Recruitment

Claus articulates a dilemma that many young men are presented with. In an area with gang activity, where you are likely to have gone to school with many of the gang members and where there is pressure to join, how does one avoid becoming involved with these gangs? This requires the ability to negotiate a precarious situation - staying friendly enough with the gang to avoid becoming a target for crime, while simultaneously deflecting gang membership. Xavier explains:

'There wasn't one [gang] where I lived but at school ... the friends that I had in the classroom were staying in places where the gangs were and so sometimes at weekends they said I must come up...so...at the end of Grade 7 Primary School I started to see them, children, drinking, smoking, using drugs and that kind of stuff. So at High School I started to smoke and I started to drink. And the gangs, when you start drinking with them and hanging around them you

see...if they see a person across the street and they know that person has money they will just go up to him and rob him. And I wasn't used to that because although we didn't have money, we didn't rob people to get money. You just had to live without it. So I was supposed to leave my friends?'

(Xavier, 22)

Here Xavier explains how his early association with gang members became strained when things began to escalate from what might be considered the minor social transgressions of smoking and drinking, to criminal activity of theft and mugging. His weekend involvement in a neighbourhood outside his own meant that his status was merely peripheral. Nevertheless, extricating himself from the group required that he develop a number of different strategies:

'There is pressure and I did go along with it for a while, with the smoking and the drinking. But when I saw the robbery and the stuff I stepped back. I thought 'Ja, I will stay away from that neighbourhood. I will stay here at home and get other stuff to do.' I started to go to the rugby on Saturday afternoons to keep away from them.'

Several accounts of alternative masculinities in the Western Cape region look to diversionary tactics employed by young men who wish to avoid gang violence (Gibson & Lindegaard 2007, Lindegaard 2009). Among the more prominent strategies is that of 'domestication' – staying close to home or indoors and thus out of sight of gang members. The danger inherent in domestication amongst men is that it carries with it the risk of feminisation and being identified as a *moffie* [gay], and as such weak and not a 'real man' (Gibson & Lindegaard 2007: 139). While Xavier chose to stay at home to avoid the gang, he countered any potential accusations of being a *moffie* by becoming involved with rugby and thus identifiable as a competent athlete. In this community, sporting prowess was recognised as a means of achieving status and recognition as a real man and of less interest to the gangs. When Kyle dropped out of college a year after we first met, his former fellow-students expressed concern that he would now be a target for gangsters. Kyle himself was conscious of the potential risk:

'I can say that I was a bit worried at first, but I am keeping busy with my football and we are doing really well in the league so I must just keep involved with that and then I will be ok because that will keep me busy.'

(Kyle, 21)

Being a gang member can provide a level of status unachievable by ordinary means. These groups of youths from the American-named suburbs of Paarl, model themselves on American gangs with names such as '*Americans*', '*Niggers*¹⁰⁷', '*No Fear*' and '*PeFeJe's*' (*Peaceful Juniors*). Many young men are drawn into one of the numerous gangs

107 'Nigger' is not a word generally used in South Africa, even pejoratively. Its use here relates to the Americanised culture with which these youngsters identify.

in the area. Xavier again:

‘...there’s the Junkie Funkies, the HLs (Hard Living), there’s the Bad Boys, the Problem Child, they’re all the gangs. The leader of the gang will overnight hunt for you. You’ll start to dress up nicely – you’ll get the Levi jeans, rings, earrings. Maybe the leader of the gang will have a big house or something and he’ll throw a big party where you’ll be introduced to everyone...lots of girls.

The obvious attraction here for young men with limited finances, is the availability not only of material goods, but of status amongst girls otherwise unavailable. More striking however, was the idea that the gang leader would ‘hunt’ out potential gang members and ‘court’ them with gifts of clothes and jewellery – not unlike the way men are expected to woo their women.

The prize of gang membership, however, comes at a price. The initial onset of gang membership includes an initiation task to prove one’s manhood. This initiation task must be an act that is both violent and criminal which effectively sets the initiate on course for a life of crime and violence within the gang. Xavier continues:

And then all of a sudden they will say to you something like ‘ok...we...em...say we are hating Fiona [!] and you must kill her for us... to show that you are fully committed to the gang.’ And if you can do that then they will be proud of you and maybe pay you some money and give you everything. And the girls will see that ‘no, he’s not scared of anything, like that.’... They will give you a gun. They will maybe give you a photo. They will stand in front of your house and wait until you come out and say ‘right, this is the girl or boy we want you to kill. You must do it tomorrow.’ It will be someone that upset them – maybe other gangs.

For Xavier, as for the other men interviewed, gang membership will inevitably require an escalation from delinquency (drinking and smoking) to misdemeanour (drug taking, anti-social behaviour) to criminal activity (theft, mugging, rape, murder). The threat from gangs, therefore, was not only related to the threat of physical violence and crime, but also the constant need to maintain a level of respectability to counter attempts from the gangs to recruit them as young men. Thus, respectability becomes a shield against recruitment; as gangsterism becomes the foil against which ‘respectability’ is measured. Once recognised as a respectable man within the community, the threat of harassment from gang members to join their ranks diminishes completely. While one may still be a target of crime, one will not be pressured, or ‘hunted’ to become involved.

Maintaining Respectability

General discussions about risk inevitably brought about much wider discussions, primarily about ‘being a man’, which in turn revealed an underlying moral imperative to behave well. Just as expectations of ‘good girls’ come through in conversations with the

women (Larkan 2008), 'being a man' or 'what men do' was a subject that insinuated itself into seemingly mundane daily tasks. Even such seemingly straightforward situations such as wearing a seatbelt could be brought back to questioning one's manhood. '*It's just not something you do as a man.*' (Ben, 22)

There are, of course, 'multiple masculinities' (Connell 1995:77, Morrell 2001) with different characteristics of masculinity emphasised in different settings. In this setting the colloquial expressions of masculinity include 'real men', 'good men', 'safe men', 'gangsters' and 'respectable men'. Though not immediately apparent to an outsider, the attribution of these terms within the community is unambiguous. So what is it that makes a 'respectable' man in this context? And, how do these young men negotiate alternative masculinities in order to achieve the standing of a 'respectable' man?

While Sauls (2005) points out that both gangsters and respectable men can meet the criteria of 'real' men, our study shows that gangsters can never be seen as 'respectable' men; the two are mutually exclusive. The imperative then follows that respectable men cannot be associated with gangsters, or the markers of gang activity and lifestyle. All of these young men strive to be good role models for their younger siblings, extended families and wider community. They live at home with their parents and siblings. All pay attention to their grooming and would avoid the gang 'uniform' of hoodies, bandanas, baggy jeans, earrings, and jewellery. While the gang member may be considered a 'real man' he is rarely considered a 'respectable man' and it is respectability which earns legitimate status and privilege within the community. With respectability comes social capital and personal gratification.

There is a range of characteristics that defines a 'respectable' man. These include that he will be a breadwinner; he will be a positive role model; he will be able to provide for his girlfriends/partner/family. Furthermore, certain behaviours such as drinking, smoking and drug use are considered incongruous with respectability.

'A respectable person is the kind that doesn't drink, or use drugs or abuse women. He only has his wife...looks after his kids... that type of thing
(Xavier)

As Sauls (2005: 116) points out coming from a home where the father is seen as respectable, and is a breadwinner, does give access to symbolic capital. The narratives of Charles, Xavier and others speak of the role models their own fathers provide, and of how they wish to be seen as role models for their own children and/or siblings. Although the relationship with many fathers and their children seems distant and tends to be limited to that of provider – breadwinner and disciplinarian – rather than primary carer, a respectable man is at least a presence in the lives of his children, whether living with their mother or not.

'But my father doesn't say much. I won't say he doesn't talk to us but he's working a lot and he's not always around when I'm home because I'm usually away at the weekends. He would be

very hard with us when we were younger though. We each had to do our work and if our work wasn't done when he got home he would beat us, so then my mother would always tell us "you better get your work finished quickly because your father is on his way".

(Xavier)

'He would beat me...until I was in Matric. But nowadays he wouldn't. Now I'm like a big person, although I have respect for him he cannot act now the way he did before.'

(Charles)

For Charles, brought up in an area where gang activity is widespread, the strongest factor influencing his decision to shun gangs was his father's authority.

'I did listen to rap music and got involved with tsotsi (gang) music when I was in High School, but I never got involved with gangs because my father was too strict. He would kill me.'

(Charles)

Whereas the model of respectability provided to these young men by their fathers is characterised by toughness, inaccessibility, and harsh discipline, their own training as teachers encourages an alternative, more forgiving model of discussion, negotiation and encouragement. This suggests a re-characterisation of respectability within this community. Many of our respondents were keen to behave as role models for their younger siblings and for other children in the neighbourhood.

'I try to be a role model for her...for all the children around there.'

