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VOLUME 14 to 27

**GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE
DISTRICTS**

ATACORA



Multinational Agribusiness Systems Incorporated

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN
MINISTRY OF PLANNING, STATISTICS AND ECONOMIC ANALYSIS

VOLUME 14 to 27

**GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE
DISTRICTS**

ATACORA

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

**CENTRAL BUREAU FOR PROJECTS
B.P. 2022 - COTONOU
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF BENIN**

**MULTINATIONAL AGRIBUSINESS SYSTEMS, INC
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VOLUMES 14 to 27 : GENERAL INFORMATION
ON THE DISTRICTS OF ATACORA

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VOLUME 14

DISTRICT OF BASSILA

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The district of BASSILA consists of four communities comprising a total of 32,881 inhabitants (1979 census). The principal activity is agriculture, followed by commerce and animal husbandry. The population essentially consists of YORUBA and kin (NAGOT and ANII), plus some minority groups of Koto-Kolis, Kouras, Loukpas, OTAMMARI, and PEULH. In the village of Manigri, the most important village in the district, has a population of 7,023 inhabitants. The YORUBA ANII predominate, representing 96% of the population. At Kikélé, the same is true of the NAGOT (96%) and at Nioro, the Koto-Kolis predominate (93%).

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

The relations that exist between the different ethnic groups are essentially characterized by commerce and by the barter of goods and even women. No other information was supplied concerning the quality of these relations, nor was anything stated about the inequalities or equalities between the ethnic groups. However, in the village of Nioro, where the Koto-Kolis are in the majority, they have assumed an air of superiority over the PEULH, considering the latter to be unstable since they are nomads, whereas the Koto-Kolis are very united and live in groups, contrary to the PEULH who live in scattered camps.

At Kikélé, the NAGOT have more prestige because they are well off and engage in trade. The FON have less prestige since they are foreigners. As a general rule, those who have the least prestige are those "who come from elsewhere".

No information was supplied to us regarding social and cultural life in the district, nor was any information given on the social function of the markets and the relationships between the population groups and the other districts and the outside world. The only festival celebrated seems to be the festival of yams which also is an occasion for honoring the ancestors.

B. Emigration

According to the CRAD, the population is very mobile: one-third of the population reportedly left the district during the year that has just ended in order to look for work. In the village of Nioro, something like 25 persons emigrated to NIGERIA, GHANA, or the south of BENIN, where their chances of earning a living are better than those they had earlier. In the community of Kikélé, 300 persons emigrated to NIGERIA; "almost all of the good workers left for NIGERIA". This emigration is due to the lack of work in the region and the young people leave to engage in trade: "our young people escape to NIGERIA where they certainly will bring us good things". This massive emigration is catastrophic for the village of Kikélé. The CRL describes the problem thus: "Kikélé is a small village (780 inhabitants), known for its large numbers of young people. Each cultivated 1/2 hectare of yams and the population was able to still its hunger. The people even came from other villages to buy the food. Then it was announced that commerce was prosperous in NIGERIA. Everybody, young boys, girls, and women, plunged into commerce, but what kind of commerce! They became workers in the cities of NIGERIA. They came back with all kinds of gadgets (motorcycles, mopeds), and radio-cassette

recorders. The old folks, who were left behind to do the work, sent them what little yams they had to sell. And so the granaries became empty. Then the young folks again sold their gadgets and again left for NIGERIA without any indication to their relatives and that resulted in famine in the village, the big famine which meant that five persons would be eating one akassa ball. Emigration is the primary source of famine in the region, it is something heart-rending which the old folks do not see. "Instead of the population increasing, we have total decadence".

Sometimes, a few persons came to settle at Kikélé, "to cultivate the land which is very fertile".

C. Specific District Problems

The district's major problem during the rainy season involves roads which are impassable. In the village of Nioro, the fields are devastated by the monkeys, wild boars and agoutis. A bridge should be built over the Terou River.

Also during this time, a primary concern to the general population is the lack of food. At Kikélé, "products reserved for seeds are then eaten because of the famine and only poor-quality seeds are left, thus leading to poor harvests". On the whole, the population suffers from an "animal protein insufficiency".

During the dry season the major threats are the lack of water and the brush fires which destroy the forest.

D. District's Needs

The needs of the district involve restoration of roads and bridges and more transportation. The CRL of Kikélé notes that the BASSILA-PARAKOU road is impassable because of the depth and width of the Beterou River. There is no way to make bridges due to lack of cement.

There is a shortage of pharmaceutical products. At Kikélé, the villagers had built a medical station 2 years ago with their own resources; but they were unable to put a roof on it and it is today in ruins. Although "in the region we only have one really specialized medic who saves the lives of many of us, here, we can only rely on our own resources, otherwise we are lost because the village is not supplied (with medical products)".

It is necessary to build masonry school buildings, to obtain furniture, textbooks and a dining room. The Kikélé school "currently needs 20 tables and ten benches, a single-classroom building and a principal's office. That office would need two cabinets. There are no doors for the doorways and no shutters for the windows. There is a need for maps of BENIN, of Africa, of the World, and of course a globe is also needed. The school needs wall posters on the sciences, paintings on family life, office equipment, readers for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and even 4th grades, respectively".

Concerning drinking water, it would be necessary to dig wells and to install pumps. There is no way at present to make the water potable in the villages.

Regarding the markets, it is suggested that the building of market sheds be considered. A very special problem arises in this connection at Kikélé: "Kikélé remains without a market;

that was a curse pronounced by a woman in the distant past to the effect that there would never be a market here. It is true and there is proof: the population set a market day (every 5 days) but no woman from the region ever goes there; instead, they go to the other markets".

The district needs agricultural extension agents, selected seeds, fertilizer, and equipment for draft crop cultivation. At Nioro, it is necessary to build a storage warehouse. At Kikélé, the problem is that "all of the good workers are away from the village. The old people cannot handle the entire harvest by themselves."

E. Population's Needs

The needs felt by the population involve the infrastructure facilities already mentioned: roads, bridges, schools, maternity facilities, well-drilling, and "the establishment of factories that could provide jobs for the young folks so as to stop the flight from the farms". The population as a whole likes to work and loves the land.

F. Positive and Negative Factors for Development

The factors that limit development in the district are numerous: the exodus from the rural areas (which is particularly heavy in certain villages, such as Kikélé), the lack of infrastructure facilities, endemic diseases, and illiteracy. Timber exploitation could promote growth. Agriculture and animal husbandry could be developed because the land is fertile. There are two lowland areas or river basins in the district: Akpere and Odola, but they are not being exploited due to lack of resources.

Enough land is available in the district to permit the establishment of new farms and this is done by simple occupation of the land. At Kikélé, the CRL says that our ancestors have for a long time been the owners of the land but today it suffices to go to see the village headman who decides the fate of the foreigner (outsider). The foreigner is free to take the surface area which he wants for his field. According to his needs and his possibilities, it is up to him to assume responsibility.

In the final analysis, the district constitutes a crossroads and borders on TOGO for a distance of more than 100 km. It has a great future provided the flight from the farms is restricted.

G. Health Problems

The most frequently encountered diseases in the district are measles, colds, malaria, and Guinea worm. At Kikélé we also find smallpox and stomach ailments. There is also leprosy at Nioro. The main causes of death are measles and fevers. At Nioro death is also caused by snake bites. At Kikélé, it is "curses (bad luck)" and malnutrition that are felt to be the main causes of death.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 14B.

VOLUME 15

DISTRICT OF BOUKOUMBE

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The district of BOUKOUMBE consists of five communities, comprising a total of 56,575 inhabitants. This is the province's most heavily populated district, after DJOUGOU RURAL. The main activity here is agriculture, some animal husbandry, and crafts. The population consists essentially of OTAMMARI and BERBA.

A. Type of Relationships between the Various Ethnic Groups

Relationships between the ethnic groups in the communities and villages seem to be good-neighborly, even of cooperation. Understanding and friendship predominate and the CRL at Dipokofontri expressed himself as follows: "we are linked together like brothers and sisters," an opinion corroborated by the CRL of Koukouangou: "we have friendly and brotherly relations" or even at Dimantima "the type of relationship existing among the various ethnic groups in the villages includes understanding, marriage of our sisters, and mutual aid".

Inequalities between the ethnic groups are based on wealth rather than on the tribe as such, creating a certain misunderstanding between the richest and the poorest. In the urban community of BOUKOUMBE, the DENDI and YORUBA, (although they account for only 1 percent of the population) have more prestige than the OTAMMARI, "because of their civilization and their money". The OTAMMARI have less prestige "because of their poverty". The prestige of the OTAMMARI is based on the

number of animals which they own (beef cattle, lambs, goats, hogs). The more animals they own, the more highly will they be esteemed by the others. At Kounadougou, the FON, who barely account for 1 percent of the population, also have more prestige "because they strictly follow Western custom whereas the OTAMMARI follow traditional custom". In all villages, the OTAMMARI have more prestige than the PEULH.

B. Popular Celebrations

The traditional festivities in the district are "Difouani" for the men and "Dikountri" for the women. They occur every 3 or 4 years, depending upon the villages, and they last between a week and a month. Their purpose is to demonstrate that the young persons have reached nubile age and to check on the fertility of men and women. There is the "Tetchata" which involves the initiation of the young girls which occurs every 4 years. The "Ditetri" is another which expresses the full integration of the young man into adulthood. It takes place every 4 years and lasts a week. The "Dikon" ceremony is in connection with the death of the old persons.

C. Social Function of Markets

The markets are very important in the district of BOUKOUMBE, creating contacts both between the local populations and those of neighboring countries, particularly TOGO. In addition to their obvious economic function of providing for the exchange of products, the markets also serve as a meeting place for the inhabitants of the region and as a place of recreation: "the men, women, and the old people come to the market only to drink and gab. For the young, this is an occasion to court the girls and women" (CCR, BOUKOUMBE). We find the same elements at Konadougou: "the young boys come to the market to court the young girls; the young girls go there to buy clothes, to sell their products, and to make their choice among the boys" or

even at Koukouangou: "people go to the market to have fun and to look for girls". The market is thus a preferred place for meetings and an opportunity for making, or meeting "boy friends and girl friends" (Dimantima). It is a place of satisfaction and exchange of information: "everybody passes on the information and news from the neighboring villages" (Dipokofontri).

