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MINISTRY OF PLANNING, STATISTICS AND ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

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VOLUME 3
SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA
ATACORA

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROJECT FOR THE
DEVELOPMENT
OF
ONCHO-FREE AREAS**

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 SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA
 ATACORA
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VOLUME 3

ATACORA

SOCIO-CULTURAL DATA

I. ETHNIC GROUPS: SOCIOCULTURAL ASPECTS

BENIN is characterized by great diversity in ethnic groups. There are more than thirty groups, broken down into nine principal categories:

1. ADJA
2. FON and related groups
3. BARIBA and related groups
4. DENDI and related groups
5. DJOUGOU and related groups
6. HOUEDA and related groups
7. PEULH
8. OTAMMARI or SOMBA
9. YORUBA and related groups

Whereas in ATACORA one finds primarily OTAMMARI and related groups, YORUBA and related groups, DJOUGOU and related groups, in BORGOU the most important group is the BARIBA. DENDI and PEULH groups are to be found in both provinces.

Despite the great diversity of the ethnic groups inhabiting the two northern provinces, certain common cultural traits can be found. Thus, a certain social consensus which creates the unity of each group stems around tradition and the ancestors. Indeed, tradition deeply molds the life of each of these

groups, dictating the moral rules to be observed, the standards of behavior to be followed, the ceremonies to be practiced throughout life. Old people, witch doctors, fetishists enjoy great prestige. As the guardians of a social order inherited from the past they assure the link and communication between the living and the dead, a link that is necessary to the survival of the group. The social function of the numerous ceremonies distinguishing the great stages of their lives (birth, initiation process, marriage, death) or tracing the great stages of the agricultural production cycle (planting and harvesting) is to assure the social coherence of the group, consolidating its unity around the ancestors.

Under this perspective, changes can only be accepted if they do not alter the social order established by the ancestors, if they are not contrary to tradition, beliefs, customs or traditional practices. Indeed, no important decision can be reached without consulting in advance with the ancestors, through the witch doctors and religious leaders.

The social status of women is not in keeping with the economic and social role they have within each of these groups dominated and ruled by and for men. Thus, women have a very important economic and social role, participating in agricultural production on the same footing as man, while being responsible for the household and for raising the children. Women, however, do not take part in the decision-making process, as they are considered intrinsically inferior to men. Woman is the servant of man and her only recognized function is that of reproducing.

Furthermore, the groups comprising heavily structured and hierarchical semi-feudal micro societies are characterized by

great inequalities among the persons of standing (old kings, traditional chiefs, fetishists) and the common ordinary people.

The more detailed descriptions that follow on these various groups come from replies obtained from sociocultural questionnaires directed to the Revolutionary Committees of Administration of the District (Comités Révolutionnaires d'Administration du District - CRAD), the Revolutionary Communal Councils (Conseils Communaux Révolutionnaires - CCR) and the Local Revolutionary Councils (Conseils Locaux Révolutionnaires - CRL). In other words, they were addressed to the District Chiefs and their advisers, the Mayors of the Communes and the Delegates of the villages. Some descriptions are very complete, others are too brief, depending upon the questionnaires returned. Characterization of ethnic groups presented in this report is important owing to the fact that it is universally recognized today that certain cultural traits play a fundamental role in the success or failure of any development program. In effect, development is not only the result of certain economic and organizational behavior, but also cultural behavior, these three components being very closely interrelated and mutually conditional. The role of women is very often minimized since women lack any consideration or prestige in certain societies. This, however, does not prevent them from having a paramount economic and social role in those societies or ethnic groups. It is also important to understand how tradition molds life and the social organization of the group or determines its social structure. Official recognition established by elderly men, fetishists and witch doctors to sustain and maintain this structure becomes dysfunctional vis-à-vis the needs of modern agriculture.

Lastly, the attitude of each of these groups to changes must be considered, in order not to impinge on their deepest beliefs by opposing certain ancestral practices.

A. The DOMPAGO

The DOMPAGO are concentrated in the District of OUAKE. They are basically farmers who also raise animals. They are mountain peasants, hard workers and get the maximum use out of their eroded lands.

1. The Role of Women

The DOMPAGO practice polygamy, for economic as well as social reasons. On the economic level the women help their husbands in doing the field work. On the social level, the more wives a man has the more prestige he enjoys. Thus, "the reason the group practices polygamy is for the field work (Kawado), since women provide free labor" (Konte). Indeed, women participate in production: "they plant, they harvest, they sell" (Konte). Besides the agricultural tasks, women are responsible for selling the produce from the harvests. Despite their importance on the economic level, women have a social status that is inferior to that of the men and they play no part in decisions within the household: "women are considered as the supplement of men and inferior to them and they are not involved in the major decisions" (CCR Konte). The CRL of Konte, in its turn, notes that "women are considered to be housekeepers"; they are "the mere companions of men" (CRL Kawado).

2. The Influence of Tradition

Influence plays a great role in the life of the group and young people feel the power of tradition through their "lack of freedom and independence vis-à-vis the parents" (CCR Konte). Indeed, a widespread belief is that those who do not respect tradition will die an early death, or will become sterile, or will become crazy" (Behondo). The importance of the ancestors is revealed in particular in the funeral ceremonies in which cattle are slaughtered. The ancestors are considered to be gods and continue to lead the families: "the ancestors foresee danger and happiness, they protect their children, they do not like it if people mistreat the children they have left behind. The ancestors can cause a person who has migrated to return. A person who has migrated and who does not come back for the ceremonies when some of his relatives have died will die on the day when he comes to the source to drink the water of the house". Lastly, the DOMPAGO believe in immortality and "in the protection of the names of the ancestors".

From childhood to adulthood, everyone has to go through the various ritual stages defined by tradition.

Lastly, the most important rules of morality are "do not run after the wives of others, do not steal, and do good to the person you live with".

It is most important for the group to respect the traditional and ancestral customs and in Behondo, food is the most important. "For the group everything boils down to food".

3. The Customary Ceremonies

At the time of birth several types of ceremonies were carried out before the group converted to Islam, with, in particular, the sacrifice of a chicken on a lump of earth or a gourd. Baptism among the Moslems takes place on the 7th day, killing a lamb.

During the initiation period, a dog, a young male goat or a red hen are sacrificed on a fetish represented by a lump of earth. There is also the feast of the "chicotte", which is the feast of the promotion of twelve-year-old children and during which a dog or a young male goat is killed. This feast denotes that the young person is entering adolescence. Then at the age of 17 a young male goat is once again sacrificed to signify that the adolescent has become an adult and that he can get married.

For the marriage the parents of the boy buy a loincloth and cola and then announce the date of the marriage, which will be celebrated to the sound of the tam-tam.

For the funeral ceremonies, it is customary to kill sheep or cattle. For the elderly the ceremonies last a full seven days. Afterwards the deceased person joins the ancestors and a stone is erected for him which symbolizes him.

Numerous other ceremonies, however, stand out in the life of the DOMPAGO. Thus, there is "Toyantie", the harvest festival. People drink and eat on that occasion. "Ifalaa" is the promotion ceremony. Youth of both sexes live in the brush for one or two weeks. "Camuju" is the

feast of crops. In that feast people also eat, dance and drink. In the case of the "Pusi" feast the individual who has been afflicted by sickness is led to the branch channel of a river to make sacrifices. This is the case in particular for sterile women. "Akpema" is the marriage ceremony. "Kamuju" is the ceremony of flogging and "Sankaalan" is the ceremony celebrating the joining of the young people in the adult group. There are also the ceremonies or festivities celebrating harvests or those for exorcising sicknesses, called "Assassa".

4. Inequalities in the Group

There are several types of inequalities in the group including inequalities involving superiority of the old over the young. There are the inequalities arising from the lands. "Since the ancestors, the conflict existed; some wanted to become landowners; this caused permanent migrations, death sometimes and eternal hatred" (CRL Behondo).

Indeed, the feudal lords, who believed they were the owners of the land, (Konte) enjoy more prestige than the others. One thus distinguishes the old people and those who, by their work, can accumulate more wealth than the others.

5. System of Mutual Aid

The mutual aid system occurs in two stages: "the mutual aid which takes place in a group by roster" and the aid contributed by the young to the older. "At the time of ridging of earth for drainage purposes the young people can help the old people who are no longer physically able" (CRL Behondo).

6. Attitude towards Change

Although as a whole the CRL consider that the group has a positive attitude towards change, which is considered as progress, the CCR of Konte notes that the group reacts against certain changes and innovations "in particular as concerns the traditional customs such as "the prohibition of flogging during the feast of "Kamuju" or the prohibition of the slaughtering of cattle during funeral ceremonies". The group, however, remains open to the other groups, as evidenced by the numerous marriages with the other groups.

B. The KABYE

The KABYE, who are found in the District of OUAKE, and in particular in the communes of Semere and Badjoude, engage essentially in agriculture.

1. The Role of Women

This group practices polygamy, not only to have field hands but also to symbolize courage, dedication to work and prestige. Thus "children are a source of happiness for the African in general and for the KABYE in particular" (Kagnifele). Indeed, to have many children is an important thing to the KABYE and "to have these desired children he marries 2 to 4 women" (Behondo). Women also participate in agricultural tasks, as much as the men, and also do some animal raising and trade. Women, however, have a lower social status than men and do not participate in the decision-making process. A woman is considered "the essential element for a home, for her economic role, and because she produces children".

2. The Influence of Tradition

Tradition deeply molds the life of the group, indicating the standards of behavior, the prohibitions and the taboos to be observed: "Tradition influences the life of the group in the sense that if tradition is disregarded then the ancestors punish the offender by wishing bad luck upon him or by an incurable disease on his family. In the opposite case the group receives a compensation which translates into a certain well-being felt inside oneself or in one's family. To prevent any misfortune or any type of disaster, it is necessary to follow very closely any event, regardless of how small, and to control the value of one's dreams. The two types of phenomena are to some extent a means of communications between the living and the ancestors. They enable the group to know what a particular ancestor needs". (CRL Kagnifele). The CRL of Behondo notes that when a member of the group commits a serious offense against tradition he exposes himself to serious dangers: "he can become crazy, sterile, or even die". Therefore it is not surprising that in the KABYE "the prohibitions and taboos are very much respected. Tradition reveals the category of each generation (category of ages), the physical and moral capacity of each one. For the KABYE, to be in order with all of this means that one is a man".

The ancestors occupy a leading role in the life of the group and they live again in the new-born children. Thus, every child who is born "is a representative of a grandfather who has already died or a representative of an ancestor. This can be recognized by certain characteristics of the child. In this case a ceremony must be celebrated for the ancestor that the new-born

represents and taking into account the request of the ancestor. This ceremony consists in giving praise to the ancestor. The ancestor is also implored while requesting of him all that the child needs to live.

In the case that the new-born does not present these characteristics, it then becomes necessary to consult with the witch doctor to learn which ancestor belongs to the child and to conduct the necessary ceremonies. Anyone who fails to determine this from the birth of the child will experience certain problems. During the first four days following birth the new-born baby may start by crying continuously. The child may also have certain signs on the body that amaze the family. One only needs to consult with the charlatan who will determine the cause. He will tell the parents which ancestor originated the problem. To this end, the ancestor who was the cause of the problem will indicate, through the witch doctor, which ceremony is appropriate. Most often one takes the sorghum drink which is given to the most experienced in the family. He will, using magic words, praise the ancestor represented by the child and will then present the apology of the family to the ancestor. He will then tell the ancestor, still using magic words, that the ancestor will never be forgotten. Each time one has to remunerate the witch doctor for his service, with a chicken or a guinea-fowl each year, according to his wishes. This summarizes our customs or traditions" (CRL Kagnifele).

The ancestors who most often control the social life of the group: "this is why it is so important to respect them and also to practice the customs and traditions

correctly. He who follows the ancestors willingly always receives the blessing of the ancestors and happiness for his entire family" (CRL Kagnifele).

The group makes much use of significant symbols. For twins one uses an earthen bowl with its lid. The lid is most often punched through with several holes by cast-head nail. The nail is then planted near the earthen bowl which is placed in the corner of the room of the mother of the twins. Certain symbols are also used which represent either the grandparent or one of the ancestors of the family, or a fetish.

3. The Customary Ceremonies

Numerous ceremonies stand out in the life of the KABYE. The first ceremony, which takes place at the time of birth, is to sprinkle water on the chest of the new-born. "It even occurs sometimes that at the birth of some babies they do not emit the first cries. It is therefore necessary to conduct this ceremony for them to restore them to life". (Kagnifele). Five days after birth, the baby is given a scar on the face according to his totem. Lastly, if the woman gave birth to this child thanks to the imploring of a fetish, "four months after the delivery the father of the family, accompanied by his wife and the new-born child, go to see the fetish in the village and together they go to sacrifice an animal that the fetish habitually accepts, as a way of thanking the fetish for the good done to the family" (Behondo).