(Charles)

'So, sometimes I try to be like a role model for my brothers. Sometimes I get it right but sometimes I don't and they just say to me "you're not my father."'

(Xavier)

It would seem then, that a respectable man is almost required to be all things to all men (and women). He must be seen to look after himself through avoiding alcohol and drugs. He must also pay attention not to abuse women or to mistreat his wife by having other women. Looking after one's children and younger family members is also seen as important. In addition to one's responsibility to one's family however, the respectable man is a positive role model to others in the community through charitable and/or church activity.

'In some communities there are one or two people who will help out others... like poor people... and he is in some way thinking of them also. Like in winter there are soup kitchens... so that person in charge will get a lot of respect from the community.'

(Xavier)

‘Although with my friends, some of them don’t see it like I do. They say like “I don’t need to be responsible or to look after people”. They say to me “just look after yourself.” But I feel like everyone here is going to be a teacher and they should be responsible. I feel like I should be...I should use it...just to take the pressure off myself so in my environment there at home I see a lot of things that is difficult and I say to them ‘Guys, there is ways out of this. You don’t have to be a gangster’ and things like that. I always asked the youngsters ‘why, you know, when you go from primary school and start the first year of High School, why do you need to smoke?’ Then they feel that because they’re in High School they’re older now, they must smoke. They have a difficult time out there and that’s what encourages me to speak out and say to them that they don’t have to.’

(Charles)

Conclusion

Managing Realities

Just as there are multiple masculinities - many ways of ‘being a man’ - these do not inhabit static frameworks, but are situational and fluid depending on various stages of the life course, and on transitions made between, say, home and social or work environments. While these young men are living with their parents, within a close community, they are conscious of the need to act responsibly in order to gain some status within that community. The completion of their studies mirrors the transition to adulthood, the same way that gang rituals do, affording them entrance to the ‘adult’ community as individual ‘respectable’ men, whereby symbolic capital can be exchanged for social capital. It is very important for these men to emerge from this transition phase, recognised by the community as ‘respectable’ men.

Being a respectable man, then, is a demanding and exacting process. These young men work hard to try to do the right thing all the time and are not always successful. As Sauls (2005:116) argues ‘the practices of being a [respectable] man can be even more peripheral and difficult to sustain than that of a gangster’. The realities of building and maintaining respectable relationships are equally taxing. As with all late adolescents, these young men are challenged with sexual tensions that arise out of the need to comply with social expectations of starting the journey of a relationship with a ‘good girl’, and the wish to take advantage of the multiple opportunities for sexual relationships that present themselves at this stage in their lives. While negotiating their current state to become a respectable man in the community, this is compromised by the reality of late adolescence.

For these middle class young men, the pressure to live respectable lives is ongoing and requires a constant negotiation of risk. The mapping of risk is an ongoing project and one which the men have been re-writing since their early teens. ‘Risk’ in this sense is constructed both as a social and physical force, each producing its own constraints and requiring a range of strategies. These strategies themselves contain elements of risk – how to avoid gang recruitment without unduly antagonising gang members; how to

remove oneself from the environment of gang activity without being labelled a 'moffie' for staying too close to home; how to take advantage of opportunities for entertainment only in areas deemed 'respectable' by the broader community.

Respectability thus becomes a key defining factor in the negotiation of both social and physical risk in the environment. At all times the view is expressed that short and medium term choices, while prescriptive and narrow, are absolutely necessary if the goal of respectability within the community is to be achieved.

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Immigrant-Host Community Relations in Malawi's Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP)

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Abstract

Access to land among land-poor households has always been contentious. In Malawi, the government, aware of this, started Community Based Rural Based Land Development Project (CBRLDP), financed by the World Bank. The project brought to the fore the latent antagonistic relationship between immigrants and host communities. This paper examines the antagonistic relationship that developed between one of the beneficiary groups of the project and their hosts in Chigumula village, Traditional Authority (TA) Liwonde's area in Machinga district. Focus group discussion reveals that Resettlement of groups, whether sponsored or spontaneous, carries with it a potential for conflict with resident population arising from among other things competition for resources, status, power and dominance.

Keywords: *resettlement; relocation; beneficiary groups; host community; land redistribution; land poverty.*

Résumé

Accès à la terre parmi les ménages pauvres en terres a toujours été controversée . Au Malawi , le gouvernement , conscient de cela, commencé Projet communautaire de développement rural terrestres (CBRLDP) , financé par la Banque mondiale . Le projet a mis en évidence la relation antagoniste latente entre les immigrants et les communautés d'accueil . Ce document examine la relation antagoniste qui a développé entre l'un des groupes de bénéficiaires du projet et leurs hôtes dans le village de Chigumula , l'autorité traditionnelle zone de (TA) dans le district de Machinga Liwonde . Discussion de groupe focus révèle que la réinstallation de groupes , que ce soit sponsorisé ou spontané , porte en elle un risque de conflit avec la population résidente découlant entre autres la concurrence des choses pour les ressources , le statut, le pouvoir et la domination .

Mots clés *réinstallation ; réinstallation; groupes de bénéficiaires ; communauté hôte ; la redistribution des terres ; la pauvreté des sols .*

Introduction

The age-old movement of people from one place to settle in another has been widely studied and explained. In many African countries the reasons for these movements include search for agricultural lands, natural disasters such as drought, family feuds, flight from witchcraft and ethnic strife. Government policies also bring about movement of people from one place to the other; for example, governments sponsor resettlement projects to achieve certain economic, social and political objectives. Chambers (1969) identifies some of these objectives as: to counteract the drift of school leavers to towns by providing opportunities for market-oriented agriculture; to provide land to landless families as a safety valve through which some displaced members of society could obtain land; and to promote ethnic integration and nation building. In postcolonial Africa, resettlement schemes have generally been associated with rural development. The government sponsored settlement schemes in Zimbabwe, for example, are viewed as show-cases of the transformation of the rural economy through the creation of a class of progressive smallholder farmers producing for the market (Chimhowu and Hulme, 2006). Turner and Hulme (1990) observe that socially, resettlement schemes are one of the most complex development initiatives since they involve not only population movement but the creation of new agricultural systems, homes, infrastructure, services, new sets of social relationships, and rapid modification of existing cultural values and norms. Sponsored resettlement usually entails high costs, for example removal costs, creation of infrastructure such as access roads, water supply, education and healthcare and likely to generate conflict over natural resources with the host community (Cleaver and Schreiber, 1994).

According to Harrison (1983) there is an ever-present danger that a resettlement programme can eat up a large proportion of the agriculture budget of a developing country and siphon funds away from the rural majority towards the creation of elite communities in isolated rural areas. He argues that the majority of settlement schemes in developing countries have been either human or ecological disasters, or a diversion from the central task of improving already settled areas. It is an initiative that can be dispensed with in favour of serious land reform.

From the planner's perspective resettlement is mutually beneficial to the immigrants and host community. The immigrants gain access to land and other natural resources, while in turn the host community benefits from an enhanced capacity to carry out a diversity of community development projects and state provided public goods such as schools, water supply, health facilities and access roads (cf Murombedzi 1999; Ng'ong'ola 2006). However, there is always potential conflict when a large group migrates into a space already inhabited by another. Realistic conflict theory locates the sources, of intergroup conflict in the competition for material resources, power, dominance, status

and other scarce goods where these appear to have a zero – sums fate. Scudder (1985) observes that resettlement schemes commonly underperform because little attention is paid to the relationship between settler families and the communities in which they live. Conflict can negatively affect the resettlement process. This is the thrust of this paper.

Specifically, this paper examines the antagonistic relationship between the Kalungu Trust, one of the beneficiary groups of the Community Based Rural Land Development Project (CBRLDP) and their hosts in Chigumula village, Traditional Authority (TA) Liwonde's area in Machinga district in order to understand its basis. Qualitative research methods were used. Focus group discussions were conducted with members of the trust. Information was collected from the host community using a combination of focus groups and informal interviews. The group village head was interviewed for his perspective on the issue. It also benefitted from a review of project documents and related scholarly works. The study of which this paper is drawn from began in 2006.

The Community Based Rural Land Development Project

Malawi's bimodal agricultural economy is characterized by a highly skewed land distribution especially in the southern region. Among smallholders the distribution of land holdings is concentrated between 0.2 and 0.4 hectares, with an estimated 30% cultivating less than 0.5 hectares (Republic of Malawi and World Bank, 2007:154). On the other hand the average tobacco estate is 34 hectares and the average tea estate is 1,400 hectare (CLC consultants, 1998:14). The existence of large estate deprives smallholders of much needed agricultural land. The 1997 Integrated Household Survey demonstrated a direct link between rural poverty and access to land. The rural poor were predominantly found in households cultivating less than 0.5 hectare (National Statistical Office, 1998).

