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LAND TENURE STRUCTURE OF THE BAKEL SMALL IRRIGATED PERIMETERS

Baseline survey report -- Part 1

by
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with
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This paper is one of several which will be issued each year as preliminary documents for comment and discussion under the Land Tenure Center's contract with the United States Agency for International Development, Dakar, Senegal, as part of USAID's Project No. 685-C280, Irrigation and Water Management I. The author retains responsibility for errors and omissions.

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GLOSSARY OF ACRONYMS AND TERMS

assakal	tithe of Islamic origin -- traditionally 10% of crop. paid to landowner or sometimes to Marabout
bas-fond	low-lying land where water remains sufficiently long after the end of the rains to grow rice, for example.
CR	Conseil Rural or Communauté Rurale (Rural Council/Community)
diakka	Soninké word for assakal
GP	Groupement de Producteurs (producer group or cooperative)
GMP	Groupe moto-pompe (irrigation pump and motor set)
PIV	Périmètre irrigué villageois (village irrigated perimeter)
DP	Land Tenure Center Bakel Discussion Paper series:
DP 1:	<u>The Dynamics of Land Tenure: the case of the Bakel Small Irrigated Perimeters</u> , by Peter Bloch (June 1987)
DP 2:	<u>An Exploration of Alternative Land Tenure and Organizational Arrangements for the Bakel Small Irrigated Perimeters</u> , by Monica Sella (July 1987)
DP 3:	<u>The Role of Women in the Bakel Small Irrigated Perimeters</u> , by Marianne Bloch (July 1987)
DP 4:	<u>Le Systeme Foncier Soninke du Gajaaga</u> , by Samba Traoré (October 1987)

NOTE: Each Soninké or Toucouleur term or name has many different spellings in the literature and on maps and road signs. We make no claim to being authoritative on this dimension.

Introduction

This report and its forthcoming companion (DP 6) summarize the first year's activities under the Land Tenure Center's contract with USAID/Dakar to analyze land tenure dynamics on the Bakel small irrigated perimeters, which began in September 1986. They describe the results of a baseline survey of land tenure arrangements carried out in two visits to the region in January and August, 1987. The survey's methodology consisted of two parts: 1) key-informant interviews with leaders of the producer groups (groupements de producteurs) and other informed sources, and 2) a census of irrigation group membership.

This report focuses on the qualitative information gathered in the key-informant interviews. The information is presented in two ways: first, a perimeter-by-perimeter summary of the principal land tenure indicators, and second, a synthesis of the findings on the dynamics of land tenure compared across perimeters. The companion report, which has been delayed due to difficulties in data-gathering by our research assistant in Bakel, will present and analyze the quantitative information gathered in the census and also present the conclusions of the first year's research.

The second year of the land tenure research program will be substantially busier. In January 1988, two researchers will begin one year's worth of field work in Bakel: David Miller, an anthropologist from Boston University, will study the interactions between the organization of irrigation and the structure of family and village socioeconomic relationships on several perimeters, and Monica Sella, an agricultural economist from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, will study farmers' decisions to farm rainfed versus irrigated land in the light of land tenure and labor constraints. In addition, Marianne Bloch will continue work on women's participation in irrigation, Peter Bloch will extend his analysis of the importance of caste, and Samba Traoré will continue his analysis of the institutional aspects of irrigation. It is likely also that Tidiane Ngaido will do an in-depth study of the historical roots of the current problems with irrigation in the Falémé zone. We will have the benefit of the expertise in river-basin planning and anthropological analysis of Professors Thayer Scudder and Michael Horowitz of the Institute for Development Anthropology, who will provide short-term assistance to the project and notably to the work of David Miller. In addition we expect to work closely with the HARZA irrigation team, especially on the feasibility study for the medium perimeter in the Middle Valley.

I. LAND TENURE SITUATION ON EACH PERIMETER

This section presents capsule descriptions of the land tenure situation on each perimeter in the Bakel Department about which information was obtainable. It is based on field notes of the researchers, conversations with other key informants (e.g. SAED agents, local counterparts and members of other groupements de producteurs (GPs), and also on previously published materials. For each GP, there is a summary chart containing a common set of land tenure indicators. The charts are followed by a short narrative which focuses on the most noteworthy tenure characteristics of each perimeter. In the absence of any more compelling order, we will start with the furthest upstream village, Sénoudébou, and work downstream to Gandé.

The principal sources of information for this survey were meetings with the leadership of each GP. These interviews, which lasted from one and one-half to three hours, consisted essentially of a series of open-ended questions on the origin and evolution of the perimeter (see Annex I for the question list). From two to thirty GP members were present, along with several researchers and an interpreter. In some GPs, there was a single spokesman who answered all questions; in others, many men participated (women never spoke, and were rarely present; in several villages women's groups were interviewed separately). The questions were rarely asked in order, because the conversation was allowed to take its course.

We have not been able to obtain information on all the perimeters. In several cases (denoted by *), it is because the Soninke Federation has been less than eager to accept us as researchers, apparently because of previous bad experiences with being too welcoming to researchers who proved later to have said damaging things about the Federation. We expect eventually to be able to meet with every GP, but for the moment, we have not interviewed the following:

Kidira
 Aroundou Emigré
 Yafera *
 Koungani *
 Koungani Marabout
 Yellingara *
 Diawara I *

There is some information about Yellingara and Diawara, primarily about traditional tenure patterns, in DP 4 (Traoré).

GUITTA

President Daouda NdiayeVice President Oussma SyYear of Founding 1984Number of Members at start 45Number of ha. at start 19.5ORIGINAL PERIMETER -- on Sénoudébou's village landsWho owned the land before perimeter was created? Sisibé - on Sénoudébou landWho (if anyone) farmed the land before? not askedWas assakal paid to owners before? no Is it paid on perimeter? noWere owners compensated for land? not askedDo owners retain rights to the land? yes How? Sénoudébou continued to think it was its land; Sisibé recognized everywhere as ownersAre owners members of perimeter? one family member isAre owners officers of groupement? yesWho could join the groupement? anyone from village who wanted toWas there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? participation in clearingWho did join the groupement? everyone who thought it was worthwhileHow were parcels distributed among members? equal parcel. with layout similar to village homesteadsEXTENSIONS -- the new perimeter - on Guitta village landWho owned the land before perimeter was created? Alassane Sy. Adama Diallo. Doro KâWho (if anyone) farmed the land before? ownersWas assakal paid to owners before? no Is it paid on perimeter? noWere owners compensated for land? yes How? they got bigger parcelsAre owners members of perimeter? yesAre owners officers of groupement? yesAre extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? bothDo new members pay an entrance fee? no - just clear the landCharacteristics of new members maleTENURE RULESCan parcels be purchased and sold? yes To whom? hasn't been doneCan parcels be rented in or out? yes, in principle To whom? hasn't been doneWho gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? groupementWho gets a parcel if its assignee dies? inheritance within male lineWho gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? n/a since women can't own parcelsCan outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? yesAre specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yesNumber of Members in 1987 45Number of ha. in 1987 19.5

ALAHINA

President Mamadou Kanté Vice President Alassane Dembélé
 Treasurer Oumar Dembélé

Year of Founding 1987? Number of Members at start 8 households
 Number of ha. at start 19

ORIGINAL PERIMETER -- They used to belong to the Kidira perimeter, which was, however, on Alahina's land. This information is about Kidira. "Extension is about new perimeter.

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Bocar Oumar Sy and his descendants (among whom Malick Abdoul, the village chief of Alahina owned Kidira's perimeter land

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? It was farmed in hivernage by people from Kidira

Was assakal paid to owners before? not asked Is it paid on perimeter? no

Were owners compensated for land? no

Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? villagers recognize the rights of the Sisibé

Are owners members of perimeter? yes

Are owners officers of groupement? no

Who could join the groupement? villagers of Kidira and Alahina

Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes: clearing

Who did join the groupement? all who wished to

How were parcels distributed among members? Lucien (French SAED technician) set up lottery and gave out equal-sized parcels to all

EXTENSIONS

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Bocar Oumar

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Alahina villagers

Was assakal paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? n/a

Were owners compensated for land? no

Are owners members of perimeter? yes

Are owners officers of groupement? no

Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? When Kidira's perimeter shut down, Alahina decided to get its own perimeter.

Do new members pay an entrance fee? n/a

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no

Can parcels be rented in or out? no

Who gets parcel if its assignee leaves? another from same family

Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? brother of the deceased if he then supports the family, otherwise son or wife.

Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? husband gets it

Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? hasn't happened

Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes

Number of Members in 1987 8 households
 Number of ha. in 1987 19

SELLING

President Hamadou Guiro Vice President Cherif Guèye
 Treasurer Samba Guiro

Year of Founding 1977 Number of Members at start _____
 Number of ha. at start _____

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Guiro family
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? before the drought, village and 3 neighbor villages used to farm it
 Was assakal paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? understanding is that land was a loan to the groupement, not a permanent grant
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes
 Are owners officers of groupement? yes
 Who could join the groupement? anyone who wished in Selling and Guirobé
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? all but 3-4 families
 How were parcels distributed among members? equally - 1/4 ha. per household, by lottery

EXTENSIONS

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Guiro family
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? as above
 Was assakal paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? not directly, but may have more plots
 Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? primarily b), but 1 or 2 new families have joined
 Do new members pay an entrance fee? not clear
 Characteristics of new members must be from villages: outsiders not welcome on perimeter (or on village lands)

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? hasn't happened
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? family inheritance rules
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? not relevant -- parcels belong to families, not individuals
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? no
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes

Number of Members in 1987 32
 Number of ha. in 1987 15

WOURO HIMADOU

President Ousseynou Dieng Vice President Samba Mamadou Diallo
 Treasurer Samba Seno Diallo

Year of Founding 1975 Number of Members at start 15
 Number of ha. at start 10

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Ousseynou Dieng, Douga Ba. Oumar Diallo
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? the owners
 Was assakal paid to owners before? no Is it paid on perimeter? not clear
 Were owners compensated for land? yes How? they could choose which parcels they wanted on the perimeter
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? they lent the land with the condition that it continue to be irrigated by the groupement
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes
 Are owners officers of groupement? yes
 Who could join the groupement? all in village who wanted to (all did after SAED gave them food aid)
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes - clearing
 Who did join the groupement? 15 joined before SAED came; 15 more joined due to food aid
 How were parcels distributed among members? 3 owners chose first, then the rest was distributed by lottery. Equal sized parcels

EXTENSIONS - none except for private extension by president

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? yes To whom? apparently anyone
 Details? There was one case - they sold a piece of the collective field to a Malian for 20,000 FCFA
 Can parcels be rented in or out? yes To whom? unspecified
 Details? was done only once
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? the groupement can take it back if it isn't farmed
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? family inheritance rules
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? no women have parcels
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? yes
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes (apparently)

Number of Members in 1987 34
 Number of ha. in 1987 10

SINTHIU DIALINGUEL

President Moussa Diallo Vice President Kalidou Niang
 Treasurer Bassa Dem Pumpist Mahadié Niang

Year of Founding 1979 Number of Members at start 30
 Number of ha. at start 6 ha.

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Oumar Racine
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? owner
 Was assakal paid to owners before? not asked Is it paid on
 perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? he lent the land (a
type of "loubal") on condition that irrigation proceed. In fact he
did take the land back when the new perimeter was formed
 Are owners members of perimeter? not clear (name not on list)
 Are owners officers of groupement? "
 Who could join the groupement? all who wanted to
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? all who wanted to, but 10 left before
work began
 How were parcels distributed among members? by lottery

EXTENSIONS -- New perimeter

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Kalidou Niang's
family
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? owner
 Was assakal paid to owners before? no Is it paid on perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes
 Are owners officers of groupement? yes
 Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? both -- but
really because of unsuitability of first piece of land
 Do new members pay an entrance fee? not clear
 Characteristics of new members not specified

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? yes To whom? other members
 Details? person who rents is responsible for debts
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? groupement
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? son
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? no women have parcels
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? not asked
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes

Number of Members in 1987 35
 Number of ha. in 1987 15

DIALINGUEL

President Guèye Bâ Vice President Samba Soumaré
 Treasurer El Kalidou Oum Pumpist Alassane Soumaré

Year of Founding 1978 Number of Members at start "all males over 20"
 Number of ha. at start 12

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Demba Sow and Bassa Dème (from Sinthiou Dialiguel)
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? people from Dialiguel
 Was assakal paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? not clear
 Were owners compensated for land? apparently not
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? they could reclaim the land if the groupement stops farming it
 Are owners members of perimeter? no
 Are owners officers of groupement? no
 Who could join the groupement? all males over 20 years old
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? apparently all who could
 How were parcels distributed among members? equally, by lottery

EXTENSIONS - one is expected soon

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? same owners
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? villagers
 Was assakal paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? not functioning yet
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Are owners members of perimeter? no
 Are owners officers of groupement? no
 Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? both
 Do new members pay an entrance fee? not decided yet
 Characteristics of new members not asked

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? groupement
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? son
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? no women are members
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? not clear
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes

Number of Members in 1987 35
 Number of ha. in 1987 24

DJIMBE

President Alassane Gambi

Year of Founding 1978 Number of Members at start _____
 Number of ha. at start 13

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? six men from the village
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? the families of those men
 Was assakal paid to owners before? no Is it paid on perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? if irrigation stops they
regain their land
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes
 Are owners officers of groupement? apparently not
 Who could join the groupement? any village man
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? all village families were signed up
 How were parcels distributed among members? equal size plots by lottery.
with each family entitled to as many as it could work -- by family size

EXTENSIONS

There was an extension in 1984 which approximately doubled the area under irrigation. The tenure status on the new field (only part of which is suitable for rice) is not known with precision, but is likely to be the same as on the original perimeter. A few new members joined, and only have parcels on the second field.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? the groupement
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? son
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? n/a: women aren't members
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? has not yet happened
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? not clear

Number of Members in 1987 55
 Number of ha. in 1987 27

SINTHIOU DEBEKHOULE

President Oussevou Thiam Vice President Djiby Coulibaly
 Treasurer Sada N'Diaye

Year of Founding 1978 Number of Members at start _____
 Number of ha. at start 18

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? chief
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? villagers
 Was assakal paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? can regain rights if irrigation ceases
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes
 Are owners officers of groupement? yes
 Who could join the groupement? anyone from village
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? men only (SAED said that women's rice land was too costly to irrigate -- needed dike)
 How were parcels distributed among members? equal sizes by lottery

EXTENSIONS -- data (AID 1986) show extension in 1985, but apparently is not operating yet.

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? chief
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? villagers
 Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? new members, especially for women (but apparently hasn't yet been done)

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no - but emigres can and do lend their parcels to family and friends
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? so far - other family members
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? brother or son or wife/wives
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? not relevant yet
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? hasn't yet happened
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes

Number of Members in 1987 32
 Number of ha. in 1987 41

SEBOU

President Samba Sy Vice President Doro Diarra
 Treasurer Abdoulaye Dabo-Buly Pumpist Ladji Diarra

Year of Founding 1977 Number of Members at start 41
 Number of ha. at start 17

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? village chief
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? villagers
 Was assakal paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? yes How? (apparently) extra parcel
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? will regain rights if
irrigation fails
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes
 Are owners officers of groupement? yes
 Who could join the groupement? all men who wanted to
 Was there an entrance fee? after first year a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? 41 men
 How were parcels distributed among members? equally by lottery

EXTENSIONS

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? village chief
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? villagers -- women farmed in
bas-fonds (traditional rice)
 Was assakal paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? no - women were allowed to join
 Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? new members
 Do new members pay an entrance fee? yes
 Characteristics of new members occasionally new families; usually sons.
etc. of families already belonging, plus displaced women

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? groupement
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? son or (if no male adult heirs)
woman can inherit and farm
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? not clear
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? there is still a
waiting list of villagers
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? not clear

Number of Members in 1987 144 (about 60 women)
 Number of ha. in 1987 34

GANGALA

President M. Bâ

Year of Founding 1985 Number of Members at start not known
 Number of ha. at start 19

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Nianghané and Bâ
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? not farmed since 1956
 Was assakal paid to owners before? No Is it paid on perimeter? No
 Were owners compensated for land? No
 Do owners retain rights to the land? not clear
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes (not Nianghané)
 Are owners officers of groupement? yes
 Who could join the groupement? Bâ wanted it just for his family
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? no
 Who did join the groupement? SAED said there was a minimum membership of 25: Bâ's family had fewer than that, so he recruited in neighboring villages.
 How were parcels distributed among members? lottery, after the President got first choice of 12 parcels for his family

EXTENSIONS

There has not yet been an extension. They have requested a 6-ha. extension for use as a collective field for debt repayment.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? not clear
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? son
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? woman may retain if she can pay the debts
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? not enough land
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? no

Number of Members in 1987 not known
 Number of ha. in 1987 19

BALLOU I

President Mamadou Penda Niangané Vice President Bakayokho
 Treasurer Mady Samassa Pumpist Mamadou Pilo Niangané
Sankou Fofana

Year of Founding 1976 Number of Members at start 20-30
 Number of ha. at start 9 ha.