D. Crime

The CCR of the urban community of BOUKOUMBE reports very little crime in the community, except for a few cases of theft. The same is not true of the community of Tabota, where "men keep fighting with their knives and arrows, causing the death of individuals. The continued theft of animals and bicycles is frequent". As in the rural community of Natta, the CCR reports "killings, thefts, and failure to respect customary ceremonies". These same problems occur in villages such as Koukouangou where "the men keep fighting with their knives, clubs, and arrows". Most often there are injuries and deaths. There are also many cases of theft "some steal the bicycles of their neighbors and rustle the animals belonging to others" (Koukouangou). In the village of Kountchougou, there are "thefts of animals and other crimes; people kill each other". At Dipokofontri, theft and adultery are very widespread. There is also the kidnapping of women (Koukouangou and Koutagou). The CRL at Koukouangou in particular reports: "crime in the village revolves around women. They violate the girls, they grab another fellow's wife, even those who have already borne children for their husbands".

E. Relations with the Outside World

The relations of the population groups with neighboring villages and communities essentially are carried on through markets in the other villages or in the neighboring countries

(TOGO). People thus travel and maintain good relations. Others go in search of land (Kountchougou, Koutogou, and Koukouangou).

F. Emigration

There is significant emigration from the urban community of BOUKOUMBE: 1,500 persons in one year settled in TOGO, NIGERIA, or in the south of ATACORA. Most had to leave the community due to lack of land and the poor soil. The same is true of the rural community of Natta or Tabota where "these persons left the community to settle where they can live well. Our soil is very poor compared to the soil in NIGERIA and BORGOU. These persons could work there and make more money". Emigration has fatal consequences for the region: "this emigration makes the community poorer because of the flight of the young people who leave the old ones on the impoverished soil and they can no longer work to feed themselves".

In all of the villages surveyed, it was the poor soils that constituted the primary cause of this emigration. This leads to "aging" of certain villages as a result of the departure, of young people.

G. Specific District Problems

During the rainy season, the major problem involves means of communication - the roads are impassable between the communities and villages. Certain villages, such as Koutagou, complain that they have no roads and no means of transportation. Other villages, such as Dimantina, are isolated due to lack of bridges - the deep branch channels of rivers bar the way. Others, such as Koukouangou, complain that public

vehicles often find it difficult to get there. Also during this time, the manpower shortage becomes one of the main problems, along with famine.

During the dry season, the main problem is lack of water for humans and livestock.

H. District's Needs

The district needs a revitalized road network and bridges to link the most remote villages. In addition to this road network, it is necessary to develop a transportation service. Many villages feel the need for developing such a service to carry goods, especially during the rainy season. Concerning health services, the CRL of Koukouangou admits that "those who are out in the fields cannot take care of themselves properly and there is no way to transport the sick to a medical center" - if there is one. There is no medical center in any of the communities. Dimantima is 10 km from the medical station and in emergencies "the patient runs the risk of dying because of the lack of immediate care".

Finally, there is a shortage of nurses. In the urban community of BOUKOUMBE, which consists of 16 villages, the health facilities are not adequate because "everything is in ruins and should be repaired". In the rural community of Natta, which consists of 11 villages, there is simply no medical station.

There are insufficient schools and not enough teachers. They lack manuals for the teachers and furniture for the students. In the urban community of BOUKOUMBE, the CCR hopes that all schools will eventually be equipped because right now "they exist only in name". At Dimantima, school attendance during the rainy season is very low because "the water spills over the banks of the branch channels". The same is true at

Koukouangou: "people living 5 km from the center cannot go to school during the rainy season because of the flooding of the branch channels".

Villages with drinking water are rare: "there are places where there is no drinking water and you have to go to the branch channel where the pigs and the ducks swim. You just dip in and drink". At Dimantima, "in spite of the many wells in the village, the people cannot find potable water". In others, there are no wells and there are no other resources except to draw water from the branch channels, as reported by the CCR of Manta to the effect that "there are no wells in the 11 villages of the community and the people are often sick with stomach ailments".

Solidly-built market sheds are lacking: "the sheds are covered with straw which has to be changed each year". Other villages complain that the markets are not sufficiently supplied due to lack of transportation. One cannot find any work tools there and sometimes not enough food either.

The land is very poor and fertilizer and good seeds are needed. More money is needed for agricultural services and for extension personnel. Also there is no recreation there. For recreation, the young people must go to NATITINGOU, the headquarters.

I. Population's Needs

The needs felt by the population are many and essentially involve wells, schools, dispensaries, roads and bridges. To that, the urban community of BOUKOUMBE adds "lack of food-stuffs". The most important thing for the population of this community is to have something to eat. The same is true at

Kounadougou, Koutagou, and Kountchougou. But, for the community of Tabota, and Dimantima the most important thing for the population is the construction of wells.

J. Positive and Negative Factors for Development

Factors which most hinder the region's development are the poor soils and the lack of land; this leads to the flight of the young people and the aging of the population. The lack of communication further aggravates these problems. The CCR could not see any factor that would promote the development of the region. There are some lowland sections in the region, particularly in the urban communities of BOUKOUMBE and Manta; but they are not being worked due to lack of resources or also because "the population does not like rice cultivation. There is too much water and there are too many insects during the rainy season". There is also some good bottom land in the villages of Koukongou, but that land is not being worked for the same reason.

In spite of the poor soils, there is, however, enough land to permit the establishment of new farms, except in the urban communities of BOUKOUMBE, Koukouangou, and Tabota. Land transfer generally takes place through simple occupation. At Koukouangou, because of the lack of land, permission is needed from the parents (relatives) to settle on a new piece of land. In the community of Tabota, each peasant inherits his father's plot of land.

K. Health Problems

Onchocerciasis is severe in the region and even children under 7 years are stricken in the community of Manta. The most frequently encountered diseases in the district are diseases of the eyes, malaria, fevers, meningitis, and diarrheas.

The main causes of death mentioned are malnourishment which reduces the resistance of the human organism (CRL Natta), the lack of medical care (Natta, Manta), and diseases such as measles, meningitis, and finally "sorcery and fetishism, or curses".

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 15B.

VOLUME 16

DISTRICT OF COBLY

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The district of COBLY consists of three communities made up of 28 villages comprising a total of 19,403 inhabitants. The population is essentially made up of NYENDE, GOURMANTCHE, and BERBA.

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

Apart from the community of Tapoga, where the ethnic groups maintain "friendly, familial, and ceremonial" relations, there was no further information. At Siénu, the BERBA have more prestige than the GOURMANTCHE "because they are more numerous".

B. Popular Celebrations

Popular celebrations take place primarily during the dry season. There are fetes on the occasion of a fetish tree which falls because this event is considered like an old person dying. There is also the struggle between the villages; this is a fete to mark a test of strength and it expresses rejoicing. There are also ceremonies of initiation, weddings, and funerals.

C. Social Function of Markets

There is no market in the community at Tapoga. At Siénu, "the men, women and children go to the market to sell their products, to purchase what they need, and to meet neighbors and friends".

D. Crime

Theft is the major crime, especially between the months of January and May: "they steal lambs, beef cattle, and millet, going even into the grain storage places". There are also brawls or the kidnapping of women belonging to other men.

E. Relations with Outside World

The people move from one village to the next on market days and maintain friendly relations with the people in neighboring villages: "relations are friendly and familial, involving exchange with other communities in the region. Movements are regular in both directions with some flight from the farm; it is especially the young folk who head for NIGERIA and GHANA". The men also go to the neighboring villages "to find girls to marry".

F. Emigration

Emigration involves young people who go to neighboring countries, especially NIGERIA, "in search of good things". This leads to population loss in certain villages. But there is also a process of immigration, such as at Sienu, where 14 people have settled down: "these persons came to settle in the village because they pay their taxes in a faraway village. Since the revolution demands that they regroup in the village, these people cannot leave their fields which are next to the village to go and settle far away. They are thus obligated to come and stay in our village".

G. Specific District Problems

In the community of Tapoga, the only one for which we have data, the main problem arising during the rainy season is the problem of "its total isolation. This is due to the lack of

bridges over the river situated at the entrance of the village of Tapoga. This sometimes leads to famine. More particularly, this year, the settlement of PEULH from (UPPER VOLTA) in the community with their animals caused much loss and waste in the fields". During the dry season, villages, such as Pintinga and Zagnori, suffer a water shortage, both for animals and for human beings. During the rainy season, the lack of foodstuffs is felt rather severely and many suffer famine.

H. District Needs

The district, which is land-locked, needs roads because it is isolated for many months each year. At Sienou, "the roads cannot be used during the rainy season due to lack of bridges. There are no means of transportation available here". It is therefore necessary to build bridges and to repair the roads.

There are no health services in the village of Sienou; there is no school and, in the other villages where there are schools, the teachers simply do not want to stay. Even at COBLY, few teachers want to stay and some leave several days after their arrival. We have no other information on the district's needs since all the questionnaires were not completed.

I. Population's Needs

The needs felt by the population in the community of Tapoga involve the completion and furnishing of the infirmary, a male nurse, the repair of the roof of the only school in the community, school furniture, new classrooms and layout a road from Tapoga to COBLY, with bridges.

The most important item for the population is the infirmary and health personnel, the construction of a school and assignment of teaching personnel.

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

The principal factors limiting development are the dispersion of the population and the lack of roads and markets. No single factor has been cited as being capable of promoting the region's development. However, there is bottom land which is not being worked, except at Siénou. There is much land available to permit the establishment of new farms although this land is not fertile. These lands belong to the "BERBA group, since their ancestors were the first to settle there" (Siénou). When a new household is established in the village, the head of that household picks the place to build and the land he wants to work, then informs the eldest in the house.

K. Health Problems

Onchocerciasis is serious in the district, particularly at Siénou, where "many men and women are struck by onchocerciasis". The other diseases are measles, smallpox, malaria, and dysentery, as well as snake bites.

The main causes of death are measles among the children, snake bites, alcoholism, and old age.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 16B.

VOLUME 17

DISTRICT OF COPARGO

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The district consists of four communities comprising a total of 37,450 inhabitants. The main activity is agriculture, followed by animal husbandry, crafts, and small-scale commerce. The population is essentially made up of YOM who account for 80% of the district's population. The other ethnic groups are the SORUBA and TANEKA, who, together with the YOM are part of the DJOUGOU and kin, followed by some PEULH, Lougba, and Houassa. In the community of Anandana, which consists of 7 villages (5,375 inhabitants) the SORUBA account for 50% of the population. In the communities of COPARGO and Pabegou, the TANEKA predominate with more than 90% of the population. In the community of Singre, the YOM represent 80% of the population.

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

Relations between the various ethnic groups in the district are essentially commercial relationships, based on economic exchange. The entire wealth of the YOM and SORUBA is in the hands of the PEULH who are in charge of their herds. In exchange, they can keep the milk and the cheese. Relations between the first two groups, however, go beyond economic exchange (trade) since they get together to participate in common ceremonies and inter-marry, thus establishing kinship links. On the district level, the CRAD believes that "each group is independent and autonomous and one cannot speak of inequality; besides commercial relations which link them,

there is nothing else to cause them to associate with each other"; in the community of Anandana, the SORUBA believe that they are superior to the others: "they do not consider the other groups although the others seek to get closer to them. This group is of feudal origin and it is the first to have settled in the community". "The foundation of this inequality thus has to do with roots in the community". The consequences "are that the community does not advance. We find inequalities, misunderstandings, hatreds, and divisions".