During the initiation period, the girls and boys are kept in a room for one week prior to the ceremony, far from their parents. During this time, any contact between the

girls and boys and their families is forbidden. Dogs, young male goats, or hens are sacrificed for this ceremony, according to the sex of the person being initiated:

"The initiation ceremony consists in killing a large male dog for the boy who is to be initiated. The dog is then prepared correctly. Shortly after sundown former initiates are called in. Their role is to go and get the boy to be initiated. Since all of this takes place without the boy's knowledge, it is not until he has been caught that he becomes aware of the fact that the initiation ceremony is intended for him. At that time he starts to struggle. He is forcefully led to the elderly who are experienced in this matter. Grease and juice of the dog are placed on his lips. "On the eighth day, this last day of the ceremony, "the young people make their appearance in public, in view of everyone, each of them carrying his or her symbol" (Behondo). Thus, ends the ceremony. "All of the dog that has been prepared is eaten by the formerly initiated. As regards the newly initiated, for the three following years he has to prepare the ceremony with three male dogs. He no longer has to undergo any ceremony for the rest of his life." (Kagnifele). It is this ceremony which makes the KABYE a man, most often robust, physically strong and courageous, and protected against diseases and disasters" (Kagnifele).

In the case of marriage, "a girl who has reached marriageable age must, as a general rule, undergo a ceremony within her father's family. To this end, the girl's father must inform her maternal family of the ceremony of their niece. For such an occasion the father must have a drink made of sorghum and many kinds of food

to cater to the large crowd that will participate. All of the girls of the village and its ethnic group must stay with her for a maximum of one month. Each one of them must eat to their fill. On the 31st day she is taken to her fiance. This is the end of the marriage ceremony. This ceremony is called "Agbema". (CRL Kagnifele). Marriage can also take place, however "directly between two young people who love one another and who have already been initiated" (CRL Behondo).

When death occurs, the funeral ceremonies take place as follows: "When a parent dies he is simply buried. After one to three days of vigil by the dead body, the person who has just lost the loved one suspends the vigil and postpones the ceremony to a later date. The postponement should not exceed 12 months. For this solemn occasion, it is necessary to inform the parents, cousins, maternal uncles, next of kin, brothers and friends of the date of the ceremony. Those who are able may bring him assistance in money or kind. When the day arrives, several heads of cattle are slaughtered for the deceased. Everyone eats to their delight and quenches their thirst. These are great ceremonies that excite the surrounding milieu" (Kagnifele). These ceremonies are only held for the old. Nothing is done for a child and in the case of an adult only a chicken is sacrificed and drink is offered to the fetishes.

Other ceremonies take place throughout the year, in particular the feast of the yams or "kiyena" which is held during the rainy season; the feast of the new harvests or "sincalen"; the feast for the sale of the harvests or "tahonton"; and the feasts for warding off sicknesses "Kamou". When someone is sterile, the

"marigot" or small brook ceremony is carried out "during which chickens and a lamb are offered, the tam tam drum is beaten, and the person dances until the demon is satisfied" (CRL Behondo). There are also the ceremonies of traditional wrestling matches at which everyone shows his physical strength.

4. Inequalities in the Group

No information was given on this subject

5. System of Mutual Aid

The young help the old who cannot perform their own work, in particular as concerns digging yam plants.

6. Attitude towards Change

The group "expresses its joy with regard to changes provided that these changes contribute to their social welfare" and do not oppose tradition. Lastly, the group is quite open to the other ethnic groups, with which they maintain good relations.

C. The YOM

The YOM, or Pila-Pila, are concentrated in the District of COPARGO and the District of DJOUGOU RURAL. They account for more than 80% of the population in the Commune of Singre and close to 70% in the Communes of Bellefoungou, Barienou, Kolonkonde and Barei. Agriculture is their main economic activity, but some of them also engage in some animal husbandry.

1. The Role of Women

The group practices polygamy, which is a social practice recommended by Islam and which enables peasants to have a labor force for the field work: "The farmer, if he is polygamous, is able to farm large areas of crops, whether it be yams, millet, corn or cassava, because women are needed at harvest time. A man who is not polygamous is not a good farmer" (CRL Tahu). Or else, "Polygamy is practiced because women are the labor force for the group" (CCR Bellefougou). This relation is found everywhere between field work and the number of women: "The farmer likes to have several wives because of the work that has to be done in the fields" (CCR Kolonkonde). In effect, although certain agricultural tasks, such as land clearing, tilling, are more often limited to men, women work primarily in planting and harvesting, in particular for crops such as corn, sorghum, rice, "vouandzou", peanuts and cotton. The woman therefore has an important economic role in the group, since she is also in charge of the processing and the marketing of the farm produce. At the social level, however, she has little prestige and her participation in the decision-making process is practically zero: "for the group, woman is considered to be a person incapable to make decisions. She is only valuable in the home where she takes care of the cooking, and that's all" (CRAD, COPARGO). The CRL of Kolonkonde confirms this opinion in writing the following: "women have no civil rights, they do not have any opinion to give", or still further, "women do not have any right to make decisions, only men" (CRL Pelebina).

In the commune of Bellefoungou, however: "women can make decisions when the men are absent or if the men are not equal to doing it". As a general rule, therefore, the women in the YOM group enjoy very little esteem and are considered second to men: "women are not on the same footing of equality as men" (CCR Kolonkonde, and, still further, "woman is considered to be inferior to man" (CCR Barienou).

2. The Influence of Tradition

Tradition has a profound effect on the life of the group. That tradition is expressed by respect of numerous prohibitions and taboos: "the ancestors occupy a paramount place in the life of the group. According to tradition, the ancestors accept or refuse the gifts given to them to request the good health of a sick person, or the sacrifices offered to them on the occasion of funerals. The ancestors are always considered as living beings who continue by seeing, listening and speaking with the group. And from time to time they claim their rights after having released themselves from the duties that the living claimed from them". It is the ancestors who intervene to halt the plagues of the living, to make rain fall, to stop mortality. They are even born again in the new-born. The CCR of Singre describes the role of the ancestors in the life of the group as follows: "if death is occurring in a group, then chickens are sacrificed on their graves and the deaths stop; if it has not been raining and the crops are dying, then the ancestors are asked for their pardon, once again by sacrificing chickens on their graves. Some ancestors are even able to return to the earth by reincarnation in the newly born that our women today give birth to. As long

as we adore them we are behaving very well. In general, the ancestors render many services to all men who live on this earth". And the CCR continues: "if you live badly in a family, you go to consult with the ancestors and learn the cause. And indeed they will tell you what you have to do to improve your life. If it is a sickness, you always have to consult with them and you will receive a remedy. A family that does not respect its ancestors will always suffer". This means that the ancestors are the guardians of the life of the group, the protectors and the saviors to whom people go to have all their problems solved. They are worshiped by ceremonies and they are beseeched for their blessing. The group respects the traditional customs for the ceremonies of birth, marriage and funerals, and other religious events. One also respects the generations marked by special ceremonies. All of the ceremonies are carried out, in effect, by group of age generation. The most important moral rules are respect for customary ceremonies and adoration of the fetishes left by the ancestors. Among the most common prohibitions are "no pounding at night, no splitting of wood or crying loudly at night. This is easy to understand when recalling that "the YOM were not warriors. They would flee and abandon their children if they were attacked" (CRL Barienou). Fig trees and baobab trees are the symbols used by the group. The group is recognized by the scars on their faces: 4 gashes on each cheek for the women and 3 gashes on each cheek for the men. Also, they beat the tam tam drum according to their own rhythm.

3. The Customary Ceremonies

As a general rule, the group consults with the fetishes when a child is born to secure health and good life for the child. In the Commune of Singre, "when a woman gives birth, the old women get together in the house for the duration of the ceremonies (5 days) until the mother goes out, carrying the baby on her back. During these 5 days, porridge is prepared at noon and "pâté" in the evening. Everyone eats and the house is full of happiness. On the 5th day the baby is taken to the witch doctor who asks the ancestors who reproduced that child. If the witch doctor tells them who the owner of the child is, then the chickens are sought that this ancestor wants and they are sacrificed on his grave. This is the end of the ceremonies. In the Moslem YOM, a sheep is killed on the 7th day and it is distributed to the friends and to the parents-in-law.

During the initiation period, "the ceremonies for the ancestor to whom the baby belongs are started and chickens are sacrificed" (CCR Barei). Then the circumcision is performed and "the parents force their sons to follow their advice so that the ancestors are respected" (CCR Barienou).

The young girls are generally furnished with a dowry and promised in marriage right from their infancy. The boy to whom the girl has been promised in marriage must "till the fields of the future parents-in-law and give them food to eat. When the girl is ready for the marriage, the young man brings 10,000 CFA francs, two roosters and two chickens which are offered to the fetishes to ensure

happiness, health and long life to the future married couple. A rooster and a chicken are sacrificed on the grave of the ancestors to alert them that the girl has reached the age of marriage" (CCR Singre). After that, the young man goes to speak with his parents-in-law until they tell him to stay and to set a date for the marriage. "Upon arrival of the day, the groom arrives with 2 or 3 friends to the house of the parents-in-law who do all that they can to send the girl out. The men then grab the girl forcibly, and take her away despite her cries. Thus, she is married" (CCR Singre).

In Barienou, the marriage develops in the following manner: for the start of the engagement, "a large piece of wood is brought for the parents of the young girl. For the dowry, the parents of the young man send 1,210 CFA francs, then a pan full of sorghum. At the time of the marriage, the parents of the young man give 10,000 CFA francs, in addition to three jugs of "Tchoucoutou" (a local fermented millet-based drink) and two chickens. The young girl's parents, in turn, prepare three jars of soap, two of which are used for washing the belongings of those who came to celebrate the marriage. The last jar is kept until it is time to go to bed. When the fiancée is a virgin, the husband kills a chicken to express his joy and gives 500 francs to the wife's family".

In practically all of the villages populated by the YOM group, this system of dowry for the marriage is found, with sometimes the obligation on the part of the future husband to work for several years before he can get married. Then there is the marriage itself. The marriage ceremonies vary somewhat from one village to

another. Everywhere, however, "it is a great celebration bringing together all of the members of the family and their friends" (CCR Barienou).

For death, "the dowry is furnished (a funeral outfit), then the fetishes sacrifice animals and chickens for the deceased to show them that they have not been abandoned to themselves and to permit them to join the group of the ancestors and to be warmly greeted by them. Thus, they will not create any problems for the living. At the end of the ceremonies, which last from 4 to 5 days, each of the sons of the deceased kill a steer". As expressed by the CRL of Bellefougou, "we attach great importance to our ancestors. Consequently, we assure large expenses for their funeral ceremonies, in particular the purchase of steers, local beverages for the innumerable receptions, money to be distributed to those who play the tam tam drums. We make efforts to accomplish these tasks to pay homage to these dead people who ward off bad luck for us". For the funeral ceremonies, "it is absolutely necessary to kill a steer, and even several in the case of a chief" (CCR Barienou). Sometimes a dog is also killed (Yoroussonga) and many drinks are given to those persons who attend these ceremonies. In the village of Barienou, the CRL describes the funeral ceremonies in these terms: "immediately after the death of an old YOM, a steer is killed. The feet of the deceased are placed on the steer to dress the body for the last time. The tam tam drum announces the death. A "boubou" (type of clothing) and a hat weaved at the site, are put on the deceased. On this occasion the women dance for three straight nights. After this the ceremonies come to a close or are continued if the family is able to pay the costs. After the family has agreed, at a fixed date all

of the deceased are represented by a rammer. Small pebbles are thrown against the rammer while calling out the names of the dead persons inviting them to come and drink water. This rammer is washed each time and water is thrown around 4 o'clock in the afternoon at the crossroads. The first sacrifice is made by killing a dog. All of the sons then have to each kill a steer if they are of different mothers. In some cases, when the deceased's family is widely dispersed the funeral ceremonies can be held several years after the death of a parent when all family members can finally join together.

The CRL of Barei gives a somewhat peculiar description of funeral ceremonies in the village: "For deceased persons our parents kill steers, buy jugs of beverage, then give a certain sum of money. The tam tam players, the mistrels and the singers lead a fast and eventful program. Everyone is happy to play, dance and seek other mens'wives. This is their custom. They are ready to reimburse the expenses incurred by the former husband, which is characteristic of our group. The women dance and sing in a chorus for several days. Meat is abundant in all of the houses and all of the pans. Those who get drunk can be seen lying down at the edge of the entrance halls, others drag along the road. The young boys and girls play arm in arm: a beautiful scene to witness in the world". This is a description that is at least picturesque.

The other customary ceremonies are the celebration of the generations of men which takes place every 5 years. On that occasion every young man has to kill a steer because "the young man who has not had a steer to kill will be looked down upon and considered to be a

good-for-nothing". There are also circumcision and excision ceremonies, all of which are accompanied by dances and meals, which involve the killing of poultry. There are the feasts of Kpama and Koussahou (when cattle are slaughtered), the feast of kekelerou (the feast of the devils) which lasts from 7 to 10 days and "during which people rejoice, dance and show off their strength".

There is also the feast of the fetishes announcing the end of the planting time, and other ritual dances for requesting the health of the villagers. In Bellefoungou there is also a feast at the time of the first harvests. That feast "is often at night. The young boys and girls get together in the presence of the traditional chief and dance to the rhythm of the tam tam, amidst the singing and applause of the population. This feast can last from 4 to 6 days". This same feast is also celebrated in Barienou, where everyone also has a "fetish represented by a pebble, by a tree, or by a gourd or a clay plate".