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Niangané. Dabo. Fofana. Gacko families
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? various villagers
 Was diakka paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? no
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? they have only lent the land as long as irrigation continues
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes
 Are owners officers of groupement? yes
 Who could join the groupement? anyone from village
 Was there an entrance fee? yes (50 FCFA) a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? everyone who wanted to (some were skeptical)
 How were parcels distributed among members? equal size per member, contiguous strips for family members. Layout similar to village housing pattern

EXTENSIONS

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? same families
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? as above
 Was diakka paid to owners before? yes
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? extensions lengthen strips of existing members. Women seem to have been given additional land after secession of Ballou II
 Do new members pay an entrance fee? n/a

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? not clear
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? groupement, if entire family leaves (as many did to join Ballou II)
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? remains within family: brother or oldest son
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? woman loses the parcel that was allocated to her as family member. Women's own 1-meter strip remains hers if she wishes
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? apparently not
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? not yet: will be when they are of adequate size

Number of Members in 1987 unsure: 300-500
 Number of ha. in 1987 120

BALLOU II

President Seydou Niangané

Year of Founding 1986 Number of Members at start 260
 Number of ha. at start 123 (44 farmed)

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Niangané, Kofana, Bathily, Souaré, Dramé
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? yes
 Was diakka paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? yes
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Do owners retain rights to the land? no (CR gave the land to groupement)
 Are owners members of perimeter? n/a
 Are owners officers of groupement? n/a
 Who could join the groupement? all who wanted to - schism from first Ballou groupement
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? all of the slaves and most casted people from Ballou I, plus a few nobles supporting the President
 How were parcels distributed among members? equally by lottery after the President got the first choice

EXTENSIONS -- none

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? not clear
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? family
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? the next oldest in the family
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? if woman remarries inside the groupement, there is an exchange of parcels. If she remarries outside the group, the groupement decides what to do. If she does not remarry at all she may keep the parcel
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? yes
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? not yet

Number of Members in 1987 274
 Number of ha. in 1987 44

AROUNDU

President Mamadou Bathily Vice President Demba Bathily
 Treasurer Arona Bathily Pumpists Saliou, Sidibé, Mamadou

Year of Founding 1976 Number of Members at start 31
 Number of ha. at start 3-4

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Bathily family
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? people from Yafera
 Was diakka paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? yes
 Were owners compensated for land? no
 Do owners retain rights to the land? yes - evidence is diakka payment
 Are owners members of perimeter? yes
 Are owners officers of groupement? yes
 Who could join the groupement? all members of village
 Was there an entrance fee? no a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? 31 (11 men)
 How were parcels distributed among members? 5 m. (by 800 m.) per woman. 10 m. per man. by lottery. Household head chose for his entire family

EXTENSIONS

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? as above
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? as above
 Was diakka paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? yes
 Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? in the past. it was for new members primarily; now they would like to increase parcel size
 Do new members pay an entrance fee? yes (5000 F/man. 2500 F/woman)
 Characteristics of new members other villagers. who didn't join originally.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? no
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? family; if family leaves. groupement
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? oldest son
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee is divorced? woman would keep
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? apparently not
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? not clear

Number of Members in 1987 189
 Number of ha. in 1987 76

GOLMI

President Ibrahima TANDJIGORA
Treasurer --

Vice President --

Year of Founding 1975 No. of members at start: talibés of the marabout
No. of ha. at start 8

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? The belongs to the family of the marabout and two other families, the DIA and TRAORE families.

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? The land had been cultivated, by the families as well as the talibés of the marabout

Was diakka paid to owners before? No. clear

Were owners compensated for land? No. because owners are farming the perimeter themselves.

Do owners retain rights to the land? yes

Are owners members of the perimeter? yes

Are owners officers of the groupement? yes

Who could join the groupement? Initially, the three families

Was there an entrance fee? No a work requirement? yes

Who did join the groupement? The marabout, his followers, and the DIA and TRAORE families.

How were parcels distributed among members? Each family farms their own land.

EXTENSIONS

The three families have asked for twenty additional hectares for next year because other people have asked to join. According to them, however, these other people will not have the courage to join. Therefore, the extra twenty hectares will be used to enlarge the plots of the current members.

TENURE RULES

According to the president, the important aspect here is the fact that all the land is family land. There are no land tenure problems because these have been their lands for quite some time.

No. of members in 1986 n/a
No. of hectares in 1986 8

BAKEL KOLLANGAL

President Youkhasse CAMARA
Treasurer --

Vice President Adama TRAORE

Year of Founding 1982

No. of members at start 300

No. of ha. at start 97

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Village chief et al.

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Village families

Was diakka paid to owners before? Not clear Is it paid on perimeter?

No

Were owners compensated for land? No

Do owners retain rights to the land? Yes How? if perimeter

were to shut down, land would revert back to landowners

Are owners members of the perimeter? Yes

Are owners officers of the groupement? Not clear

Who could join the groupement? Everyone

Was there an entrance fee? Yes a work requirement? Yes

Who did join the groupement? 300 individuals

How were parcels distributed among members? To individuals by lottery

EXTENSIONS

The perimeter began with 97 hectares, then extensions brought it up to 150 hectares. The extensions accommodated new members.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? Not clear

Can parcels be rented in or out? Not clear. However, some parcel

holders have never farmed their own parcel: they have lent

their parcels to others to farm. Those who are lent the

parcel pay the groupement fee in the name of the parcel

holder.

Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? Not clear

Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? The next family member in the

line of inheritance

Who gets a woman's parcel if she divorces? If she is free of debt

towards groupement, she can do what she wishes: if she

wishes to leave perimeter, she may give the parcel to

someone. If she leaves perimeter still in debt, she must

parcel over to groupement.

Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? Yes

Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? Yes

No. of members in 1986 ca. 600

No. of hectares in 1986 178

BAKEL MERCHANT'S PERIMETER

President --
 Treasurer --

Vice President --

Year of Founding 1977

No. of members at start His family
 No. of ha. at start approx. 1

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? The land originally belonged to the NDIAYE (gake) of Bakel. However he has been farming the land for twenty years and is now in the process acquiring legal title to the land by way of the National Land Law.

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? He and his family

Was diakka paid to owners before? No Is it paid on perimeter? No

Were owners compensated for land? No How?

Do owners retain rights to the land? No How?

Are owners members of the perimeter? Not the traditional owner

Are owners officers of the groupement? No

Who could join the groupement? Only the members of his family

Was there an entrance fee? No a work requirement? He works in his field with his family

Who did join the groupement? Only the members of his family

How were parcels distributed among members? Not applicable

EXTENSIONS

There is no more land available for extensions.

TENURE RULES

In order not to have any land problems, he recently decided to register the land according to the requirements of the National Land Law. This will effectively make him owner of the land.

BAKEL - GASSAMBILAKHE

President Sadio TRAORE
 Treasurer Samba NDIAYE

Vice President Abdoulaye TRAORE

Year of Founding 1976

No. of members as start 86
 No. of ha. at start

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? The NDIAYE family
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? The women in the bas-fonds
 Was diakka paid to owners before? Is it paid on perimeter? No
 Were owners compensated for land? No, however they did not have to pay the entrance fee
 Do owners retain rights to the land? No
 Are owners members of the perimeter? Yes
 Are owners officers of the groupement? Yes
 Who could join the groupement? Initially a group of farmers had the idea of forming a collective irrigated field. Each asked in his neighborhood who would like to join. Soon after SAED required the GP to allow anyone who wanted to participate
 Was there an entrance fee? Yes a work requirement? Yes
 Who did join the groupement? Initially, there were 86 farmers. Once SAED imposed the requirement that all be allowed to participate, the number rose to 300.
 How were parcels distributed among members? By lottery

EXTENSIONS

An extension was made near to SAED headquarters in 1985. However, according to SAED's report of 1986 there was no harvest that year. We were told by the president that some members of the original perimeter are members of the extended perimeter. The perimeter officials are the same as those cited above.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? No
 Can parcels be rented in or out? Yes, if you have no debts with the producer group
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? the group can reassign it
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? The family of the deceased member is given 5000 CFA and is asked to give the parcel to someone new. The person who receives the parcel cannot be a member of the groupement. Officially no one has two parcels.
 Who gets a woman's parcel if she divorces? A divorced woman can keep her parcel unless she leaves Bakel. If a woman wishes to leave Bakel, she has the choice of giving her parcel to someone in her family.
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? No foreigners have asked for land who are not living in Bakel.
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? Yes

No. of members in 1986 300
 No. of hectares in 1986 42

TUABOU

President Silly Tappa BATHILY
 Treasurer Sidy WATTARA

Vice President Daouda FOFANA

Year of Founding 1975

No. of members at start 63

No. of ha. at start 10

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Chief of the village

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? No one

Was diakka paid to owners before? No Is it paid on perimeter? No

Were owners compensated for land? No How?