The Community Based Rural Development Project (CBRLDP) was conceived as land redistribution initiative using market principles. Land-poor households would be empowered through the provision of grants to buy land from private land owners on 'willing buyer, willing seller' terms. The World Bank, at the cost of US\$27 million, and a Malawi Government contribution of US\$2.8 million, funded the project. The 'willing buyer, willing seller' approach was preferred by the World Bank on the grounds that it respected private property rights as opposed to nationalization and compulsory acquisition which are believed to victimize private landowners. The project rolled out its pilot phase in July 2004 in the four southern region districts of Mangochi, Machinga, Mulanje and Thyolo. It was expected that by the end of the pilot phase in June 2009, 15, 000 land poor households among the 1.8 million who, on average, own less than one hectare of land would have been resettled on at least two hectares of land (World Bank, 2012). The project planners assumed that tobacco estate owners in Mangochi

and Machinga and tea estate owners in Mulanje and Thyolo would be willing to sell the whole or a portion of their under utilized or undeveloped land. The ultimate goal of the project was to contribute to poverty reduction through the provision of land-to-land poor households and improved agricultural productivity.

To be eligible for registration households had to be Malawian, owning between 0.2 and 0.4 hectare of land and experiencing recurrent food insecurity, but with adequate family labour to enable them to cultivate larger parcels of land than they currently did. Additionally, they had to be willing to affiliate themselves to beneficiary groups¹⁰⁸ comprising between 25 and 35 households for purposes of buying land and settling upon it. These beneficiary groups were essentially self-selected groups of friends, kin and neighbours from a group of villages under a common group village head. It was assumed that these pre-existing ties would form the basis of social support and collective action in the resettlement area. There were screenings of applicants for registration, in line with the project guideline, by specially elected Community Oversight Committees (COCs). Successful applicants were required to surrender their current parcels of land to lineage leaders for reallocation to family members remaining behind. The surrender of land would symbolically delink them from the village and part of their own history. COCs, created for the purpose, in the resettlement areas, would facilitate integration of the immigrants into their host communities. The project planners did not envisage the development of enclaves within the resettlement areas.

Qualified households were entitled to a US\$1,050 (then about MK147,500) Uniform Ceiling Grant (UCG). Its use was specified as: 30% for acquiring land; 10% to cover settlement costs; and 60% for farm development. It was paid in tranches and available for one agricultural year only. It was assumed that by the end of one year the beneficiary households would have established themselves firmly enough as not to need further financial assistance from the project. This however, could only be possible if within that period the relocated households were able to produce surpluses and find markets to sell at a profit. The evidence however, suggests that this expectation was based on an unrealistic assessment of the situation on the ground as many resettlement areas were located long distances away from the nearest Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC)¹⁰⁹ market and not easily accessible due to poor access roads (Ng'ong'ola, 2006:8).

Two hectares of land were deemed to be adequate for subsistence needs and a sustainable livelihood. Households in a beneficiary group pooled their resources to buy an estate which was then subdivided into holdings of two hectares for each household. District Land Officers (DLOs) facilitated contacts between leaders of beneficiary groups and potential land sellers in the receiving districts. Apart from the leaders involved in

¹⁰⁸ For legal purposes beneficiary groups are registered as 'Trusts'

¹⁰⁹ ADMARC is a parastatal organization whose mandate is to buy smallholder produce and resell it on the local or international markets.

the land transactions the rest of the members of a beneficiary group saw their new home for the first time on arrival in the resettlement area. The newly arrived migrants had two major tasks at hand: the construction of a shelter; and the preparation of the land in readiness for planting. As most of the land bought by beneficiary groups tended to be abandoned or undeveloped land, getting it ready for crop production involved a lot of labour effort.

The first relocations occurred in November 2005 and involved four beneficiary groups comprising 126 households. Three of the beneficiary groups relocated within their home districts of Mangochi and Machinga. The Kalungu Trust relocated from Thyolo to Machinga because there were no land offers from the estates. In Mulanje and Thyolo most private land is owned by descendants of European settlers who had benefited from a racialised colonial policy that promoted large scale export oriented agriculture, or international companies that had bought the land from them. The expatriate land owners viewed the project as a mere government ploy to repossess the land and they refused to cooperate (World Bank, 2012:15). The reluctance of expatriate land owners to release land to land poor households exposes a major weakness of the 'willing buyer, willing seller' approach to land redistribution: the state cannot compel a land owner to sell, even when the land is obviously unutilised or under utilized. Moyo (2000) observes that delays in implementing land redistribution due to legal or financial constraints to acquisition have tended to fuel land occupation strategies led by either community leaders politicians or pressure groups. The perceived slow rate of land redistribution was a major factor in the land invasions that occurred in Zimbabwe in 2001 and 2002. The emergence in Thyolo of a movement dedicated to the restoration of lands 'stolen' by settlers to its true owners could be the harbinger of land related confrontation between expatriate land owners and land poor Malawian households (see People Land Organization, 2014)

The Kalungu Trust and their hosts

The Kalungu Trust relocated to Chigumula village, TA Liwonde, Machinga district in November 2005. They were one of the four pioneer beneficiary groups that relocated that year. They originated from Chimalanga village TA Bvumbwe in Thyolo district, and consisted of thirty-five households, four of which were female headed. They are Ngonis, descendant of the South African Zulu ethnic group. They follow a patrilineal system of descent and succession, and are Christian. In Thyolo they owned less than 0.5 hectare of land and derived their livelihood from vegetable growing in *dimbas*¹¹⁰ and market trading. They depended on the market for their maize¹¹¹ requirements since their tiny holdings could not produce enough to meet household food requirements.

¹¹⁰ *Dimba* are steam bank gardens

¹¹¹ *Maize* is the major staple food in the country

The CBRLDP offered them an opportunity to access more land to enable them to improve their food security as well as household incomes. They bought and settled on the 79-hectare former Bilila tobacco estate, which had lain unused for a number of years following the fall of tobacco prices on international markets often attributed to the antismoking movement.

Chigumula village to which the Trust relocated consists of seven matrilineal-linked hamlets. The population is predominantly Yao and Muslim. The Yao follow a matrilineal system of descent and succession. Uxorilocal marriages are the norm. Due to the operation of the uxorilocality principle adult males in the village tend to be marital immigrants, some of whom are non-Yao and non – Muslim.

In essence members of the Kalungu Trust and their hosts were two distinct communities compelled by circumstances to coexist as neighbours. Their occupation of the estate, which was a separate location from the rest of the village, reinforced the separateness of the immigrants from the host community.

The first few years of resettlement are a period of transition during which immigrants try to adjust to a new physical and social environment while simultaneously trying to come to terms with the disruption of social networks and loss of capital occasioned by the departure from the place of origin. How well the immigrants are able to adapt to their new environment and achieve their economic and social aspirations determines the decision whether or not to make the new lands their permanent home.

Sources of conflict

It was envisaged by the project planners that host communities would receive relocated households without too much trouble in view of the potential benefits that they would bring. The immigrants would employ casual labour for their farm work and in the process contribute to the circulation of money in the local economy. The increased population would enhance the community's ability to carry out a diversity of self – help community development projects, and could also leverage population –criteria based state provided public goods such as health facilities and schools.

However, the relationship between Kalungu Trust members and their host community was characterized by resentment and antagonism. In 2006 a number of orders were issued by the group village head against the immigrants for example, they were ordered not to keep pigs or dogs; not to eat pork; and not to brew or drink beer on the grounds that these practices were incompatible with the teachings of Islam to which the majority of the host community belonged. Yet these are the very practices that define a Ngoni. The immigrants interpreted these orders as an attempt by the Yaos to impose their culture on them and suppress their 'superior' cultural heritage. The orders were generally ignored. This served to worsen the relationship with the group village head and other village leaders.

Members of the Trust reported that they were frequently harassed for cash handouts. Cases of land encroachment, crop theft and deliberate destruction of the maize crop were common. Repeated complaints to the group village head and the COC did not produce any results. The inaction by the group village head and the COC reinforced the suspicion that there was collusion between the village leadership and the perpetrators of the anti-immigrant actions.

The harassment of the immigrants were essentially manifestations of the resentment that the host community harboured against the immigrants which can be attributed to the following:

Competing claims to land

Bilila estate, which the Kalungu Trust bought and settled upon, had been created out of customary land. It was one of the many that were created in the country during the tobacco boom years of the 1970s and 1980s to allow Malawian participation in large-scale production of a high value crop. On leasing the land the estate owner had promised to create employment for the villagers. When the estate failed to create the promised employment for the villagers, and was eventually abandoned by the lessee, it had been expected that it would be restored to the community for redistribution to households which did not have enough land for their subsistence needs. The sale of the land to 'strangers' was confirmation that the land was lost forever. Since the village no longer had unallocated land, it meant that newly formed households could only access land through splitting up existing holdings. The presence of the estate was blamed for creating land scarcity. Some land poor households had, prior to the arrival of the project beneficiaries, already begun encroaching on the estate, claiming it was part of their ancestral land. In this context what the local community viewed as ancestral land was benefitting 'strangers'.