4. Inequalities in the Group

The inequalities occurring in the group are at two levels: first there is the royal family and then the great mass of the population over which the authority of the chief of the village is exercised. Then those who claim to come from the old feudal families consider themselves to be above the others within the group. They are even recognized as such by the entire group which accord great prestige to them. Furthermore, these inequalities are at the material level distinguished by the wealth each person possesses. Thus, the rich and the poor are distinguished from one another. The rich "live well, suffer little and are able to solve their problems

easily. Many of these rich people own land that can be cultivated and can build modern homes "(CRL Barei). This brings about hatred, jealousy and distrust. Squandering of money, expenditures that are useless and often exorbitant serve to enable the rich to show off their fortune. They consequently enjoy much prestige, and they can carry out all of the ceremonies and make all of the sacrifices required for births, marriages and funerals. They can have cattle slaughtered to feed everyone. Within the family itself there are inequalities between the men and the women, although "the first problem of the group concerns the women" (CRL Barei). In the YOM group, the members with the greatest prestige are those that belong to the royal family: "only the royal family enjoys prominent prestige. There is nothing marvelous outside of the royal family" (CRL Barienou). Likewise in Bellefougou, "the princes have the greatest prestige because they are the ones who dictate the laws". After them, the old people have the most prestige because "the old people have to be obeyed. Anyone who does not obey them risks his life "(CRL Pelebina).

5. System of Mutual Aid

The mutual aid system that prevails in the group concerns the field work and the construction of huts. People work in the fields in turn, sometimes even at the level of the entire village: "The mutual aid system exists effectively in the group. It functions efficiently. It extends sometimes to the entire village". (CRL Barienou), and also "If there is something to do in the commune everyone helps" (CCR Bellefougou).

6. Attitude towards Change

The group accepts certain changes, but is against those that run counter to tradition. Thus, the CRAD writes: "The group appreciates change in the area of political developments, such as the restoration of peace, the end of exploitation of man by man and the end of colonization, but on the other hand the group is not receptive to anything that is against prohibitions, squandering of money, exorbitant spending, the butchery of cattle, the suppression of the administrative organization, the struggle against feudalism and mystification in religious observances by certain individuals of the group" (CRAD COPARGO). The CCR of Barei notes that "the group remains little aware with respect to changes and innovations".

Indeed, the group remains quite withdrawn and looks disapprovingly upon, even "accuses of being traitors those who accept the suppression of prohibitions and certain practices envisaged by the revolution such as the massacre of cattle and other wastefulness". However, the CRL of Barei reflects the predominant philosophy vis-à-vis certain changes, when it states: "When the tam tam changes its sound the dance must also change" and considers that the group is relatively open to other groups, through marriage and the custom of the "tontine". Likewise, in Bellefougou and in Pelebina, "marriages are entered into among the various ethnic groups as in the "tontine" system".

D. The TANEKA

The TANEKA represent close to 90% of the population in the communes of Pabegou and Copargo. They are engaged primarily in agriculture, but also do some animal raising. They practice polygamy "because the peasants need labor for the field work."

1. The Role of Women

Besides housekeeping tasks, the women participate fully in the agricultural activity with their husbands. They take part in the "planting, cultivation of grains, harvests, they carry the products harvested to the storage site, and engage in the selling of the produce". Women play an important economic and social role in the group. At the family level, the women are in charge of children's feeding, dressing, health, and upbringing. Women therefore, enjoy a certain esteem within the group but take little part in decision making, even though the group recognizes that women should normally play the same role as men.

2. The Influence of Tradition

Tradition still exerts a strong influence on the life of the group and contributes, according to the CCR of Pabegou, to "retarding the development of the group". In effect, "the content of tradition in the TANEKA is characterized by the maintenance of feudalism within the population" (Pabegou).

Ancestors have an important role in the life of the group as they protect their family against misfortune. They

are considered as fetishes for those who live in their house. This is a real "covenant with the ancestors who are represented by the stones placed in a holy place".

Most important for the group "is first the woman and then the "chappalot" (an alcoholic beverage)".

3. The Customary Ceremonies

"The animist or fetishist TANEKA express their joy five days after birth, after the umbilical cord has fallen, by a hearty meal which is shared of by all of the members of the family". The TANEKA who have adopted the Moslem religion perform the baptism on the 7th day. The dowry is compulsory for marriage. First, the fiance sends a rooster or a chicken to the parents of the fiancée. "Then he gives a dowry of 20,000 francs, after which he spends a minimum of 2 weeks with his parents-in-law. On the third week, accompanied by one of his friends, and with the agreement of his parents-in-law, they seize the fiancée by force and take her to the fiance's home where she spends 24 hours without eating, but working hard, without speaking to the parents of the spouse. On the second day, early in the morning, the mother-in-law gives her money to go and buy food for herself. She can then talk to her parents-in-law and eat. She becomes a member of the household". In burials there is no ceremony unless it involves an old person. Then a steer is killed on that occasion.

4. Inequalities in the Group

The inequalities in the group are based on the wealth of the families. However, those with the greatest prestige are the customary chiefs or the chiefs of the "tata" (household), on account of their influence and the position that they occupy in the group.

5. System of Mutual Aid

The mutual aid system is practiced for field work and certain funeral ceremonies. The support is both moral and material.

6. Attitude towards Change

The group appears to be rather reluctant to accept change. Before changing anything, they must first of all feel the need, be convinced of the need, and only then accept change. They are open to the other groups.

E. The OTAMMARI

The OTAMMARI are concentrated in the Districts of BOUKOUMBE and NATITINGOU. Their major activity is agriculture. In the commune of Tabota, in particular, some of them also raise animals.

1. The Role of Women

The group practices polygamy, essentially for the purpose of having many children and labor for the work in the fields. Furthermore, the social importance of an individual depends upon the number of wives and children

he feeds. The wives help their husbands by working in the fields and perform practically the same work as the men. But the fruit of this work is managed by the man who is the head of the family. The women also engage in small-scale commerce, in particular "chappalot" which is a millet-based alcoholic beverage. They take care of the children and household tasks. The woman, however, does not participate in the decision-making process since "a woman does not know how to keep a secret" (CCR Kouaba), or else "Our women do not know a thing about anything having to do with economics. They are useless in economics. As concerns reaching decisions they do not have any ideas (CRL Kounadogou). A woman is therefore eliminated right from the start in decision making and rare are the villages where women are consulted, such as in Koukongou: "We, the men, decide and the women give us their opinions. We always need a woman's opinions when we decide to do something". In general, women enjoy very little esteem. Women are only "servants called upon to make children, take care of the house and guard the honor of the man of the house" (CCR Kouaba).

2. The Influence of Tradition

Tradition is particularly important for the OT'AMMARI. The elderly tell the children stories about their ancestors, legends that are transmitted from generation to generation. The group respects numerous prohibitions and taboos and sacrifices many domestic animals to the fetishes. Some of the most commonplace prohibitions are that: children 16 must not cover their heads, the fetishist chiefs must not wear industrial fabrics but must cover themselves with lamb skin; adolescents are not

to have affairs with women before the ceremonies of Difouani for the boys and the girls likewise before the Dikountri, ceremonies denoting that they have entered the adult world.

The taboos and prohibitions vary from one clan to another, in particular as concerns the eating of certain animals. Among animals that are not supposed to be eaten are lizards, squirrels, snakes, and the palmetto (palmiste) rats. They have numerous symbols, the most obvious being scars covering the face in the form of "tata". There are also lumps of earth which are found in front of the tata and which represent the ancestors. The tata itself is a symbol. The tata is a house which came from antiquity and whose name "tadori" or tata signifies the descended. Other symbols are sacred wood, sacred pebbles and lumps of earth. The ancestors have a very important place in the life of the OTAMMARI. They are honored by sacrificing animals and with "chappalot" beverage. They are the guardians of the household and are consulted and beseeched to solve all the problems. They are represented by a lump of earth in front of the tata and are revered. For the CRL of Koukongou, "the ancestors give us life when we respect the traditions and practice all of the ceremonies. This is why we offer sacrifices to them. The ancestors have a very important place in our lives and this can be seen through the ceremonies, the customary feasts and the sacrifices". "Respect for tradition signifies respect for the ancestors and all those who have bequeathed life to us and have educated us to respect customs."

The rules of behavior followed by the group refer essentially to the obligation of participating in certain feasts and practicing certain ceremonies such as "Difouani, Dikountri, Ditetri and Dikou". Each of these ceremonies lasts a month, but are only held every three years. They are surrounded by great secrecy and cannot be revealed to anyone outside of the group.

Other ritual ceremonies are held before the harvests and after the harvests. Another rule of behavior is to greet everyone, even strangers. Furthermore, it is necessary to give to everyone, rich and poor, and to respect old people.

The most important moral rules are salutations and observance of precepts, such as not to kill, not to seek out the woman of another, not to steal, etc. Lastly, the secrecy of the ceremonies must not be divulged and it is necessary to participate in the feasts. As to the young, they are not to follow women or girls before having participated in the initiation ceremonies. Also the young must obey their parents and the fetishes.

The most important things for the group are the ancestors, tradition, the ceremonies, the "gris-gris" and being able to eat to one's delight, (CRL Natta, Koukouangou, Kounadogou).

3. The Customary Ceremonies

Ceremonies occupy a very important place in the life of the OTAMMARI and are part of their life cycle. To practice them is also one of their most important moral obligations.

At time of birth, the OTAMMARI have the custom of bringing the newborn child to the fetishist chief for the baptism ceremonies. When night arrives, the child is placed on the altar of an ancestor, who becomes the child's protector. The child then receives its name. Then there is the ceremony of the presentation of the "coupe-coupe" to the child at which time the scars that distinguish its clan are made on the child's face, using a very hard and sharp blade.

During the initiation period there are different ceremonies for the boys and the girls. For the boys, the ceremony of "Difouani" is to demonstrate to the ancestors that the young man is old enough to get married and that he can "produce". This is also the opportunity for the young man to be seen and loved by the young girls and to let them know that he has now ceased to be a child. The ceremony of Dikountri for the girls is mandatory before their marriage and its purpose is to help them have many children and denotes their transition into the adult world.

For the marriage, the fetishist chief gives the young girl a customary bracelet. The young man's father, in turn, places a small gourd in front of the future parents-in-law, as well as a basket of "fonio", an arrow and a dozen "cauris". Some then, hold the ceremony of "Tikipinti", during which time chicken are slaughtered to bring them to the parents-in-law and to take the woman (CCR Natta). In the urban commune of BOUKOUMBE, in Kounkotchougou, the young man has to work at the parents-in-law for 12 years. During this period he has to give 28 baskets of sorghum and 8 guinea-fowls. Then he must give 60 cheeses or a sheep before he can take his woman. In Dipokofontri, in the commune of Natta, the

young girls must carry fibers, since they are presented to their ancestor in order to have many children. After that her maternal aunt brings her to her husband.

The CRL of Koukongou describes in detail the 3 ways the OTAMMARI are married. First, there is marriage with a dowry. In this case, "the parents of the young man go to the young girl's parents (the girl being only 6 or 7 years old) with a chicken to signify the purchase of this future maiden. Then, each year they go several times to the parents-in-law to take part in the field work. This goes on for 11 to 12 years. During all of these years, the boy sends 5 baskets of sorghum per year. When the young girl has reached the age of 14, she goes to spend a few days in the boy's home, then returns to her home with a basket of sorghum and 30 yam tubers. This continues for 3 years. On the fourth year the marriage takes place. For the ceremony there are 60 baskets of sorghum and 60 baskets of "fonio", which are pounded or ground for 4 days by the women of the young man's family. On the fifth day this pounded "fonio", the sorghum flour, a hundred birds (guinea-fowls and hens), 5 sheep, 5 goats, 1 steer, and 10 cheeses are used to make a meal. Five roosters and hens are also killed to make a special offer to the parents-in-law. During the night, all of this is brought to the in-laws by the women of the young man's family. When this family arrives at the in-laws the brothers of the young girl look for a light to verify and to count all that has been sent to them. After this verification, an old woman (generally one of the aunts of the young girl) takes out a guinea-fowl that has already been cooked and the cheeses that have been prepared and then goes into the tata to make the ceremonies for the future wife. Once in the tata, the old woman takes a bit

of "pâté", guinea-fowl meat and cheese in her hand and then goes around the young girl five times. Then she asks the young girl if she has had any sexual relations before this day. If she is a virgin she has the right to eat all that the old woman sent to the tata. After this ceremony the young girl accompanies the women who came to bring the food to the parents-in-law. On the next morning, once again they send gifts to the in-laws: 30 live guinea-fowls, 3 live sheep, 3 live goats, as well as the rest of the ground fonio and flour from the night before. Then, about 4 o'clock in the afternoon the girl returns to her home to spend her last night there. On the third day of the marriage she returns finally to live with her husband".