Do owners retain rights to the land? Not clear How?

Are owners members of the perimeter? Yes

Are owners officers of the groupement? Yes

Who could join the groupement? Everyone in village

Was there an entrance fee? Not initially a work requirement? yes

Who did join the groupement? 63 men and women

How were parcels distributed among members? This perimeter started out as a collective field. Eight years ago it was individualized, and parcels were distributed by lottery

EXTENSIONS

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Bathily clan

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Not clear

Was diakka paid to owners before? Not clear Is it paid on perimeter? No

Were owners compensated for the land? No

Are owners members of the perimeter? No

Are owners officers of the groupement? No

Are extensions for a) new members b) larger plots? Each member has parcels in both the original perimeter and in the extension.

Any further extensions will be for new members.

Do new members pay an entrance fee? yes

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? No

Can parcels be rented in or out? No, but they can be lent out to other members in the groupement. Whoever is the recipient of the loaned parcel must pay double dues for the two parcels.

Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? The parcel reverts to the groupement. A new member may join if they pay a certain fee.

Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? It remains within the household.

Who gets a woman's parcel if she divorces? She may give her parcel to her son, brother, etc.

Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? No foreigners, other than some longtime residents, have asked for land.

Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes

No. of members in 1986 72

No. of hectares in 1986 42

MANAEL

President Manael DIALLOVice President Demba Yele DIALLOTreasurer Demba KEITAYear of Founding 1983

No. of members at start --

No. of ha. at start --

ORIGINAL PERIMETERWho owned the land before perimeter was created? Village landownersWho (if anyone) farmed the land before? In part. village farmersWas diakka paid to owners before? yes Is it paid on perimeter? yesWere owners compensated for land? yes How? Continued to receive assakalDo owners retain rights to the land? yes How? If perimeter shuts down land reverts back to themAre owners members of the perimeter? Not clearAre owners officers of the groupement? Not clearWho could join the groupement? All, even families of migrant workersWas there an entrance fee? Not at beginning, now there is a work requirement? yesWho did join the groupement? All of ManaelHow were parcels distributed among members? To individuals by lotteryTENURE RULESCan parcels be purchased and sold? Not clearCan parcels be rented in or out? Not clearWho gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? If someone leaves the groupement, their parcel is added to the collective field.This has happened on occasion. Alternatively, one can give the parcel to one's brother if he is already a member of the groupement.Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? The son or brother of the parcel holderWho gets a woman's parcel if she divorces? If she so desires, she may continue to cultivate her parcel. If she decides to to abandon her parcel, those individuals without parcels are given first priority (usually individuals who have come to the village since the last parcel distribution).Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? No strangers have asked for land yet, but if they did their request would not be refused.Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yesNo. of members in 1986 81No. of hectares in 1986 25

DIAWARA II

President Seydi BA
 Treasurer --

Vice President --

Year of Founding 1985

No. of members at start --
 No. of ha. at start --

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? SAKHO family of Diawara
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Village farmers
 Was diakka paid to owners before? Yes Is it paid on perimeter? No
 Were owners compensated for land? No
 Do owners retain rights to the land? No
 Are owners members of the perimeter? No
 Are owners officers of the groupement? No
 Who could join the groupement? Everyone except women
 Was there an entrance fee? Yes a work requirement? Yes
 Who did join the groupement? Mostly members of Al Fallah, a Moslem religious sect
 How were parcels distributed among members? By lottery to individuals

EXTENSIONS

This year the Conseil Rural granted them an additional 50 ha., but the irrigation infrastructure has not been implemented yet. The extensions made will prioritize those who do not yet have a parcel.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? No
 Can parcels be rented in or out? No
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? Only one individual left. He was a migrant worker in France who had no family who could work his parcel for him. His parcel was added to the collective field.
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? The next family member in the line of inheritance
 Who gets a woman's parcel if she divorces? Not applicable
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? So far no non-villagers have asked for parcels. When that comes to pass, it will be something the Conseil Rural has to deal with.
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? Yes

No. of members in 1986 32 households
 No. of hectares in 1986 50

MOUDERY I

President Arona NDIAYE Vice President Dramane NDIAYE
 Treasurer Demba Seck
 Year of Founding 1976 No. of members at start 500

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? SAKHO of Diawara
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Farmers from Moudery
 Was diakka paid to owners before? Yes Is it paid on perimeter? No
 Were owners compensated for land? No
 Do owners retain rights to land? Yes How? Land reverts to them if perimeter shuts down
 Are owners members of perimeter? No
 Are owners officers of groupement? No
 Who could join groupement? Everyone
 Was there an entrance fee? No A work requirement? Yes
 Who did join the perimeter? 500 villagers, but soon all but 30 left in discouragement
 How were parcels distributed among members? To heads of household by lottery

EXTENSIONS

Who owned the land before the perimeter was created? Same as above
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Same as above
 Was diakka paid to owners before? Yes Is it paid on perimeter? No
 Were owners compensated for land? No
 Are owners members of the perimeter? No
 Are owners officers of the groupement? No
 Are extensions for new members or larger plots? Mostly new members
 Do new members pay an entrance fee? Yes
 Characteristics of new members anyone from village who wishes to join

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? No
 Can parcels be rented in or out? no To whom? _____
 Who gets parcel if its assignee leaves? Generally, a new participant
 Who gets parcel if assignee dies? The family heir
 If a woman divorces who gets her parcel? She may keep her parcel or cede it to someone else
 Can outsiders join groupement and get a parcel? Only foreigners residing in the village, e.g. Malians
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently? Yes

Number of members in 1986 135

Number of hectares in 1986 68

MOUDERY II

President Daouda KANOUTE
 Treasurer Aliou Traore

Vice President Mamadou NDIAYE

Year of Founding 1985

No. of members at start 117

No. of hectares at start _____

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before the perimeter was created? Landowners from Moudery

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Eau et Forets

Was diakka paid to the owners before? Yes Is it paid on perimeter? No

Were owners compensated for the land? No

Do owners retain rights to the land? No

Are owners members of the perimeter? No

Are owners officers of the groupement? No

Who could join the groupement? Only men

Was there an entrance fee? Yes. 500-1500 CFA a work requirement? Yes

Who did join the groupement? Those who left Moudery I because it was farmed on a collective basis

How were parcels distributed among members? By lottery

EXTENSIONS

Extensions cannot be made on the existing perimeter because there is no available land adjacent to the perimeter.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? Yes, if a person owes no debts to the groupement, he is free to sell his parcel.

Can parcels be rented in or out? Yes, if a person owes no debts to the groupement, he is free to rent his parcel.

Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? _____ Who gets a

parcel if its assignee dies? The family heir

If a women divorces, who gets her parcel? There are no women in the groupement officially

Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? No

Are specified parcels assigned permanently to assignees? Yes

Number of members in 1986 117

Number of hectares in 1986 62

MOUDERY III

President Sada DIA

Year of Founding 1987

No. of members at start 50

No. of hectares at start 50

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before the perimeter was created? The SAKHO BOMOU families of Diawara

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Farmers from Moudery 17 years ago

Was diakka paid to owners before? Yes Is it paid on perimeter? No

Were owners compensated for the land? No

Do owners retain rights to the land? No

Are owners members of the perimeter? No. participants are from Moudery and from his family

Are owners officers of the groupement? No

Who could join the groupement? He did not advertize perimeter. but other villagers were welcome to join

Was there an entrance fee? Not clear a work requirement? Yes

Who did join the groupement? Other villagers and close family members

How were parcels distributed among members? He gave 20 ha. to the other villagers interested in participating (about 30 people). They each received approximately 3/4 hectares. He admitted people to the remaining 30 or so hectares. leaving approximately 12-15 hectares for his family.

EXTENSIONS -- none yet

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? No

Can parcels be rented in or out? Not clear

Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? No one has quit, but there are some farmers who have not yet farmed (because of other work). So they lend their parcels to other family members. However, it is the farmer whose name is registered in the groupement who pays the dues.

Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? _____ If a women divorces, who gets her parcel? _____ Can outsiders join

the groupement and get a parcel? Some Wolof from Baol did ask for land, but they asked too late. Had they asked earlier, they would not have been refused.

Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? Yes

Number of members in 1987 ca. 50

Number of hectares in 1987 ca. 50

MOUDERY WOMEN'S PERIMETER

President Ndiaye NDIAYE
 Treasurer --

Vice President --

Year of Founding 1986

No. of members at start 60
 No. of ha. at start 10

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? No one
 Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Two villagers
 Was diakka paid to owners before? -- Is it paid on perimeter? --
 Were owners compensated for land? -- How? --
 Do owners retain retain rights to the land? -- How? --
 Are owners members of the perimeter? --
 Are owners officers of the groupement? --
 Who could join the groupement? All village women
 Was there an entrance fee? yes a work requirement? yes
 Who did join the groupement? Three hundred village women
 How were parcels distributed among members? By lottery

EXTENSIONS

SAED will increase the size of the perimeter next year. It is not clear whether this will result in larger parcel sizes, or serve to accommodate new members.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? Not clear
 Can parcels be rented in or out? Not clear
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? Not clear
 Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? Not clear
 Who gets a woman's parcel if she divorces? Not applicable
 Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? Not clear
 Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? Not clear

No. of members in 1987 300

No. of hectares in 1987 10

GALLADE

President Mamadou Kante N'GOUDIAM Vice President Kante N'GOUDIAM

Year of Founding 1976 No. of members at start --
No. of ha. at start 6

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? President and other villagers
Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Village farmers
Was diukka paid to owners before? Not clear Is it paid on perimeter? yes
Were owners compensated for land? Not clear
Do owners retain rights to the land? yes How? If groupement at some time no longer farms the perimeter, the land will revert to the previous landowners.
Are owners members of the perimeter? yes
Are owners officers of the groupement? yes
Who could join the groupement? Everyone
Was there an entrance fee? Those people who entered late had to pay a negotiable entrance fee. a work requirement? yes
Who did join the groupement? Men and women from village
How were parcels distributed among members? After the collective field was individualized, parcels were distributed by lottery to individuals.

EXTENSIONS

Who owned the land before the perimeter was created? same as original
Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Not clear
Was diakka paid to owners before? Not clear Is it paid on perimeter? No
Were owners compensated for land? Not clear
Are owners members of perimeter? yes
Are owners officers of groupement? yes
Are extensions for a) new members; b) larger plots? Both
Do new members pay an entrance fee? Not clear

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? yes To whom? To the groupement
Details? An individual may buy a parcel from the groupement only, not from another individual.
Can parcels be rented in or out? Not clear
Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? The parcel remains within the groupement until a new member joins.
Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? The parcel returns to the groupement. But if a brother of the deceased, who is not already a member of the groupement, decides to join, he receives the parcel and pays nothing. No one who is already in the groupement can get a second parcel.
Who gets a woman's parcel if she divorces? If a woman decides to leave the groupement, her parcel returns to the groupement.
Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? There are no people from outside the village who have requested parcels.
Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes

No. of members in 1986 180
No. of hectares in 1986 (original perimeter) 6
No. of hectares in 1987 (extension) 32

GANDE

President Sileymane CISSOKHO
 Treasurer Yoro CAMARA

Vice President Alliou CAMARA

Year of Founding 1976

No. of members at start --

No. of ha. at start --

ORIGINAL PERIMETER

Who owned the land before perimeter was created? Family of the president and other villagers

Who (if anyone) farmed the land before? Village farmers

Was diakka paid to owners before? Not clear Is it paid on perimeter?
No

Were owners compensated for land? No

Do owners retain retain rights to the land? yes How? Should the perimeter shut down, the land will revert to the former proprietors.

Are owners members of the perimeter? yes

Are owners officers of the groupement? yes

Who could join the groupement? Everyone

Was there an entrance fee? yes, new members that join late must pay something, or the initial work done to prepare the land for irrigation, a work requirement? yes

Who did join the groupement? Only men, women do not participate

How were parcels distributed among members? The perimeter was divided among households wishing to participate.

EXTENSIONS

An extension has been made. This land was parceled out to individuals rather than to households. Each family works on both the original perimeter and on the extension. The women, however, work only on the extension. If any further extensions are made, land will be distributed to the women.

TENURE RULES

Can parcels be purchased and sold? No

Can parcels be rented in or out? Not clear

Who gets a parcel if its assignee leaves? The parcel comes back to the groupement and will then be given to a new participant.

Who gets a parcel if its assignee dies? The next family member, son or brother, if he is a member of the groupement. If there are no heirs in the groupement, the parcel reverts back to the groupement.

Who gets a woman's parcel if she divorces? --

Can outsiders join the groupement and get a parcel? No foreigners have asked for any land.

Are specific parcels assigned permanently to assignees? yes

No. of members in 1986 215

No. of hectares in 1986 19

II. SUMMARIES OF VILLAGE TENURE ISSUES

1. Sénoudébou

This was the village of the chef de canton during the colonial period. Members of the Sy family, one of the most prominent in the Bundu (the left bank of the Falémé River), were the chefs de canton and also the predominant landowners.

The perimeter was founded in 1976. Initial land allocation was by lottery, with equal-sized parcels for all men who participated in cooperative clearing of the land. Women, who did not participate in clearing, were given tiny parcels for vegetable gardens. There soon were problems with soil quality (lateritic runoff from nearby uplands). For this and other reasons, the PIV fell behind in debt repayments, and the perimeter has not been irrigated for several years. Women do grow vegetables on their plots, but they water by hand.

An extension was created in 1984. The extension occasioned a reallocation of plots: the residential quarter inhabited primarily by nobles took the new perimeter, and the quarter inhabited primarily by casted people and former captives took the old perimeter. While plot size is somewhat larger on the old perimeter (1/4 ha. per plotholder vs. 1/6 ha.), but the soil quality on the new perimeter is substantially better. But this is all moot for the moment, because neither perimeter has been farmed in recent years.

DP 1 discusses several conflicts over land involving Sénoudébou; these will not be repeated here.

2. Guitta

This village was founded within the last generation by people from Sénoudébou. Its lands are also held by the Sy family, one representative of which (the vice president of the GP) resides in Guitta and was the only speaker at our interview with the GP.

Guitta's first perimeter was founded on Sénoudébou's land, since Guitta had no suitable land which was near to a spot on the Falémé where there was sufficient water to irrigate successfully. Sénoudébou agreed to cede the land to Guitta's PIV, but after a few years of successful cultivation, Sénoudébou wished to reclaim its land (see DP no. 1 for details of this story). SAED then created the new perimeter to resolve the conflict, and intended to dedicate the old perimeter to use as a seed farm. It should be noted that SAED thereby kept Sénoudébou from being able to take its land back, which given the local tension over the National Domain Law (again, see DP no. 1) may take on more than symbolic importance in the future.

Guitta made do on the new perimeter, even though there was only enough water in the river for a rainy-season crop. Individuals were permitted to add additional plots if they wished, since the pump had excess capacity. Several, all of them traditional landowners, did so. But Guitta's success with irrigation suffered a setback when

diesel fuel shortages in the 1986 crop year caused major damage to the rice and maize crops. It was unclear in January 1987 whether the root cause of the crop losses was internal conflict or merely a mistaken response to the diesel shortage (assuming that SAED would come to their rescue with more free or subsidized fuel).

3. Nayé

This village has had few difficulties with its irrigation experience, but also not as great a success as Guitta (and several Soninké villages) had for several years. No conflicts were reported, thus no experience with the National Domain Law.

Nayé illustrates clearly, however, the typical conditions under which traditional Toucouleur landowners ceded land to the GP for irrigation. Here as in many other villages, we were told that the cession was only a loan of the land -- a loubal, in Pulaar -- and that the traditional landowner had the right to reclaim the land if the PIV were to cease to function. As mentioned in DP 1, this fact has led us to feel that traditional landowners may have an interest in the failure of the project -- but only after the irrigation works have been constructed.

4. Alahina

Alahina, a very small village just south of Kidira, had ceded some of its land to Kidira for a PIV. Residents of Alahina also belonged to the Kidira PIV. When it shut down in the early 1980's because of nonpayment of debts, Alahina requested a new perimeter. SAED has complied, but as of early 1987 the village had not begun irrigation.

This village was not forthcoming with information about whether conflict with Kidira residents had played a part in the shutdown of the Kidira perimeter. Also, we did not visit the Kidira GP, having heard that it was shut down, so that we did not hear the other side of the story.

5. Selling

No noteworthy land tenure issues emerged here. The land on which the perimeter is found is a loan from the landowning Guiro family, and two villages share the perimeter without conflict.

6. Wouro Himadou

This village's story was discussed in DP 1 as one of the first signs that traditional landowners might attempt to take over the project infrastructure after the GP ceases operation. The President, one of the three prior owners of the perimeter's land, has his plot adjacent to the main canal, and also owns the land on the other side of the canal. SAED has prepared for irrigation four additional

hectares of his land for him, so that he now has substantial irrigable holdings. In 1986, virtually none of the other GP members farmed the PIV, so that the President had adequate diesel fuel to irrigate his entire holding, both his PIV plot and the other 4 hectares.