In the district, the YOM and the SORUBA have more prestige because the PEULH are subordinated to them. They are "the most hard-working and, in the economic area, establish the district's largest granaries. Among them are fetishists who can decide the fate of nature and therefore the development of the district".

In the community of Anandana, the SORUBA and the BOUFALE have more prestige than the others because of their outside relations. "They want to act like feudal lords and they do everything to make sure that people see them as such. Everything they have they use to enhance their own honor". When it comes to selecting an official or anyone of importance, the choice always falls on a SORUBA or a BOUFALE. "But when it comes to doing hard work, the choice always falls on the other groups".

On the district level, the groups that have the least prestige are the PEULH "because they are considered as groups that have no origin or history that is well known. They are nomads who have never belonged to any region, any village, or any city. They are engaged only in animal husbandry and they have very little interest in the country's development". In the community of Anandana, the Kabrai, OTAMMARI, and Losso

have less prestige than the SORUBA and BOUFALE because "they left their country because of forced (hard) labor, famine, and poverty, to settle here where they find that they are slaves. They have no right to speak out no matter where they are and no matter what they want to say. They are considered to be ugly people of the world".

In the community of Anandana, the most prosperous villages are Setrah, Coubenebene, and Koukoubendi. These are the villages where the people work very hard, successfully cultivating the land and "much money comes into the village". The other four villages in the community are less prosperous "because they think that they are too important because of the language they speak. They act like feudal lords. This feudalist attitude does not enable them to do any work; they occupy themselves with futile pursuits, fetes, and markets".

B. Popular Celebrations

In addition to religious and civic fetes, the life of the district, the community, and the villages is marked by a large number of traditional fetes. Among the most important ones are "Kpama" which is the feast of the generation of persons under the age of 40 and it lasts a week. It takes place every 5 years. We can also find the feast of "Koussahou" which takes place with the same periodicity but which concerns the generation of old people between 55 and 60. After having celebrated this fete, the participants enter the generation of chiefs of Tata who have no further ceremonies to perform until their death. This fete takes a week.

The "Kékléhou" takes place every 10 years in the community of COPARGO and Pabegou, and every 20 years in the community of Singre. This is both the feast of the devils and the ancestors and it lasts 7-10 days.

There is the fete of the PEULH "which is nothing but a simple occasion for popular rejoicing and in the course of which they practice flagellation, just as for marriage".

Six other important fetes are being celebrated in the community of Anandana:

"Assakou", which is the killing of cattle, takes place every 5 years, lasts 8 days in TOGO and then everyone continues at his home for another 8 days. Like the following fete, this one is characterized by dancing, singing, eating and drinking. The purpose is to enable everyone to display his wealth. "They have both rich and poor here. Those who have not participated in this ceremony are considered to be children. On the day of his death, the person is buried like a child, without funeral ceremonies".

Among the BOUFALE and SORUBA, the ceremony of tattooing the loins is an absolute requirement. It lasts 8 days and is conducted every 5 years. The purpose of this ceremony is to enable the individual to display his bravura: "the person who does not go through that, does not have the courage to remain with the others".

Circumcision takes place every 2 years among the SORUBA. As in the case of the other ceremonies, this is an occasion for the group to get together, to dance, sing, eat and drink.

The feast of killing dogs is every year among the Kabrai and every 2 years among the SORUBA. This lasts 2 weeks and takes place to the rhythm of the dancing and singing.

"Sokré" is practiced among the BOUFALE and takes place every 5 years; the young people spend 3 months in the convent. Sokré ends in a week of ceremonies. This fete is obligatory for all BOUFALE nationals to get a better life. The "dance of the horns" among the Kabrai has the same meaning.

C. Social Function of Markets

The social function of the markets, centers around the buying and selling of products necessary for the household. It serves as a place for meeting people and exchanging information. While the women do their trading, the men go to the tavern to exchange ideas or information, such as political, social, national, local, or inter-village or inter-district and even international.

D. Crime

In the district of COPARGO, the only crime problem is theft, which is most accentuated among the PEULH. In the communities, there are problems of theft, sorcery, kidnapping of women, rustling of animals and brawls in the markets when the peasants have consumed too much "chappalot". In the community of Anandana, these problems hardly exist: "the community lives in peace because it is quite removed from the urban population centers; when they discover a problem, it means that a stranger is involved. He is discovered, he leaves the community, and leaves us in peace".

E. Relations with the Outside World

The population's relations with the other districts take place through markets and trade. The population in the district of COPARGO maintains continuing commercial relations with the districts of DJOUGOU URBAIN and DJOUGOU RURAL, KOUANDE, NATITINGOU, OUAKE, and also with TOGO. "These activities are very important and frequent. The women go to the markets in the interior of the district on the border of the other districts almost every day. As for the community of Anandana, its relations are particularly well developed with TOGO which is easier to reach than the neighboring communities".

F. Emigration

The CRAD has estimated that 600 persons left the district to settle primarily in NIGERIA where they earn a higher income: "they left in search of easy gain in the neighboring countries". In the village of Pargoute, "most of the young people left for NIGERIA to make money there. That has caused famine among us". The district admits that, because of emigration, "agricultural production has been slowed down". At Anandana, the CCR deplures the fact that the "community has been becoming more and more empty year after year. The first persons to leave had much money when they returned. So, after they left again, others followed them. Each year, we record new departures. Only the old, who cannot leave, will be left in the future".

About a hundred persons came from neighboring countries in search of fertile land. Since they are good workers, this is beneficial for the region's agricultural production. Otherwise, the only arrivals are the new civil servants appointed by the government.

G. Specific District Problems

During the rainy season, the most important problem relates to infrastructure facilities: of the 28 villages and four communities, which constitute the district, only five villages and two communities can be reached. The community of Anandana confirms that the tracks are absolutely impassable, any communication with the interior is impossible, and that is very serious when people become sick. The same problem can be encountered in almost all villages. At Pargouté, there is not enough straw to make all roofs tight and the water leaks into the houses.

Water shortage becomes a major problem during the dry season. Here again barely five villages have water throughout the year. The water shortages make it necessary for the herds to migrate. Another problem arises at Anandana when the young people go to the urban centers: "the community becomes empty, activities are stopped because there are no more young people, merchants from TOGO invade our markets and empty our granaries". During the rainy season, the situation of the population is very critical because of the lack of food especially in the remote villages. At Pargouté, there is no famine "because we are at the border of TOGO but food is very expensive".

A double problem arises in the community of Anandana: "the peasants sell everything to the Togolese merchants and famine appears during the rainy season". Most serious of all is the fact that the peasants are not organized since "they sell all their food products to their brothers in TOGO. They in turn buy them cheap during the dry season, they fill their granaries, and then they sell it back to us at twice or three times the purchase price during the rainy season. That happens over and over again every year".

H. District Needs

The district has many needs in terms of infrastructure facilities. There are roads which date back to colonial times and which have turned into impassable tracks and even water courses. We need roads to connect the villages to each other and thus to facilitate trade.

When there is a health station, as at Anandana, there are no medications because the station is supplied only twice a year. The situation is even more serious in the villages.

There are not enough school buildings, classrooms, teachers, furniture, and school materials; a school was begun 5 or 6 years ago at Anandana but it was never finished. We only have a single teacher for three classes: "the brothers from TOGO make fun of us; the children are taught under the trees. We have to build schools".

The bad condition of the roads does not permit good circulation of products. The lack of shelters is felt rather severely, particularly during the rainy season.

There is a "shortage of chemical products, good seeds, and extension activities to get a good harvest".

I. Population's Needs

The needs felt by the population on the district level are to produce more in order to raise the living standard, to still the people's hunger, and to store reserves for the rainy seasons.

In the community of Anandana, the most urgent need is for roads, the lack of which isolates them from any urban center. Consequently, their agricultural products are shipped to TOGO. Communication lines are so difficult that "the civil servants assigned to the community are isolated and believe that this is punishment". Finally, the inhabitants deplore the fact that the dispensary is not stocked with pharmaceutical products. Other needs of the community include: manufactured products, fabrics, salt and petroleum. At Pargouté, the worst shortage involves pharmaceutical products. According to the CRAD, the thing that is most important for the district's population is prestige and honor. At Anandana, the most important thing is to have communication lines and to gain access to imported products, such as salt, petroleum, sheet metal, and

pharmaceutical products. The community has no maternity facilities and many women die during childbirth. "The community in general is very loyal but does not benefit from anything because of its isolation".

The most important problem in the village of Pargouté is the population's health.

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

The factors that limit the district's development are "the mountains, the hills and rivers, and the flight from the farm by the young people who go to the neighboring countries". In the community of Anandana, the thing that limits development includes the weather: "the lack of rainfall during the past 5 years did not permit good harvests". We must also note the flight from the farms: "many young people leave the community and go to the urban centers. This slows development". Another negative factor as far as development is concerned is the excessive slaughter of cattle to celebrate certain fetes. "For the cattle slaughter feast, the peasants spend all the money they have been able to save during the year".

The factors promoting development are of an institutional nature, such as the CARDER which purchases industrial products and SONAFEL. By means of intensive cultivation by SONAFEL of tomatoes over an area of 50 hectares in the community of Anandana the flight from the farm has been slowed by hiring manpower. Unexploited potentials still remain, however, such as the forest in the village of Pargouté, or "stones which constitute an important source of wealth for certain countries and which are an important element in construction. The district of COPARGO is mountain country and lacks means for exploiting the quarries to be sold in the other districts".

Certain lowland areas, in the community of Anandana are being worked. They cover almost 180 hectares. No other factors were reported in the district. In the villages, it seems that there is sufficient land to permit the establishment of new farms. This is done through the land chief who indicates to the new household the fields which it can cultivate.

K. Health Problems

Onchocerciasis is not mentioned as a health problem in the district; but measles often are serious: "we also find dysentery, fevers, malaria, and leprosy here".

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 17B.

VOLUME 18

DISTRICT OF DJOUGOU URBAIN

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The information concerning this district has not been received.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 18B.

VOLUME 19

DISTRICT OF DJOUGOU RURAL

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The district of DJOUGOU RURAL consists of eight communities, comprising a total of 57,162 inhabitants. This is the most heavily populated district in ATACORA. The main activity is agriculture plus some commerce and craft activities. The population is essentially made up of PILA-PILA (YOM), and BARIBA, particularly at Bariénu. In a smaller proportion, BARIBA are in the community of Kolokondeé. The PEULH are found in small numbers in all communities but hardly exceed 10% of the population.