The second type is the marriage without a dowry. This concerns a young girl who is already grown and who somebody loves, for example. The young man takes her from her house any day, and then after several months he makes a drink (30 jars approximately) and he kills a steer to go and greet his parents-in-law, with all his property. This is a way of introducing himself to his in-laws. The third type is an exchange. "In this case this simply means having a sister that one hands over to another man who in turns hands over his sister in marriage."

For deaths, "the fetishist chiefs perform funeral ceremonies, repeating the symbols of the customary feast of Difouani and Dikontri, to the sound of the tam tam. Then a steer, sheep or chickens are sacrificed, as a farewell to the dead person. The maternal parents of the deceased, called "Bemanibe", are alerted and come to the house to see the deceased before the burial. They are

received with "Tchoucoutou" (a local alcoholic beverage) to welcome them. At the time of the ceremony, the people make a tour of the house with the corpse before bringing it to its last resting place. The son then goes up to the attic and starts to throw money, millet, yams, sometimes candy, sugar, matchboxes, to show the wealth of the deceased. This same action is repeated at the end of the ceremony when the cut wood (that represents the deceased at the time of the house tour) is covered. This last ceremony is called "Tekate". The wood is then thrown to the junction of two roads to signal the end of the ceremonies. However, before proceeding in the direction of the cemetery with the corpse, another small and important ceremony is held: the corpse is questioned to find out the cause of death. This questioning is performed with the leaves of Nere which are immersed into an infusion. After several incantations, the feet of the corpse are tapped with these leaves. If the incantation spoken does not contain the cause of the deceased's death, the corpse moves from right to left. If, however, the incantation contains the cause of death, the corpse advances straight for the person who spoke that incantation. Then the people rush to stop the corpse. If the cause of death is not discovered, the corpse refuses to go into the grave". These ceremonies, however, are only held for the old. When the dead person is young, he is buried without any ceremony. There are other ritual ceremonies practiced by the OTAMMARI. For example there is a ceremony for little girls from 4 to 6 years old, which is only held every three years. This is the ceremony of "Techata". Each year the ceremony of Koutchati announces the end of the famine (Natta) and it is carried out with great joy (Kouaba). Also, at the time of the harvests the ceremony of Messotie is held.

The ceremony of Dikou is carried out in honor of the old. This is a time for rejoicing and for drinking much Tchoucoutou.

4. Inequalities in the Group

The inequalities in the OTAMMARI are based on the wealth of the various clans (CRL Natta). Some own many animals. This leads to struggle among the clans, causing the death of the herds, even the poisoning of persons (CRL Dipokofontri). There are inequalities based on how long someone has lived in a village. Those who moved there first prevent the others from cultivating the land. Thus, "none can settle without the authorization of the land chief. Also, a well cannot be dug without his authorization; nothing can be done without his decision" (CCR Koukongou). Lastly, there are the inequalities between men and women, women being treated as adolescents or servants.

The members of the group who have the most prestige are the fetishists since they hold the traditional power (Natta) and the healers. They are followed in turn by those who are, or who have been, village chiefs, and who are rich.

5. System of Mutual Aid

The mutual aid system consists in going to a family and working in their fields, receiving only food and "chappalot" as compensation. This takes place as follows: The buddies are invited who come to work in the family's field and then they are offered a meal. They work in a group at one family's property and then the

other family's. This system of mutual aid is practiced at planting or harvesting time. The mutual aid also exists for the ceremonies: "When we want to hold a ceremony but do not have the money, the others can help us. They can give us all we need to carry out the ceremony. Likewise, for the sacrifices a neighbor can give you his chicken, for example, for making the sacrifice" (CCR Koukongou).

6. Attitude towards Change

The OTAMMARI, as well as the other groups, find it difficult to accept certain changes. Indeed, they accept having sheet metal placed on their huts, sending their children to school and being treated in a dispensary. But, as for the rest, they are reticent to decide and they then resort to the witch doctors for an explanation of ceremonies or sacrifices they have to make to restore the balance broken by the change in question (CRL Koukongou). They do remain open with regard to the other groups, whose women they can marry or with which they can practice the "tontine" system.

F. The BERBA

The BERBA are concentrated in the regions of MATERI and COBLY. They are essentially farmers. Some also do a bit of animal raising and small-scale commerce (CRL Tapoga).

1. The Role of Women

Women, as well as men, participate in field work. Women also sell the produce from the harvests in the market, in particular millet, sorghum, "vouandzou" and green beans.

They also engage in trading the local drink. In Tihoun, the role of women at the social level is very important: "when there are ceremonies, or feasts, the women must be the first to arrive to liven up the ceremonies". These activities are consistent with their economic activity: "they are the ones who are responsible for rough-casting the walls, cementing the rooms and the drying areas. They are the ones charged with the preparation of drinks for the ceremonies" (CRL Tihoun). The same occurs in Pauri, where "women work in agriculture more than the men. Without the woman you do not have enough to satisfy you. This is why single men are always hungry. It is the woman who goes out into the bush to find wood for cooking; after her day's work she is the one who goes to the marigot (small brook) to find water; it is the woman, finally, who builds the room, makes the roofing, she does all that they want her to do" (CRL Pauri). Despite their considerable participation in the economic and social life of the group, their status is inferior to that of the men and they remain "subject to their husbands' laws" (CRL Boutouhou-Pingou). They do not participate in the decision-making process and "allow the men to decide in their place" (CRL Pauri). As written by the CRL of Boutouhou-Pingou, "article 124 of the basic law stipulates that women in the Popular Republic of BENIN are equal under law to men from the social, economic and cultural standpoints. In effect, women are very far from participating in those sectors, taking into account their sex and weakness compared to men". The reality is not consistent with the affirmed law and women are not the equal of men except for work. Women are considered to be general maids (Pingou), as a housekeeper and farm worker (Koussega), as the one who must "serve men in all senses" (Tihoun). Women therefore have a status inferior to that

of men, they are held in lower esteem than men "except in agriculture where women are held in very high esteem " (Pauri) on account of their work. Women therefore play a very important economic and social role, even though this role gives them little esteem: "a house without a woman is a pan without a cover" (CRL Boutouhou-Pingou).

The group practices polygamy and a man who only has one wife is considered to be single: "we marry two or three women so that they can help us in the field work: if someone has but one wife he is single; in our group if a woman has her period she must withdraw from the group. She cooks and eats alone. This is why we practice polygamy (Tihoun CRL). Indeed, any woman who is in this situation is considered to be impure. Therefore, she could destroy the occult power of the husband. This is the reason why she is placed in quarantine throughout the time of her menstruation period.

In other villages reasons put forth to explain polygamy, is the need to have many children and able-bodied persons. "Amongst us, the women till the land just like the men, and if you have a lot of wives you no longer need to work" (CRL Boutouhou-Pingou).

2. The Influence of Tradition and the Ancestors

Tradition greatly molds the life of the group through prohibitions, taboos, ceremonies that mark the life of the group and the standards of behavior dictated by tradition. For example, a woman is not supposed to cook when she has her period and thus the group makes polygamy legitimate.

Some of the prohibitions that may be cited are not to eat panthers, not to whistle at night in the village, not to seek out another man's wife. The group wishes the fetishes to have enough food and good health. They revere squash, chickens and guinea-fowl. "Squash follow people. When a squash wants someone to adore it, and if the person refuses to do so, the squash can kill all of the poultry and the person will not know what happened to all of his food" (CRL Koussega). In Sienou, a legend explains why it is prohibited to eat or to touch monkeys: "during the times of our ancestors, the tobas attacked us regularly, snatching and killing men, women and children. One day our ancestors hid amongst a cluster of trees while the tobas were nearing. Our ancestors were not aware, however, of the fact that the tobas were approaching nor were the tobas cognizant of the fact that our ancestors were not far away. By chance, there was a monkey between the two groups. The monkey climbed up a tree and began to scream. One of our ancestors approached the monkey, which was screaming very loudly and was quite agitated. The ancestor saw the monkey up in the tree and suddenly he saw the tobas far off. Since that day, indeed, they swore never to eat a monkey".

The other customs followed by the group are the numerous sacrifices to the fetishes made throughout the year, before the harvest time, after the harvest time, when the new moon appears, etc. Every house then prepares drink and at the time of the sacrifice every head of household appears with his chicken and a large quantity of drink. The group must also offer gifts on a regular basis to the fetishes. Some of the most important rules of morality are that the young must respect the old, that adultery must not be committed (in particular for the women): "Any

woman who tries to break this rule risks her life" (CRL Boutouhou-Pingou). For the men a very important moral rule is not to take their neighbor's wives. Lastly, one should never lie, because "a lie triggers witchcraft".

The ancestors occupy an important role in the life of the group. For example, at the start of the rainy season every head of household consults his ancestors before starting to work in the fields (CRL Boutouhou-Pingou). In Pingou "the ancestors are considered as persons who are living today. They are revered". It is the same in Koussega, where "the ancestors are as gods whom we adore". The ancestors are consulted before undertaking work in the fields (Pauri) and they protect against witchcraft (CRL Pauri). Sacrifices are regularly made to the ancestors, in particular "when some ill fortune is about to happen to us, and when our ancestors will protect us against it" (CRL Tihoun). Likewise, when someone gets sick the BERBA consult the witch doctor who tells them what sacrifice is appropriate and to which ancestor. "If the person concerned does not offer a sacrifice quickly, that person will die" (Tihoun).

The symbols used by the group are vertical scars on the temples, holes in the ears and wearing earrings, but these practices are disappearing.

3. The Customary Ceremonies

When babies are born the custom is to sacrifice a hen, or a guinea-fowl, on the altar of the ancestors. If the baby is a boy, the mother has to stay in the room for two days without taking the baby out, and three days if the baby is a girl. The baby is then fed baobab flour. On

the third day an infusion is prepared made of leaves, plants and roots, Then the baby is washed. The mother is also washed and all of the hair is shaved off her head. The husband braids the feathers of a white chicken, rolls it up at the foot of the wife and the newborn infant (Tihoun and Pauri). The oldest woman in the family names the child. In Koussega, the chicken's feathers are placed in the hand of the child's mother, the left hand if the baby is a boy, and the right hand if it is a girl.

Every boy who has reached the age to have his own yam field must be initiated (CRL Tihoun). This initiation is given between the age of 15 and 18 for boys. For the ceremony, the initiated boy has to have his infant hair shaved and goes from house to house to invite the entire village to the ceremony. In the evening the boy kills a rooster which he gives to the land chief who directs the ceremony. The initiation takes place in the dark.

A crowd spurred on by the men and women claps their hands and sings. The person to be initiated gets into the middle of the crowd, takes off his clothes, and holds a knife in his hand. He is then vigorously whipped. "Each time that the whip strikes him, the women let out cries of joy to encourage him" (Tihoun). At a given moment the knife is grabbed from the boy and they pretend to cut off his head (CRL Pauri). The boy falls to the ground and he is set on his feet again. The next day the skin of a monkey and a chechia (military cap worn by troops serving in Africa) are brought to him". The ceremony ends after three days. A new name is then given to the initiated boy. The same ceremony is practiced for the girls when they reach the age to marry. Marriage in the BERBA takes

place by exchanging women. As a general rule, a sister is exchanged for a sister. Someone who does not have a sister must give his first daughter to his brother-in-law. This practice loses strength in Sienou. In Pauri, marriages are held as follows: an old member of the family is sent to the home of the girl's parents. After several visits, the girl's parents come to see the person offered in exchange. "If your sister is suitable to them, they then set a date for you to take your wife. On the stipulated date, you send any woman of your family to look for your future wife. She goes and remains with the person who will be your wife. You kill a pig for the girl's parents, two guinea-fowls for the women sent in the evening; you shave her hair. You invite everyone from the village to come in front of your room. The guests sing, your wife dances and then she is initiated. After the dance, you braid cowries for her that you place around the neck. You give her a name and it's finished". In other villages, such as Boutouhou-Pingou, the head fetishist gives a new name to the wife.

Funeral ceremonies vary according to the age and the sex of the deceased. There are also variations from one family to another. As a general rule, when an old person dies "we beat the tam-tams for three days for an old man and four days for an old woman" (CRL Koussega). At the same time they try to establish the cause of death, either by going to see a witch doctor (Kousséga) or by a visit by the head of family to the corpse itself. The head of family asks the deceased one whether his death came from a sorcerer or from a fetish. If the answer is positive, "the corpse forces the two persons carrying him to come and kneel down in front of the coffin. If the answer is negative, the corpse forces the two persons to

move the head vigorously. The cause of death is thus recognized and the burial is proceeded with" (CRL Tihoun). The ceremonies continue by killing poultry and by serving drinks. A year later the feast for everyone takes place. Animals are slaughtered, drinks are prepared, and all of the clothes that the deceased wore while he was alive are thrown. The brothers inherit the women of the deceased three months after his burial. The other ceremonies are the ceremonies of the gourd, which is a fetish; and the ceremonies of the other fetishes. When there is no rain, "we prepare a drink to ask the great fetish of the village to give us some water" (CRL Koussega). Likewise, at the end of harvest time drinks are prepared and poultry is slaughtered to be given to the ancestors (Koussega). Also, when a tree placed on a fetish is capsized by the wind, the people of the village hold a ceremony (Sienou).