7. Sinthiou Dialinguel

This PIV is shut down because of nonpayment of debts.

The first perimeter was too small, so a new, larger field was found. Unfortunately, the owners of the land between the river and the new field refused permission for the canals to pass through their land. Finally, an acceptable field was found, and 15 prior landowners agreed to cede their land. By then, the debt problem had arisen, and the village could not persuade SAED to deliver the water pipes they would need to start irrigation. Meanwhile, the owner of the original perimeter has taken his land back (he does not irrigate it, however, and the canal system has deteriorated considerably).

8. Dialinguel

The land for this perimeter is owned by residents of the neighboring village of Sinthiou Dialinguel. This has not, however, created any obvious difficulties as it apparently has in the Kidira-Alahina and Sénoudébou-Guitta situations. Like most other Toucouleur PIVs, the land was a loan from the landowning families.

Here the issue of the desirability of a collective field was discussed at greater length than elsewhere. As in most perimeters, they began with a collective field but eventually realized that production was low because motivation was a problem. They therefore individualized the entire perimeter and it seems to be working better than before. We were unable to verify this, however.

9. Djimbé

This village resisted SAED, saying they were "afraid" of irrigation and were more concerned with feed and water for their livestock. It appears, however, that they were pretty much obligated to comply, and did so in an unusual fashion. The person who became President of the GP was elected when he was away from the village. The GP itself was formed while most of the villagers were away with their herds. In other words, the village's reluctance reached such a point that the men absented themselves so that they would not be implicated in the formation of the GP. It is surprising, in this light, that irrigation has amounted to anything in Djimbé, but it was one of the few Toucouleur villages where more than half of the perimeter was farmed in 1986.

One other noteworthy observation about Djimbé is that, although women do not have parcels, there is one family (that of a migrant to France) who has lent (given in loubal) its parcels to the sister of the migrant.

10. Sinthiou Dêbékoulé

Here, women and men both wanted to irrigate at the beginning, with women to do rice and men to do maize. But when SAED's engineers came they said that the rice land would be too costly to develop for rice because an anti-flood dike would be needed. Thus only the men were able to join the GP; they took over the women's land to grow maize. Thus in one of the very few Toucouleur villages where women were to have participated from the beginning external forces prevented them from doing so. It is noteworthy, however, that attitudes were so rigid that it was apparently not possible to consider allowing women to grow maize.

The extension is supposed to privilege women, but because of the financial situation it has not yet begun to operate.

11. Sébou

Seydou Nianghané of Ballou (now President of Ballou II) was the first to come to suggest that the village begin irrigation. They did so, as Ballou had, by hand before SAED came to provide assistance. At first, only a group of men joined, but logical extensions were in the bas-fonds where women had traditionally grown swamp rice. To compensate them for their loss of bas-fond land, women were permitted to join the perimeter (on the same financial terms as men) and were allocated parcels one-half the size of men's.

12. Gangala

This village was little more than a Peul herders' camp before the opportunity for irrigation arose. The President of the groupement is a Peul, but most (45 of 64) of the members are Soninké from neighboring villages, notably ones across the river in Mali. The reason for this unusual situation of mixed-ethnic group membership is that the President and his family did not have enough labor for SAED to be willing to open a perimeter for them even though they had sufficient land of adequate quality. Thus they were obligated to recruit members elsewhere, and the only nearby people available and willing to participate were Soninke, except for one Toucouleur from next-door Sébou.

The difference between Soninke and Peul-Toucouleur gender division of labor created a delicate problem on the Gangala perimeter. In other Soninke village groupements, the members all registered their wives and mature sons as plotters, which was rational given the fact that they all would work the land along with the heads of household. In Pulaar society, as previously noted, women do not do much agricultural work beyond small plots of peanuts, and none of the Toucouleur groupements register women as plotters (with the exception of the Sênoudébou women's micro-plots). If the President and his family did not register their wives, they would have a disproportionately small share of land on their own perimeter. So they did register their wives, following Soninké rather than Pulaar custom. Then, following Pulaar rather than Soninké custom, they determined that the women were not doing their share of the work on the land which had been registered in their names.

and took over the women's land as their own. In so doing, the President and his brothers managed to accumulate more land than if they had only registered the men from the outset.

13. Ballou

Ballou has the largest irrigated area and the largest number of group members of any of the villages affiliated with the BSIP except Bakel itself, with 720 members as of 1985. In that year, an election of the leadership of the groupement (production group) led to a schism. The former president, who had been defeated by his half-brother, led the schismatics, who formed a second groupement, Ballou II, and sought land for a perimeter and help from SAED in preparing it. The second task was easy; SAED offered help with a grader, as they intermittently had during previous extensions of the original perimeter. But getting land was not as easy.

The procedure specified by the law is to apply to the Communauté Rurale (CR) for use rights; in principle there is no reason why the CR should refuse local inhabitants who wish to use land productively. But the schismatics did not go to the CR initially, but rather to the village chief, as customary law prescribed. The chief, a Niangané also, refused to grant them land. They then went to the village's representative to the CR, also a Niangané. He refused to intervene. So finally, as the third step, Ballou II took its request for land to the CR itself. The principle became fact: the CR granted the groupement the land it requested.

There are several possible explanations for the split, and several more for the history of Ballou II's land request. First, there is the simplest explanation that a defeated president opted for exit after having had relatively complete control of the perimeter since its inception; the corollary is that the chief and the village CR representative wished to punish their cousin for splitting up the groupement. Second, the split might have become inevitable due to the large size of the membership. In other parts of the Senegal River Valley, groupements tend to be much smaller than in Bakel, although as Presson (quoted in Bloch 1986) said, homogeneity of membership appears to be more important than size of membership. But none of the groupements she studied was anywhere near the size of Ballou's. The relatively great social cohesion of the Soninke might predict that larger groupements would be possible there than among Wolof or Toucouleur. Still, 720 members (of whom 190 were men, grouped in 59 kas) is a lot under any circumstance. The breakup may have been inevitable. Third, there is the possibility that the split was only partly related to the election, and partly also to increasing social tension brought about by the equalization of incomes and thus status which irrigation implied. The Ballou II membership list shows that 57.3 % of the members are komé, "former" slaves, whereas none of the Ballou I members are; 93.5% of Ballou I are xooré, nobles, and only 36.1% of Ballou II are. The interpretation is that the split occurred because caste issues were beginning to be raised -- the irrigated perimeter was (finally) judged to be a success, so the traditional leaders decided they wanted to control it, which meant reducing the role of the casted

people and slaves. Seydou was probably a relatively minor member of the Niangané family, who legitimized the original perimeter at a time when the village leadership was unwilling to commit itself to irrigation; the komé may have asked him to serve a similar role in getting them out from under the dominance of the traditional leadership in Ballou I. Whatever the legal status of the CA and the equality before the law of all Senegalese, it is highly unlikely that a group of komé could have succeeded in persuading the CR to grant land to them without a leader from the xooré or moodi classes.

14. Aroundou

This was one of two villages (the other being Gandé) where we were told that the meeting had to take place at the village chief's compound because the subject was land tenure. As in Gandé, this demonstrates the strength of traditional authority over land in spite of the National Domain Law; in contrast to Gandé, however, the Aroundou GP leadership is from the landowning family.

The payment of diakka on the perimeter is unusual, or at least admitting it is unusual. The landowning family, the Bathilys, owned all land in the village, and comprise a goodly share of the membership of the GP. Yet Bathilys and non-Bathilys alike contribute individually to a total assessment -- or gift -- of 2 tons of rice. This amount is not enormous when divided among the 189 members of the GP or the 76 hectares of the perimeter: it represents 10.6 kg. of rice per member or 26 kg. per irrigated hectare. Still, it is far from negligible, and may in fact be close in value to what the Bathilys received from its tenants before irrigation began (about 5% of a typical dryland millet yield of 500 kg./ha.).

15. Golmi

This village has not been able to create a viable GP, for reasons we have not thus far been able to determine. The existing Golmi perimeter is one of two established for powerful clerics (the other is in Koungani), on their own land, for their own benefit. Unlike Koungani, however, the Golmi marabout has accepted that two other landowning families irrigate their adjoining land with the same pump and infrastructure.

Along with the Bakel merchant's perimeter and Wouro Himadou, this case demonstrates the extent to which SAED has been flexible in accommodating to local realities and supporting local individuals who wish to increase the productivity of their land.