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

There are good relations among the various ethnic groups in the district since there are marriages between them, mutual assistance and even exchange of food. As a general rule, there is good understanding and work is done together (CRL BAREI). However, there are inequalities among the ethnic groups. Thus, "the PILA-PILA consider themselves to be the owners of the land, the DOMPAGO and PEULH being strangers" (CCR Bellefougou). The PILA-PILA have more prestige and the PEULH have less than the others. Prestige is often tied to seniority in the community or the village. Thus, at Bellefougou, it is the "PILA-PILA group which has the most prestige because the community belongs to them" or at BAREI: "here it is the YOM because it is considered to be the group that came first". At Bariénu, "the ethnic groups that have the most prestige are the BARIBA and YOM because they are the founders and owners of the region". Those who have the least

prestige are those who are considered to be foreigners, nomads, or because they have no wealth. At Bariénou, the groups that have the least prestige are the SOMBA and the DOMPAGO because they came to settle among the YOM and BARIBA; they are thus foreigners. The PEULH have the least prestige "because they were the ones who came last; they leave and they settle down again when they wish; they have no fixed domicile" (CCR Bellefougou) and "they herd the cattle of the others".

B. Popular Celebrations

In addition to the fetes of Tabaski and Ramadan, which are celebrated by the Muslims, most of the groups celebrate the time of planting and harvesting. The festivities generally last 1-2 weeks and are perpetrated from generation to generation. There is also the feast of the new rain.

The DOMPAGO celebrate the feast of youth which takes place during the harvest. On that occasion, "everyone prepares beverages, both girls and boys; they also prepare rice, chickens, Guinea fowl, and even pigs so that they may invite each other. The fete lasts 5 days" (CCR Bellefougou). There is also the feast of the classes: each year, the old promise their ancestors to kill lambs, goats, or pigs, for them. At Bariénou, where the BARIBA account for almost 50% of the population, they celebrate the feast of Gani with the presentation of the knights". This is the occasion for presenting one's problems to the ancestors through the charlatan. Other ceremonies take place on the occasion of marriage or death. For the YOM, Friday is the day of ceremonies.

C. Social Function of Market

The market is a trading and meeting place: "the men and women meet at the market, some to buy, sell and others just to promenade" (CCR Barienou). "The women go to the market to sell; the girls go to the market to sell; the boys go to the market to sell; the boys go to the market to meet their fiancées and to drink" (CCR Bellefoungou). The story is the same in almost all villages: "everybody goes to the market: the men to drink; the women to buy condiments and merchandise" (Pelebina) or "the market is a place of exchange - exchange from the viewpoint of ideas and the viewpoint of food" (Barienou).

D Crime

Although in the community of Bellefoungou, "we do not have any cases of crimes, of thefts, nor of violations of laws and customs", the same is not true of Bariénou, where the "primary crimes are the kidnapping of women in the other man's home" or at Kolokondeé where there are cases of adultery. In the village of Bariénou, "crime prevails. There is small-scale theft, for example, of yams or chickens. There is no longer any respect for customs". At Yoroussonga, "there is no theft in the village, except for the PEULH who steal when they have feast days". In the village, "crimes are rare but theft and the violation of laws and customs are more frequent".

E. Relations with the Outside World

The relationships of the communities with the other communities and the other villages developed primarily around the market. Thus, the community of BAREI is privileged in its relations with the outside world since it is situated in the northern part of the Urban district of DJOUGOU. The district of

OUAKE is only a few kilometers away and there is a big international market there "which the sister Republic of TOGO comes to attend".

Relations between certain villages are sometimes very friendly, such as at Pélébina, for example, where "the environment is good and there is total freedom. The people from both sides visit each other often". Finally, movements are very frequent from one village to the next or even to NIGERIA, TOGO, and NIGER.

F. Emigration

There are two types of emigration in the district: those who emigrate from one community to another community, in the same district, looking for more fertile land, and those who leave the district, the country in search of "easy money" or a better life. Thus, 26 persons left the community of Bellefougou to settle in the other communities because their land was not fertile enough; 210 persons left the community of BAREI and about 80 left the community of Bariénou to settle in NIGER, NIGERIA, and GHANA, looking for a better life or "to be able to buy a means of transportation and radios". The result is that these communities are emptied of good workers, in the case of Bariénou even leading to an "imbalance in the budget since the taxes are not collected". This problem is even more dramatic among the villages, such as Pélébina, where, because of that emigration, "the village loses its importance. Only the old people are left. When the young people leave, work does not progress at the same pace".

In the village of BAREI, "25 persons left to settle in the other villages which are calmer. These persons left the village because of malnutrition and poor land" while others left because of "the women or girls whom they grab from the hands of their buddies". In this latter village, it should

be noted that immigration was heavier than emigration but the consequences are fateful because, with the arrival of new families, "the village lost its good moral rules".

Finally, in the community of Bariénou, 50 persons came to settle in the districts of NATITINGOU and BOUKOUMBE "because the homeland was not as fertile."

G. Specific District Problems

The most significant problem arising in the district during the rainy season is the lack of bridges which isolate certain communities and villages. The CCR of Kblokondeé thus wrote: "the bridges that are down prevent the people from moving from one village to the next". There is a shortage of market shed space. Buildings and granaries crumble: "during the rainy season, we have serious problems with our rooms because they are covered with straw" or "during the rainy season, the houses fall down and the granaries crumble" (CRL Pélébina).

During the dry season, the lack of water makes itself felt in the communities of Bariénou, Bellefougou, Kolokondeé, and BAREI. We encounter the same problems in the many villages in the district, in the village of Bariénou, "we have fires".

During the rainy season, the population suffers from lack of food because the prices of food products are too high (CCR Bellefougou; CRL Bariénou). At Pélébina, the CRL reports that "during the rainy season, the situation is very serious for the peasants. If, during the year, their food does not suffice for them, this is very serious, because they eat what they produce and yet, this is what they sell. They never have any cash". At BAREI, the problem arises in these terms:

"during the rainy season, there is a shortage of food, water, and money each year. Many suffer from the lack of food and want to live at the expense of others. Malnutrition causes disorder. Products cost a lot and money grows more scarce with each passing day. Poverty spreads, everybody complains about the lack of food".

H. District Needs

The district's needs for roads and transportation services essentially relate to the lack of bridges and poor maintenance of existing roads which link the various localities. In the village of Bariénou "there is a road which has not been finished because of the large bridges. There are no transportation services". In certain villages, such as Pélébina, "the peasants build the tracks themselves which then take them all the way to the major highways. If there are any branch channels, they build small bridges across them. We rely on our own strength".

There is a shortage of school teachers, school furniture and teaching material; the CCR of Pelebina is disappointed that "the children remain in ignorance".

It would be necessary to drill wells in many villages. At Bariénou, the CCR admits that there is no service that would make it possible to get drinking water and "the population suffers because of that". At BAREI, the village "needs drinking water but cannot get any. The population suffers from a great water shortage during the dry season".

At Pélébina "there are no problems regarding the markets; everybody tries to make his own market where he happens to be". Other villages need sheds. At Bariénou, "the population urgently asks for such sheds". At BAREI, the problem is more complex: "certain markets need permanent sheds. This market

must be supplied with beverages and food . The markets also need roads to facilitate the shipment of goods to the city. The markets also need small shops". At Kolokondeé and at Yoroussonga, the enlargement of the central market is an urgent necessity.

There is a shortage of agricultural equipment for cultivation. Draft animals, and other production inputs often are delivered late by CARDER. In certain villages such as Yoroussonga, "we need extension agents to help us". At Bariénou, there is "one extension agent who serves the population". In Bariénou the people are asking for "assistance from the local agricultural loan fund to purchase cattle and plows". At BAREI, most farmers need draft animals to replace manual cultivation, in order to be able to cultivate larger areas."

I. Population's Needs

The needs felt by the population include schools, dispensaries, wells, communication lines, and sometimes market places. At Bellefougou, "the community needs to build a market, three wells, a maternity ward, a health station, a pharmacy, a town hall, and roads". These same needs are encountered among the villages: "the village needs a school, hospital, wells, and roads" (CRL Yoroussonga); "the population has an urgent need for drinking water, for the construction of a market, a dispensary, and teaching personnel" (CRL Bariénou); "the people need a dispensary, a school, and a market" (CRL Pélébina); "the village needs schools, a dispensary, and wells" (CRL Bellefougou).

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

The factors that limit the development of the district are both of a material and cultural nature. There is a shortage of fertile land and agricultural equipment (CCR BAREI). There is

also seasonal emigration . Factors of a cultural nature include "the control which older people exert over the younger people" in the community of Kolokondeé; the positive factors in other areas include the fertility of the land which could permit peanut and cotton cultivation "but these crops are not being grown" (CCR Bellefoungou). There are certain lowland areas which are not being worked either because there is no manpower or no money.

Enough land is available in the district to permit the establishment of new farms. The land belongs to no one and land transfers are handled by simple occupation. The surface area which the new household can take over depends "on the number and the strength deployed by this new household" (CCR BAREI).

K. Health Problems

Among the more serious diseases are malaria, smallpox, measles, cholera, tuberculosis, onchocerciasis (CCR Bariénou) and leprosy.

The main causes of death can be traced to infectious diseases. In the community of Kolokondeé, child mortality is very high because of malnutrition and the lack of hygiene.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 19B.

VOLUME 20

DISTRICT OF KEROU

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The district of Kérou consists of three communities, and 17 villages comprising a total of 22,245 inhabitants. The main activity is agriculture. The people grow sorghum, corn, yams, cotton, peanuts, beans, and even rice. They also engage in animal husbandry and crafts. Although the BARIBA are the dominant group (70%) in the community of KEROU, the GOURMANTCHE are practically the only group in the community of Firou (99% of the population).

A. Type of Relations between Various Ethnic Groups

No information was given on this subject in the community of KEROU where the GOURMANTCHEé constitute almost all of the population. In the community of KEROU, the BARIBA maintain somewhat strained relations with the PEULH who keep their herds, particularly when they "allow their animal to stray into the fields of the BARIBA. As a consequence, local authorities are called upon to render judgment". The BARIBA have more prestige than the PEULH or claim more prestige because the latter "cannot live without the presence of the BARIBA". In the community of KEROU the prestige of the BARIBA is not so much tied to wealth as it is to historical reasons.

Thus, the CCR writes as follows: "there are artificial inequalities among the groups: the BARIBA group believes that it is better than the others, the Djerma believe they are better than the PEULH, whereas in reality it is the PEULH who are economically best off. Those who feel that they are superior to the others are less well endowed and their superiority is based on feudal principles. Moral offenses sometimes lead to exchanges of blows and often cause serious wounds. Collaboration among the groups is thus difficult and artificial".