Exclusion from the cash grant

The resettlement grant, understood by the host community as 'free money', apparently because it was not worked for, was viewed as discriminatory. As the group village head observed during an interview:¹¹²

The government as a good father should not be seen to be favouring one child over another. A good father does not say to one child 'come and eat' while chasing another away.

The observation made by the group village head was widely shared within the host community. They believed that they were poor too, and therefore deserving of government financial assistance to buy fertilizer. In view of their exclusion, the host community

112 Interviewed on 12 February 2006 at Chigumula village, TA Liwonde, Machinga

perceived the immigrants as 'favoured children of the government', creating an 'us' and 'them' situation. On the basis that they were unfairly excluded from benefits some members of the host community felt justified to harass the immigrants for cash handouts.

Perceived immigrant arrogance

Members of the Kalungu Trust viewed themselves as carrying a more superior cultural heritage than their hosts whom they characterized as descendants of their slaves. This is not historically correct. Although the Ngoni came into the country as military invaders they did not subdue the Yao who, through their contacts with Arab slave traders, had access to superior weapons including fire arms.

Unlike the other beneficiary groups, and contrary to project policy, members of the Kalungu Trust sought to be recognized as a distinct community under their own village head, to be called Chimbalanga 2 after their own village in Thyolo where they would practice Ngoni customs. To this end they brought along a kinsman of group village head Chimbalanga to lead 'the new village'. The quest for a separate identity was interpreted by the host community and its leadership as a clear challenge and disrespect to the existing authority structures in Chigumula village and a display of arrogance which needed to be suppressed

Development of peaceful coexistence

The Kalungu Trust has recorded the largest number of withdrawals from the project for various reasons. Chief among these reasons is the absence of basic services such as health facilities, potable water supply and primary school for school age children. These were services that were within walking distance in their village. According to Ng'ong'ola (2006:15) the Trust lost 8 households within three months of arrival. As of August 2014 only 7 of the 35 households that had relocated to the resettlement area remain. The relationship between the two groups has become more cordial, with members of the Trust participating in community work such as access road maintenance, and public celebrations such as weddings. The cessation of the resettlement grant and the availability of abandoned land which the host community can access (although it is against government policy) seems to have removed important bases of the animosity. The reduce numbers of the immigrants no longer poses a threat to the dominance of Yao culture in the village.

A comparison

While the relations between the Kalungu Trust and their hosts tended to be antagonistic they were more friendly elsewhere. The Chumachilimthaka and Khamalipindula Trusts from Mulanje which relocated to TA Chiwalo's area in Machinga in 2006, for example, report that apart from minor incidents of crop theft and boundary encroachment during the early years, their relations with the hosts have been friendly. As part of their host villages they have participated in communal festivities such as weddings and self-help work such as maintaining access roads and digging wells. Inter-marriages, mostly involving immigrant women and local men have already occurred. The first such marriages are reported to have occurred within the first year of arrival. It is suggested that the beneficiary groups from Mulanje which were made up of Yao and Lomwe households have cultural affinities and a shared history which facilitated integration with their Yao hosts in Machinga. Both ethnic groups claim Mozambique as their ancestral home. They are matrilineal and practice uxori-local marriages, and many have common clan names. They also have similar initiation rites for girls and boys. Given these cultural similarities the most important source of potential conflict is the land. However, at the time of the immigrants' arrival TA Chiwalo's area was not experiencing land shortage, and land requests from newly formed households could be accommodated within the land available to the lineages.

Conclusion

The difficult relationship that developed between the Kalungu Trust and their hosts highlights the problems that can emerge when two culturally and socially distinct groups are compelled to share geographical space, and where the resident population feels excluded from benefits enjoyed by the in-coming group. Resettlement of groups, whether sponsored or spontaneous, carries with it a potential for conflict with the resident population arising from among other things competition for resources, status, power and dominance. The Kalungu Trust was a beneficiary of government financial support from which the host community was excluded and land which the hosts believed properly belonged to them. Its quest for recognition as a separate community with its own leader outside the existing authority structure exacerbated the resentment generated by their acquisition of land and their occupation of contested land. The host community's resentment of the immigrants manifested itself in anti-immigrant behavior tacitly supported by the village leadership.

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Le coupé décalé en Côte d'Ivoire : Sens et enjeux d'un succès musical

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Résumé

Le présent article est une contribution explicative du succès actuel du coupé décalé un nouveau genre musical ivoirien intervenu dans les coulours de la crise ivoirienne. Son succès actuel n'est pas sans lien avec le phénomène de la globalisation, mais le facteur qui nous semble déterminant, c'est une nouvelle fois son lien spécifique avec l'imaginaire politique des jeunes urbains. Des jeunes qui à travers ce style musicale élargissent les frontières sociales du pouvoir en Côte d'Ivoire. Ces derniers remettent en crise l'efficacité symbolique du discours politique en le transformant comme un facteur dynamisant de repositionnement sur l'échelle sociale du pouvoir

Mots clés : *coupé décalé, jeune, globalisation, imaginaire de la réussite sociale*

Sous la présidence de Félix Houphouët Boigny, de 1960 à 1980, le miracle ivoirien a positionné la Côte d'Ivoire comme un pays nanti et prospère dans la sous région ouest-Africaine. Le pays est alors premier producteur mondial de café cacao attirant de nombreux ressortissants ouest-africains à la recherche de l'eldorado politique (Blé, 2006). Cependant, le miracle ivoirien en dépit de son heure de gloire tourna assez rapidement au mirage occasionnant une prolifération de la misère dans l'ensemble des couches sociales ivoiriennes. Une misère qui affecta profondément le génie musical des ivoiriens. En réponse à cette situation difficile sont nées plusieurs rythmes musicaux dont le Zouglou pour exprimer le mécontentement d'une jeunesse face à l'unanimité politique et à la multiplication des disparités sociales

Par ailleurs, vers la fin de l'année 2002 en pleine crise sociale et politique un nouveau style de musique fait son apparition dans le champ musical ivoirien : « le coupé décalé ». « Au rythme de la musique, la main droite mime le geste de couper et les jambes se lance en arrière pour décaler. Parmi les jeunes des centres urbains d'Afrique francophone et de la Côte d'Ivoire en particulier, le coupé décalé connaît un succès phénoménale, « désormais le simple fait d'esquisser ces deux gestes signifie je sors danser » (Kohlhagen, 2005 :92). Son origine est quelques peu discuté, cependant il est admis qu'il fut lancé par des discs jockeys ivoiriens de Londres et de la région parisienne, le coupé décalé célèbre un mode de vie quelques peu ostentatoire, circulant entre les grandes villes d'Afrique

et d'Europe, le coupé décalé est assez exemplaire de cette dissémination de flux d'idées puisant dans divers répertoires musicaux les armes de son énonciation.

Sur le plan local sons succès peut être appréciée à travers la multiplicité des sous-concepts musicaux qu'il produit : la prudencia de Don Mike le Gorou, la festibulence de Tata Kény, le décalé chinois de Douck Saga, le sentiment moko de DJ Caloudji, ou encore, le Konami de DJ Shanaka etc...., tous parus entre 2002 et 2008, et plus récemment, le Kpan Kaka et le Chébélé d'Arafat DJ. Ce dernier semble s'être mué en véritable figure de prou de cette invention musicale ivoirienne en remportant deux Kora a la dernière édition de ce prix(2013) qui récompense les meilleurs artistes Africains de l'Année

Cependant, rares sont les études qui tentent de proposer un modèle explicatif de son rapide succès médiatique. C'est pour nous, encore moins le pouvoir des Disc Jockeys ou le pouvoir financier des adeptes de ce style musical qui explique son succès actuel, et non plus strictement les images qu'il véhicule à travers les clips vidéos (Kohlhagen, 2005). En effet si ce rythme musical traverse les frontières et semble être porté par un phénomène de jeune, c'est qu'il trouve à travers cette catégorie sociale, les déterminants de son succès. Notre analyse entend fournir un modèle explicatif qui s'emboîte dans le contexte culturel et politique ivoirien Le coupé décalé est pour nous porteur d'un imaginaire politique qui voit dans les logiques individuelles d'enrichissement et d'émancipation un moyen d'échapper aux conséquences sociales du déclin de l'houphouëtisme ce qui explique son relatif succès au près des jeunes urbains. Ce que nous tenterons d'exemplifier à travers les argumentations qui vont suivre

Le Coupé décalé, la sublimation de la richesse et la production sociale des nouvelles figures de la réussite sociale et individuelle