16. Bakel Kollangal

Most of those farming this perimeter are urban residents who have nonfarm occupations or family members who do. This would predict different behavior of members of this GP, and in fact, Kollangal has a unique history.

The perimeter was established on a plain which used to flood every year before the drought. Since then, it never floods. Many of the members were formerly members of Gassambilakhé, who were lured away by SAED incentives (see Gassambilakhé section). Purchase and sale of parcels was freely discussed, although there was a large variability in statements about the going price (10,000 to 50,000 F CFA for a 50m x 50m parcel). The commitment of members to irrigation is quite tenuous, in spite of the apparent value of the land: in August 1987, well after the optimal planting date, we observed that virtually none of Kollangal had been planted in rice. Another unique feature of Kollangal is that it is the most individualized perimeter: since the lottery establishing access was done by individual rather than by family, if several family members have plots they are likely to be widely scattered.

17. Bakel Merchant

The proprietor of an auto parts store in Bakel has obtained assistance in irrigating a piece of land he had farmed earlier as dryland. The land had been allocated to his family by the Ndiaye family, the head family of the town, "long ago." His family used to pay diakka on the land, but "since his birth" they no longer do. He therefore considers that he owns the land, and has begun the legal procedure necessary to obtain recognition of ownership by applying for registration to the Bureau des Domaines in Tambacounda.

Until recently, this was the only case of SAED helping a single individual to irrigate land which was already his. In this case, all SAED provided was the pump (plus maintenance); the merchant did all the earthwork himself. Some more recent SAED interventions in Moudery, especially, appear to be benefiting individuals as well, but on a larger scale and providing more services to the beneficiary.

18. Bakel Gassambilakhé

This GP, like those of Kounghani, Ballou and several others, claims that its origins predate the arrival of CIDR and SAED in the region. Before SAED, they were a happy, cohesive group of 86 members who based their organization on traditional youth groups (fede). When SAED asserted its control, it insisted that the GP be open to anyone who wished, and 300 joined without any expansion in the area to be farmed. While the collective field had been successful before, it became impossible to enforce work sharing. The plots then were subdivided so that they became much too small to provide a living to those farming them -- 750 m².

In recent years SAED has attempted to persuade the members of the GP to move to Kollangal. Those who did move were, of course, the ones who had the most unpaid debt to the GP of Gassambilakhé. The leadership said that the main reason why SAED wants them to move is that the city of Bakel plans to expand in the direction of the PIV and therefore needs the land to be vacant. Yet an impression was left that the GP thinks that SAED has other plans for the land (to allocate to outsiders for irrigation).

19. Tuabou

The royal village of the Gajaaga has not taken to irrigation as enthusiastically as some of its neighbors. This is partly due to tradition: the Bathily clan did not farm very much -- except on falo, but collected diakka and other payments from its neighbors in return for access to land, and its own slaves farmed for its benefit as well. In the past 50 years, however, the dominance of the Bathilys has declined. It is universally argued that the major economic manifestation of Soninke slavery -- the obligation to work on masters' fields -- has completely disappeared. Also, with the arrival of local administrators of the central government, outlying villages were less likely to feel compelled to make their traditional payments. Thus Tuabou has increasingly been forced to feed itself.

Paradoxically, its past dominance of the region has meant that Tuabou has very little "village land," i.e. land that is farmed by Tuabou villagers on authorization from Tuabou landowners. Most of the neighboring land in Manael and Bakel had been ceded by Tuabou; now, when farming is necessary, Tuabou finds that others are using it. See DP 4 for additional information about this problem. The result is that Tuabou has one of the lowest proportions of groupement membership to population (73 in a total population of nearly 2,000). But there may be more at work than insufficiency of land. We were told by several former residents of Tuabou that the non-noble residents of the village considered irrigation to be "for the nobles," and therefore did not participate. There will be more analysis of this type of issue in DP 6.

20. Manael

This village is land-rich, because it obtained large land grants from the Bathilys of Tuabou in the past. There are no particular land conflicts, other than a struggle to maintain its traditional boundaries in anticipation of the development which the "après-barrages" will bring. Its PIV has functioned well, with no debt problems, since the beginning. For reasons which we were not able to determine, its perimeter is small in relation to membership and extensions have not been numerous or large. According to the information provided by SAED, Manael now has the smallest area per member (0.1 ha.) of any of the Soninke PIVs.

21. Diawara

Diawara's traditional land tenure is different from that of any other village in the region, as is shown in DP 4. The principal difference is that the Sakho family purchased the land from the Bathily clan, rather than receiving it in return for services rendered or in other non-commercial ways. This helps to explain why the Sakho family has been more active in opposing others' attempts to gain access to Diawara land for irrigation.

Diawara I's GP leaders, who include members of the Sakho family, refused to meet with our research team, stating Federation solidarity as the reason.

Diawara II is another innovation: it is organized around an Islamic sect, Al Fallah, which is supported financially and spiritually by Arab nations. It is comprised almost exclusively of returned migrants. Its rules exclude women, not for economic or social but for religious reasons: a man may not work next to another man's wife. The group says that when it was looking for land it went directly to the Rural Council (CR), not to the Sakho family. The CR gave it without difficulty or condition (although only half as much as requested -- 50 rather than 100 ha.)

22. Moudery

Unlike Diawara and Manael, Moudery is land-poor. Also unlike those two villages, Moudery's response to irrigation has been enthusiastic and full of confrontations, suggesting the perception of profitability. The original GP was established at the same time as all the others, and was collective like the others. Most families belonged, but there was never enough land for everyone to farm. People began drifting away until by about 1980 there were only about 30 men and some women remaining. The PIV was individualized at about the same time, and extensions were initiated, and the perimeter has retained a respectable level of productivity.

Meanwhile many of those who left Moudery I decided that irrigation was necessary, but not within the apparently confining structure of the original PIV. They therefore obtained some land from an old forestry project and formed a new GP, based entirely on individual parcels (one per member family) with only men being allowed to join. This last fact stimulated a women's group to request its own perimeter, and one was duly constituted as of 1986. Also, several private or semi-private perimeters were being formed in 1986 and 1987. Moudery III, the one which has begun operations, was created at the request of a deputy to the National Assembly and Moudery resident, Sada Dia. In all, there were seven separate irrigated perimeters in Moudery in 1987; no other town had more than two. This dynamism is the principal reason why Moudery will be one of the sites of the long term field work which will begin in January 1988.

23. Galladé

The original PIV is on the President's land, right next to the village. The President claims not to require the payment of diakka, but some people give it voluntarily, either to him or to the marabouts, because they consider it a religious obligation. This GP appears to be functioning well, with no outstanding debts and a relatively large membership. They have had difficulty with their large extension, apparently due to improper grading, but this is not directly related to tenure.

The leaders of the GP are traditional landowners. They recognize the right of the CR to take land and put it to higher-priority uses, but they also pointed out that they will consider themselves the owners, with all the rights of ownership, until the CR steps in.

24. Gandé

This village, at the downstream extreme of the Bakel Department, is unique in one way -- the leadership of the village, both the family of the chief and President of the GP, are former captives. The Touré, the chiefly family, are dependents of the former Bathily kings from Tuabou, and, like the family of Sada Dia in Moudery, were given responsibility for land management and tax collection for the Bathilys.

This dramatic difference from all the other villages (discussed in more detail in DP 4 along with its historical roots) does not appear to have led to a major difference in the way the PIV has functioned. We hope that the data to be gathered in the second year of our research will shed some light on this case, as on many of the others.

As mentioned at the start, we have thus far been unable to gain direct information about several of the villages' efforts at irrigation. Other sources fill some of the gaps: Adrian Adams' works on Koungani cover many of the issues we have explored, and Traoré's analysis of the situation in Yellingara and Diawara (in DP 4) goes far towards describing the social organization of the two GPs with which we were unable to meet.

III. PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPAL LAND TENURE ISSUES

In the companion paper (DP 6), there will be detailed comparative analysis of the land tenure situation on the Bakel irrigated perimeters. Because of delays in the completion of the GP census, however, we present here brief (and sometimes speculative) summaries of some of the major tenure issues which became evident during the first year of the Land Tenure Research Program.

A. Payments to traditional landowners

The payment of traditional islamic tithes (assakal/diakka) seems to be generalized in the region, in both Toucouleur and Soninké zones. In Islam the tithes are justified as redistributive devices to permit the recipients to help villagers in need, but in local practice they appear to be merely rent payments for use of the land, i.e. redistribution to the nobles. This is true in spite of the fairly general awareness that the National Domain Law makes such tithes illegal. We suspect, though we cannot prove, that payments are made even in many of the cases where they were denied by villagers. In some cases, such as Galladé, villagers are said to pay voluntarily, as a sign of their islamic faith.