The PEULH have less prestige "because they are a group that does not do anything and they are very mobile. Their lives are tied to the life of the herds. They therefore often feel that they are strangers in their environment".

B. Popular Celebrations

Apart from the religious celebrations of Christianity and Islam, few fetes are celebrated in the community of Tapoga, except on the occasion of marriage, where the festivities last 3 days, and funerals, where the ceremonies extend over a period of 14 days, in the course of which sacrifices are made to the ancestors: "if they do not make these sacrifices, there will be many deaths".

C. Social Function of Markets

The market "is a public place of exchange". In the community of Kérou, there is a market every 4 days. In the market "one can meet vendors, buyers, and people who just promenade. Some go to the market for their purchases, others to meet other members of their family" (Kossou).

D. Crime

Crime in the community of KEROU is the result of a certain cultural decline: "customs are in a phase of breakup or pressure from changing times". Although crimes are not frequent there, "there are forms of crimes such as poisoning and deadly blows, people being hit by arrows, etc. Thefts are rare and perpetrated by people who come from elsewhere" (CCR KEROU). At Kossou, "there are thefts of domestic animals, such as lambs, goats, and chickens. There are also people who go after the wives of other men and who put items in the fields and houses to kill people."

E. Relations with the Outside World

The district's population groups are in constant contact with the populations in the other districts and the neighboring countries, particularly through trade. The inhabitants of KEROU regularly go to the market at MALANVILLE. Young people leave to go to NIGERIA to make money.

F. Emigration

The emigration of the young people, particularly to NIGERIA, is an important phenomenon in the district. The young people leave their community or their village "to go of in search of fortune" (Firou). At KEROU, "poverty causes people to leave their village". This emigration not only makes the villages poor but, when the young people return, that can create certain special social problems, such as at KEROU, where "some come back even with maids!"

In the community of Firou, about ten people came to settle down to devote themselves to cotton growing. This immigration, coming from UPPER VOLTA, is not perceived as being beneficial, on the contrary, it is judged to be "unfavorable for the community" (CCR Firou).

G. Specific District Problems

During the rainy season, the problems arising in the district include the lack of communication "the trails deteriorate, bridges are down, and the roads are flooded" (CCR Firou). In the village of Kossou, the people "suffer from mosquitoes, fleas, snakes, and diseases" during the rainy season. "The birds eat their production. The people also lack petroleum, and salt. There is a shortage of supplies in general".

During the dry season, the water problem becomes crucial in the district of Kérou: "the wells and swamps dry out". Furthermore, diseases are numerous during this period, when the harmattan blows.

During the rainy season, we encounter the same problem in all villages that were surveyed in the district: shortage of foodstuffs, which causes famine.

H. District Needs

The community of Firou needs "scraping of roads, clearing of culverts and means of transportation". At KEROU, the community needs "the construction of culverts and changes in communication lines as well as vehicles". The CRL of Kossou writes: "the roads are cut and there are no means of transportation in the village. Everything is lacking in the village".

There is a single infirmary in the community of Firou (almost 7,000 inhabitants). The community of KEROU is asking for a medical station here. There is no pharmaceutical product sales outlet here. The population suffers much and people are forced to engage in traditional medicine".

There is a shortage of school buildings, instruction, furniture, and teaching materials.

There is only a single major well in the community of Firou. The entire population thus has no access to drinking water. At Kossou, the population must take water from the Médrou River.

There are no markets in the community of Firou. At Kossou, it is necessary to build new sheds and the market is very badly supplied; there is a shortage of "salt, petroleum, soap, and other items". The construction of a central market is necessary at KEROU.

The population lacks agricultural production factors. At Kossou, the population demands "good herbicides because there are weeds (Sakara) which kill the sorghum plants".

I. Population's Needs

In the community of Firou, needs include a health complex, a maternity ward, and the drilling of wells for year round drinking water. KEROU needs small bridges and communications lines. In Kossou needs include: drinking water, wells, a medical station, a pharmaceutical products station, roads, a school, a market, products for soil treatment so that production may turn out a good yield".

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

The factors which most hinder the district's development are the lack of communication lines (Firou). Agriculture is limited by impoverishment of the soils. The flight from the farm slows down the development of the community of KEROU. There are river basins, in particular at Kossou, along the Mékrou River. But the land there is not being worked because "the population is afraid to work there".

In spite of everything, the CCR of KEROU feels that agriculture in the community could be improved with the assistance of an extension agent, the issue of adequate material and the improvement of communication lines to end the region's isolation. There is enough land in the community to permit the establishment of new farms: "to the new household, the population offers land to settle on and to cultivate, without paying anything".

K. Health Problems

Onchocerciasis is serious in the region and in particular hits the villages along the Mékrou River.

"The number of blind people in the community of Kérou keeps increasing. This causes a drop in the output because the blind people cannot work any longer and must be cared for by their relatives, their friends, or they must beg for money and food".

The other diseases affecting the population are malaria, measles, dysentery and snake bites.

At Kossou, the main causes of death "come from the river water which the population consumes". At KEROU, there is also "poisoning and snake bites".

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 20B.

VOLUME 21

DISTRICT OF KOUANDE

II. GENERAL INFORMATION

The information concerning this district has not been received.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 21B.

VOLUME 22

DISTRICT OF MATERI

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The district of MATERI consists of six communities with a total of 47,411 inhabitants (1979). The main activity is agriculture, followed by animal husbandry, fishing, and commerce. The population is essentially made up of BERBA, who account for 95% of the district's population. The rest, (5%) is made up of MOSSI, GOURMANTCHE, and PEULH. But in many villages one finds only BERBA.

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

Since there are practically only BERBA here, there are limited relations with other ethnic groups, except with the PEULH who keep their herds. The BERBA consider themselves to be superior to the PEULH "who are nothing but migrants and foreigners". The other groups are equal to the BERBA although the latter consider themselves to be the first occupants of the land. The PEULH have little prestige among the BERBA: "They always hide in their rooms and they do not go out for fear of somebody seeing them" (Pauri).

B. Popular Celebrations

There are apparently no traditional fetes being celebrated in the district; instead, there are ceremonies in connection with funerals. At Pauri, for example, it takes 3 or 4 months to prepare the festivities for the deceased if a person over the age of 60 is involved. "During the scheduled month, they grind up two or three bags of sorghum for the preparation of the

beverage for the fete. The old members of the family consult the deceased to find out whether he agrees to the celebration of a fete for him. If the answer is positive, the oldest person in the family sets the date. At around 5 a.m. of the date set, the drums are beaten in front of the deceased person's room. An old woman cries out and says: "today we begin the preparation of the feast of such and such a person". On the next day, they prepare the beverage in large quantities. On the eve, they give a sheep and a hog to the maternal uncles of the deceased. The sheep is butchered and most of it is prepared for a meal. After the meal, the drum is beaten again, the people dance and drink. At midnight, the clothing which the deceased person had worn is thrown into the underbrush, saying: "today, we let you depart for the heavens. We do not want you in the house any longer". That ends the festivities. Without that, "the deceased person would never leave the house".

In addition to the traditional festivities for the deceased, in certain villages, there are annual festivities, such as those following the millet harvest. At Tihoun, this feast "is announced by several drumbeats. The people come out from everywhere and go to the public square in the village and begin to drink and dance. There are also ceremonies involving fetishes to bring rain and prevent famine.

C. Social Function of Markets

The social function of markets is to enable people to get together; the market is a meeting place. Everybody goes to the market: men, women, and children, to sell their products and to buy what they need but also to meet their friends and to drink "chappalot" or to consult the charlatan. "Some men go there only to drink (chappalot). Women go for pleasure and to promenade (Tihoun). At Pauri, the people think that "the market is somehow a festivity".

D. Crime

As a general rule, there is no longer any crime in the district because "the people are too much afraid of the gendarmes" (Tihoun). However, there are many problems involving theft as well as affairs involving women because of forced marriage, called "exchanging sisters".

E. Relations with the Outside World

Relationships of the population with the other districts are rather well developed because of the flight of the young people from the farm and the commercial spirit of some persons. The markets are also an important factor in contact with other populations.

In certain villages, such as Pauri, relations with the other villages develop on several levels. First "when one gets married to a girl from another village, one lives in friendship with the entire family of the girl from that village. From then on, the family gives you food and drink". The frequency of movement depends on the frequency the woman desires to see her family again. "You follow her when she goes to see her family. When you come back, she is accompanied by a boy or a woman whom you receive in your home". Other relations are established through meetings at the market place: "if you want to become friends with somebody whom you meet at the market from your village, you must treat him to a drink. He, in return, invites you to come to see him on market day in his village. When that day comes, you visit him: he treats you to a drink, he gives you something to eat, and he shows you the girls of that village who are ready to be exchanged (traded). Before going back, you once again invite him to visit you and you give him the same reception. Thus, thanks to your friendship, you wind up with a woman".

Other villages, such as Boutouhou-Pingou, are not as fortunate and have practically no relations with the other villages because of their isolation.

F. Emigration

The CRAD has estimated that about 5,000 persons left the district to settle either in another province or in NIGERIA, TOGO, or the IVORY COAST. The reasons given involve: the system of forced marriage; those who want emancipation; to avoid poisoning; adventurers in search of money; to look for good land or find easy money or those who simply cannot find work in their village. One of the major consequences is that the villages lose their good workers, the young are lost and economic development is hindered.

There was practically no immigration into the district. Only at Pauri, 14 persons "came from the reservation". They were driven out by the officials from the Department of Water and Forests of the reservation and they came to settle in our village".

G. Specific District Problems

During the rainy season, the most serious problem is the district's isolation due to the poor condition of the tracks. This problem appears in all villages surveyed. At Boutouhou-Pingou, there is a problem of mosquitoes. There is also lack of food, and diseases are prevalent.

During the dry season, there is severe water shortage. In certain villages, the women must travel several kilometers to find limited drinking water. Finally, at Boutouhou-Pingou, the CRL reports that "there are too many diseases during the dry season".

H. District Needs

The district needs a new road network to provide the following links: Matéri-Kouandé, Tcharikonandé-Nagassé, Kouande-Satiendiéga, Tiélé-Porga, Matéri-Cobly, and Matéri-Dassari. Since there are practically no roads, there is no transportation service between the villages and it is difficult to transport the harvest for sale. Also, when somebody gets sick, the person cannot be transported to the hospital.

There are not enough medical and pharmaceutical stations or medical personnel. It is necessary to build a health center at MATERI and a medical station in the community headquarters. At Tihoun, there are many problems because native products do not bring about recovery from all diseases.