4. Inequalities in the Group

The inequalities prevalent in the group are due in part to wealth and to the possession of wives: "In the group that are the wealthy, those who have everything they need: money, cattle, food, children, etc. there are people who never lack food, who live easily, who have more than two wives" (Tihoun). This creates envy and sometimes causes the death of inhabitants of the village. Also, the exchange of women who are forced to marry without being consulted can "cause the death of certain rebels who oppose this and escape to neighboring countries" (Boutouhou-Pingou). Lastly, other inequalities stem from the fact that some do not have sisters and cannot get married: "they are not all married, and others have a lot of wives and children"

(Sienou) and this obviously creates problems. The members of the group with the greatest prestige are the elderly, the fetishists and the healers. The elderly have precedence over all the others "because they know how to give advice to people" (Pauri). "The young have to give their seats to the old; they are the first to speak and they are the ones who make the decisions, before the others even discuss the issue. When there are drinks, the old are the first to be served" (Tihoun).

5. System of Mutual Aid

Mutual aid exists at the work level as well as at the ceremonies level. This is done on a rotation basis, that is to say that if someone invites thirty persons to work for him he in turn will become one of the thirty. Thus, when a peasant has too much work to do in his field he invites his neighbors and friends to come and work with him all day. In the evening the owner kills an animal, chickens or guinea-fowl, has pasta or yam prepared and invites all those who worked to eat. Also when there is a ceremony in a home the neighbors contribute their help: some contributing sorghum for the drinks and millet for pâté and others chickens for the sacrifice, wood, or water for the kitchen.

6. Attitude towards Change

Although they accept change, the BERBA remain nevertheless quite reticent, as noted by the CRL of Pauri when affirming "life before was better than today, because the BERBA exchanged wives before". Today this practice is less and less prevalent. Others recognize that there have been changes compared to what their

ancestors did, but they do not express any opinion (Pingou, Sienou, Boutouhou-Pingou). In Tihoun, this change appears to be beneficial: "During the times of our ancestors they did not love one another properly. There was fighting. Fighting against a village, against a neighborhood, against a brother. They did not visit one another. Now all has changed".

7. Relations with the Other Groups

The BERBA are the dominant group for over more than 95% in the region of COBLY, MATERI. The others are the PEULH and the GOURMANTCHE. Relations seem to be somewhat strained with the PEULH. Thus, the CRL of Pauri states that "the PEULH in the region make fun of us and are always hidden in their rooms after their day's work". The CRL of Tihoun states, in turn, that "despite the fact that there are only a few PEULH in our region, we notice that this group remains closed to ours. The PEULH men sometimes have BERBA friends and they even get married with BERBA women. A PEULH woman, however, will never allow herself to marry a BERBA. As to the "tontine" system of pooling resources the PEULH do not mix with our group".

G. The GOURMANTCHE

The GOURMANTCHE established themselves in the Districts of COBLY and KEROU in ATACORA, but they are also to be found in the District of BANIKOARA and the District of KARIMAMA in the BORGOU.

In the region of COBLY, the GOURMANTCHE practice farming. Men, women and children, all participate in this. In the region of KARIMAMA, they also raise animals.

1. The Role of Women

The woman who participates in the work in the fields also engages in taking care of housekeeping and children. Her status, however, is far below that of a man who is the one who orders and who makes decisions. Polygamy is a current practice. Thus, "in the case of sickness or if a wife is traveling, the second wife, or the other wives, continue with the housekeeping chores in the family" (CCR Topoga). In the District of KEROU, polygamy is practiced because "the system of marriage is forced marriage. No individual has the right to refuse a girl who is given to him. It is an honor for him to have wives in this or that tata" (CRL Kaobagou). The CCR of Firou affirms that polygamy is practiced to aid the husband in farm work, to have many children. Also, because it is an honor to have many wives. As in COBLY, women have a status that is very much inferior to that of men, despite the importance of women on the economic level. In effect, "she has no right to be heard" (CRL Kaobagou); she is considered as an executant" (CCR Firou). In the District of KARIMAMA, polygamy is practiced "because we need more children, and also because we do not know with which wife we can become richest". The role of women in Kompati is very important at the economic and social level, even though women are genuine slaves: "A woman is like a slave in the home, because the husband doesn't do anything to help her. If he did, they would laugh at him. A woman, in effect, is a source of wealth for a man: "one condition, it is

necessary that the woman loves you, first of all. In that case the woman can engage in trade, or even pay for someone to cultivate a large field for her, in order to help the husband support the family" (Kompati).

2. The Influence of Tradition

The influence of tradition is manifested in the beliefs, taboos and prohibitions to be observed, the numerous ceremonies that have to be held, and the standards of behavior that have to be followed. For the GOURMANTCHE, everything is subordinated to the fetish. Each family has its own prohibitions and taboos, although some are common to all. According to tradition, a pregnant woman does not eat eggs, otherwise she would risk giving birth to a deaf baby. The reason pigs or wild boar are not eaten in a family is that they consider those animals "as a savior, a brother who has aided the ancestors to find water in the desert". The prohibitions and the taboos represent either a divinity or a far-off ancestor. Among the prohibitions followed in the region of KARIMAMA are: "do not break the fruit of the baobab tree in the house, do not whistle at night in the village, do not cut wood at night".

The ancestors are considered as living beings who bring happiness, health and well-being of the family. In KARIMAMA, they are considered as gods, capable of intervening in the happiness or in the misfortune of the families. They are consulted regularly through the fetishes and the witch doctors. In Kaobagou, "the ancestors are up to date on everything that happens in the village. Before planting seeds, they have to be

asked their opinion in regard to rainfall, dryness and health. The same holds true when the harvesting time arrives, etc."

The GOURMANTCHE show total respect for important people and for sacred things. Their most important moral rules are obedience, frankness and respect. A very important thing for the group is the belief in divinities.

3. The Customary Ceremonies

There are numerous customary ceremonies and they vary according to the family. At time of birth, in some families, the mother cannot see the baby until after a ceremony. In other families the father cannot see the baby before a month has elapsed and also after a ceremony. During the initiation period males of 19-20 are circumcized. This ceremony permits them to join the ranks of the adults. The same holds true for the girls, who are subjected to excision.

Tradition influences the life of the group at the marriage level also. Women are exchanged. To get a wife it is necessary to exchange a sister for the wife. Girls are therefore not free to marry. Furthermore, this forced marriage means that they do not go to school. Marriage in the region of KARIMAMA "is performed at night. Before the woman is washed, millet is pounded at the beat of the tam-tam. After the woman has been washed, she is brought to her husband. The wife's parents prepare several bowls of food for the married couple". (CRL Kompati). Lastly, the young girl changes her name during the course of the ceremony to show that she is no longer single.

In the case of deaths, the ceremonies are only of importance for the old people. There is no consideration for young people who die: "they are buried and forgotten" (Kompati). For the old people, they are buried the very same day. The funeral ceremonies "take place one or two years later, according to the advice of the group. Tam-tams are played and sacrifices are offered to the ancestors" (Kaobagou). Other ritual ceremonies are practiced on the occasion of a fetish tree that falls; or ceremonies are held for the ancestors to thank them for the abundance of the harvests, the good health of the group. Each member of the group must then sacrifice a sheep to thank his ancestors. This is the ceremony of "Midéléba".

The symbols used by the group are narrow face scars from the temple to the chin, or gashes (Kaobagou).

4. Inequalities in the Group

Several types of inequalities exist in the GOURMANTCHE. First, there is the "Gbehamba" family, "which does not weave fabric, and at the time of feast of Midéléba (ceremony for the ancestors) the other families pay taxes to the chief of the Gbehamba, who is also the chief of the entire village. It should be noted here that one must necessarily be a member of this family in order to be able to accede to the throne" (CRL Kaobagou).

One can also distinguish those "who left the midst of the group and returned somewhat well-to-do. They think that they are more civilized than the others, because of their wealth". They become "the enemies of the group" (CCR

Firou). Also at Kompati there are the rich and the poor and the princes. The poor "are always wrong". In the Commune of Taboga, the inequalities are based on sex: there is great inequality between the men and women. This inequality "resides in physical strength and is of no consequence to the group because everyone plays his role as has to be done".

The members of the group who have the most prestige are first the princes (the Gbehamba family in Kaobagou) and the traditional chiefs. It should be noted that the traditional chief is not only "the person who is in charge politically, but also religiously, in a word, he is the master of all" (Kaobagou). The traditional chiefs "know the customs very well. They are powerful and well-to-do. They can solve the problems of the group, as the problems of women and little quarrels" (CCR Tirou).

5. System of Mutual Aid

The mutual aid system consists in collective work and loans on request, or gifts when the need is felt: "the mutual aid system of the group is well developed. At the time of ceremonies we participate in money and in kind. This system is remarkable, in particular when work is going on in the fields. People come to the aid of anyone who is behind in planting or harvesting. It should be mentioned that all of this is done with joy and methodically" (CRL Kaobagou).

6. Attitude towards Change

The group is favorably disposed towards changes and innovations that are not opposed to tradition. This is

why the ancestors are consulted as soon as a change presents itself. Otherwise, the change is rejected a priori. After the ancestors have been consulted sacrifices are made and only then can the change be accepted, because one must not forget that "the ancestors are always at the root of good and bad luck in this group. No individual can disregard this" (CRL Kaobagou).

Their attitude is good toward relations with the other groups, although they do not engage in the "tontine" (pooling of money) system with other groups. In Kaobagou, "the group marries within itself; there are no departure or returns. They are closed to the other groups".

H. The YORUBA

The YORUBA (Anan) group accounts for 90% of the population of Manigri-Oke. They engage primarily in agriculture. The group practices polygamy, because "the man with the most respect is the one who has the most children. Many wives are necessary. This is why the group is polygamous".

1. The Role of Women

The CRL did not supply any information on the role of women at the economic and social level.

2. The Influence of Tradition

As in the other groups, tradition is of great importance in the life of the people. Tradition expresses the wisdom of the group and dictates the moral rules to be

observed. The moral lessons are contained "in the tales, riddles, proverbs and songs". Tales are the first lesson of morality.

Concerning the moral rules, there are the following: "men must never chase girls by day, only at night. A woman, once married, must no longer have any sexual relations with other men. If this happens the house is damaged and must be repaired in the traditional manner. Children must not hit their parents. One must not steal from one's neighbors. Under the influence of the earth pact, one must not harm one's fellow man. As a dowry for the marriage, one must till the field of the father-in-law, on three occasions, before the wife can rejoin her husband. The parents are the ones who choose a husband for their daughters, and the women choose the wives for their sons, because there is inequality of clans".

The ancestors occupy great importance in the social life of the group, because they remain immortal and unforgettable. They are the symbol of eternity. For the group the ancestors are not dead but live again in the children.

3. The Customary Ceremonies

Each clan and each family has its own ceremonies for celebrating a birth, but today one notes the influence of Islam and Christianity.

Circumcision is a compulsory rite. If someone does not want to be subjected to it then the family becomes the target of insults from the entire village. It is during

this period that "the boys go down to the river, their heads are washed and the fetishist tries to tell their fortune. The same holds true for the women".

Parents choose the spouses for their children. When the night of the celebration arrives "the women from the husband's neighborhood and those from the wife's neighborhood bring the future wife to the home of her husband. The next day "pâté" is prepared, or else a large quantity of yams is pounded, and this is brought to the girl's parents". This is followed by the ritual dances and the manifestations of joy.

Funeral ceremonies vary from one clan to another. Other traditional ceremonies consist in going to the foot of Mount Goufe each time to hold ceremonies there. Drinks made from millet, a billy-goat and some leaves are taken along.

I. The NAGOT

The NAGOT (the YORUBA and related groups) are found in the District of BASSILA. They engage primarily in agriculture.

1. The Role of Women

The group practices polygamy "to multiply the village and to help one another in the field work" (CRL Kikele).

The men are occupied largely in tilling the land and all agricultural tasks in general. Thus, the CRL of Kikele underscores that: "the women of Kikele are different from the other women of the world: they do not help their husbands in the field work. They are independent at all

levels. They do practically nothing to help their husbands. Their role is to prepare meals and to produce. "Furthermore, women enjoy certain autonomy vis-à-vis their husbands. "They leave their husbands and go to Nigeria. When they return they do not help their husbands at all". It would also appear that although "the head of the household has the right to act and to make all of the decisions", women have a right to be heard.

Lastly, women are given more consideration than in the other groups: "women have a certain consideration and men respect the following rules concerning women: never beat them, never call them names" (CRL Kikele).

2. The Influence of Tradition

Tradition still has a deep influence on the life of the group. For the group "the ancestral traditions are immortal" and each year in the month of September the population celebrates the yam festival, giving food to the fetishes and preparing "gris-gris" (good-luck charms). Thus, tradition dictates certain moral rules and sets the standards of behavior: "if someone sleeps with a girl during the day a goat is given to the village to atone for his sins". The ancestors occupy an important place in the life of the group. A sign of respect to them is to remove the weeds from the ancestral square.

3. The Customary Ceremonies

When a baby is born, "a he-goat is bought, two units of measurement of millet and four large cola nuts for the

baptism which takes place on the eighth day. People dance everywhere" (Kikele).