En Côte d'Ivoire et partout ailleurs, il reste entendu que le coupé décalé échafaude la culture ivoirienne et se danse avec un ensemble d'apparat vestimentaire mais de préférence en faisant voler en éclat des billets de banque. Travailler au double sens du mot semble être le principal message retenu par les jeunes urbains et les faiseurs de ce courant musical. « Dans les vidéos clips la référence à l'argent, à l'apparence et au gaspillage abondent. Voitures et habits de luxe, chaînes et bracelets cigares et liasses de billets flambant neuf sont les principaux attributs du coupé décalé » (Kohlhagen, 2005 :95). Par ailleurs, ce qui se joue à un niveau symbolique à travers ce rythme musical et qui explique désormais dans la longue durée le succès de ce genre musical auprès des jeunes urbains, c'est bien l'ethos de la consommation véhiculé par l'idéologie capitaliste encadré à travers cette œuvre. Car la spirale actuel du néolibéralisme pousse les individus quelque soit leur appartenance nationale à la consommation des biens marchands, c'est ainsi que les individus achètent et consomment des biens économiques pour conquérir le statut d'un sujet moderne et le sentiment d'une appartenance à une culture ultramoderne. Les jeunes ivoiriens ne sont pas en reste face à cette pression économique, en ayant fait le choix du coupé décalé ces jeunes s'identifient à la fois à cette volonté de la consommation impulsé par le capitalisme moderne mais dont ils sont privés depuis le

déclin de l'houphouëtisme. Mais pour ces jeunes, la modernité se réfère aussi à une prise de conscience objective de l'espace territorial entendu comme le lieu où se déroulent des enjeux de pouvoir, le lieu où se construit leur devenir et plus particulièrement celui de leur société et le village dans ce sens leur semble éloigné du centre de leur préoccupation.

Pour les jeunes urbains, ce qui fait le charme de la ville, c'est l'opportunité de donner libre cours à son imagination créative et d'accéder au pouvoir de la consommation des biens, de la boisson, des voitures, des médicaments ou des objets de luxe, des produits alimentaires importés et d'autres biens marchands par le mérite scolaire, mais sous le gouvernement d'un Etat non patrimonialisé. Tel était du moins le rêve caressé par de nombreux jeunes ivoiriens depuis l'instauration du multipartisme. Par ailleurs, les nouveaux maîtres politiques de la Côte d'Ivoire postcoloniale, emportés par la violence de l'ethos de la consommation par la quelle ils croyaient conquérir et imposé une citoyenneté que leur déniaient les anciens maîtres privatisèrent plus ou moins rapidement l'Etat ivoirien et ses biens et, ce faisant en firent l'enjeu des luttes en cours en mobilisant des ressources associées à des idéologies identitaires autochtones¹¹³. La critique de la politique du ventre ou encore la politique du grilleur des arachides qui trouvait l'un de ses fondements dans l'idéo-logique de la sorcellerie provenait en réalité d'une volonté des jeunes ivoiriens de sortir du statut négatif de dominé pour accéder au statut de sujet civilisé à travers l'accès au pouvoir de la consommation. Etre moderne et civilisé, c'est pour beaucoup de jeunes ivoiriens revendiquer son appartenance au monde urbain, avoir accès au pouvoir de la consommation.

Le coupé décalé comme répertoire idéologique subsume cette volonté du pouvoir, de l'avoir et de l'être chez les jeunes ivoiriens en claquant les billets de banque et devient par conséquent ce nouvel exutoire social qui permet aux jeunes ivoiriens de pouvoir rêver à une société idéale dont ils sont privés, par les conséquences sociales du marasme économique ivoirien. S'ils adhèrent à ce style musical c'est que ce registre musical leur permet de fuir les affres d'une société décadente. Le coupé décalé en ventant de nouveaux itinéraires de la réussite sociale et individuelle offrent aux jeunes urbains de nouveaux modèles d'identifications collectives à partir desquels ces jeunes s'inventent eux-mêmes leur propre modèle de réussite. A cet égard, le cas du Disc Jockey communément appelé .Arafat, en référence au célèbre leader palestinien ou encore le Yorobô (un pseudonyme de l'artiste) est assez exemplaire de ce que peut être le génie musical. Précédemment à la traîne dans la mouvance du Coupé décalé, Arafat DJ adopte une nouvelle stratégie qui lui vaut son succès actuel. En effet c'est qu'ils offrent à ses différents consommateurs musicaux, le portait social d'un individu en ascension sociale mais contre qui, de nombreux obstacles tous ordres s'élèvent mais qui les surmonte avec brio grâce à son talent et son expérience musicale. C'est ce qu'il affirme par exemple à travers l'un de ses opus musical devenu très célèbre : « Ils ont voulu me tuer mais je reste vivant. ». Ce Disc Jockey

¹¹³ Je fais référence aux luttes fratricides qui ont émergé en Côte d'Ivoire entre les différents prétendants au fauteuil présidentiel, conflictualisant les rapports entre autochtones, allochtones et étrangers

alimente de nombreuses controverses jusqu'au sommet de l'Etat et est ainsi arrivé à donner un nouvel élan à cet style musical depuis la disparition de son mentor Douk Saga. Arafat DJ et à travers lui un ensemble de jeunes ivoiriens perçoivent la nécessité de monter leur propres affaires pour s'en sortir dans ce difficile contexte économique et social en se muant pour certains en organisateurs de spectacle dans plusieurs dancing Bar de la capitale abidjanaise. Contrairement au milieu rural, l'espace urbain se présente comme un espace ouvert qui offre l'opportunité aux jeunes urbains de laisser libre cours à leur imagination créative, ils inventent de nouveaux emplois temporaires (vendeurs de recharges téléphoniques, le djosseur des nama, vente d'orange et de sachets d'eau, ventes de téléphone portable), exemplifiant au passage ainsi l'œuvre d'Abdou Touré. Selon l'auteur « si les petits métiers n'existaient pas, il faudrait les inventer, car les milliers de démunis qui n'auraient pas accès aux structures modernes de distribution de biens et services seraient immanquablement à l'origine d'une explosion sociale » (Touré, 1985 :19) Ans l'idéologie véhiculée par le coupé décalé encourage insidieusement ce processus d'individualisation des jeunes face à : la ville en leur offrant de nouveaux arguments pour justifier cette quête d'autonomie face au marasme économique ivoirien

L'émergence de ces nouvelles figures sociales de la réussite constitue donc un révélateur des dynamiques sociales et politiques du changement qui recompose les imaginaires du pouvoir dans la société ivoirienne. En effet, le recours à la notion d'imaginaire politique nous permet de comprendre les rapports entre les élites politiques et les citoyens, entre les dirigeants et les dirigés en analysant les courants d'innovations qui se sont dévoyés et qui ont touché la politique comme les autres domaines de la vie sociale. Car, l'émergence de nouvelles figures sociales en rapport avec la musique, le sport et les milieux de l'art, la débrouillardise sont en partie motivée par la crise des modèles précédents. En Côte d'Ivoire, la figure sociale du diplômé constitue dorénavant une figure sociale de la crise exemplifiée à travers le registre musical du Zouglou. A cet effet, pour beaucoup d'ivoiriens, « le capital d'espoir projeté et déposé entre les mains de l'étudiant ne confère plus à ce dernier l'influence et le pouvoir sur les siens, les amis et la société » (Mbembe, 1985 :53-53). Cette perception ne fonctionne plus en raison de l'apparition de ces nouvelles figures que constitue l'artiste musicien, le footballeur ou encore le « brouteur ». Ce dernier est en passe de devenir avec l'émergence et le développement du coupé décalé et des nouvelles technologies, un modèle d'identification des jeunes ivoiriens. En effet, l'image de réussite associée à la figure sociale du diplômé disparaît au profit de celui qui peut faire un usage criminel de la ruse et de la débrouillardise, voire l'exemplification de son talent via le sport et la musique et les nouvelles technologies. Cette métamorphose loin d'être en rupture avec les logiques politiques conventionnelles est plutôt révélatrice des pratiques de corruptions qui s'échafaudent au sommet de l'appareil de l'Etat ivoirien. A ce titre la situation ivoirienne du « brouteur » correspond sur beaucoup de points à celle du « feyman » camerounais dont la réussite repose sur l'arnaque des autres et se rapproche encore moins des descriptions faites par Jean François Harvard sur les

nouvelles figures de la réussite au Sénégal via le sport et la musique. En Côte d'Ivoire, le coupé décalé contribue consciemment ou inconsciemment à légitimer ces mécanismes illicites de l'enrichissement en louant davantage les mérites de ces nouveaux adeptes du « broutage » qui sont en passe de conquérir une place de poids sur l'échelle social du pouvoir à travers les propos louangeurs des disc Jockeys ivoiriens connu sous le nom des Spots et popularisé par les Discs Jockeys ivoiriens. Comme le Feynman camerounais, le talent de ces jeunes réside dans l'arnaque consistant à faire croire à leurs victimes généralement expatriés, qu'ils sont détenteurs de titres donnant l'occasion de faire des affaires privées et parfois douteuses dont l'objectif principal reste le détournement illicite de fonds. Ainsi pour beaucoup de ces jeunes cette pratique n'est pas sans lien avec ce qu'ils nomment comme appartenant au régime de la dette coloniale, c'est-à-dire à un argumentaire consistant à se présenter comme le fruit des avatars de la décolonisation et au nouveau régime de la domination politique qu'il a consacré dans la postcolonie. Comme l'explique Rémi Bazenguissa et Jeannet Marc Gaffey (1995 : 28), « cet imaginaire implique une dimension de banditisme où tout est permis et justifié par l'idée qu'il faut se débrouiller là où on se trouve et se réfère à un mode de récupération qui implique un mode de légitimité, un devoir impératif qui engage « non seulement l'individu mais toute la communauté [...] », à rompre avec la dégradation progressive des conditions de vie dans les villes et le manque d'espoir pour une jeunesse dont les seuls horizons sont les « les bidonvilles aux alentours des villes ultramodernes » (Nzau 1984 :21). Ce qui en fait au regard du contexte ivoirien des sujets « conscients d'être les acteurs malgré tout, d'une révolution qui ne dit pas son nom » (Djunga-Simba 1996 :77)