There are not enough school buildings, school furniture, and teaching personnel. Moreover, it would be necessary to build dining rooms because the children suffer from chronic malnutrition. In villages such as Boutouhou-Pingou (742 inhabitants), there is only one school just built by the people but there are no teachers. At Pauri, "when they send us teachers, they only spend 2 days with us. Then they go away to regions where there is enough water. Perhaps they would stay here if we had water in the village". The people are convinced of the need for schools and teachers because "we want our children to be educated so that they may tomorrow defend the cause of the people and improve our living conditions" (Tihoun).

The district as a whole suffers from a water shortage during the dry season. Wells were demanded in all villages surveyed. Water from the branch channels is often muddy and unhealthy.

Many market sheds are needed to develop the markets. In most villages, there are only small markets and it would be necessary to have "a big market to help us sell our things

without going too far" (Koussege). Other villages complain that the big market is located too far from their village and that it is difficult to reach because of the condition of the tracks. At Boutouhou-Pingou "there is only a small market for beverages". At Tihoun, "the closest market is far from our village. During the rainy season, we have problems in buying foodstuffs". Long distances also make manufactured products much more expensive.

Extension services are needed and the shortage is most serious for agricultural needs (tools, fertilizer, and seeds). At Boutouhou-Pingou, the CRL admits that "in our village, peanuts grow very well but we do not know how to cultivate them to get good yields". At Pauri, the villagers were upset because "recently we were driven from the reservation where the land was fertile. The land which the officials from the Water and Forests Department force us now to cultivate is not fertile and we also need fertilizer".

Finally, others are sorry that the means of production (plows, carts, fertilizer, etc.) are expensive and that the peasants do not have the means with which to get them even when needed (Tihoun).

I. Population's Needs

According to the CRAD, the needs felt by the population relate to medical stations and pharmaceutical products, watering points, roads, and leisure.

In the community of Tantega, the population is asking for wells, dispensaries, schools, and roads. These same needs are felt in all villages surveyed. Some of them add the following: "the lack of means with which to work the land and operating companies that can prevent the flight of our children to foreign countries" (Tihoun).

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

The most important factors hindering the district's development are the lack of roads, the dispersion of housing areas, and the flight from the farms. Nevertheless, there is enough land available in the district, including even bottom land, covering an area of 1,200 hectares. There is a shortage of resources with which to develop these lowland areas which, in the current state of affairs, "are only good for rice cultivation and that is not the basic diet of the people". One positive factor for the district: the development of cultivation, using draft animals. The general rule which prevails when a new household is formed or settled in the village calls for the simple occupation of the land, after authorization from the village headman.

However, at Tantege, where there is not enough land, the family head controls the distribution of land. At Koussege, a person who wants land "goes to see the village delegate. The latter informs everyone and the people decide on the land the new arrival may have. There, he himself outlines his field's surface area and asks for the name of the former owner. He then goes to him to ask for authorization to cultivate the land and the owner gives him that authorization without taking anything in return.

K. Health Problems

Onchocerciasis is serious in the region (Tantege), causing a drop in the output. Here there are many blind people as well as sleeping sickness and leprosy.

The most frequent diseases are measles, malaria, parasitoses, icterus, and snake bites; the latter are a major cause of death. Other causes include "sorcery, fetishism, bad luck," suicides, assassinations, and poisoning.

L. Other Comments

The CRAD furnished supplementary information on the district: "the BERBA are the dominant tribe, with a scattered habitat where the household enjoys definite economic autonomy. The PEULH are shepherds and retain their semi-nomadic habits.

Emigrations are high in the district. The young people leave the district in large numbers to go to BORGOU, ZOU, NIGERIA, TOGO, and the IVORY COAST. They thus deprive the region of more than 20% of its active population in both sexes.

Lack of communication blocks economic and social development.

In order effectively to liberate the BERBA, it is necessary to combat many backward practices such as poisoning, swapping sisters, excessive consumption of "sodabi", as well as a feudal attitude. The organization of the peasants in the form of GRVC (Revolutionary Cooperative Groups) and assistance for the production factors will permit a great economic impetus for the region".

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 22B.

VOLUME 23

DISTRICT OF NATITINGOU

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The district of NATITINGOU consists of six communities, comprising a total of 41,141 inhabitants. Outside the urban community of NATITINGOU, which is the province headquarters, the main activity is agriculture and commerce. We find the same two activities in the urban community of NATITINGOU, plus a certain number of civil servants. The population is essentially made up of YOWABOU who speak Waama and OTAMMARI who speak Ditammari, DENDI, PEULH, and finally, FON, who are civil servants.

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

Overall, one can summarize the type of relations existing among the various ethnic groups as being "relations of open collaboration" (CCR Perma). At Yetapo, where we have the OTAMMARI and PEULH, the CRL writes the following: "the PEULH are the foreigners but we do not consider them to be foreigners any longer. They have blended in with us, with the OTAMMARI, and we speak the same language" or in the rural community of Perma: "the DENDI came to the land of the OTAMMARI so that both groups consider each other as brothers and speak almost the same dialect without conflict". Finally, at Pouya, the YOWABOU, OTAMMARI, and PEULH live in good harmony; each specialized in supplementary economic activities: "the YOWABOU, in the old days, lived for the benefit of the OTAMMARI. The latter were smiths and the YOWABOU knew how to extract iron. Since the OTAMMARI also engaged in animal husbandry, they long ago came to buy the iron from the YOWABOU in return for animals or

cheese. Now, the YOWABOU are weak when it comes to crop cultivation and they get their food from the OTAMMARI. The PEULH engage in animal husbandry and, like the OTAMMARI, they do not like cattle and entrust the animals to them". This, however, does not mean that there is not friction sometimes between these groups. The CRL of Yetapo writes: "here, we live together, the OTAMMARI and the PEULH, and we consider each other to be brothers. We give our herds to our brothers, the PEULH, to keep them. But the PEULH steal these animals from us. We say nothing and they believe that they are smarter than we are because we do not demand that they return the lost animals. When they steal one of the animals, they say that the animal is lost. However, at the end of the year, you give him a bag of millet or sorghum, plus a pile of yams and every 5 years you give him one or two head of cattle if the cows produce well. They steal from us, quite apart from our market transactions. That is too much".

In the community of Perma, the DENDI have more prestige than the OTAMMARI and believe themselves to be superior to the OTAMMARI: "the alien DENDI, who came to the land of the OTAMMARI, find that they are nastier than the former inhabitants because they think that they are better than the OTAMMARI". But where there are only OTAMMARI and PEULH, the OTAMMARI have more prestige "because they are the founders of the villages and the PEULH have less prestige because they are foreigners". In the community of Perma, the Betammari have less prestige "because they were savages". At Pouya, it was the YOWABOU who had the most prestige "because they alone knew how to extract the iron which others purchased from them. Then came the OTAMMARI who forged the iron to work the land. Everything was lost with the arrival of the whites. The PEULH have less prestige because they raise herds for others".

In the villages of Perma and Pargouteé, the OTAMMARI have less prestige "because they lack vigilance and they are rather backward in everyday life".

B. Popular Celebrations

The OTAMMARI celebrate many traditional feasts throughout the year (refer to the description of the OTAMMARI group, Volume 31). Some of these festivities last a month, such as the feast of the start of the harvest (Moussotié (fine wheat bread)); the people dance, sing, and drink. The fete of "Tipinti", which marks the end of field work, lasts only one day. The men and women sing and dance and drink a sorghum beverage with the village chief; the feast of "Koutchati" marks the start of the rainy season and the beginning of field work. It lasts from five days to one month, according to the village involved. The men and women sing and dance, from house to house, drinking the sorghum beverage. Other fetes are celebrated only every 3 or 4 years and mark different stages in the life of individuals. This is particularly true of "Difouani" and "Dikountri". Among the YOWABOU, on the occasion of funerals, "they prepare "chappalot" and kill animals on the tomb so that the dead may join the ancestors".

In the village of Perma, where the OTAMMARI are in the majority, there is the fete of "Coutchati" to celebrate the field work which has started. The men and women sing, from house to house. The other traditional fete of the OTAMMARI is "Tipinti" to celebrate the end of field work. The men and women sing and drink sorghum beverage with the village chief.

C. Social Function of Markets

The social function of the markets is described very well by the CRL of Pouya when he says: "the market is the big gathering place for merchandise where you sell or buy what you want. The men and women go to the market, some only to sell and others to have the pleasure of meeting people". We encounter this same viewpoint everywhere and to that we can add the social reason for the young people to go there: "if the young people go to the market, they do so to check on the women whom they want to carry away or to watch their own wives" (Yetapo). Finally, the market also can be an opportunity for solving certain problems because this is where one can consult the charlatans. In addition to its economic function, the market is also a place for the exchange of ideas and recreation.

D. Crime

There are relatively few crimes in the district; the main problem is theft; in the community of Kouaba, "there is only theft. It happens at all times especially during the dry season". Perma "is a calm place where there are no bandits". There are only poisoners, such as at Pouya. "There are no criminals except for the poisoners and some rare cases of theft".

E. Relations with the Outside World

Relations with the other villages and the outside world are established primarily through the markets: "the young people and women go there and visit the other villages to sell products on market days" (CRL Perma). These relations with the outside world are very important especially during the dry season when there is little work and communications are easier. The young people go further than the neighboring communities: "they go to NIGERIA to make money".

F. Emigration

There is a strong flow of emigration from the different communities of the district, primarily toward NIGERIA, which is a center of attraction for all young people "who are looking for money" (CCR Perma). That is the main cause of emigration in all villages surveyed. But we can also find other causes, such as "those who grab women of other men and must then escape" (CCR Kouaba). In villages such as at Perma the immigration of families who come looking for land to work it compensates for the phenomenon of emigration, and that restores the equilibrium in a certain manner. But in many other villages, immigration is minimal and even zero.

G. Specific District Problems

During the rainy season, "the roads are cut by the branch channels without bridges" (Perma). Crops decline and cause problems of malnutrition and even famine (Pouya). There are also health problems (Yetapo). In this village it is impossible for the children to go to school during the rainy season because the school is very far away and they have to cross a big branch channel which blocks the trail. During the dry season, there is a serious water problem, "the water in the branch channel runs out, our wells run dry, and we suffer a water shortage" (Yetapo, Perma). There is also "cattle rustling and cattle plague" (CCR Kouaba).

H. District Needs

The CRL of Yetapo declares that there is no road "in order quickly to go to the market or to the health station. There is lack of an adequate health center and poor supply for pharmaceutical stations. Too often "there are no pharmaceutical

products to offer for the sick". At Pouya the State had decided to train two young first-aid specialists: a girl for the pregnancy of women, and a young man, for general care. But both left the village a few months after they were trained". At Yetapo, there is no health service and "if anyone gets sick, it is too late by the time he gets to the hospital".