For the marriage, the future husband buys four loincloths, two scarves and some game (antelopes or does) which are prepared for the guests. Then the husband summons the musicians and displays his wealth in public".

For deaths "chappalot" drink is prepared, black loincloth is taken along surrounded by cowry.

Finally, every year, besides the yam festival, there is also the festival of the fetishes, during which the women sacrifice chickens to offer them to the fetishes, to prevent someone from dying.

4. Inequalities in the Group

"In the population of Kikele there is no longer any inequality since the revolution, but only the FON group acts oblivious to everything: they steal, which creates inequality in the population". However, some members have more prestige in the group than the others.

Thus, in Kikele, it is a lumber merchant "who has four trucks, a mill and stores" who has the most prestige.

5. System of Mutual Aid

Mutual aid exists among the members of the group as concerns field work. First of all the elderly are aided, and so on down to the youngest.

6. Attitude towards Change

"When there is a new change in the village, they plunge headlong into it without knowing what it is about. Then they try to understand what is going on".

**GENERAL ANALYSIS
ON THE STATISTICAL DATA**

II. GENERAL ANALYSIS

A. Integration of the Population in their village

Some ways commonly used to measure the degree of integration of an individual into a given group is to determine the extent to which the individual is familiar with, or is unfamiliar with, the organizations that give structure and life to this group and the various levels of participation within these organizations themselves. Concerning ATACORA, the degree of knowledge about the existing civil and social organizations is limited, since 56% of the heads of household surveyed state that they do know any organization in their village, 18.3% know one organization, 9% know two, and 16.6% know at least three (Table 1). This degree of knowledge varies greatly from one ethnic group to another and from one district to another. Thus, the ethnic groups can be classified on a scale of knowledge about, or lack of knowledge about, organizations by placing at the bottom of the scale the group whose lack of knowledge is the greatest and by placing at the top of the scale the group whose percentage of lack of knowledge is the lowest. The extreme groups thus, turn out to be the YORUBA and DENDI, at the bottom of the scale, followed by the BARIBA, at the top:

NATIONALITIES	KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ORGANIZATIONS %
FON	35.7
BARIBA	41.4
OTAMMARI	54.6
DJOUGOU	56.6
PEULH	58.8
DENDI	81.8
YORUBA	86.2

It is not surprising to find the FON at the top, since they comprise most of the civil servants of ATACORA.

This significant variation is found among the Districts, but any comparison at that level is subject to caution, as the sampling error is very high for certain Districts, the size of the sample having been calculated to permit generalizations at the level of the Province and not the Districts. At this level, therefore, the data obtained yield a value which is only indicative. As concerns the sample itself, however, in three Districts (PEHUNCO, TANGUIETA, TOUCOUNTOUNA) each head of household questioned knows about at least one organization, whereas at DJOUGOU URBAIN, at the other extremity, only 10.5% of the persons questioned knew of at least one organization.

DISTRICTS	KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ORGANIZATIONS %
PEHUNCO	100.0
TANGUIETA	100.0
TOUCOUNTOUNA	100.0
KEROU	61.1
OUAKE	54.3
COBLY	53.8
KOUANDE	48.6
NATITINGOU	43.9
MATERI	42.9
COPARGO	40.0
RURAL DJOUGOU	37.1
BOUKOUMBE	28.4
BASSILA	27.5
URBAN DJOUGOU	10.5

Table No. 2 reveals that among the heads of household the men are more knowledgeable about existing organizations than the women: 45.4% of the men know about organizations as against only 28.8% of the women. Tables 3, 4 and 5 show that there is but a very weak relationship between the number of organizations known and the age of the head of household ($r = -.15$); the number of years of schooling of the head of household ($r = .23$); and the size of the household ($r = .14$). There is no significant relationship between the number of organizations known and the main activity of the head of household (Table 6).

The degree of participation in the social life of the village, measured by belonging to any of these organizations is very low: only 25.8% of the heads of household questioned stated that they belong to one of

these organizations (Table no. 7). This percentage varies greatly from one ethnic group to another, and from one District to another. Thus, the BARIBA are at the top of the scale of participation, with 32.1% (which is still quite low) and the YORUBA are at the bottom of the scale, with only 10%.

NATIONALITY	PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPATION
BARIBA	32.1
PEULH	31.0
DJOUYOU	27.0
OTAMMARI	25.0
FON	23.1
DENDI	19.0
YORUBA	10.0

A cursory comparison with the table of degree of knowledge about organizations reveals that the FON are not the most active in terms of belonging to various social organizations, although they are more familiar with their existence than any other group. At the bottom of the scale, we find the same two groups as above. At the District level, it is the District of TANGUIETA which appears at the top of the scale of participation and the District of DJOUYOU URBAIN appears at the bottom.

DISTRICT	PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPATION
TANGUIETA	70.5
TOUCOUNTOUNA	69.2
PEHUNCO	63.6
OUAKE	48.5
KOUANDE	39.3
COBLY	28.2
NATITINGOU	24.4
COPARGO	19.0
MATERI	18.2
DJOUGOU RURAL	17.4
BOUKOUMBE	16.8
BASSILA	12.2
KEROU	10.8
DJOUGOU URBAIN	8.3

Belonging to these organizations is neither a function of years of schooling (Table 10) nor the main activity of the head of household (Table 12). In contrast, Tables 9 and 11 show that a very weak relationship exists with respect to the age: the group of 25 to 35 years of age has the greatest participation ($r = -.10$); and the size of the households: the smaller the size of the household the greater the participation ($r = .13$).

Out of the 585 heads of household who said they belonged to an organization, only 150 (25.6%) listed their functions in the organization. Of those, 46% are part of the management and 54% are simple members. In view of the large number of no replies, analysis by nationality and other variables loses all meaning.

B. Leisure

We have seen that the greatest social event in the villages is the market, which is the main type of leisure, of social relaxation and for exchanging ideas. But what do the people do during those hours of leisure after working out in the fields? Table 19 reveals that 37.6% of the people rest, 17.2% engage in secondary activities, 16.8% do small jobs, and 15% visit friends. If the ethnic groups are compared, it is interesting to note that all mention rest first, except the FON and the YORUBA who take advantage of their free time to visit their friends (29% and 54%, respectively). During this free time, the BARIBA (52.9%) are at the top for engaging in a secondary productive activity, or small jobs, followed by the PEULH (40.7%) and the OTAMMARI (38.3%). The YORUBA spend the least time in productive activities during their free time: 6.1% only. At the Province level, there is no statistical difference between the heads of household, men or women, in terms of how they spend their spare time (Table 20). Likewise, there is no relationship between the way they spend their time and the age of the heads of household (Table 22), the size of the household (Table 23), and the main activity of the head of household (Table 24). The way free time is spent is not a function of any of these variables.

Concerning how time is spent on Sundays and holidays, we find practically the same results (Table 25). Rest and visiting friends are the favorite pastimes (38.5% and 15.7%, respectively). It is also interesting to note that on Sundays and holidays the heads of household like to get together to talk. At the Province level, 5.9% spend their time talking under a tree, of which 31.3% for the DENDI and 15.6% for the YORUBA. Those who apparently rest the least are the OTAMMARI (38.9% engage in some type of productive activity) and the

PEULH (34.2%). At this level, there is a significant statistical difference between the men and the women: either the women work (41.1%) or they rest (41.2%), but few visit one another (5.9%), whereas in the case of the men only 28.7% work and 16.5% visit friends (Table 26). A very weak relationship exists between the activities undertaken on Sundays, the age of the head of household (Table 27: $r = .10$) and the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 28: $r = .22$). There is no significant relationship with the size of the household (Table 29) or with the main activity of the head of household (Table 30).

C. Relations of the Heads of Household with the Outside

The relations with the neighboring villages and communes develop essentially around the markets. It is surprising that 58% of the heads of household go at least once a week to the neighboring village (Table 32). Furthermore, 81.9% of the heads of household go there at least once a month, which denotes a very mobile population. Only 11.9% never go at all. Table 33 reveals that the male heads of household go to the neighboring village more frequently than the female heads of household. In terms of the ethnic groups, it is not surprising to state that the PEULH are the most mobile: 43.3% travel every day and 76.3% at least once a week. The least mobile are the YORUBA, of whom only 38.7% go to the neighboring village once a week. A very weak relationship ($r = .11$) exists between the frequency of the trips to the neighboring village and the age of the heads of household (Table 34): the oldest persons travel less often. There is no significant relationship with the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 35), with the size of the household (Table 36), or with the main activity of the head of household (Table 37).

Relations with the commune are more frequent than with the neighboring village: 63.8% of the heads of household go there at least once a week, and 83.2% go at least once a month. There too there are differences between the ethnic groups, but interpretation of these differences is a delicate matter because an important variable was not taken into account in Table 38: the distance separating the villages from their commune. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that this time it is the female heads of household who go to the commune more often than the men: 70.5% of the women go there at least once a week, as against 63.1% of the men (Table 39). This is probably due to the fact that the women go to the market to sell their products. Once again, there is a very weak relationship ($r = .18$) between the frequency of trips and the age of the heads of household (Table 40), but there is no relationship between the frequency of trips to the commune and the years of schooling (Table 41) or the size of the household (Table 42). There is a very weak relationship, however, with the main activity of the heads of household ($t = .09$) Table 43): the merchants and functionaries are the ones who travel the most frequently.

Trips to the district are less frequent than trips to the commune, but remain significant: 33.5% go there every week and 63.9% at least once a month (Table 44). One could think that the 12% who go there everyday live in the district itself, or very near. This is revealed if we compare the ethnic groups: 90% of the DENDI, who are merchants, go everyday. This is probably where they live. The same holds true for 20% of the FON, who are essentially civil servants and are therefore attached to the commune or to the district by their jobs. As in the case of trips to the commune, the female heads of household go more frequently to the district than the male heads of household (Table 45). At the district level, there is

a somewhat more significant relationship between the age of the heads of household and the frequency of trips to the district: ($r = .22$), the older the person becomes the less frequently does that person go to the district (Table 46). This is understandable because the distances are greater than in the case of the neighboring village or the commune. It is in the age group of more than 55 that the frequency of trips declines. But there is no relationship with the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 47) or the size of the household (Table 48). On the other hand, there is a small relationship ($r = .10$) with the activities of the head of household: the civil servants are the ones who travel the most frequently to the district (Table 49). The frequency of trips to the head seat of the province is much less: only 15.4% go there at least once a month, but 59.3% never go there at all (Table 50). This frequency varies according to the ethnic groups, the FON being those who go the most often (52.9% go at least once a month) and the DJOUGOU go the least often: 4.8%. This variation can be found at the level of the districts, being 59.2% for NATITINGOU, 0% for OUAKE and BASSILA. This is understandable, as the districts that are the farthest away from the head seats of province have the lowest rate of frequency of visits. The following table shows the frequency of the trips by the heads of household, on a yearly basis, to the head seat of province, in another province and in the bordering country. It can be noted that the frequency of trips are highest for the neighboring districts of each of these regions.

FREQUENCY OF TRIPS

DISTRICTS	TO THE HEAD SEAT OF PROVINCE		IN ANOTHER PROVINCE		IN THE BORDER COUNTRY	
	month	year	month	year	month	year
	%		%		%	
BASSILA	0.0	19.4	8.3	47.2	43.6	74.3
BOUKOUNBE	9.4	51.4	.9	16.0	27.1	37.4
COBLY	2.6	33.3	0.0	12.8	33.3	43.6
COPARGO	2.6	25.6	0.0	20.5	15.0	57.5
DJOUGOU URBAIN	29.3	68.3	10.5	39.5	5.0	27.5
DJOUGOU RURAL	3.8	20.0	2.5	9.9	0.0	7.5
KEROU	6.9	6.9	0.0	9.4	3.1	18.7
KOUANDE	29.8	57.4	11.4	34.1	4.4	13.3
MATERI	8.3	25.0	4.2	8.4	1.4	9.7
NATITINGOU	59.2	81.6	2.3	13.6	0.0	6.5
OUAKE	0.0	9.8	0.0	15.4	11.8	39.2
PEHUNCO	5.9	35.3	10.0	30.0	0.0	0.0
TANGUIETA	14.3	50.0	3.6	17.9	0.0	3.7
TOUCOUNTOUNA	52.5	82.5	9.1	21.2	3.1	6.2

It can also be noted that BASSILA, for example, since it borders on the Province of Zou, has more travel outside of the Province of ATACORA than MATERI, which is farther away from it.

Table 51 shows that the women heads of household go to the province less frequently than the male heads of household, but this difference is not statistically significant. However, there is a small significant relationship ($r = .23$) between the trips to the head seat of the province and the age of the heads of household: the older they are the less they travel (Table 52). There is practically no relationship, however, between

such trips and the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 53) or the size of the household (Table 54). There is a slight relationship ($r = .17$) with the main activity of the head of household: the civil servants and the merchants are the ones who travel most often (Table 55). Trips to the other provinces are very limited: 18.8% only go at least once a year (Table 56). This is the behavior of the FON (88.2%) who, since they are originally from the south, return regularly to their province: the DENDI (55%) or of the population of the neighboring districts: BASSILA (47.2%) or even DJOUGOU URBAIN (39.5%). Trips to border countries are more frequent (Table 58) because of the location of numerous villages not far from the border with TOGO or Upper Volta. At the province level, 25.9% go there at least once a year. This is true in particular for the YORUBA (71.9%) or the border districts such as BASSILA (74.3%) and COPARGO (57.5%). As to travel to other countries, this is a rather rare occurrence, which only concerns 6.18% of the heads of household interviewed (Table 61). This is the case primarily for the DENDI (25.8%) and the YORUBA (17.6%).