En somme, l'usage des moyens détournés à des fins d'enrichissement personnels via le réseau internet et d'autres mécanismes à pour but le contournement du système légal national mais aussi du système international qui prive toujours une plus grande part de gens sans part et d'individus des dividendes politiques et du commerce des échanges qui se déroulent au niveau des scènes nationales. Ainsi le coupé décalé via la figure sociale du « brouteur », du footballeur, du « benguis »¹¹⁴ et de l'artiste offre des opportunités politiques aux jeunes de contester les conditions sociales d'acceptabilité de la violence symbolique que construisent les élites politiques ivoiriennes depuis l'amorce du processus démocratique. Dans cette perspective les jeunes ivoiriens à travers cette politique de la ruse et de la débrouillardise élargissent les frontières sociales du pouvoir et du politique en promouvant de nouvelles ressources de pouvoir qui participent à la construction idéologique de la malfaisance de l'Etat postcolonial.

114 Terme inventé par les jeunes ivoiriens pour désigner celui qui part à l'aventure dans l'hexagone européen

Les imaginaires de la crise et le coupé décalé

Le coupé décalé est intervenu en pleine crise ivoirienne et son succès actuel est aussi alimenté par les imaginaires de la crise ivoirienne. En effet c'est que la crise intensifie les situations de rareté et de disette sociale et de ce fait participe à un ancrage de cet rythme musical dans la conscience des ivoiriens, un rythme qui recoupe dorénavant l'identité nationale ivoirienne. Le titre de l'album de Douck Sage intitulé Héros national illustre clairement de telles déclinaisons. En effet la crise ivoirienne après avoir partitionné le territoire ivoirien constituait sur beaucoup de plan une souffrance morale et physique pour beaucoup d'ivoiriens dont la condition sociale et économique se précarisait davantage, ceux ci ont donc trouvé dans ce rythme musical une ressource de survie. En effet, en Côte d'Ivoire la pauvreté des jeunes constitue une préoccupation pour l'ensemble des partenaires au développement. Un tel constat est motivé par la contribution de la population jeune au renforcement de la pauvreté et du chômage. Les statistiques de l'INS montrent que la contribution des individus dont l'âge est compris entre 15-34 ans au renforcement du chômage est de 85,7% et 80,8% pour les chômeurs pauvres sont de cette tranche d'âge (Kouakou, 2009 :3)

Cet état de dégradation économique des jeunes et de leur bien être pourrait en partie expliquer pourquoi ceux-ci ont pu être vus de toutes parts dans les différentes configurations du jeu politiques ivoirien. A cet sujet, Ruth Marshall Frattani note que : « l'autre phénomène marquant du conflit ivoirien, c'est affirmation des jeunes, le 19 septembre voit l'éclosion de puissant groupes de jeunes « patriotes ». Du côté de la rébellion on constate également l'apparition de nouvelles figures politico-militaires jeunes pour la plus part » (Frattani, 2003 :7)

De plus, c'est une population essentiellement jeune et vigoureusement touchée par la crise de l'emploi et confrontée aux problèmes de l'insertion sur le marché du travail et dans la société, depuis au moins les années 1980. Ainsi, soit le jeunes, « se retrouvent soit enrôlé dans des activités subalternes et faiblement rémunératrices » (Tinel, Guichaoua, 2001 :444). Des discriminations dont le coupé décalé a participé à intensifier la logique de la rareté et le sentiment du manque en véhiculant une inversion sociale du cliché politique ivoirien en subsumant l'avoir, être et le pouvoir, le coupé décale s'est imposé sur beaucoup de plan comme l'antithèse de la configuration politique ivoirienne. Il devient ainsi un nouveau schème cognitif à partir duquel est évalué l'évolution politique de la société ivoirienne mais une évolution sur les conditions de vie des jeunes. Et les chansons que ce registre musical promeut sont intéressantes en tant qu'elles permettent d'expliquer clairement l'expression d'une jeunesse qui se réveille en même temps que l'ouverture démocratique en Côte d'Ivoire

A son arrivée à Abidjan, le coupé décalé s'est accompagnée de l'éclosion de tout un vocabulaire spécifique dédiée à la frime. L'un de ces termes est la « prodada ».

Prétendument inventé par, Don Mike le créateur de la danse prudencia (Kohlhagen, 2005) et largement popularisé dans l'espace public ivoirien à travers la figure sociale du boucanier : celui qui peut dépenser et faire et énormément de bruit dans les boîtes de nuit et autres discothèques de la capitale Abidjanaise. C'est aussi cet imaginaire social du boucantier qui nourrit de nombreux itinéraires individuelles d'enrichissement illicites avec le phénomène du « broutage » (exemplifiant le proverbe africain qui dit le mouton broute là où il est attaché), terme inventé par les ivoiriens pour désigner ceux qui s'adonnent à la cybercriminalité

Mais la relation réelle ou supposée entre le coupé décalé et les réseaux illicites d'enrichissement permet de replacer le concept bourdieusien de fétichisme politique au cœur même de ce dispositif musical. En effet selon Pierre Bourdieu le fétichisme politique désigne « des choses, des gens, des êtres qui semblent ne devoir qu'à eux même une existence que les agents sociaux leur ont donnée » (Bourdieu, 1987, 187). Il ajoute l'idée que « l'idolâtrie politique réside précisément dans le fait que la valeur qui est dans le personnage, ce produit de la tête de l'homme, apparaît comme une mystérieuse propriété objective de la personne un charme, un charisme » (Bourdieu, 1987) Ce qui permet de comprendre que dans l'action de donner auxquels se livrent les faiseurs de coupé décalé se trouve une symbolisation qui permet d'acquérir des marchandises qui sont aussi des fétiches au sens où elles peuvent servir comme l'argent à acheter des fans musicaux. Ceci montre qu'aux yeux des adeptes de ce style musical, le cadeau des « boucaniers » est une forme de reconnaissance de leur souffrance sociale par de nouveaux bienfaiteurs en cours de raréfaction sur l'échiquier politique national.

Par ailleurs, le mot politique incorporé dans le langage quotidien des ivoiriens signifie mensonge, tromperie ou encore « accepter de se faire arnaquer » ; Ainsi ceux qui font la politique sont par définition des arnaqueurs. L'imagination populaire associe explicitement la direction de l'État ivoirien avec le mensonge et la tromperie. Mais c'est aussi dans un contexte qui met fin au Zouglou que se déroule le succès musical du coupé décalé qui à défaut de détenir une vérité certaines offre des nouvelles vérités sociales aux consommateurs de ce rythme musical. Ils leur revendent du rêve ou à défaut d'avoir convenablement pillé Houphouët ceux-ci trouvent une forme de compensation dans le travail qu'effectuent ces nouvelles stars des boîtes de nuits abidjanaises

Notre idée est que le fétichisme attaché à la marchandise coupé décalé est constitutif de l'imaginaire capitaliste-néolibéral qui induit comme mutation, une consubstantialité criminelle entre le coupé décalé d'une part et le politique ivoirien. Ce qui renvoie bien entendu au fait que le coupé décalé constitue une religion de sortie de crise où les jeunes ivoiriens semblent avoir oublié leurs antagonismes et éclatent en émotion collective pour formuler le rêve d'un imaginaire national, « imaginée comme une communauté indépendamment des inégalités et de l'exploitation qui peuvent y régner, la nation est toujours construite comme une camaraderie profonde » (Anderson, 2002 : 21) .et « l'essence, d'une nation est que tous les individus qui habitent un même territoire

est vécu beaucoup de chose en commun et aussi que tous est oublié bien des choses » (Renan , cité par Anderson2002 :19)) . Et le coupé décalé est né dans un contexte de crise qu'il appelait de tous ces vœux à voir disparaître en donnant naissance à une société opulente. A défaut d'avoir un humain pour parvenir à ce but, il encourageait , les jeunes ivoiriens aussi à s'expatrier pour trouver le succès et le sentiment d'une vie réussie à travers plusieurs figures sociales que sont : le migrant, l'artiste, le footballeur, l'homme d'affaire dont la plus négative sur le plan moral est celui du brouteur qui est en passe de devenir malgré tout un nouveau modèle d'identification collective des jeunes urbains