The number of schools is insufficient or, as at Yetapo, they are too far from the village and practically inaccessible during the rainy season. There is a shortage of furniture, housing facilities, teachers, windows, and doors (CCR Kouaba). This is the same problem encountered at Perma: "there is a lack of classrooms, teachers, furniture and supplies".

All villages have water problems because, during the dry season, "the branch channels run dry. There is not even enough wash water, not to mention drinking water" (Perma). Practically all villages are demanding deep wells in order to have water throughout the year.

It is necessary to build market sheds because, during the rainy season, the market is shifted because there are no sheds to shelter the merchandise" (Perma). At Pouya, there is no market and the people have to go to NATITINGOU.

There is a need for fertilizer and insecticides, as well as extension work: the CRL of Perma writes that "there is a shortage of chemical products, good seeds, and also extension work to get good harvests". At Pouya, the CRL notes that "there are weeds here which prevent good production. This causes the land to dry out and to become bare".

I. Population's Needs

At Pouya, the needs felt by the population include: "more fertilizer to be able to produce food. As the village becomes empty, the old people would like to have sheet-metal houses because they cannot cut the straw when it is needed. At Perma, likewise, the people need fertilizer and transportation".

At Yetapo, the people need a medical station, a school, and agricultural inputs. At Kouaba, the needs of the population include wells, a maternity facility, pharmaceutical products, and furniture for schools".

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

Among the factors that hinder the development of the district are natural factors such as climate, and poor soils, and cultural factors. In Kouaba, "the plague, diseases, and poor soils" constitute a serious obstacle. In Perma, "the factor that limits development from the agriculture viewpoint is the rain. In the administrative framework, there is the lack of equipment for daily necessities". Factors of a cultural order are evidenced at Pouya where the CRL writes; we have good land here where we could produce much but, because of the fetishes, we cannot manage to work that land".

There is some bottom land and river basins, such as at Kounitchangou, which cover almost 10 hectares. But they are not being worked due to lack of equipment. The district has other potentials which are not yet being exploited, in particular, the development of the sale of Shea tree nuts: "the population could exploit it for the development of the village but lack of initiative does not permit us to do so" (CRL Perma). At Yetapo, the CRL admits that "the sale of timber could earn money but we are not doing that". In this

village, the dispersion of the population and the misunderstanding prevailing among the inhabitants hardly constitute factors favoring development: "if, for example, the village chief summons the population to a meeting at his place to discuss the proper operations of the village, no one comes. If the meeting is at the delegate's place, some people come while others hide in their own homes".

The district has enough land available to permit the establishment of new farms, something which is done by simple occupation of land, in accord with the village chief or the former owner. At Pouya, when a new household is formed in the village, the person involved goes to see the owner of the land who shows him the plot which he can cultivate". At Kounitchangou, "the population assumes the job of showing the new arrival a piece of land on which he can settle". In the village of Perma, "the landowner shows the new arrival a free piece of land where he can build and make his field. The household is free to occupy the plot in the best way it can".

K. Health Problems

Onchocerciasis is serious in the community of Perma and is also found in Kouaba. The most widespread diseases are fevers, especially malaria and neuro-malaria, smallpox measles, infectious diseases, yellow fever and dysentery.

The main causes of death are "neuro-malaria, pernicious attacks", snake bites, and "a disease which causes a person to swell up". At Perma, the three main causes of death are "snake bites, poisoning, and murders".

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 23B.

VOLUME 24

DISTRICT OF OUAKE

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The District of OUAKE consists of four communities, comprising a total of 33,095 inhabitants. The primary activity is agriculture but some people also engage in animal husbandry. The population is essentially made up of DOMPAGO (Lokpa). But, in certain villages, such as Kanifele, the KABYE are in the majority. Some PEULH live in the different villages.

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

These different groups maintain generally good relations which manifest themselves through mutual aid and marriage bonds. The PEULH keep the herds of the DOMPAGO. But we were not given any information on the inequalities among the groups and the degree of prestige which characterizes them with respect to each other.

B. Popular Celebrations

Several traditional fetes are held each year in the villages, in particular, to celebrate the new harvest and the planting. This is the occasion for the population to get together again, to dance, drink, and eat. We also have the fete of the promotion of "Ifalace" in the course of which young people of both sexes go together to the bush for 2 weeks. There are other fetes whose purpose is to celebrate ancestors.

C. Social Function of Markets

The market is also a meeting place and a place for amusement. Although the women go there mostly to sell the products of their farms and to buy condiments with which to prepare the household meals, "the old people go to the market, not so much to sell but rather to drink Tchoukoutou. As for the young people, they go there only for pleasure" (CRL Behondo). The market thus is not only a place for the exchange of products but also for the exchange of ideas (CRL Konde) and amusements (CRL Kawado).

D. Crime

There is little crime in the districts. The CRL of Behondo writes the following: "the village has no crime because of the District and because of respect for tradition". The same is true of Konde. Only at Kawado did the CRL note "that there is theft".

E. Relations with Outside World

The relations between the people in the different villages are excellent: "relations with the other villages and the outside world are very good. Especially in the economic field, with the periodic market. Sometimes, on the occasion of ceremonies, certain inhabitants of other villages arrive to celebrate together" (CRL Behondo). At Konde, the CRL writes: "relations with the other villages are excellent since the young people get married between one village and the next". We found this type of relationship in all of the villages surveyed.

F. Emigration

There is movement away from farms in the community of Konde but the CCR was unable to give any statistics on that exodus, nor were there any figures from the one at Behondo. However, at Kawado, at least 85 persons left the village to settle in the country's interior "because the land is so poor". This is the same reason that forces the young people in Behondo to emigrate to TOGO and particularly to NIGERIA. These young people leave the village because the soil is so poor. They work very hard for agricultural production but the rewards do not equal the effort. The consequences for the villages concerned is "that only the old persons are left and thus agriculture is on the decline" (CRL Behondo). There is no immigration into the region.

G. Specific District Problems

During the rainy season, "the farmers worry about excessive rainfall which leads to flooding and thus to bad harvests" (CRL Behondo) "and the collapse of houses" (CCR Konde). Finally, the rainfall also degrades the soil and the communication lines.

During the dry season, "the central problem is lack of water." (Behondo). At Konde and Kawado, the main problem springs from the destruction of the fauna by brush fires and diseases. During the interim period, there are hardly any problems "if the harvest was good". Otherwise there is famine (Kawado).

H. District Needs

"The roads are impassable during the rainy season. The village economy is thus on the decline because of the lack of infrastructure and the means of transportation are scarce"

(Behondo). The same problem is encountered at Konde where "the roads are bad during the rainy season and that leads to food scarcity during the interim period".

There is no dispensary, nor is there any maternity center in the community of Konde. The same is true of Behondo where "the village has serious health service problems which have still not been solved. The village does not have a health station. In case of serious illness, it is necessary to go to the community's headquarters. The patient sometimes succumbs to the disease during the trip".

At Behondo, "the village has only two schools and an excess of children of school age. Each year we can see certain children rejected because of lack of space". At Konde there is a lack of masonry buildings, furniture, and teaching personnel.

There is practically no drinking water due to the lack of wells. The existence of a major market in the neighboring community of Konde reduces chances for development of a market in Konde. At Behondo, the village does not have a market. Women must walk more than 8 km to sell their few products: "And they have to go there at the mercy of the sun and the rain". There are no extension agents in all the villages and that there was not sufficient fertilizer to improve the poor soil. At Behondo, there are agricultural services in the village. "But, in view of the growing number of farmers, the latter do not get much benefit from the advice given as there is only one extension agent for the entire settlement. When there is fertilizer, the farmers do not have money with which to buy it.

I. Population's Needs

The people need a new school (Kawado) and teachers (Konde), dispensaries (Kawado and Konde), wells, fertilizer, and the development of draft-animal cultivation (Kawado), and the

"construction of entertainment places" (CCR Konde, CRL Konde). At Behondo, however, the most important thing for the people is "the improvement of agricultural work methods".

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

The factors that limit development most of all in Konde are "the poverty of the inhabitants, diseases, and the excessive departure of good workers, leading to the community's depopulation. The CCR thinks that the creation of GRVC (Revolutionary Cooperative Groups) could possibly promote the community's development. Unexploited potentials, are practically nonexistent and there is no bottom land or no river drainage basin land to be worked. Only at Kawado is there a gold deposit in the Binal River which is not being worked.

Finally, there is adequate land in the district to permit the establishment of new farms even though the soil is poor. Land transfers are carried out through simple land occupation after authorization from the village chief or the household head: "when a new household is formed, it notifies the old household head of its intention to leave the family at large and to be on its own. If the decision is approved, the new household is asked to pick the place where it wishes to settle in the village. The settlement place very often is on the plot of land which the family had. From that moment on, the family head cedes certain plots of land belonging to the family to meet the needs of the farm.

K. Health Problems

In addition to infectious diseases, such as measles, smallpox, chicken pox, malaria, and yellow fever, there is also Guinea fever and leprosy.

The causes of death are due to these diseases and to old age.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 24B

VOLUME 25

DISTRICT OF PEHUNCO

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The District of PEHUNCO consists of three communities, comprising a total 19,845 inhabitants, grouped into 25 villages. The primary activity is agriculture and animal husbandry. The population is mostly made up of BARIBA, PEULH and GANDO.

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

There are good relations and cooperation between these groups, since the PEULH are the keepers of the herds of the BARIBA. But the BARIBA have more prestige than the PEULH or the GANDO "because they are the first occupiers of the land" (Beket), "because he is the chief and the creator" (Pehunco - Gah), or "because they are the lords of the land" (CCR Tobre). The BARIBA still consider the PEULH and the GANDO to be their slaves, which they were during feudal times: "the PEULH were the slaves of our parents and even though they are no longer today, they are still considered as what they were in the past" (CCR Pehunco-Gah). There is no equality among these groups by virtue of their history, and, although good relations exist between them today, it is important to note that "they do not get together whenever they recall the past" (CCR Tobre).

B. Popular Celebrations

The principal fete is the great fete of Gani which is the fete of the princes and lasts a month each year. It marks the end of the year. There is also the fete of the rejection of fire

which takes place every year. At Pehunco-Gah, a village populated only by PEULH and GANDO, there is only one traditional fete, "which takes place only once every 10 years and it lasts 10 days. During that fete, each household head must kill a head of beef cattle for each deceased person. If you had 20 relatives, you must kill 20 head of cattle". This can be explained since the PEULH for a very long time had nothing to offer to deceased relatives. The deceased then demands the sacrifice of a head of beef cattle and, in exchange, the living person asks him for a long life, health and wealth to be able to offer him even more cattle during the next ceremony.

C. Social Function of Markets

Everybody habitually goes to the market: men, women, and children. They go there to sell the products of the fields and to buy condiments, loincloths and other necessities. "The men go to the market mostly for amusement and the women go there to sell the family's harvest" (CRL Pehunco-Gah). The CRL of Beket notes that "some men only wander off to the market" which is a place of amusement.