The heads of household are very mobile and have frequent contacts outside of their village, their commune and even their District.

D. Psychosociological Attitudes

The living conditions in the north of BENIN are quite difficult, due to the inadequacy of roads, sanitary and other infrastructure, the lack of work outside of agriculture, and

the fact that agriculture jobs are not very remunerative and are often arduous. It is nevertheless interesting to note that 62.2% of the heads of household questioned are satisfied with their present situation (Table 63). A breakdown of the percentage satisfied by ethnic group yields the following results.

NATIONALITY	PERCENTAGE SATISFIED
DENDI	84.4
PEULH	82.1
BARIBA	78.1
YORUBA	72.7
DJOUGOU	67.2
OTAMMARI	50.2
FON	44.4

The most satisfied are the DENDI. The reason is that they are merchants and have a standard of living superior to that of the farmers. Likewise, the PEULH, who are herdsmen and animal breeders, are satisfied. In contrast, the OTAMMARI and the FON are the least satisfied. Indeed, the OTAMMARI, who inhabit primarily the District of BOUKOUMBE, live on lands that are poor and rocky. They have to work harder for the best results. The FON, most of whom are functionaries from the south, do not like to live in isolated villages, without the amenities of the city. It is therefore not surprising to find that they are among the least satisfied with their situation. The Districts with the highest levels of satisfaction are KEROU (89.2%) and COBLY (84.2%) and the one with the lowest level of satisfaction is BOUKOUMBE (23.1%).

DISTRICT	PERCENTAGE SATISFIED
KEROU	89.2
COBLY	84.2
COPARGO	78.0
KOUANDE	77.6
PEHUNCO	75.8
MATERI	75.0
DJOUGOU RURAL	72.2
OUAKE	69.2
BASSILA	66.7
DJOUGOU URBAIN	63.4
NATITINGOU	50.8
TANGUIETA	46.4
TOUCOUNTOUNA	38.5
BOUKOUMBE	23.1

The main reason for dissatisfaction found in the District as well as at the ethnic group level is the extreme poverty of the households (Table 70), lack of food, sterile women (OTAMMARI). There is no relationship between the satisfaction level of the present situation and the sex of the head of household (Table 64), the age of the head of household (Table 65), the years of schooling (Table 66) or the main activity of the head of household (Table 68). In contrast, there is a small relationship ($r = .21$) between the satisfaction level and the size of the household: the larger the household, the higher the satisfaction rate (Table 67). Also, there is no relationship between the reasons for the lack of satisfaction and the sex of the head of household (Table 71), the age of the head of household (Table 72), the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 73) and the main activity of the head of household (Table 75). In contrast, there is a small

relationship ($r = .23$) between the reasons for dissatisfaction and the size of the household (Table 74). For the large dissatisfied households the major problem is poverty and lack of food.

One-fourth of the households questioned (25.5%) hope for a better life or happiness (8.4%), or yearn for material success (4.2%) (Table 76). It should be noted, however, that 8% of the households do not expect anything from life, or death (5%). These are people who have no hope to see their living conditions improve and who are resigned to their lot. This percentage increases to 11% in the OTAMMARI. For 6.3% the main reason for living is to have many children, and 2.8% hope to be able to eat to their heart's content. It should be pointed out that for all of the ethnic groups it is the hope to have a better life which predominates largely (74.9% for the DENDI), except for the YORUBA for whom money is the greatest expectation (45.5%).

DISTRICT	EXPECTATION	PERCENTAGE
BASSILA	to have more money	41.9
BOUKOUMBE	a better life	23.9
COBLY	happiness	10.0
COPARGO	happiness	50.0
DJOUYOU URBAIN	a better life	72.5
DJOUYOU RURAL	a better life	38.6
KEROU	a better life	29.7
KOUANDE	a better life	51.0
MATERI	a better life	28.8
NATITINGOU	to have more money	20.3
OUAKE	to have more money	45.1
PEHUNCO	1. to eat to one's delight	25.0
	2. to have more money	22.6
TANGUIETA	a better life	14.3
TOUCOUNTOUNA	happiness	15.0

No relationship is significant between the expectations in life and variables such as age (Table 78), the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 79), the size of the household (Table 80), or the main activity of the head of household (Table 81).

The districts could also be classified on a scale of fatalism and resignation, according to the percentage of those who do not expect anything of life. BASSILA and BOUKOUMBE are in the lead, with 18.5% and 17.4%, respectively. The most interesting aspect is to know whether they share the same fatalism concerning their children. For the boys, the replies can be classified into two large categories: the heads of household expect for their boys either a better future (which is equivalent to saying that although they are resigned to their own lot, they do place hope in their children's future) or they expect the same situation, possible improvement in the foreseeable future. At the level of the province, 46.7% expect a better life for their sons and 30.3% do not see any possibility of improvement (Table 82). In the ethnic groups, the FON have the most hope for the future, and the PEULH are the ones who envisage the least improvement in the situation of their children.

NATIONALITY	BETTER FUTURE DESIRED FOR THE SONS	SAME SITUATION
FON	86.7 %	0.0%
DENDI	71.9	3.1
YORUBA	64.5	0.0
OTAMMARI	54.8	29.7
DJOUGOU	35.9	29.9
BARIBA	29.6	49.3
PEULH	15.0	60.0

The districts can also be classified according to the frequency rate of those who expect a better situation for their sons. We thus obtain:

DISTRICT	BETTER SITUATION	SAME SITUATION
MATERI	68.5	17.8
BOUKOUMBE	65.3	20.8
BASSILA	56.4	-
DJOUYOU URBAIN	56.4	7.7
TANGUIETA	54.2	33.3
NATITINGOU	53.1	34.2
TOUCOUNTOUNA	45	42.5
KOUANDE	44.9	28.6
COBLY	43.2	37.8
DJOUYOU RURAL	43.2	25.8
OUAKE	28.6	28.6
COPARGO	22	60
KEROU	17.1	48.6
PEHUNCO	15.2	69.2

The districts of MATERI and BOUKOUMBE place the most hope in their children, whereas KEROU and PEHUNCO do not see any improvement. They look for the same situation for their children, revealing a higher degree of fatalism. There is no relationship between the future desired for the sons and the sex of the head of household (Table 83), the age of the head of household (Table 84), the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 85), the size of the household (Table 86), or the main activity of the head of household (Table 87). It is interesting to place the future desired for the sons against the future desired for the daughters. The categories of reply are very different (Table 88). For the girls, the heads of household desire that they get married and have good husbands (53.1%), that they have a trade (19.6%), and that they be good housekeepers. In the FON, it is the concern over a trade

which prevails (57.1%). For all of the other ethnic groups, the desire is that the girls get married and have good husbands. In adding these two categories, we find the following proportions:

NATIONALITY	DESIRE: GOOD MARRIAGE
BARIBA	75.0%
DENDI	75.0
PEULH	56.1
OTAMMARI	50.7
DJOUGOU	48.4
YORUBA	45.5
FON	21.4

That the girls be good housekeepers is desired by 21.9% of the PEULH, followed by the FON with 14.3% and the OTAMMARI with 12.2%. That the girls have a trade is desired by most of the ethnic groups, but in proportions that vary considerably. Thus, 57.1% of the FON express this desire, against only 5.9% in the BARIBA, and 4.9% in the PEULH.

NATIONALITY	GOOD HOUSEKEEPERS
FON	57.1%
OTAMMARI	26.7%
YORUBA	21.2%
DENDI	18.8%
DJOUGOU	14.5%
BARIBA	5.9%
PEULH	4.9%

At the level of the Districts, PEHUNCO and DJOUGOU URBAIN are the leaders, with 90,3 and 90%, in the category of marriage and having good husbands, and NATITINGOU, at the bottom of the scale, with 18.4% only. In contrast, concerning the trade as the future desired for the girls, NATITINGOU is the leader (36.7%), followed by TOUCOUNTOUNA (36.1%) and KEROU and DJOUGOU URBAIN which are at the bottom of the scale (2.8 and 0%, respectively).

DISTRICT	TO GET MARRIED AND HAVE A GOOD HUSBAND	TO HAVE A TRADE
PEHUNCO	90.3 %	3.2 %
DJOUUGOU URBAIN	90.0 %	-
TANGUIETA	87.5 %	8.5 %
KEROU	75.0 %	2.8 %
COBLY	64.7 %	29.4 %
TOUCOUNTOUNA	55.6 %	36.1 %
MATERI	52.7 %	25.7 %
DJOUUGOU RURAL	50.0 %	11.1 %
KOUANDE	49.0 %	10.2 %
COPARGO	48.0 %	12.0 %
BOUKOUMBE	44.2 %	30.5 %
BASSILA	40.0 %	37.5 %
OUAKE	36.0 %	16.0 %
NATITINGOU	18.4 %	36.7 %

There is a slight significant relationship between the future desired for the girls and the age of the head of household ($r = -.09$). A careful examination of Table 90 reveals that the older the heads of household become, the more numerous they are in desiring good husbands for

their daughters. The older they get the less they wish that their daughters have a good trade. This is understandable: the old people have traditional ideas on the role of the woman in society: women have to get married, have a lot of children and raise them. Engaging in trade or profession, is not considered within their competence. Table 92 reveals that there is a relationship between the desire that the daughters have good husbands and the size of the household ($r = -.13$). The larger the household the higher the percentage of those who desire good husbands for their daughters. But there is no relationship with the sex of the head of household (Table 89), or the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 91).

At the province level the heads of household consider the most important thing in life, is to have money (22.6%), children (14.6%) and good health (14.6%) (Table 95). Indeed, to have money is conceived of as the most important thing for most of the FON (23.5%), the DJOUGOU (33.9%), and the YORUBA (39.4%). For the BARIBA the children are the most important (33%) and money is in second place. For the DENDI, good health is the most important (43.8%) and religion (31.8%). The DENDI are devoted Moslems. The PEULH are most interested in family understanding (19.5%) which is on a par with money, followed by success in their job and possession of a large herd of animals (14.6%). In contrast, for the OTAMMARI, food is most important (16.2%), since many of them are not unfamiliar with hunger, in particular during the period of drought. At the District level, money is in first place for the Districts of BASSILA (49.2%), KEROU (33%), KOUANDE (30.6%), OUAKE (63.5%), and

TOUCOUNTOUNA (17.1%). Food also appears in first place for the District of COBLY (27.8%) and the District of MATERI (29.9%). For the District of COPARGO, children are most important (34.6%), as well as for PEHUNCO (51.5%) and TANGUIETA (24%). Health is in first place for the Districts of BOUKOUMBE (23.3%), DJOUGOU Rural (31.9%) and NATITINGOU (16.4%). Lastly, for the District of DJOUGOU URBAIN religion is what matters the most for the households surveyed (61%).

There is no relationship between what is important in life and the sex of the head of household (Table 96), the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 98), the size of the household (Table 99) or the main activity of the head of household (Table 100). However, there is a slight relationship between the religion and the age of the heads of household ($r = .08$). Table 97 reveals that the older the heads of household the more importance is given to God and the fetishes. The ancestors also occupy a very important place in the life of the households: for most of the households the ancestors are considered as living people who are consulted in case of need, and the ancestors are gods who can intervene to change the course of events and guides who have to be listened to and honored to live in harmony with the natural and supernatural elements. Thus, for 49% of the population of ATACORA the ancestors are considered as guides. For another 20.9% they occupy first place in their lives and 18.0% consider the ancestors as gods. Only for 6,1% of the population the ancestors are of no importance because

they can do nothing further for the living. A classification of the groups in accordance with the importance given to the ancestors yields the following:

NATIONALITY	NO IMPORTANCE
DENDI	21.4 %
FON	12.5 %
YORUBA	11.8 %
PEULH	9.8 %
DJOUGOU	7.5 %
OTAMMARI	3.4 %
BARIBA	1.4 %

At the level of the Districts, the ancestors occupy first place for COPARGO (41.5%), OUAKE (52.5%), PEHUNCO (51.4%), TANGUIETA (50%) and TOUCCUNTOUNA (81.5%). They are considered guides above all in BASSILA (48.8%), BOUKOUMBE (79.6%), DJOUGOU Rural (46%), KEROU (40%), KOUANDE (80.4%), MATERI (73.3%) and NATITINGOU (60.4%). In COBLY, they are considered to be gods by 41.7% of the heads of household, and only in DJOUGOU URBAIN 41.2% mention that they do not have any importance. There is a slight relationship between the position of the ancestors and the sex of the head of household ($r = .12$). Thus, for all of the women the ancestors have a greater importance, whereas for 6.6% of the men they have no importance (Table 102). Likewise, there is a slight relationship with the years of schooling of the head of household ($r = .21$) and the position of the ancestors in their lives: the more years of schooling the more do the

ancestors occupy first place (Table 104). A priori, one could have expected the opposite result. But there is no relationship with the age of the head of household (Table 103), the size of the household (Table 105) or the main activity of the head of household (Table 106). In the descriptive part on the ethnic groups, we indicated how each group moves in a supernatural world where respect for prohibitions provides assurance that these supernatural forces will not be unleashed against man. The most common prohibitions originate in the belief in certain groups that this or that animal saved the life of one of their ancestors and continues to assure their protection. In other cases, eating the flesh of this or that animal is forbidden because in the past to eat the flesh of that animal would have been the cause of certain epidemics and diseases that decimated the population. For 35.6% of the population, certain animals are forbidden and this rule has to be respected. Among these animals are dogs and snakes, lions, tigers or even buffalos. The OTAMMARI are an ethnic group for which animals represent the most common prohibition (43.3%) (Table 107), followed by the BARIBA (39.1%). The second element respected is observance of the moral rules left by the ancestors (29.5%).