En somme le coupé décale recoupe une séquence historique de la Côte d'ivoire et la mort de son leader Douck Saga à 34ans reste une provocation à l'imaginaire et sa relation présumée avec la famille de Félix Houphouët Boigny ont alimenté des regrets et souvenirs et transformer ses obsèques en fête nationale, décoré à titre posthume et ne sont pas sans rappeler d'autres icônes nationales : comme Kacou Sévérin ou encore Fulgence Kassi, Ernesto Djédjé qu font désormais parties de la mémoire collective des ivoiriens. Bref continuons et disons que le coupé décalé est un agent de transformation de la société ivoirienne. Selon nous, une telle transformation advient dans la question du rapport de la musique à la société. Celle –ci possède une médiativité ou capacité propre de représenter – et de placer cette représentation dans une dynamique communicationnelle qui en fait un média de délestage de l'espace public à la construction de la communauté nationale, précisément celle de l'imaginaire de la nation en relation avec le partage des cultures. La modernité charrie aussi des idées de conflit générationnel qui peut être même une condition de construction ou de négociation de la modernité (Bahi. Ce conflit générationnel de la modernité est peut-être plus perceptible dans les rapports entre Zouglo et Coupé décalé, là où les disparités en termes d'accès aux objets préfigurant la modernité et l'existence d'un conflit idéologique. Le coupé décalé, participe à la « diffusion des idées, des représentations et des symboles relatifs à la nation à tous les niveaux de l'échelle sociale (...). De cette diffusion dépend l'émergence ou le renouveau d'un sentiment d'identité nationale » (Patez, 1998 :9)

La globalisation, le coupé décalé et le partage de la singularité ivoirienne

Le Coupé décalé est une invention musicale ivoirienne qui prend cependant son ancrage sur plusieurs scènes et lieux internationaux, ils s'agit dans cette section de notre analyse de procéder à une évaluation sociologique des éléments culturels présentés auparavant dans son contexte d'émergence. Tout d'abord les différents types de lieux qui accueillent le développement du coupé décalé méritent une attention particulière. Pourquoi les boites de nuit européennes et ivoiriennes, sont ils fréquentés plus que d'autres par les faiseurs du coupé décalé ? Réciproquement, qu'est ce que le coupé décalé

peut il nous apprendre sur les échanges culturels qui se produisent à partir de ces lieux ?

Disons premièrement, le coupé décalé est un sous produit de la globalisation économique et à ce titre prend son ancrage à partir de plusieurs métropoles mondiales. Le rôle de la métropole parisienne et londonienne ont été soulevé dans cette invention musicale, que ce soit à Londres, Paris ou Abidjan et Douala en passant par Ouaga, le coupé décalé échafaude une culture de la fête qui est en passe de devenir un rite d'institution qui puisse son ses raisons dans le vécu culturel des faiseurs de coupé décalé. Etant donné que la plupart de ces inventeurs sont en situation d'immigration dans l'Hexagone parisien et londoniens, ils trouvent dans leur vécu culturel l'occasion de promouvoir cette culture de la fête en provenance des milieux urbains Abidjanais. Mais une culture qui n'est sans lien avec l'ambiance bruyante des métropoles européennes. D'autre part, les boîtes de nuit peuvent être considérées, d'une certaine manière, comme un lieu culturel. On sait le rôle que jouent ces espaces dans la construction de la sociabilité urbaine à un moment où le monde moderne est confronté à une crise du lien social et politique. Mais ils ont également une fonction symbolique celui de domestiquer la peur des jeunes urbains face à la ville qui est aussi présenté comme un haut lieu d'insécurité. Et la nuit à longtermis été perçue comme un temps d'inversion du rythme social et biologique ; chargée en symbolique et supports idéologiques, elle fait peur. Cependant si le coupé décalé prospère dans la nuit c'est qu'il parvient à annihiler les effets de cette peur qui se trouvait plus accentué depuis le déclenchement du conflit ivoirien

Les discothèques parisiennes et ivoiriennes ont une fonction identique dans la mondialisation du coupé décalé, lorsqu'elles mettent du coupé décalé, rappelons que leur public proviennent en grande partie des banlieues parisiennes et ivoiriennes et contribuent au formatage sur le plan esthétiques des pas de danses correspondant à cette invention musicale qui colle au projet identitaire de ces jeunes urbains plus enclin à rechercher des innovations sociales pour soutenir et légitimer leur histoire biographique

En Côte d'Ivoire, le développement de cette invention musicale doit aussi son succès au développement du phénomène des maquis qui jalonnent les rues des quartiers de la ville Abidjan. En effet la ville d'Abidjan est le fruit de l'évolution, le lieu où la concentration humaine est importante et où les attitudes des ivoiriennes et des ivoiriens changent et se reconfigurent au contact des autres cultures urbaines, en créant la ville, les jeunes ivoiriens se recréent eux-même. En ce sens, la ville d'Abidjan peut- être considérée comme un laboratoire social, comme le lieu d'une invention musicale et c'est un fait de plus en plus certains que toutes les grandes cultures sont citadines. Et la ville d'Abidjan offre cette opportunité aux faiseurs du coupé décalé de trouver un marché local de consommateur à travers le lien social que créent les maquis Abidjanais entre les citadins. Cela est aussi le fait que le coupé décalé est porté au niveau local par de nombreuses controverses sur les détenteurs « conceptuels » de ces nouveaux rythmes urbains que sont par exemple le Kpongô d'Arafat DJ, le fatigué -fatigué de Francky Dicaprio etc

Mais puisque la ville d'Abidjan est le fruit d'une croissance plutôt que d'une création instantané il faut s'attendre à ce que ces influences culturelles participent à structurer des modes de vie et des habitudes vestimentaires. Par conséquent notre vie sociale porte plus ou moins la marque d'une société urbaine. Cette influence historique se décline dans le coupé-décalé à travers la figure sociale du maquis. Si Abidjan est « c'est la vie », comme le disent les ivoiriens, Abidjan c'est aussi une culture de la fête que le coupé décalé et les maquis permettent de promouvoir. Car les ivoiriens ont l'art de banaliser les crises et le coupé sert à cette fonction de la banalisation de la crise ivoirienne. De cette façon, les crises sont moins douloureuses, le coupé décalé en puisant dans le nouchi ivoirien les armes de sa formulation participe à décalé l'ivoirien en lui fournissant les ressources idéologiques de sa survie politique. Les banalisations politiques qui s'en suivent sont une forme indirecte de la critique sociale et politique en proposant cette singularité au monde confronté à une période de crise qu'Ulrich Beck a défini en termes d'une société du risque. Car, « [...] nous n'échangeons pas seulement des biens mais aussi des maux », et « les risques sont les passagers clandestins » de la prétendue modernité.

Si le risque semble être aussi présent dans le monde, le coupé décalé est pour les jeunes ivoiriens une façon de le dévoyé face à une crise du futur encore toujours active dans les grandes métropoles mondiale, la promotion d'une culture festive où se mêle l'humour est pour les jeunes ivoiriens une façon de banaliser les déclinaison dramatiques du politique que l'invention musicale du Zouglou plus enclin à la critique officiel ne parvient plus à atténuer les effets, le couple décalé offre l'opportunité de « faire la fête sans se prendre la tête ». Cependant, cette jeunesse loin de jeter « l'éponge », comme un boxeur trouvera dans le coupé décalé le moyen de se distraire tout en continuant sous une forme nouvelle qui n'emprunte pas les voies précédemment tracé par le Zouglou. Ce rythme musical apparaît sous la formes d'une plaisanterie chantante, (...) qui rythment les différentes langues nationales, les stéréotypes comportementaux des groupes ethniques, les problèmes de promiscuité, les difficultés de la vie des noirs Africains en France, les promesses électorales non ténues, les « ordures et la pollution » et, bien entendu, les rapports éternels entre l'amour et l'argent, ce couple récurrent dans les chansons populaires ».

Extrait d'un morceau de Zouglou

« Ah la vie estudiantine

Elle est belle.

Mais on y rencontre beaucoup de problème

Lorsqu'on voit un étudiant on l'envie

Toujours bien sapé.