D. Crime

Crime takes on a very special form in the village of Beket: "crime is known here in the form of sorcery. And if you talk about sorcery in the village, you are also talking about crime. These crimes are perpetrated through obscurantism". Furthermore, thefts, infractions of the laws and customs are very rare in the villages surveyed in the District, with the exception of the kidnapping of women (wives) in the community of Tobre.

E. Relations with Outside World

The villages establish relations among each other not only through the markets but also through marriages, sports, ceremonies, and popular festivities. Trips are frequent, particularly during the dry season. Moreover, the young folks leave the villages to go to NIGERIA. But all CRL do not always look kindly upon these movements and contacts. Thus, the CRL of Pehunco-Gah finds that the population "has too much contact with the other villages".

F. Emigration

At Pehunco-Gah, there was hardly any population movement due to emigration or immigration. But in the other villages, the situation is not the same: 26 persons from Guimbererou, 150 persons from Tobre, and 165 persons from Beket chose to emigrate either to BORGOU or to NIGERIA in search of better-paying work or "in search of fortune" (CCR Tobre). The consequence of this emigration is the depopulation of the villages of young people, and that delays the region's economic development. The old persons are thus left to themselves and agricultural production declines.

Only 25 persons came to settle at Tobre from NIGER or MALI. This immigration does not make up for departures.

G. District Needs

The District needs a road and bridges to permit better circulation of products between villages. At Pehunco-Gah, the CRL notes that the peasants "have land that is very rich for crop cultivation but, during the harvest, there is no road for transporting this harvest from the village to the district headquarters. There are no bridges either; they are all down".

The village of Guimbererou is in a rather preferred position: "the dispensary is not too far away and there are no health problems". But that is not true of Tobre where a pharmacy, a maternity facility, and a village health unit are needed. At Pehunco-Gah, "there is no dispensary and the people care for themselves by means of traditional medicine. In serious cases, they go to the dispensary in another village. Some people die due to lack of medical care and others due to lack of money for buying pharmaceutical products".

While the village has a school at Guimbererou, there is none at Tobre. At Pehunco-Gah, "nobody was in school because it is located in the district's headquarters which is far from the village".

There is no drinking water at Guimbererou, nor at Tobre, where it is necessary to dig wells. Pehunco-Gah has more of a chance" because it is located on the banks of a river where the water flows ceaselessly during every season".

It is necessary to build a market at Tobre and another one at Pehunco-Gah. The latter does not have "any market other than the market at the District headquarters which is held every 4 days".

The only agricultural problems involve lack of seeds and fertilizer and the need for developing draft-animal crop cultivation.

H. Specific District Problems

During the rainy season, the main problem involves communications, lack of roads and bridges.

During the dry season, lack of water causes the population to suffer. At Pehunco-Gah, this is the time when "the young people go off for adventure in NIGERIA".

During the interim period there is "a shortage of food" in Tobre, but apparently no such problem at Guimbererou.

I. Population's Needs

The needs felt by the population essentially concern drinking water, roads, and bridges to permit the various villages to communicate with each other. At Beket, the people need "an infirmary and a pharmacy, manufactured products (bicycles, loincloths, motorcycles) at the same prices as in NIGERIA plus a small bookstore containing notebooks, ballpoint pens, and books".

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

The thing that seems to limit the region's development most is that "the farmers are not familiar with the importance of fertilizer and selected seeds". Unexploited potentials include draft-animal crop cultivation which would make it possible to work larger areas of farmland and increase output". In Tobre, the drainage basin of the Alibori (River) which covers almost 1,000 hectares, is being worked by the population. There is enough land in the region to permit the establishment of new farms which may be accomplished by simple occupation of the land. The land does not belong to anyone but rather it belongs to the one who needs it. It suffices to go to the village headman who permits the new arrival freely to settle and cultivate what he wants on the surface area he can work.

K. Health Problems

Onchocerciasis is present in Tobre, particularly along the banks of the Alibori. The other diseases encountered most frequently are malaria, measles, smallpox, and tuberculosis. The main causes of death are diarrhea, measles, malaria, and poisoning.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 25B

DISTRICT OF TANGUIETA

II. GENERAL INFORMATION

The District of TANGUIETA consists of five communities, comprising a total of 28,506 inhabitants. The primary activities are agriculture and hunting. Some individuals also engage in commerce and animal husbandry. The population is made up of NATIMBA (46%), TAKAMBA (27%), and GOURMANTCHE (14%). The rest of the population is made up of BERBA, HAOUSSA, MOSSI, DJERMA, PEULH, and YORUBA.

A. Type of Relationships between Various Ethnic Groups

Relations existing between the various ethnic groups are neighborliness and understanding and are profoundly marked by the roots in the environment. Thus, "the TAKAMBA, GOURMANTCHE, and NATIMBA always lived in close intimacy, protected by bonds which have been strengthened down through the centuries, dominated by good neighborly relations and characterized by peaceful relationships. Today, they are strongly interrelated through the welding effect of peaceful cohabitation and community life, solidly united by bonds of marriage. The minority groups which did not originate in this area, such as the HAOUSSA, DJERMA, MOSSI, YORUBA, FON, PEULH, and BARIBA, collaborate much more intimately among each other and maintain only relationship of good neighborliness and peaceful coexistence with the first clan".

Although in the past one could not really speak of inequalities among the ethnic groups, each having its own social organization and all practically engaging in the same

activities, i.e., working the land, certain groups managed to distinguish themselves either through their heroism or through their work and thus to acquire more prestige than the others. The NATIMBA, for example, acquired much more prestige because of their fight against foreign occupation (Kaba War). The TAKAMBA and GOURMANTCHE are considered big producers (farmers, growers) and the YORUBA manage to stand out through commerce.

B. Popular Celebrations

Numerous popular celebrations mark life in the District and some of them are repeated each year while others take place every 2 or 3 years. Some are peculiar to an ethnic group while others involve the entire population. Thus, every 2 years, the TAKAMBA organize a fete of circumcision and excision to mark the transition of the young people to adult status. The GOURMANTCHE celebrate this ceremony every 3 years. It consists of sending the young people to a convent for a period of 3 months, prior to circumcision. The NATIMBA also have an initiation fete (for each sex) which takes place every 3 years. There is an individual retreat of 9 days for the men and, when that is over, the ritual ceremonies take place. For the entire population there are annual fetes, such as the fete of the dead, the fetes of field work, whose purpose it is to extoll work and encourage solidarity; the fete of new harvest revelry; the fete of the traditional struggle to boost the most courageous and strongest individuals; the fete of tattooing which is a test of bravery and courage; and finally, the fete of song competition to find the best singer: "the village nightingale".

C. Social Function of Markets

The CRAD particularly stressed the social function of the markets when he writes: "the markets are places for transactions of all kinds, for public gatherings, for individual

and group meetings. These are public meeting places which permit the welding and interpenetration of the various tribes. This is where men, women, and children meet, some to sell, others to buy, and others just to promenade or simply to try to contact other persons. These are also places where occult consultations take place, along with exchanges of information (various kinds of news exchanged with neighboring villages). The market is also where great decisions are made, great meetings and "rendezvous of lovers". The market is thus a social event which goes far beyond simple economic exchange.

D. Crime

The main crime problems involve the theft of cattle, sometimes even at the domicile. There are also infractions of customs, particularly "by adulterers and voodoo through fetish".

E. Relations with Outside World

Relations with the people in other villages are very frequent in the district. "The most frequent trips are motivated by commercial reasons but there are also family contacts and visits with friends. These contacts are permanent and even daily".

F. Emigration

There is little emigration out of the District. It is usually due to some family problems, such as "quarrels, the kidnapping of women" or "the search for better-paid work. There is a current of immigration in the district, involving the PEULH who come during (cattle) migration from UPPER VOLTA, NIGERIA, BORGOU, and KEROU. They come in search of better pasture land and that entails the inconvenience of crowding the district's pastures, not to mention the destruction of harvests and the early drying of watering places".

G. Specific District Problems

During the rainy season, there is the problem of torrential rainfall which destroys the roads and bridges and even the houses and causes serious damage in the fields. There is difficulty in communicating with the other districts and the irregularity of school classes.

During the dry season, lack of water is a major problem since the wells and water courses run dry. Certain diseases appear during that season such as scabies and the wide temperature differences cause discomfort among the population.

During the interim period, the abrupt rise in food prices due to its scarcity, creates serious problems for many families.

H. District Needs

The CRAD notes the need for "resurfacing the tracks and black-topping the two interstate (international) roads from NATITINGOU to Porga and from TANGUIETA to Datori" as well as the construction of a bus station.

It is necessary to construct and equip a health center at TANGUIETA, as well as health complexes at each community. The construction of public latrines would also be desirable.

It is necessary to build at least ten schools of six classes each, to meet the people's needs; an office for the division of education and a housing unit for the district education officer. The population suffers from a shortage of water, particularly during the dry season. It would thus be necessary to build a water tank at Tanougou with a pipeline network to serve the districts. It would also be necessary to build water weirs and dams at Taiacou and TANGUIETA. It is necessary to build a market at TANGUIETA and N'Dahonta. Storage facilities

are needed such as warehouses or silos to improve agricultural services. Also, the construction of a reception center, a fish cultivation center, a truck gardening center, and electric power facilities would be welcome.

I. Population's Needs

The needs by the population cover those already expressed by the CRAD.

J. Positive and Negative Development Factors

Among the factors that restrict the District's development, the CRAD mentions "the unsteady climate, the poor condition of roads, the absence of telephone communications, the flight from the farms, traditional ceremonies, racial prejudices, and voodoo problems". There are not only physical and natural factors but also a certain number of factors of a cultural kind which delay and restrict the district's development. There are also positive factors for development, particularly, "the geographic location" of the district which makes it a cross-roads and its topography which, has always made it an important tourist site. There is much land available and also abundant manpower. There is some bottom land which is only partly worked due to lack of resources. Among the unexploited potentials, the CRAD suggests "the waterfalls of Tanougou and TANGUIETA, certain bottom lands, the gravel and stone quarries, and finally, solar and wind energy".

K. Health Problems

There is a serious incidence of onchocerciasis in the region, particularly along permanent water courses (Batia-Tanougou-Tchatingou-Sepounga). The other most frequently encountered

diseases are malaria, intestinal parasitosis, measles, tuberculosis, and meningitis. The main causes of death are due to these diseases as well as malnutrition.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 26B

VOLUME 27

DISTRICT OF TOUCOUNTOUNA

I. GENERAL INFORMATION

The information concerning this District has not been received.

II. STATISTICAL DATA

Please refer to Volume 27B.