Among the OTAMMARI there are also prohibitions revealing the secrecy of ceremonies and not striking the fetishes. To violate these prohibitions means to attract the greatest catastrophies. There is no relationship between the prohibitions respected and the sex of the head of household (Table 108), the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 110), the size of the household (Table 111) or the main activity of the head of household (Table 112). These variables are independent because

this is a cultural phenomenon deeply anchored in the beliefs of the population, shared by all persons of all ages and all conditions.

Associated with respect for these prohibitions there are certain practices that lead to fear because of their supernatural or occult nature. These fears are very numerous and this is why it is the other category which is the most important, combining a great diversity of practices, objects, animate and inanimate beings. At the level of the Province, it appears that the most widespread fear concerns animals, because belief has it that supernatural beings often appear in the form of animals (15.2%), fetishes (12%) and sorcerers (8.1%) who can use their power either for good or for evil. The predominant fear for each ethnic group is as follows:

NATIONALITY	FEAR	PERCENTAGE
FON	Fetishes	18.8
BARIBA	Sorcerors	17.2
DENDI	Animals	19.2
DJOUGOU	Sorcerors	14.6
PEULH	Animals	32.4
OTAMMARI	Fetishes	15.9
	Animals	15.0
YORUBA	Animals	32.4

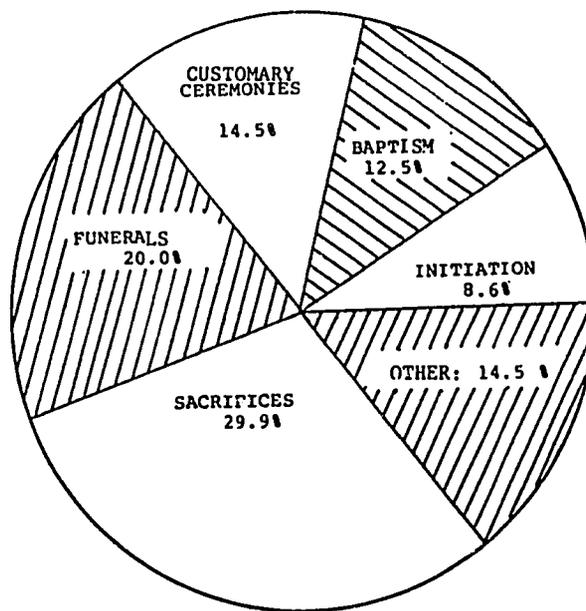
Furthermore, it is interesting to note that only 10.5% of the population indicates having no particular fear: the YORUBA are in the lead with 17.6%. At the level of the Districts the fears that predominate are the following:

DISTRICT	FEAR	PERCENTAGE
BASSILA	Animals	37.5
BOUKOUMBE	Weapons	25.7
	Fetishes	22.8
COBLY	Supernatural beings	40.5
COPARGO	Fetishes	22.4
DJOUGOU URBAIN	Supernatural beings	8.1
DJOUGOU RURAL	Sorcerors	11.0
KEROU	Sorcerors	23.3
KOUANDE	Animals	52.2
MATERI	Sorcerors	12.2
NATITINGOU	Fetishes	30.6
OUAKE	Sorcerors	45.5
PEHUNCO	Animals	27.8
TANGUIETA	Fétishes	38.5
TOUCOUNTOUNA	Weapons	34.3

In BOUKOUMBE and TOUCOUNTOUNA the fear of weapons predominates because in these Districts it is not rare for the OTAMMARI to settle their differences with bows and arrows. Thus one can read in the questionnaires that some "are afraid of arrows that have killed men". There is no relationship between the fear for certain practices or objects according to the sex of the head of household (Table 114), the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 116), the size of the household (Table 118). There is a slight relationship, however, between fear of fetishes and the age of the heads of household (Table 115): the older the head of household the less he fears fetishes. This fear is the most marked in the group of less than 30 years of age. The ceremonies practiced to reconcile the supernatural forces and to assure the support of the ancestors are numerous and mark not only the great stages of the life of individuals: baptism, initiations, marriage, funerals, but take place

at regular intervals, whenever a problem arises concerning health, family, work, or even before making decisions. No important decision can be made without consulting first of all with the ancestors through ceremonies, sacrifices, fetishes, sorcerors or witch doctors. Table 119 gives an idea of the relative importance of the various ceremonies and practices, without any distinction though between those that mark the primary stages of life and the others that take place on a regular basis.

RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENT CEREMONIES



The importance can be seen however, of sacrifices (29.9%) with respect to all of the ceremonies, followed by the funeral ceremonies (20%) and the customary ceremonies

(14.5%). In all of the Districts these ceremonies have a great importance, with the exception of DJOUGOU URBAIN. The major ceremonies are sacrifices to the fetishes, funerals and the customary ceremonies. A breakdown by district of the most practiced ceremonies, with their relative importance in percentage, yields the following:

DISTRICT	CEREMONIES	PERCENTAGE
BASSILA	Sacrifices	60.4
BOUKOUMBE	Sacrifices	29.9
COBLY	Funerals	47.7
COPARGO	Sacrifices	52.3
DJOUGOU URBAIN	Baptism	16.0
DJOUGOU RURAL	Sacrifices	30.2
KEROU	Funerals	25.6
KOUANDE	Funerals	34.1
MATERI	Sacrifices	38.7
NATITINGOU	Customary ceremonies	28.3
OUAKE	Sacrifices	48.9
PEHUNCO	Customary ceremonies	35.5
TANGUIETA	Funerals	40.7
TOUCOUNTOUNA	Sacrifices	55.0

We already know that tradition exercises a profound influence on the life of everyone. It is therefore not surprising to note that 65.3% believe that tradition and customs are a good thing and that they should be kept. Only 7.6% consider that tradition is useless, an obstacle to progress, and that it is just plain talk (Table 126). The judgment made of traditions varies from one group to the other. It is primarily the FON who judge tradition in a more negative manner (20% of them), whereas the OTAMMARI and the PEULH, the DJOUGOU and the BARIBA are the most fervent defenders of tradition. Indeed, there is a

significant relationship between the level of education of the head of household and his judgment on tradition (Table 129): the higher the level of education the more likely the judgment on tradition and customs is negative. Also, there is a very low relationship with the main activity of the head of household: it is the civil servants (who are furthermore FON and have more education) who have a negative judgment on tradition and customs (Table 131). In contrast, there is no relationship with the sex of the head of household (Table 127), the age (Table 128), the size of the household (Table 130).

Concerning the use of a large amount of money, if it suddenly became available to them (Table 132), more than half of the households would use it to build a house (53.1%), 15.3% would use it to live better and 10% to have a large herd of animals. For all of the ethnic groups, the priority is to have a new home built, except for the PEULH, who would take advantage of the money to: live better (23.3%); to build a house (20.9%); and to have a large herd of animals (18.8%). For the OTAMMARI, after the house it is to have a herd of animals which comes before living better. There is a statistical difference between the men and the women concerning the use of this hypothetical money: 54.8% of the men would use it to have a house built, and 14.5% only to live better. In the case of the women, 36.2% would use it for the house, and 25.9% to live better (Table 133). There is no relationship between the use of a sum of money and the age of the head of household (Table 134) or the main activity of the head of household (Table 137). In contrast, Table 136 reveals that there is a relationship between the size of the household and how they use a

large amount of money: the greater the number of persons comprising the household the higher the proportion of those who would like to use the money to have a house built and to live better. At the level of the Districts, the first use of a large sum of money is as follows:

DISTRICT	HOW THE MONEY WOULD BE USED	PERCENTAGE
BASSILA	build a house	72.1
BOUKOUMBE	" "	39.8
COBLY	" "	51.3
COPARGO	" "	71.2
DJOUGOU URBAIN	" "	62.5
DJOUGOU RURAL	" "	67.4
KEROU	live better	50.0
KOUANDE	" "	36.9
MATERI	build a house	54.5
NATITINGOU	" "	50.0
OUAKE	" "	61.5
PEHUNCO	" "	60.0
TANGUIETA	create happiness in one's midst	67.9
TOUCOUNTOUNA	build a house	57.1

It is very interesting to note that there is nothing utopian in how the money would be spent. It is quite specific. It may be concluded consequently that the have a house built and to live better are needs that are very real and very much felt by the population. In terms of psychosociological attitudes, this fact reveals a population that is quite realistic and aware of its situation, which does not seek to avoid reality but, quite to the contrary, which hopes for a material improvement in its situation.

The social role of women is minimized not only within the collectivity, but even within the household itself, where she is kept practically outside of the decision-making process. Table 138 shows that the vast majority of decisions are made unilaterally by the head of household. Only when it concerns nutrition and the education of the children are women associated with decision making, and even then to an extent that is in the last analysis quite small: 14.6% of the women make decisions concerning nutrition and only 7.5% for the education of the children. However, 24.2% make decisions jointly with husbands for the education of the children. The final decision, however, is always made by the male head of household.

Table 144 shows that when the heads of family have problems in their family, 31.9% consult first of all with the little brother, and 23.2% with the ancestors. When the problem concerns work or farming, 28.7% consult with a member of the family, 14.4% consult with friends, and 13.1% consult with the ancestors. When they need advice in general, however, 36.9% consult then with the ancestors, and 18.4% consult with other members of the household. It is interesting to note that in the case of particular problems in the family, or on the job, these problems are first of all discussed within the family, but when more general advice is concerned the heads of household consult first with the elderly.

This same phenomenon is observed in practically all of the districts, with the exception of DJOUGOU RURAL and OUAKE, where the elderly are the first consulted, even for family problems. As concerns agricultural problems, in the districts of DJOUGOU RURAL, KEROU and OUAKE the

heads of household consult first of all with the extension agents rather than with the members of the family or with friends. Concerning problems of a general nature, first of all the elderly are consulted and, more rarely, friends or members of the household. A breakdown of the Districts by percentage of consultation with the elderly yields the following:

DISTRICT	CONSULTATION WITH THE ELDERLY
DJOUGOU RURAL	53.3%
KOUANDE	47.1%
DJOUGOU URBAIN	45.9%
COPARGO	44.2%
BOUKOUMBE	38.2%
MATERI	35.2%
BASSILA	35.7%
COBLY	33.3%
NATITINGOU	32.8%
TOUCOUNTOUNA	30.2%
OUAKE	28.8%
PEHUNCO	21.2%
KEROU	19.4%
TANGUIETA	18.5%

In TANGUIETA, the other members of the household are consulted more than the elderly (44.4%) and in KEROU it is the friends (33%).

Indeed, friends have a great importance in the social life of the households and are visited frequently. Thus, 56.8% of the heads of household have more than three friends whom they visit frequently, and only 5.8% have no friends. This reveals as a whole a sociability that is quite developed (Table 162). If, therefore, we take the

frequent visiting of more than three friends as the criterion of sociability, it can be stated that the group with the greatest sociability is the DENDI and the group with the lowest sociability is the DJOUGOU.

NATIONALITIES	VISITS TO 3 FRIENDS
DENDI	65.4%
OTAMMARI	62.1
BARIBA	58.2
FON	53.3
PEULH	51.2
YORUBA	46.9
DJOUYOU	45.2

At the level of the districts, COBLY is in first place, with 73.7%, and COPARGO is at the bottom of the scale of sociability with only 29.5%.

DISTRICTS	VISITS TO 3 FRIENDS
COBLY	73.7%
TOUCOUNTOUNA	67.5%
KOUANDE	66.7%
KEROU	65.7%
NATITINGOU	64.7%
OUAKE	60.9%
BOUKOUMBE	57.4%
PEHUNCO	55.9%
MATERI	55.1%
DJOUYOU URBAIN	54.8%
DJOUYOU RURAL	54.3%
TANGUIETA	46.4%
BASSILA	41.9%
COPARGO	29.5%

There is no relationship between the number of friends visited and the sex of the head of household (Table 163), the years of schooling of the head of household (Table 165), the size of the household (Table 166), or the main activity of the head of household (Table 167). However, Table 164 reveals a slight relationship between the number of friends visited most often and the age of the head of household ($r = -.11$), demonstrating that when they are young is when the heads of household have the most friends.