Joli garçon sans produit ghanéen

Mais en fait il faut rentrer dans son milieu
 Pour connaître la misère et la galère d'un étudiant
 Ah bon Dieu, qu'avons-nous fait pour subir un tel sort ?
 Et c'est cette manière d'implorer le seigneur qui à
 engendré le Zougloou
 Danse philosophique, qui permet à l'étudiant de se recueillir.
 Et d'oublier un peu ses problèmes.
 Dansons donc le Zougloou¹¹⁵

Disons ici que si le Zougloou vise les même objectifs que le Coupé décalé à savoir échapper à une situation économique et sociale devenu difficile depuis l'effondrement de l'houphouëtisme pour une jeunesse en quête de repère , c'est que les voies par lesquelles cette quête de solutions s'opèrent divergent d'avec le coupé décalé. Le Zougloou implore Dieu, l'autorité supérieure, la transcendance, tandis que le coupé décalé opère un changement paradigmatique en faisant émerger l'ethos de l'individu, qui vise un processus d'individualisation, « un processus de prise de distance, objective et subjective, de la personne vis-à-vis de ses inscriptions et déterminations sociales. Cela implique la capacité matérielle à pouvoir s'affranchir de l'appartenance communautaire, et par la suite, la capacité intellectuelle (et affective) de se mettre à distance réflexive et critique des fondations éthiques qui sous –tendent les ressorts de la solidarité » (Marie,

Par ailleurs, le coupé décalé en s'installant dans les lieux publics de la ville d'Abidjan, cherche donc à conquérir une visibilité toujours plus grande. Un tel usage de l'espace public se justifie selon deux logiques : en premier lieu une logique symbolique ; être ensemble danser là où il y a du passage afin d'être vus, côtoyer ses pairs, les défier ; en second lieu, une logique économique celle du marché : choisir des lieux attrayants pour se faire vendre auprès d'un public de jeunes. Mais le coupé décalé est également une culture d'espace public en raison des caractéristiques sociodémographiques de ceux qui fréquentent les maquis et les discothèques et autres boîtes de nuit Abidjanaises. Ces lieux particuliers ne sont pas réservés à certains groupes sociaux ; tout au contraire ce sont des lieux de circulation. Les maquis et dancings bars, ces lieux fréquentés en grand nombre par les jeunes urbains et les faiseurs de coupé décalé, sont des lieux de passages fréquentés par un grand nombre d'individus aux appartenances multiples. Dans ces lieux les différentes classes sociales se rencontrent des plus jeunes aux plus âgés. En somme ces lieux précédemment cité ont une fonction de désenclavement et d'accessibilité au plus grand nombre, ce qui justifie qu'ils deviennent des lieux à soi qui participent à la popularisation du coupé comme la nouvelle invention musicale de cette nouvelle décennie. C'est ainsi que cette musique devient si populaire au point de transcender les frontières en faisant des faiseurs de coupé décalé de Paris à Abidjan en passant par Londres ou Bruxelles pour devenir des stars mondiales. Les airs du coupé décalé se déclinent par exemple comme suit :

115 Ces paroles sont tirées du premier Album les « parents du campus » paru en 11990

African connection: Ami Oh!

Hey ami oh, ah
 Viens couper décaler
 Les gens ils sont entrain de couper,
 Décaler la –bas
 Oh la prudencia
 Ca aussi ca inquiète les gens la bas
 Couper, couper
 Ils sont en train de gâter le coin la bas
 Danse, dans le tempo danse (Couper, décaler)
 Danse, dans le tempo danse (il faut travailler)
 Danse, dans le tempo danse (Couper décaler)
 Danse, dans le tempo danse (il faut, il faut, il faut
 travailler)
 Ami oh le monde est ma maison
 Et le ciel est mon toi
 Vien avec moi
 Ami oh, l'amour est ma maison
 Eh le bonheur ma loi
 Viens avec moi
 Ami oh, l'amour est ma maison
 Et le bonheur ma loi
 Viens avec moi¹¹⁶

En somme, disons que ces différents airs et rythmes du coupé décalé s'emboîtent dans les logiques de la globalisation et son message principal se retrouve dans une posture festive où elle offre l'occasion à ses différents adeptes de se divertir malgré la présence de la crise qu'elle soit mondiale ou nationale. Aussi la vie moderne dans les grandes métropoles est largement rythmée par un ensemble d'institutions dont l'école, l'église, les associations culturelles, les partis politiques si bien que le temps des loisirs est utilisé pour se soustraire des obligations institutionnelles devenues assez contraignantes pour les individus et les communautés. Dans cette posture le coupé décale que ce soit à Paris ou Abidjan fait partie de ces espaces sociabilités entre la famille et les milieux institutionnels avec leur logiques bureaucratiques, le coupé décale invite à être loufoques dans un espace temps déterminé pour oublier le stress qui peut découler de l'intensité des activités professionnelles.

Le succès actuel de ce rythme musical est aussi motivé par cette fonction thérapeutique qu'il joue auprès d'un large public de jeune en quête d'un projet identitaire. On voit dans *116 Ces paroles de la chanson Ami oh ! sont extraites de l'album du groupe Africain connexion paru en 2004*

ces conditions comment il conditionne les trajectoires sociales des individus en même temps qu'il offre à la fois un espace d'apprentissage pour les groupes de pairs et un espace de représentation au sens goffmanien du terme et qui participe à structurer des scènes de reconnaissance et une dynamique représentationnelle de l'altérité sociale auprès des jeunes urbains

Disons aussi que ce style musical renforce une culture de la mobilité. En effet les jeunes Africains sont motivés par le projet migratoire européen du fait de la faiblesse institutionnelle de l'Etat en Afrique redoublé par les multiplicités des crises qui rythment le quotidien de ces jeunes. Et le coupé décalé en renforçant une culture de la mobilité participe à structurer et à faire circuler ce flot d'images en provenance des clips vidéo et des médias que montent ces faiseurs de coupé décalé et vantent auprès de ce public jeunes le caractère luxueux des métropoles européennes. En effet Jean Jaques Kouamé, un autre membre de la Jet sept parisienne, (Jet 7) à travers son dernier clip intitulé le pas du brave arbore des vêtements particuliers au coté d'un jet privé et esquisse des pas de danse d'une facilité déconcertante auprès d'un public féminin. Ce qui montre à la fois que le coupé décalé mobilise un langage de la réussite sociale qui s'encastre dans une culture de la mobilité et un échange de valeurs entre le local et le global et fait miroiter à la jeunesse Africaines le rêve de l'eldorado européen. Cette tactique musicale est motivée par le désir d'une plus grande visibilité de ces stars faiseurs du coupé décalé. Mais de manière générale la culture du coupé décalé recherche la notoriété mais une notoriété qui transcende les frontières et qui implique de multiplier les clips vidéos, les contacts et d'être présent dans un maximum de lieux. Les danseurs de ce mouvement participe aussi à des battles à l'occasion des concerts que se livrent ces stars du coupé décale à l'image d'Arafat DJ dont la notoriété traverse aujourd'hui les frontières du continents. Ils imitent les stars américaines en popularisant la notion de clachs musicaux

Ainsi le coupé décalé contribue pour les jeunes ivoiriens à structurer une dynamique représentationnelle de la ville d'Abidjan qui en dépit de la crise ivoirienne demeure un pôle de médiation culturelle à travers aussi des blogs comme : Abidjan Show.com, Ivoirmixdj.com. Mais il convient cependant de replacer le rythme coupé décalé que mènent les jeunes urbains ivoiriens consciemment ou inconsciemment dans une politique culturelle visant à redorer le blason de la capitale ivoirienne terni dans leur imaginaire par les dix dernières années du conflit ivoirien, car la culture joue un rôle important dans leur imaginaire et dans la construction des images de la ville ; elle est en quelques sorte une vitrine de ce qu'une ville peut offrir à ces habitants et à ses visiteurs en termes de loisirs et de manifestations artistiques, et en même temps elle symbolise l'identité nationale, à la fois sa capacité à agir sur les grandes orientations politiques de l'Etat et participe à indiquer la pluralités des mondes sociaux et que l'universel n'est que le partage des singularités et ce rythmé musical participe à exemplifier le phénomène de la mondialisation comme l'entrée symbolique du monde dans l'intimité sociale et culturelle de chaque société, avec les effets que cette proximité relationnelle, souhaitée réelle ou fantasmée peut produire sur notre manière de

voir, d'entendre et d'éprouver les sensations, une évidence que le coupé décalé participe à intensifier à travers une « culture matérielle du succès ». Par cette expression, nous désignons une matérialisation de la réussite via une mise en intrigue de la vie sociale que proposent ces adeptes de ce style musical par le biais des vêtements qu'ils arborent et des clips vidéo qu'ils produisent. Cette visibilité leur donne du pouvoir et participe à exemplifier l'échec de la société politique. En se concentrant sur les lieux où les faiseurs de coupé décalé se produisent, nous pouvons émettre l'hypothèse que nous détectons des lieux de médiation qui constituent des lieux de partage d'une singularité par lesquels les messages suivent des trajectoires complexes. Et parviennent par conséquent à s'implanter durablement dans la conscience des jeunes ivoiriens qui pensent dorénavant à la libre expression d'eux-mêmes

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