However, in most cases where villages acknowledged paying tithes on the land before it was taken over by the PIV, the GP claimed that it did not make such payments. If this is true, one can argue that irrigation is a force which may tend to reduce traditional landowners' authority over land. But at this stage of the research we have no independent way of verifying these claims, and therefore to know when the truth is being told and when it is not. The intensive field work should permit us to go further in investigating this issue.

B. Conditions under which Perimeters Obtain Land

It became clear by the end of our second research trip in August 1987 that traditional land ownership patterns have not yet been seriously threatened by the National Domain Law. In nearly every village where the PIV was established on land owned by a resident of the village, the GP acknowledged that it had not been given the land outright, but had merely received a loan of the land for the duration of successful irrigation. The implication of this is that the landowners may not have a great incentive for irrigation to succeed, since they could have the land back, with its improvements, after the GP disbanded. This possibility, evidence about which was explored in DP 1, is one of the major potential threats to irrigation in the region.

In some cases (notably Moudery) where non-residents of the village were the traditional masters of the land, villagers made use of the Law to obtain access to the land, and in this case clearly had removed the landowners' claims. In every case where the administration has been involved, the landowners have lost their battle. There has been one important case of successful resolution of inter-village dispute settlement without involving the administration: Manael's desire to regain land for irrigation which its leaders had ceded to a Tuabou family. This case, which was rich in the history of Soninké settlement of the region, will be treated in detail in Samba Traoré's next report for the project, expected in 1988.

There has thus far been only one case of intra-village conflict over alienation of land from the traditional landowners (Ballou), and that case also had considerably more complex issues involved (see DP 1). Because of Moudery's enthusiasm for irrigation, internal conflicts would probably have arisen there as well, but most irrigable land near to the village was owned by residents of Diawara.

C. Awareness of the National Domain Law

In conducting our key-informant interviews with GP leadership, we were careful not to be the first to mention the National Domain Law. This was done because we wished to ensure that responses about traditional rights and obligations were not colored by informants' knowledge of the Law. We were quite successful in doing this, and there were very few occasions when we noticed such distortions. The principal exception was Moudery II, where the President of the local Rural Council was the spokesman for the group. We unsurprisingly received responses "by the book."

It is clear, however, that the Law is perceived as a threat to local power and local prerogatives. One way in which elites have sought to counteract the imposition of rules from the outside is to take control of the CRs. Our evidence, while not quantitative, is that nobles and the dependent former captives of village chiefs are the dominant force in the CRs. Thus local government, which for the first time is not a group of foreigners assigned to a tour of duty from Dakar, is likely to favor traditional elites in the future. Still, the CRs are not all-powerful over land allocation. They cannot ignore the land law, which clearly denies CRs total discretion.

D. collective vs. individualized farming

The history of irrigation in Bakel shows that the original dynamic was collective rather than individual. Diabé Sow, Seydou Nianghané, Robert Aprin and others believed that cooperative effort was needed in order to absorb and benefit from the new technology of irrigation. Sow's position, as stated by Adams in her books and articles about Koungani, was that a collective irrigation perimeter was not only the most equitable system, but also the system corresponding most closely to traditional Soninké farming practice on tékhoré fields. SAED's position was the opposite: it felt that individual responsibility was required if the perimeters were to be self-sustaining. In the early years SAED put pressure on the GPs to individualize, but there is also substantial evidence the the collective perimeters wer running into difficulty independently of that pressure. The principal difficulty is that there are no very good ways of motivating people to work if they feel others are not doing their share.

There are now no completely collective perimeters other than Koungani's, and our lack of access to information on that GP makes it impossible for us to explore its functioning. Most PIVs in Soninke villages have maintained a small collective field for village self-help and to assist the less fortunate in paying their SAED debts, but even there many GPs expressed their inability to induce members to contribute their work with any degree of enthusiasm. They try assessing fines, but frequently people prefer to pay the fines (or to defy the GP) than to do the work. Nobody has been evicted for not cooperating.

Ironically, in recent years SAED has attempted to persuade some of the Toucouleur GPs to reinstitute a collective field in order to produce a surplus for the purpose of debt repayment. This has not thus far succeeded.

The new dynamic is for large individualized holdings -- perimeters established essentially at the behest of and for the benefit of single individuals. The original examples of this type were the perimeters of the two marabouts of Koungani and Golmi; the most recent examples are Mouderi III and another perimeter in Mouderi which was being developed in 1987 by SAED for a resident of Bakel [our information about the latter is incomplete because there was an ongoing dispute about it during our August 1987 visit to Bakel]. These individual farms are a new departure because they will allow the owners to be commercial operators, using modern equipment and agronomic practices and hiring salaried labor.

E. What Should Be Done as Part of IWM-I?

It is clear that SAED and USAID have not given much thought to the social organization of the perimeters in recent years, either under the original BSIP or under the new Irrigation and Water Management I project. They have not done so in part because they feel that it should be the GP's responsibility organize itself, and it is likely that the Federation would agree. But there are arguments in favor of being somewhat more active in what one might call "social extension:"

1. The current crisis over debt repayment has paralyzed the Toucouleur perimeters and threatens some of the Soninke PIVs as well. Creative negotiations, sensitive to local issues, may solve the problem of past accumulated debt, but will do little to prevent a recurrence when credit availability is restored (as it obviously must be if irrigation is to succeed).
2. "Privatization" is taking place in Moudery and Bakel, and is likely to occur elsewhere, under the aegis of the National Domain Law and subsidized by SAED, i.e. by USAID. It is currently limited to the influential or affluent, who have access to information and to the inner circles of the CR. Does SAED, or does USAID, intend privatization to be so limited, or would it prefer a more democratic approach? If so, then they should work to open up the process of creating individual perimeters to other groups, which may require both education and the provision of incentives to CRs and to local populations.
3. There have been no economic studies which investigate the efficiency of different types of internal organization: allocation by family vs. allocation by individual; inclusion or exclusion of women; collective vs. individualized farming; large vs. small plots; etc. There is no reason why the appropriate data to study these questions could not be gathered by SAED or the HARZA contractor as part of their ongoing monitoring of the PIVs. Our long-term field research will address these issues to some extent, but over a time and in a manner limited by the constraints of our project. If some modes of organization can be shown to be significantly superior, it would be incumbent on SAED and USAID to make the information available.

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ANNEX I

QUESTIONS ASKED AT MEETINGS WITH GROUPEMENTS DE PRODUCTEURS
January and August 1987

1. Racontez-nous l'origine et le développement de votre périmètre.
2. a. Comment a-t-on décidé des terres à utiliser pour le périmètre?
b. Qui étaient les propriétaires de ces terres?
c. Ces terres étaient-elles utilisées à l'époque?
d. A-t-on donné quelque chose aux propriétaires pour leurs terres?
e. Les propriétaires gardent-ils toujours des droits sur ces terres?
3. a. Au début, qui pouvait adhérer au groupement?
b. Savez-vous combien d'habitants sont dans le village?
c. Combien de ceux-là sont des membres du groupement?
d. Pourquoi tout le monde ne fait-il pas partie du groupement?
e. Au début, fallait-il payer une cotisation pour adhérer?
f. Un émigré en France peut-il avoir une parcelle?
4. a. Au début, comment a-t-on distribué les parcelles entre les membres?
b. La terre est-elle de bonne qualité?
c. Est-ce que les parcelles des membres d'une même famille sont contigues?
5. a. Est-ce que quelqu'un a quitté le groupement?
b. pourquoi?
c. Est-ce que quelqu'un a acheté ou vendu une parcelle?
d. sous quelles conditions?
6. Si un attributaire meurt, qui prend sa parcelle?
7. Si une femme attributaire est divorcée, qui garde la parcelle?
8. Qui recevait les parcelles sur les extensions passées: des nouveaux adhérents ou les membres existants? Ou une combinaison?
9. Qui recevra les parcelles sur les extensions à venir: des nouveaux adhérents ou les membres existants? Ou une combinaison?
10. Des étrangers ont-ils demandé des parcelles?
11. Qu'est-ce que vous cultivez cette saison? La saison dernière? Si changement, pourquoi?
12. Comment payez-vous les frais des intrants (gasoil, etc.)?
13. Est-ce que vous engagez de la main d'oeuvre salariée?
14. Est-ce que tout le monde travaille seulement sur sa propre parcelle?
15. Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de l'après-barrages?

NOTE: These questions were asked in Soninké or Pulaar by an interpreter, with whom the meaning of the questions had been discussed in advance. The responses were again in Soninké or Pulaar, and translated into French by the interpreter.